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**THE IMPUNITY OF FULANI HERDSMEN: AN EMERGING
TERRORIST GROUP IN THE NIGERIAN HOMELAND**

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Abstract

Nigeria, the most populous African nation, has witnessed a new wave of violent attacks. Some of these attacks emanate from the Boko haram terrorist group on Nigerian citizens and violent clashes between nomadic Fulani herdsmen and other citizens. These terrorist acts started predominantly in Northern Nigeria, wreaking havoc in states such as Benue, Jos, and Kaduna, with thousands of lost lives. In recent years, this violence seems to progress toward other parts of the country. The proposed Federal government grazing or cattle colony laws seemingly back these developments. Still, they have met resistance from different parts of the country that have witnessed this communal violence, raising some criminological concerns. This paper

reviews the prevalent factors that might lead to homegrown violent extremism, like the unrelenting deadly clashes between the Fulani herdsmen and their neighbors. This paper is the first to apply Pierre Bourdieu's "*Doxa*" and is primarily guided by Emile Durkheim's Anomie, which deals with a condition where individuals cannot find their place in society without clear rules to help guide them. Changing conditions as life adjustment lead to dissatisfaction, conflict, and deviance. It also explains violent disputes like the cases of the marauding herdsmen resulting in the loss of countless lives and properties in Nigeria. Finally, the paper will also provide some historical analysis of terrorism and elaborate on various definitions while reviewing these conflicts' economic, religious, political, and social impacts while proffering some solutions.

Keywords: Anomie, boko haram, doxa, extremism, herdsmen, religion, terrorism.

Introduction

The word terrorism is perhaps one of the most controversial words that often create thought-provoking research no matter where it is discussed (Ronczkowski, 2018). Terrorism constitutes an extreme form of aggression. The perpetrators use violence or threats to strike fear and intimidate citizens and the government into pursuing their religious, political, or ideological goals. Nigeria, the most populous African nation, has witnessed recurring forms of violence from diverse groups not limited to the Boko Haram terrorist group in the northeastern part of the country. In recent times, multiple communities have also witnessed violence from nomadic Fulani herdsmen, leading to the loss of lives and properties. These coordinated attacks that have left many communities desolate have continued in the face of multiple security agencies that have not been able to deter these homegrown acts of violence.

Bello (2013) stated that the Fulani indisputably represent a significant component of the Nigerian economy. They constitute the principal breeders of cattle, the primary source of meat, and the most available and cheap source of animal proteins consumed by Nigerians. With their dominance in the Sahel region, the Fulani are the best-known and most numerous pastoral groups in Nigeria. According to Odoh and Chigozie (2012), the cattle-based pastoralism of the Fulani has been one of Nigeria's most significant focuses of deadly conflicts. For an extended period, the Fulani were constrained to the edge of the desert. During the twentieth century, Fulani herders began to migrate through and settle in whole zones previously inaccessible to pastoralists, bringing them into contact with previously unknown peoples, cultures, and production systems. The consequences were a raft of untested interactions between all parties and considerable space for misunderstandings and conflict. Unfortunately, these violent conflicts are often viewed through scarce resources like pastoral land for cattle grazing. While reviewing the Fulani herdsmen's security threat, Ajibefun (2018) stated that Nigeria is under a severe internal and security threat. The threat has political, economic, and environmental dimensions. Each of these dimensions has critically affected the nation's stability and can be traced to many factors in which the Fulani herdsmen appear significant. The most problematic in the current development is the pillaging, raping, killing, and kidnapping by the so-called Fulani herdsmen. Stories are found in the national dailies of how these shepherds strategically attack several communities and houses with sophisticated assault rifles. This paper seeks to provide some historical analysis of terrorism, focusing on the Nigerian security situation. The paper further illustrates various definitions of terrorism while reviewing these conflicts' economic, religious, political, and social impacts from a criminological perspective with anticipated policy implications.

Terrorist: Meaning and Historical Background

According to Southers (2013, p. 13), *Homegrown Violent Extremism* (HVE) is a path through a complex and changing social and psychological landscape unique to every individual. There are no HVE checklists that can decide or identify someone during the radicalization process and determine whether they will turn violent. Most Fulani herdsmen often venture into local farmlands with the pretense of redirecting their straying cattle. Their response is often violent when met with any form of reproach for damaged crops. Many communities have experienced several losses of lives from these violent responses with little or no protection from the Nigerian government or security agencies. This radicalization process with prospective recruits (Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen, or any terrorist group) often begins with a perceptive situation or experience that yields a personal grievance, making someone more inclined to accept an extremist ideology. The origin of the ideology is irrelevant in determining homegrown versus international terrorism; what matters is where it is embraced (Southers, 2013).

So, what is terrorism, and how do we handle it? What information should we gather, and how do we analyze it? What are we looking for (even at a formative stage like the Fulani herdsmen), and why are crime analysts investigating terrorism? (Ronczkowski, 2018). These are some of the questions surrounding the issue of terrorism. Three of the more commonly cited definitions of terrorism come from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), United States (U.S.) Department of State, and United States Department of Defense. According to the FBI, terrorism is the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof in furtherance of political or social objectives (United States Code of

Federal Regulations). The United States Department of State defines terrorism as an activity directed against persons involving violent acts or acts dangerous to human life, which would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States, and is intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping (Ronczkowski, 2018). The second definition by the Department of Defense states that terrorism is the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to inculcate fear, intended to coerce or intimidate government or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological (Ronczkowski, 2018). The Fulani herdsmen tick all the definition boxes to be termed a terrorist group as a nexus of Boko Haram. Terrorism is about one thing: psychology. It is the psychology of fear (Phillip Zimbardo, cited in Bongar, 2007, p. 3). As Onwudiwe (2001) stated, nothing justifies the fog of terror that claims innocent lives.

It is essential to know the history behind the evolution of terrorism, which should provide insight into the growth of the term terrorism and how it became a modern-day obsession (Ronczkowski, 2018). The French are credited with coining the term terrorism. It originated in revolutionary France in the late 1700s period, known as the Reign of Terror, and it has its roots in the Enlightenment period of the eighteenth century. Reign of Terror was the name given to the bloody violence imposed on French citizens by their revolutionary leader, Maximilien Robespierre. The term changed by the mid-1800s to describe violent revolutionaries who revolted against governments. And in the early 1900s, the term was used in the United States to describe labor organizations and anarchists. According to Ronczkowski (2018), after World War II, the term terrorism changed to be associated with nationalist groups revolting against European domination. In the 1940s-1950s, France and England were the hardest

hit since they both had colonial settlements on various continents, especially in Africa. The French suffered greatly from terrorist attacks in Africa against colonialism in Algeria by the National Liberation Front (NLF), while the Mau Mau targeted the English colonies in Kenya. Also, in the 1940s, the State of Israel was formed in the Middle East. The replacement of the Ottoman by the British as governing colonial force over Palestine and Jews in Palestine became known as the Balfour Declaration of 1917, where the Jews were promised a home in Palestine (Ronczkowski, 2018, p. 20).

The unfulfilled promises by the British made the Jews turn to urban terrorism and established the Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization) to remove the British. These terrorist activities continued until 1948 when Israel was recognized as a nation but did not end the conflicts in the Middle East for Israel. Notably, this is seen with the rise of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), which continued to fight against non-Arabs in the region. The Middle East conflict has not diminished, giving rise to left-wing groups that have brought a new meaning to terrorism. History also demonstrates that the Sicarii were tagged as a radical Jewish Zealot terrorist group that fought against the Roman Empire (66-70 A.D.) and employed various attacks using daggers on presumed enemies in broad daylight. Their targets were mainly Greek residents in Judea, Roman leaders, and moderate Jews suspected as Roman allies. Sicarii zealots had one goal: eliminating Roman control with the belief that this would create the way for the coming of their Messiah (Onwudiwe, 2007). The revelation from history also shows that nationalist movements or nationalism began a cause for latter-day terrorist converts, especially between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This period of terrorism was described as one in which nationalists advocated for nationhood for citizens under colonial rule, using every means possible, including terrorist acts, to achieve their goals (Onwudiwe,

2001). In his description of terrorism, Onwudiwe (2007) alluded that criminology has not yet fully embraced historical issues like colonialism, imperialism, and neocolonialism as systems of economic, political, social, and cultural domination. These were fundamental issues in criminology's quest to provide explanations for terrorism and to articulate essential countermeasures against it. Terrorism, once characterized by changes in how intellectuals approached social issues and class-based revolutions like the Russian Revolution, is sure of one thing; the meaning and style employed by terrorist groups or terrorism have changed with society over time (Ronczkowski, 2018).

Today, terrorism is associated with large groups such as Hezbollah, Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab, the Islamic State in Iraq and Levant (ISIL), and the Islamic State (I.S.). The last two are commonly known as ISIS by the media and many in public. And these groups can independently operate from any state with members who are violent religious extremists (Ronczkowski, 2018). The public might be blindsided by the emergence of a mirror group of Boko Haram, known as the Fulani herdsmen, who have carried out violent killings in the North and parts of the North Middle-Belt regions of Nigeria. They (herdsmen) have created a climate of fear or intimidation through their violent acts, encouraged by the inaction of the Nigerian government or any state or national security agencies. Gradually, communities are witnessing stranger elements alien (in the form of armed herdsmen). These herdsmen constantly encroach on their farmlands (Ajibefun, 2018) and demand protection fees from indigenous landowners, subject to becoming slaves in their own ancestral homes. At the same time, security forces supposed to protect their fellow citizens' properties and lives seem overwhelmed by the incessant attacks. If not proactively monitored and curbed, these red flags, the emergence of the Fulani herdsmen, might lead to another calamity worse than Boko Haram's atrocities.

Review of Literature

This paper builds on and contributes to discussions on terrorist groups and African security, focusing on the most populous African nation (Nigeria). Although studies on African security have examined acts perpetrated by various terrorist groups like Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, ISIL Libya, and the Lord's Resistance Army, there has not been extensive qualitative research on the Fulani herdsmen. They are fast becoming an emerging terrorist group operating from the North Eastern region of Nigeria and spreading rapidly to other parts of the country, even across the West African region. This study provides additional insight into the homegrown violent extremist acts of the Fulani herdsmen. This paper is essential because it will enable criminologists to be fully aware of emerging terrorist groups and help them research these issues further.

According to Onwudiwe (2007), scholars and social thinkers have awakened to focus on the issue of terrorism, especially after the 9/11 twin tower attacks, because terrorism can no longer escape criminological inquiry. Depending on the mandate or cliché in vogue about who is or is not a terrorist, the actions of these (Fulani herdsmen) groups may be categorized under the domain of terrorism, revolutionary conduct, or freedom fighters. According to Orehek and Vazeou-Nieuwenhuis (2014), the incidence of terrorism continues to rise, as do the technological advances that facilitate attracting the attention and emotional impact terrorists seek. Therefore, it is pertinent to note that the Nigerian government faces a significant challenge as they respond responsibly to these acts of terrorism. Nigerian policymakers must understand the sources of terrorism without being a-historical. Historical facts about terrorism are essential if there is any hope of countering the modern, brutal nature of terrorism (Onwudiwe, Tsado, Ejiogu, McGee-Cobbs, & Okoye, 2016).

This problematic nature has cavorted in communal conflicts that the Fulani herdsmen engage in, with massive collateral damages.

According to Nte (2016), the violent incursion by the Fulani herdsmen is the second most significant security challenge confronting Nigeria. Much of the violent and heavy casualty communal conflicts triggered by Fulani herdsmen have been centered on Nigeria's Middle-Belt areas, specifically in Benue state. The state has experienced devastating communal clashes that have claimed several lives (with victims including women and children) and properties in the first half of 2014, sacking more than 100 communities with thousands of refugees in Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps located in other states like Makurdi. The herdsmen's combat readiness and complexity give them the courage to attack host communities, destroy cash crops and food crops, and the ability to confront and even attack constituted authorities that are protected with state-of-the-art military convoys (Nte, 2016, p. 27). The destruction of farmland by herds of cattle guarded by Fulani herdsmen, especially in Benue state, has significantly impacted the socio-economic livelihood of residents. Scholars have argued that the government has not adequately addressed these destructive incidents at the federal, state, and local levels (Marietu & Olarewaju, 2009). A salient thread in most related literature reveals the ineptness on the part of some government officials. This laxity creates room for conspiratorial theories of an Islamization plan in Nigeria, giving the impression that the security agencies do not adequately check these acts of terrorism. In that case, Nigerian society might just be experiencing the emergence of a group that might surpass the atrocities of Boko Haram. This terrorist group has bedeviled Nigerian socio-economic space. According to Orehek and Vazeou-Nieuwenhuis (2014), raising terror awareness programs and, at the same time, increasing citizen vigilance of potential threats could foil attempted attacks. The awareness and vigilance might be the

psychological effect terrorist groups desire since one of their goals involves striking fear into the hearts of potential victims.

Political actions surrounding the underpinnings of Fulani herdsmen include a National Grazing Bill sponsored by Senator Zainab Kure to establish a grazing reserve of lands owned by Nigerian citizens for Herdsmen to rear their cattle (Vanguard, 2016). The Nigerian government's endorsement strengthened this through the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, Chief Audu Ogbeh, for the creation of cattle colonies (Vanguard, 2018). The cattle colonies will consist of a cumulative donation of lands by the Nigerian States for use by the herdsmen to feed livestock. The rationale behind this was to dissuade the violent takeover of agricultural lands of Nigerian citizens by Fulani herdsmen (Premium Times, 2018).

The creation of cattle colonies was met with great disdain and rejection from the Nigerian populace and community leaders. A crucial concern for the reluctance of cattle grazing laws is the deprivation of citizens of their lands (Okeke, 2014). The surrender of individual or communal lands to herdsmen raises the controversial question of whether a takeover is equivalent to colonization. This takeover situation implores whether history is about to repeat itself, as evidenced by the colonization of Nigeria by the British.

Application of Pierre Bourdieu's *Doxa* to Killings by Fulani Herdsmen

A proper understanding of the killings by the Fulani herdsmen originates back to Nigeria's colonialism and the ethnic patriotism of different tribes. Great Britain colonized Nigeria. Subsequently, in 1914, the British "amalgamated northern and southern Nigeria into a centralized control under the Hausa-Fulani aristocracy" (Okonofua,

2013, p. 3). Nevertheless, Nigeria attained independence from Great Britain in 1960. It was not fully equipped and economically prepared to govern itself, thus resulting in the various ethnic clashes experienced by the current-day Fulani herdsmen killings. Postindependence has not been better either due to snail pace of infrastructural development that is stunting the growth of other sectors of the Nigerian economy. Thus, it has been stated that Africa remains economically, politically, and culturally dependent on the West (Okonofua, 2013). This reliance on external sustenance from the West establishes a gap in the Nigerian economy that needs to be addressed.

The idea of ethnicity also plays an essential role in building societies. That is, people hold a strong affinity to their ethnic groups. This is evident in Fulani herdsmen's various killings of other citizens to provide grazing ground for their cattle. Research has shown that the clash of the current-day Fulani herdsmen can be traced to the Fulani Islamic Jihad of the 19th Century fought by the Fulani in Northern Nigeria (Onwubiko, 1972). This ethnic patriotism bond is so strong that it would make people resort to the worst form of violence, including killing to protect their territory, as seen in the killings by Fulani herdsmen.

Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990) advocated that society consisted of spaces as explained in the principle of "field" and that the concept of "habitus" directed how those fields are controlled and ought to act in the social world order. Each field is a playing ground with certain acceptable social norms and positions determined by a few players, such as individuals, institutions, or groups. Any person coming into that field must play by its rules. The application of Bourdieu's analogy to Nigerian society is exhibited in how the political structure and power have constantly revolved around the Hausa-Fulani aristocracy. This field has become the playing ground, and the Nigerian people

have not been groomed to handle any change not akin to its once familiar structure. In this regard, the concept of *Doxa* becomes essential. Bourdieu (1984, p. 471) explained *doxa* as an "adherence of order" wherein the perception of the social world order is not mechanical. Thus, *Doxa* is regarded as the fundamental rules of a particular field, essential rules from the few controlling a state (Bourdieu, 1999). The field occupied in Nigerian politics knows one rule: a continuation of leadership as it has been from the past generation, not considering societal changes and development. This power tussle is attributable to the familiarity of how these groups (Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen) expect society to be governed based on past forms of leadership. While a strict reliance on *Doxa* may not be wrong, as globalization overtakes world economies, nations are expected to advance at a similar speed to ensure maximum growth of their gross domestic product. It is no wonder that Tilly (1977) likened the actions of Boko Haram to a "revolutionary situation" that made these groups and their political sponsors resort to conflict as a necessary tool to retain power in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

The continuous attacks by the Fulani herdsmen on various Nigerian communities could be explained using several criminological theories. However, this paper adopts the anomie theory because of its strong connection with the atrocities caused by Fulani herdsmen. Thus, the theoretical framework for this study is Emile Durkheim's theory of anomie. Williams and McShane (2014) stated that anomie is a concept closely associated with two theorists, Emile Durkheim and Robert Merton. They claimed that Durkheim's theoretical framework referred to anomie as the breakdown of social norms and conditions in which those norms no longer control societal members' activity. They saw it as a term that describes a state of deregulation within a society. In this

situation, rules define how people should behave toward each other's breakdowns, creating an environment of normlessness where people no longer know what to expect. And when society becomes deregulated, it often leads to deviant societal behavior that creates an atmosphere of chaos. Williams and McShane further asserted that Merton's theoretical perspective on anomie theory was a theory of deviance where one conceives a society that emphasizes wellstructured goals for its citizens and places strenuously structured avenues to reach those goals.

Durkheim's theory of anomie was used to explain crime and varieties of deviant behaviors. In his view, Walsh (2000) states that anomic conditions serve as releasers of criminal behavior, which occurs at a lower threshold for some individuals than others. Durkheim (1951, p. 1086) rightly pointed this out when he stated that there could not be a society where individuals do not deviate to some extent from the collective type. Thus, it is inevitable that among these deviations, some will assume a criminal character. In suicide, Durkheim (1951), in his writing, was very unambiguous when he stated that man's insatiable appetite for resources (wealth, status, prestige) underlies crime and criminality. Thus, advocating that it is the moral norms of any society that function to hold this egoistic pursuit of self-interest in check through its laws.

Tibbetts and Hemmens (2009) asserted that Durkheim's theoretical framework was a vital influence on several other criminal justice theories like Robert Merton's strain theory which saw anomie as representing too much focus on the goals of wealth at the expense of conventional means. In contrast, Durkheim believed that anomie was primarily caused by society's transitioning too fast to maintain regulatory control over its citizens. The incessant Nigerian herdsmen kidnapping and killings experience speak volumes to these theoretical

postulations and the Nigerian government's stance towards controlling crime within society.

Methods (Data and Method)

A case study research (qualitative) method was used for this paper. Researcher Robert K. Yin (1984, 2014) states that a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are unclear, it also involves multiple sources of evidence. This case may be a concrete entity, such as an individual, a small group, an organization, or a partnership. This case study approach also emphasized reported cases of conflict and violent attacks by the Fulani herdsmen, leading to several losses of lives in Nigeria's Northeastern and Middle Belt areas.

Discussion

Many scholars are beginning to characterize terrorist acts in Africa as endemic. According to Bell (1975), endemic terrorism in Africa is rooted in the colonial partition of territories, negatively dividing tribes, families, and various ethnic groups for capitalist ventures. Others believe defining terrorism in Africa is difficult, especially when comparing it to other parts of the world (Onwudiwe, 2001). Bell's definition of Africa's experience with terrorism amalgamating the division of Africa and the wrecking of her economic resources can be used as research to understand the historical and contemporary forms of terrorism within the African continent (Onwudiwe, 2016, p. 15 cited in Izarali, Masakure, & Shizha, 2016).

The paper reviewed articles and literature on terrorism focusing on the African continent. The intention was to highlight terrorist acts

committed by the Fulani herdsmen, which have spread beyond the Nigerian borders. The paper also gathered data and reports from originating independent non-government agencies to remove elements of bias or cover-up on government security agencies. Statistically, the relevant government agencies in Nigeria do not have the exact figures relating to the number of lives and properties that have been destroyed and lost from the actions of the Fulani herdsmen. Setting up an internally displaced person's camp (IDP) around the country reveals thousands of people internally displaced in their own country without an ongoing civil war. In several instances where government security agencies promise to act, the killing has continued unabated, with the rest of the world watching in silence. The world (especially security agencies worldwide) needs to pay closer attention to the Fulani herdsmen's criminality as they might transition from being homegrown violent extremists into full-blown terrorist groups.

According to Southers (2013), recognizing that there are always aberrations, homegrown violent extremism is often driven by vengeance or altruism. Fulani herdsmen, strongly viewed as a nexus of the Boko Haram terrorist group, place more value on their livestock than human lives. These powerful forces, armed bandits, or terrorist forces fit within the context of extremist ideology to propel individuals or groups into violent action (Southers, 2013, p. 7).

Directions for Future Study

In-depth interview methods should be adopted in future studies to fully identify the causes of conflict between the Fulani herdsmen and their neighbors. Also, studies should examine the intervention and responses put in place by government and non-governmental agencies to curb homegrown violent extremism. Data (quantitative) collected should be analyzed to narrow down or eradicate biases and reveal

implications of incessant violent acts to proffer sustainable resources to aid conflict resolution that would enhance the economic resuscitation of all affected communities. The quantitative data collected will help to understand the why, how, and what might be the reason behind the behavioral acts of the herdsmen.

Policy Implications

According to O'Connor (2009), terrorists' modes of operation are conceived in three pivotal phases: research, planning, and execution; these phases can be frustrated through early detection, discovery and observation. The community must be involved in these counter-attack collaborations for intelligence gathering and building trust between local security agencies and communities (Onwudiwe, Tsado, Ejiogu, McGee-Cobbs & Okoye, 2016). The inability to sustain grazing areas or zones (vegetal resources) for the herdsmen and their livestock, especially in the Northern region of Nigeria, has led to these frequent invasions of farmlands. The result is the destruction of agriculture (the mainstay of most communities). This has created economic difficulty, whose ripple effect has also impacted the financial lifestyle of other citizens in the Nigerian market space. The first thing would be establishing ranching zones in the Northern parts of the country for the Fulani herdsmen to resolve this. Secondly, community policing should be established and encouraged. A replica of the British mosaic model where security agencies encourage community engagement towards eradicating potential recruits should be reworked to fit the uniqueness of the Nigerian situation. This form of community-based strategy is referred to as mosaic engagement (Southers, 2013). Thirdly, infrastructural development that would create jobs for the many unemployed youths, especially in areas devastated by the Fulani herdsmen killings, which are viewed as breeding grounds for the vulnerable populations, must be explored (Orehek &

VazeousNieuwenhuis, 2014). Lastly, religious tolerance should be advocated by every tribe, region, state, and religious leaders sanctioned when they encourage intolerance through their teachings. The Nigerian government must take castigatory measures to deter others from committing these terrorist acts.

From a criminological perspective, the following policy implication, when followed efficiently, would help reduce the ability of Fulani herders to turn into a full-blown terrorist group like Boko Haram.

Conclusion

It is essential to affirm that this paper, due to limited information, may not have identified all the issues related to acts of terrorism by Fulani herdsmen (a nexus of Boko Haram) as an emerging terrorist group in Nigeria. Similarly, no simple solution can end these acts of violence perpetrated by the Fulani herdsmen. But it is critical to emphasize that this paper's anticipated policy implication would prevent the issues that led to the 1967-1970 Nigerian civil war. If not adhered to, a situation would make the Rwanda/Somali crisis look like child's play. More importantly, a counter-terrorism multi-disciplinary force (made up of the military, police, and community leaders) should be established against these ongoing terrorist attacks by the Fulani herdsmen.

This paper proposes that Nigeria needs to re-educate itself on managing its resources peacefully amongst the different ethnic groups to succeed. This goal should focus on altruism and the benefit of the common good of society as advocated in the mechanical society structure (Durkheim, 1893). It will serve as a deviation from the regularly operated *Doxa* of ethnic patriotism, whose focus is not on upholding a mechanical state of nature. This re-education project

would require a collective effort from the government and Nigeria's citizens. To the current generation, it starts with education and promoting such values of altruism. It should be taught at the onset of their socialization process from family and society to the upcoming generation.

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