

**International Journal of Arts and Humanities  
(IJAH)**

**Bahir Dar- Ethiopia**

Vol. 5(1), S/No 16, January, 2016:72-85

ISSN: 2225-8590 (Print) ISSN 2227-5452 (Online)

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ijah.v5i1.6>

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**Violence in Nigeria: Nature and Extent**

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**Abstract**

The Nigerian history is dotted with stories of violence, and many share the notion that the Nigerian people are resilient to have continued to remain in one country despite the violence menace that has been threatening the corporate existence of the country and her people. Going by the annals of records, different nature of violence ranging from ethno-religious conflicts to indigenes-settlers conflicts, Niger Delta resource-based conflict to Boko Haram violence menace, and communal mayhem over land dispute to farmers/cattle-rearers conflicts, as well as gender, school-based violence and electoral cum political violence among others, have at various extent affected the progress and peaceful co-existence of the good people of Nigeria. Worst of all the violence in recent time, is the Boko Haram suicide bombing campaign in the north-eastern part of the country. In her attempt to present a clear picture of things in this regards, this paper sets to examine the nature and extent of violence in Nigeria.

### Introduction

Since her independence in 1960, there is hardly any region in Nigeria that has not experienced one form of violence or the other. The country was engulfed in a civil war between 1967 and 1970 inclusive, and following the survival of the country from the claws of civil war, Nigeria has continued to stay together in spite of the immense religious, ethnic and cultural diversity of the Nigerian people. The diversity some believe is one the sources of the country strength while a number of other people believe it is the gun powder to many violent conflicts in the country. By and large, the country which is the largest community of blacks in the world has in spite of the plethora of challenges continued to forge ahead in unity as a nation-state. Apart from the civil war, the Niger Delta violence and the Boko Haram violence are the most prominent and protracted violent conflicts that have brought the economy of the country to her kneel.

The importation of suicide bombing by the Boko Haram sect changed the dynamics and the pattern of violence unleashing in the country. Though, the Boko Haram activities have been largely localised in the north-eastern part of the country, the entire country is however suffering from the consequences of the violence that is fast soiling the good image of the country among international communities. Also, there have been pockets of human rights violation and unlawful killings including torture and enforced disappearance and ill-treatment (Amnesty International Report, p.2011) in some parts of the country especially in the north-east.

The pattern and complexity of the violence in some parts of the country is in fact worrisome as the nation-state seems to be teetering at the verge of precipice. It is against this backdrop, the article aims at examining the nature and extent of violence in Nigeria.

### Nature of violence

The context of violence in Nigeria is such that intertwined direct, structural and cultural typologies of violence, with factors responsible for the violence closely knitted together in a way that defines complex conflict dynamics. While frustrations occasioned by factors relating to human insecurity and obnoxious policies, among others, largely define structural violence, the physical expression of such development in form of verbal and physical attacks resulting in physical harms and killings largely describe direct violence. At times, the perpetrators of such direct violence attempt to justify their actions on deconstructed religious sentiments, customs, traditions and cultural beliefs, while others anchor their justifications on conditions of human insecurity such as joblessness, hunger, and environmental problems among others, thereby patterning what Johan Galton described as cultural violence.

Indigenes-settler conflict is an age-old problem in Nigeria. Historically the indigenes-settlers question is responsible for the indigenes-settlers nature of violent

conflict in the country. The indigenes-settlers question permeates the various geopolitical zones of Nigeria and has indeed led to blood shedding, especially in areas such as Plateau state in the North-Central, and Ife/Modakeke (in Osun State) in the South-Western part of Nigeria, among others. In Jos, indigene-settler question was largely implicated as one of the major causes of violent conflict in the state. The case is such that it initially and repeatedly pitted the Hausa “Settlers” against the Plateau “Indigene” tribes of Afizere, Anaguta and Berom. The said “settlers”, notably the Hausa-Fulani, have lived in the area for several generations. However, the conflict has now also spread to other parts of the state. Since violence first broke out in April 1994, there has been a cycle of violence defining a trajectory of what seems like an un-ending cycle of revenge between the Muslim Hausa “settlers” and the Christian “Plateau indigenes”.

Over the years, ethno-religious conflict also largely dotted the Nigerian communities. The employment of religion as an instrument for fomenting violence in Nigeria’s polity is traceable to the era of the British colonialists whose colonial administrations intentionally exploited religion as an instrument of pacification in the country. Violence in Jos has continued through the era of the military junta into the democratic regimes which has also been overwhelmed by political muscle, centrifugal divisions and ethno-religious polarisations including weak governance. It is believed by some scholars that the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-linguistic and multi-cultural nature of the Nigerian society may also be serving as catalyst for the frequent occurrence of violence. There are over 250 ethnic groups with their unique cultures, and as posited by IDEA (2001, p.87) “ethnic culture is one of the important ways people conceive of themselves, and culture and identity are closely intertwined”. In Nigeria, ethnic cultures have been wrongly exploited to brand the country with tribalism, and manipulation of religious sentiments as well as regionalism largely explains the unequal development of the country, and this, in addition to the perennial social tension and political instability as a result of ethnic sectarianism, has left a trail of destructive violence and even threatened the territorial integrity of Nigeria” (IDEA, 2001, p.89).

Gender-based violence is another common type of violence in Nigeria. Gender describes behaviours, attributes or characteristics and roles expected in the society of individuals on the basis of being born of male or female (Uwameiye and Iserameiya, 2013, p.219) and gender based violence is most often against the women and the girl child, and also, mainly within the family. Gender based violence manifests in different forms such as physical, sexual, economic, emotional, mental and psychological. However, the physical aspect is the most prevalent of the various forms of intimate partner violence. Intimate Partner Violence is often cloaked with denial, shame, and silence by the victims, and it occurs between two persons in a close relationship whether current spouse or erstwhile spouse or dating partners. It is the “actual or threatened physical or sexual violence or psychological and emotional abuse directed toward a spouse, ex-spouse, current or former boyfriend or girlfriend, or current or former dating

partner” (Saltzman et al. 2002, p.10), and it is increasingly replacing the term domestic violence (WHO, 2005a).

Gender based violence is an age-old psycho-social issue deeply rooted in the dwindling concept of gender inequality which is a kind of structural violence within any social system. Gender-based violence is broadly used as “violence against women and it also highlights gender inequality in which most violence is rooted” (USAID, 2006, p.66). The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action defined it as “any act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to, result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether occurring in public or private life. Among the various forms of violence against women are battering by spouse, rape, verbal assault, female genital mutilation, incest, child marriage, forced marriage, denial of women work opportunity, denial of women’s right to own property, denial of girl child right to choose her husband, denial of girl child access to education, child labour, girl child trafficking and using girl child for commercial sex purposes, among others.

In many societies, physical abuse is regarded as acceptable conduct, and where it is frowned at, women are often blamed for inciting men to engage in it (Watt and Zimmerman, 2002, p.1232-1237). For instance, among the Tiv ethnic group in Nigeria, women have been socialised to perceive wife beating as a sign of love and sometimes, they even encourage it (Foster, 2002, p.30). Also, according to demographic and health surveys, 64.3 per cent of women in Nigeria consider it normal to be beaten by their husbands. Many Nigerian societies appeared to largely condone wife beating, where they believe that a husband’s chastisement of his wife by beating her is embedded in the culture (Okemgbo, Omideyi and Odimegwu, 2002, p.101-104; Ilika, Okonkwo and Adogu, 2002, p.53-58). Violence against women is an illustration that points to the low position and status women are accorded in many cultures, and as posited by Ondicho, (2002, p.35-44), “the traditional attitude regarding the subordination of women exacerbates the problem of sexual and domestic violence”. Cultural practices, norms, value and belief in some society fan the embers of certain behaviours that relegate the women to a lower status in the society in comparison to the men who often dominate them into subjugation. For instance, in many communities in Nigeria, the male child is seen as central to continuing the family name. He is also more favoured to inherit the family’s lands and property as well as being more involved in the decision-making process of the society than his female counterpart.

A culturally-based form of violence against women in some parts of Nigeria is female genital mutilation or female circumcision which is said to affect at least 40.5 per cent of women according to the 2008 national baseline survey. There is also an age-old practice in the Igbo tribe which involves the shaving of the hair and making a widow drink from water used in washing the corpse of her deceased husband as a way of testing

her involvement in the death of the man. There are also serious cases involving battery, beating and all manner of assault during domestic violence against the woman. For instance, in a survey conducted by an NGO known as Project Alert in 2000, 25 cases of women murdered by their husbands were recorded. Also, a typical case that occurred recently in Lagos involving a medical doctor whose multi-billionaire husband threw her from their upper storey building leading to her death following the injuries sustained from the incident is one alarming case. It was surprising to know that while the man was awaiting trial, he was still walking free on bail. There are cases of old women who are confronted with ceaseless abuse due to their childlessness and in some cases branded as witches and thus subjected to abuse. Furthermore, incidents of trafficking of women and children as well as other cases of sexual harassment also abound. Going by statistics, about 60-70% of Nigerian young women are subjected to the sex trade in Italy by the traffickers while over 80% of the 12 million children in labour in Nigeria are trafficked victims (Adjamagbo-Johnson, 2002, p.10). There also appears to be cases of some policemen, who acting under unprofessional conduct, sexually assault some incarcerated women as well as committing human rights abuse by some police who through their action inflict violence against some innocent citizens, probably through illegal 20 naira exploitation especially by some police in road blocks.

Politically related violence in Nigeria pre-dates to 1966 when the first military interregnum occurred in the country. Since then, a number of coup d' etat have occurred in the country giving way to military head states to stir the affairs of the country in a manner that many believed mainly contributed to the entrenchment of systemic violence in the country. The Olusegun Obasanjo military administration begot the second republic in Nigeria, and the process leading to the Shehu Shagari-led second republic was however not devoid of violence just like the first republic. Political cum electoral instability largely dotted the various military regimes including the democratic second and third republics that were also truncated by the military, who also gave birth to the forth republic in 1999. The pattern has not played out without consequences as deaths and loss of properties by its victims including threats to national unity at the various stages of the political development. The 2003 experience however came "after a relatively peaceful, if not perfect election in 1999" (Hazen and Horner, p.2007: 11) in Nigeria. Allegations of fraud, disenfranchisement and violence overwhelmed the election, and according to Hazen and Horner (2007, p.11) the use of violence in electoral processes, rigging of election, involvement of armed groups and dismal performance by the electoral commission led to the discontent of the electorate in 2003. Also the 2007 election was characterised by intentional delay, bias and ineffective preparation for the election which contributed to the political violence (Bekoe, 2007, p.15). The April 2011 election was a departure from the experiences in the 2003 and 2007 elections in terms of the free and fair nature of the elections. However, the post-election violence that characterised the 2011 election nevertheless mimicked the usual

patterns of violence that have for years infested Nigeria's political climate and thus retarded the country's political progress for years. The violence which mainly occurred in the northern part of the country was characterised with killings, maiming, arson and destruction of property.

The conflict in the Niger Delta is a resource-based conflict, and it has undergone various phases since its inception. The struggle which is centred around oil exploration in the region including gas flaring is mainly rallied round the negative externalities of the oil exploring activities of the multi-national oil companies operating in the Niger Delta cauldron, its impacts on the people of the region, and a decade of developmental neglect of the area notwithstanding its role in the Nigerian economy, including the benefit accruing to the oil companies operating in the area. The objections of members of oil communities in the region is against the Federal Government and the Oil Companies working in consonant with the Government to exploit oil in the region without adequate beneficial attention to the people of the Niger Delta who have been at the receiving end following the environmental degradation occasioned by the oil exploring activities in the region.

Over the last 10 years when the Boko Haram was formed in Maiduguri, the challenges of violence in Nigeria has snowballed into a pattern that posed great danger to the corporate existence of the country as the country now seems to be left teetering at the edge of a precipice. According to Punch newspapers dated 12th of June 2012, death tolls following Boko Haram's attacks were officially put at 1200 as at March 2012. Dozens of others have also been killed in six states of the North-East, Kano and Kaduna since then. The Nation newspapers dated 19<sup>th</sup> of June, 2012, estimated that within the first half of 2012 more than 580 persons lost their lives in violence blamed on the sect. Thousands of others have since fled their places of abode to the neighbouring countries of Chad, Niger and Cameroon or to South-Ward, North-Central and Southern states of the country.

### **Extent**

The deterioration of security situation and violence against women in Nigeria has been on the increase in recent times. While the rights of children remain unprotected by Government, forced evictions is spreading to the nooks and crannies of the country. According to Human Right Watch (2011), more than 14,500 people have lost their lives due to inter-communal, political and sectarian violence since 1999 when the military regimes gave way to democratic Government in Nigeria. As a result of widespread poverty and poor governance militant groups have continued to thrive resulting in killings and reign of violence.

The 2011 Global Peace Index (GPI) ranking places Nigeria among the bottom 20, with a ranking of 142 out of 153 countries and score of 2.743. This is further

accentuated by the 2011 ranking of the Human Development Index (HDI) which scored the country 0.453 and ranked it 159 out of 178 countries. There is a growing impact of preventable diseases on the populace and the situation of structural violence is skyrocketing daily. The 2011 HDI reported 0% access to drugs by the people and infant mortality rate stands at 70.49%, 51% public girls out of school, hospital bed is 1.67 per 1000 people while the probability of reaching 65 by a male is 42.1% and that of reaching 40 by the people is 33.7%, a situation which Galtung described as structural violence in the context of a society that has the potential to prevent it but does not.

Violence associated with child trafficking is another common violent practice in the country. As pointed out by Dr. Ezio Murzi, a representative of UNICEF in Abuja, over 60 per cent of African children are trafficked for sex exploitation in Europe are Nigerians, (Adoba, 2004, p.1). Syndicates who pretend to help secure jobs for them often deceive the victims into prostitution in Europe. Girls below the age of 18 are being abused and most of the cases remain unreported for fear of stigmatisation. There is a low level of awareness of human rights violations, and those who are aware are scared of stigma and as such tolerate violence even when they are suffering in silence until it results in depression, low self-esteem and attendant health problems (Uwameiye and Iserameiya, 2013, p.220).

The Nigerian society including the law of the country scarcely recognised some of the notable forms of violence against women such as sexual harassment, female genital mutilation, domestic violence, economic violence as well as violence associated with early marriage, yet the extent of the violence is alarming. In fact, the experience of domestic violence against women in Nigeria is 'shockingly high'. As unmasked in the 1998 National Baseline Survey, 40.5% Nigerian women are affected by female genital mutilation. Furthermore, in a related survey conducted by Project Alert in 2000 at least 25 cases of women murdered by their husbands were recorded, while 60-70% are victims of women and child trafficking and thus subjected to sex trade in Italy, and 80% of the 12 million children in labour are victims of trafficking (Adjamagbo-Johnson, 2002, p.3). Violence against women cut across the socio-economic, educational and political strata's of society.

The scourge of violence against women is no doubt increasingly alarming, and as posited by Jekayinka (2010, p.20), domestic violence and female genital mutilations including forced prostitution are in practice in Nigeria at an alarming rate. According to WHO (2002), about one third of Nigerian women had been victims of violence in diverse forms at one time or the other. These acts cut across cultures, traditions, class and ethnic groups. Cultural practices and beliefs have long been implicated in fuelling violence against women as women seem to be relegated to second class status in many communities in Nigeria. For instance, there are tribes in Nigeria where a woman does not have the right to inherit her husband and father's properties. In some other cases,

widows are subjected to humiliating experiences under the guise of mourning in the event of the un-timely demise of their husbands.

Gender-based violence is the widest but less reported nature of violence in Nigeria, and this may not be unconnected to the fact that they are often met with “silence not only by the state but also by much of the human rights community” (Abama, 2009, p.24). Though under-reported, violence against women is prevalent in many cultural settings in developing countries and developed countries (Odimegwu, 2001, p.16-21; Foster, 2002, p.3-4). The experience following a Nigerian Monarch in Akure, Ondo state opened up a new chapter into the level of awareness of spousal abuse on one hand, and the road to protection and justice on the other hand on issues of domestic violence. The brutal acts of violence perpetrated by the former Deji of Akure (King of Akure) Oluwadare Adepoju Adesina, the Osupa 111, against his wife Mrs. Olori Bolande Adesina, who apparently had her skin blistered from a chemical substance and reported marks of physical brutality via public flogging. The State Government reacted to the development by deposing the King. It could be recalled that it was reported that the deposed King had his contingency of police guards at the time of said violence, but the police reportedly viewed the issue as a private affairs between the couples, a mentality which according to Arisi (2011, p.374) is too common and deeply enshrined in the psyche of many Nigerians.

The indigene-settler question is another problem in Nigeria. For instance, more than 1000 people were killed in the September 2001 sectarian violence between Christians and Muslims in Jos, while about 72 villages were ravaged by fire in the violence that occurred between 2002 and 2003 with several thousands of people abandoning their homes. Also, at least 20 people were killed in April 2004 in clashes that lasted for three days between ethnic militias and the State. While in May 2004, the attack on the town of Yelwa by militias in Plateau claimed over 600 lives according to the Red Cross. The reprisal attack on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, 2004 following the killings of Muslim’s that took place in Yelwa, Plateau state on May 2, 2004, led to the murder of 30 Christians in Kano state with about 10,000 Christian residents in Kano fleeing their homes and taking refuge in police barracks.

According to the Human Rights Watch Report (2011), the April 2011 post-election violence in Nigeria is among the fiercest and bloodiest in the nation’s history, as it recorded at least 800 deaths in riots that spanned three days in 12 northern states of the country. However, in a statement by Nigeria’s Inspector General of Police, the riots “claimed the lives of 514 civilians and six policemen. Also, 75 civilians were injured, 165 churches and 53 Mosques, 444 vehicles and 1,442 houses were burnt or destroyed. In addition, 22, 141 people were displaced, 45 police properties, 16 government properties and 987 shops were burnt”. The violence which began with a protest in support of General Muhammadu Buhari degenerated into sectarian killings

in Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara States, resulting in the displacement of over 65,000 people and associated carnage (Human Rights Watch, 2011). It could be recalled that more than 50 people were reportedly killed prior to the election between July 2010 and the April 2011 over pre-election related matters (Amnesty International, 2011).

The Boko Haram insurgency and the Fulani herdsmen attacks have constituted a major violent menace in the northern part of Nigeria in recent times. From Borno to Yobe, Adamawa to Plateau, Nasarawa to Benue and Kaduna States, tales of killings and burning of Christians' homes and churches are becoming increasingly rampant. In a statement credited to General Carter Ham, commander of US military in Africa, there is an indication of cooperation between Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab in East Africa and Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. According to him, such development could lead to a dangerous escalation of a security threat in the African continent, (Punch, 2012: 2). As stated in the Joint Report of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Royal Aal-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought during the visit of their delegates to Nigeria in 2012, the Boko Haram "violence is the worst between the two faiths since the Bosnia war of 1992-1995", even as Pastor Ayo Oritseja emphasised that the intent of the sect is to "exterminate Western influence in Nigeria and to end Christianity in the country", (Guardian, 2012, p.1-2).

According to the report of the United States Government (2013), Boko Haram ranks second on the global terror list. The statistical report called 'START' conducted by the University of Maryland for the American government on global terrorism in 2012 revealed that while the Taliban killed 1,842 people in 525 attacks in 2012, and came tops on the infamous ranking, Boko Haram came second, killing 1,132 in 364 attacks. Also, the statistical report revealed that of the top 10 countries with the most terrorist attacks last year, Nigeria came fifth because of the activities of Boko Haram.

Nigeria ranked fourth in number of deaths from terrorist attacks. According to the statistical information attached to the said "U.S. Terrorism 2012 reports", there were a total number of 546 terror attacks in Nigeria with 1,386 killed in 2012 alone. Furthermore, the average lethality of terrorist attacks in Nigeria (2.54 deaths per attack) is more than 50 per cent higher than the global average of 1.64. The November 2011 attack by the Boko Haram saw the sect targeting churches, mosques, banks and police stations, leaving at least 150 people dead (Africa Watch, 2011). Since then, these sites, and many other places including schools have come under serious attacks. There appears to be a rise in the number of people killed between 2013 and within first quarter of 2014. While about 159 people were killed in 2013 about 245 people were killed within the first two months in 2014, thereby casting doubt in the gains claimed by Nigeria military's crusade to bring down the number of casualties and eventually eradicate the Boko Haram insurgency within 2014. The abduction of about 219 girls

from their school in Chibok and killings in some other schools climaxed the nefarious acts against schools by the sect. Since the Boko Haram violent campaign till date – October 2015, at least 17, 000 people have been killed and about 1 million people displaced from their homes.

Niger Delta violence is another type of violence that has impacted negatively on the country. Right from Okoloba to Ogidigben, Umuchem to Peremabiri, Ogbotobe to Bonny, Egbema to Edagber and Ogoni to Iko, among others, the Niger Delta has with time evolved through conflict of instability and violent protests to become phenomena that occur frequently. The magnitude of direct and structural violence in the region further worsened by the high level of insecurity in the Northern part of the country has no doubt stretched Nigeria itself to the threshold of disintegration.

Protest in the region can be viewed in at least four phases. The first phase was between late 1970s to mid-1980 was one of legal actions, the second phase was between mid-1980s to mid-1990s and was characterised by peaceful protests. The violent reaction of government security operative set the background for forceful resistance in the third phase. This phase hastily transitioned into the more militant fourth phase in December 1998. This triggered the Government to further respond with the military leading to the Yenagoa and Kaima massacres which resulted in the complete destruction of Odi village by the Obasanjo led Government in November 1999. Also, the violence in the region, consumed among others, the Umuechem community in November 1990 which led to the death of 20 persons including a traditional ruler, his two sons and a law enforcement agent.

In addition to the direct violence in the region, structural violence took its toll on the people of the Niger Delta, as the region is largely plagued by poor economic conditions, absence of safe drinking water, poor electricity supply, poor roads, social instability, and decaying social values which worsened the spread of HIV/AIDS, which according to the report (Niger Delta Human Development Report, 2006, p.4) led to a “loss in human capital, productivity decline and increased dependency rates further compounded by lack of basic health care services, prevention, care, support and treatment programme”.

Indigene-settler conflict has become a common denominator in the conflicts involving Tiv and Jukun, Aguleri and Umuleri, Ife and Modakeke, among others. Since its first occurrence in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the age-long hostilities between the Ife people and the Modakeke people have claimed several lives and the destruction of properties worth millions of Naira. The crisis has festered for such a long time and the year 2000 violent outbreaks led to over 2000 deaths and several others injured. Several hundreds of people were shot, slaughtered or lynched, and many houses including property worth several millions of naira was ravaged (Asiyanbola, 2010, p.63). Thousands of people were also displaced by the mayhem which has now left animosity among the warring

communities. Also the 1993 violent outbreak in Aguleri and Umuleri came with widespread devastation.

To a larger extent, violence in Warri led to the destruction of lives and properties including increased security threats in the town of Warri. The renewed violence in 2003 is, among others, one that cannot be easily forgotten by the Warri communities, considering the bloodshed that characterised the dreadful developments. The 2006 Human Rights Watch Report on inter-communal violence in Warri attempted to picture the violence:

Since 1997 Warri's 'ownership' controversy has given rise to a series of inter-communal clashes that have claimed hundreds of lives. In 1997 hundreds of people were killed in clashes sparked by the creation of a new LGA, Warri Southwest; the location of its headquarters, and the swearing-in of local officials to that LGA administration, helped spark renewed fighting in 1999. In the last large-scale outbreak of violence, in 2003, several hundred people were killed over the course of several months in clashes triggered initially by a dispute over the delineation of electoral wards in Warri. At the time of Human Rights Watch's last visit to Warri in December 2005, a fragile peace was in place, but many community and youth leaders on all sides felt that it could not be expected to hold unless the issue of ownership was resolved to their group's satisfaction. (Human Rights Watch Report, 2006, p.55-56).

As of today, violence in Warri appears to have considerably abated, following various interventions occasioned by non-government actors.

### **Conclusion**

There is no doubt that the level of violence especially in the north-eastern part of the country is alarming. In many cases the factors responsible for the violence are interconnected and have basically be to achieved the selfish interests of those who benefit from the violent conflicts. The various nature of conflicts such as ethno-religious conflicts, indigenes-settlers conflicts, resource-based conflicts, gender-based conflicts, school-based conflicts, electoral cum political conflicts and the very recent Boko Haram violent menace have largely affected the rate of progress and development of Nigeria, and the various violence in the country have manifested at different extent as direct violence, indirect or structural violence and cultural violence in line with Johan Galtung's description. As foresaid the extent at which many of the violent incidents have played out has been so alarming leaving some of their victims death and some other maimed with properties worth millions of dollars consumed by the mayhem, in addition to casting negative spots in the image of the country especially in

the comity of nations. Understanding the true story is however important to know where we are and to define the right path(s) towards a lasting peace, and this was what this paper set out to achieve.

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