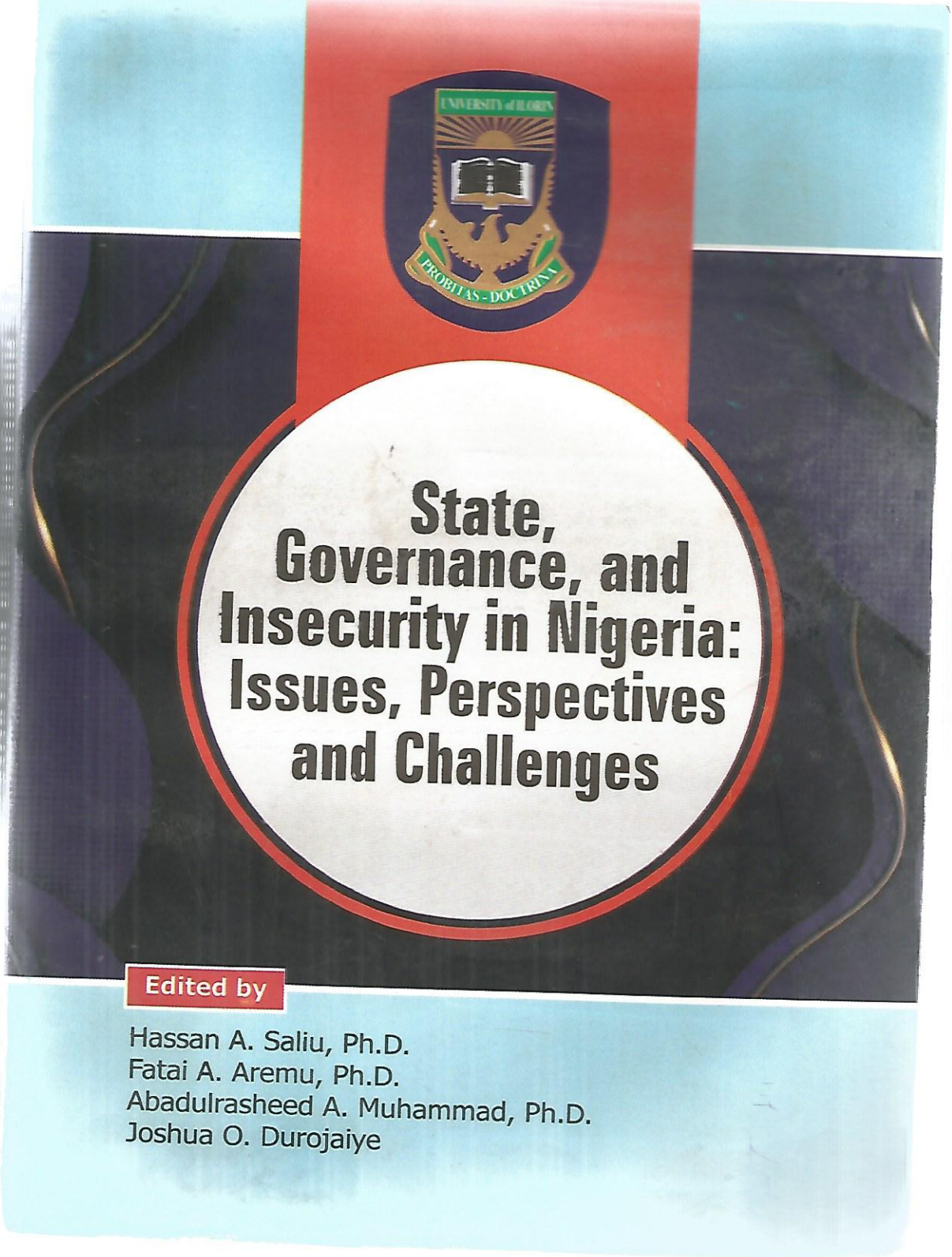


State, Governance, and Insecurity in Nigeria: Issues, Perspectives and Challenges

Edited by

Hassan A. Saliu, Ph.D.
Fatai A. Aremu, Ph.D.
Abadulrasheed A. Muhammad, Ph.D.
Joshua O. Durojaiye

Tunde Agara, Ph.D. is the Director of Centre for Strategic and Development Studies (CSDS), Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma, Edo State.

Fatai A. Aremu, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor and teaches in the department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Ehiyamen M. Osezua, Ph.D., is of the Department of Public Administration, University of Ilorin, Nigeria where he is also the Acting Head of Department.

Abdulwaheed Atanda Isiaq teaches in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Opeyemi I. Aluko bagged his Master of Science degree from the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Ruth Abiola Adimula, Ph.D. is of Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.

Abdouraman Halirou, Ph.D. teaches in the Département d'Histoire, FALSH Université de Ngaoundéré, Cameroun.

Abdulrasheed Alada Muhammad, Ph.D. teaches in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Olawari Egbe D.J. Ph.D. is of the Department of Political Science, Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State. Nigeria.

Theresa Nfam Odeigah, Ph.D. teaches in the Department of History and International Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Taiye Adewale Awotunde is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Sunday Orinya teaches Political Science in the Department of Political Science, Federal University, Lafia, Nasarawa State, Nigeria.

Chapter 6: Treasury Looting and the Narratives of Poverty under Goodluck Jonathan Administration
Isaac Adegbenga Aladegbola, Ph.D. 107

Chapter 7: The State, Leadership and Governance in Nigeria: A Discourse
Isah Mohammed Abbass, Ph.D. 128

Chapter 8: Hate Speech and National Integration: Nigeria's 2015 General Elections in Perspective
Oluwashina Moruf Adebiyi & Fatima Omotayo Aliu.....148

Chapter 9: Low Voters Turnout in Elections and Democratic Development in Nigeria's Fourth Republic
Oluwashina Moruf Adebiyi & Abdulrahman Abubakar.....170

Section Three: Terrorism and Insecurity

Chapter 10: Reflection on the United States' Trans-Saharan Counter Terrorism Partnership and Triangulation of Insecurity in Nigeria, 2005-2015
Aloysius-Michaels Okolie, Ph.D.& Kelechi Elijah Nnamani.....194

Chapter 11: A Country Under Siege: A Cursory Look at the State of Insecurity in Nigeria with Special Emphasis on Boko Haram and the Niger Delta Avengers Phenomena
Tunde Agara, Ph.D. 224

SectionFour: Conflict Management

Chapter12: Urban Violence Management in Nigeria
Fatai A. Aremu,Ph.D., Ehiyamen M. Osezua,Ph.D., Abdulwaheed Atanda Isiaq &Opeyemi I. Aluko.....260

Chapter 13: From Insecurity to Insecurity: The Plights of Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria.
Ruth Abiola Adimula, Ph.D.&Abdouraman Halirou, Ph.D. 273

Chapter 14: Options for Managing Religious Conflicts in Nigeria
Abdulrasheed Alada Muhammad, Ph.D. 301

Section Five: Governance, Conflict, and Terrorism

Chapter 15: State Terrorism as Domestic Policy: Nigeria's Fourth Republic in Focus
Olawari Egbe D.J., Ph.D. 311

Chapter 16: Security and Economic Challenges in the Eastern Niger Delta Region of Nigeria: The Menace of the *Skolombo* Boys and The *Lakasara* Girls
Theresa Nfam Odeigah, Ph.D. 340

Chapter 17: Terrorism and its Implications for Socio-Political Development in Africa
Taiye Adewale Awotunde.....352

Chapter 18: Governance and Rural Banditry in North Central Nigeria
Sunday Orinya.....372

CHAPTER TWELVE

URBAN VIOLENCE MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA

Aremu Fatai A., Ph.D. [1]
Osezua Ehiyamen M., Ph.D. [2]
Isiaq Atanda Abdulwaheed [3]
Aluko Opeyemi I. [4]
[1, 3 & 4]**Department of Political Science,**
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.

[2]**Department of Public Administration,**
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.

Introduction

Every government of the world is faced with one form of crisis or the other. This may be internal insurrections, external aggressions, protracted conflicts, ethno-religion crises, political violence, economic crises and social conflicts of various magnitudes among others. The management of such violence is the hallmark of a good government. A good and efficient government takes the issue of violence management important because it can jeopardize the entire success of the administration. Many ways and approaches had been adopted to curb violence in the past by various regimes. A few approaches had been successful while some others failed (Aluko, Abdullahi and Balogun 2015).

In every country, there are several factors or forces that lead to the onset of violence. The success and failure of any regime in managing such factors depend on the interactions and the magnitude of the presences of two forces of actions. These forces are termed as centrifugal and centripetal forces. The centrifugal forces are made up of factors that disturb the peace, growth and stability of a community and eventually escalate into violence. The centripetal forces comprise the factors that support and uphold the peace, growth and stability of a community and eventually bind the community together in unity.

Hoeffler (2008) noted that urban violence is a prominent and an inevitable aspect of state development. In a democratic regime, the citizens have the right to hold the government accountable so as to achieve an end. Civil disobedience is a step to measure citizens' prowess to agitate for their rights and benefits after performing their lawful duties. The management and control measures for such a right to agitate are the major ways to mitigate the effect of the centrifugal forces and expand the influence of the centripetal forces. The way and manner the government manages the citizens' violence or agitations in urban settings is a point of departure that determines whether the state will be pushed apart or pulled together.

This study addresses the question—how has the Nigerian state been able to manage urban violence? This seeks to get the way and manner the government has been able to curtail the centrifugal forces of separation through the use of centripetal forces of attraction in urban violence settlements. This question is answered by theorizing management strategies of urban violence. This paper adopts the managerial strategy models of Aluko Opeyemi. The strategies identified include; Top-Down management strategy, Down-Top management strategy, Top-Down-Top management strategy and Down-Top-Down management strategy.

This study identifies that the centrifugal forces that cause violence and civil unrest are embedded in the Top-Down management strategy and the Down-Top management strategy respectively. The centripetal forces that enhance peace, stability and development are embedded in the Top-Down-Top management strategy and the Down-Top-Down management strategy respectively. The managerial strategies for urban violence either originate from the government (Top) or from other key actors (Down) which include civil societies, political parties, individuals and other elite groups such as religious and socio-cultural elite.

The theoretical framework of Political Settlement Analysis (PSA) is utilized to further buttress the idea of amicable management of violence in human community. The term 'political settlement' is of fairly recent origin. Some of the first traceable uses are in Melling's study of industrial capitalism and the welfare state (Melling, 1991). Khan (1995) used it in a development studies context to analyze the performance of institutions and it was later used by Fritz and Rocha (2007) and Whaites (2008). **The PSA holds the view** which is oriented towards informal, long-running dynamics between political actors, especially the elites. It also focuses on specific, often formal

renegotiations of political arrangements – through power-sharing deals, constitutional conferences, peace agreements and the like so as to resolve chaotic situations.

This study's recommendation is directed to the government at all levels and the civil societies on the importance of mutual settlement of disputes in the polity. The study concludes on the premise that the state has a divine origin but the sustenance is the reaction of both human and divine. The management of violence if anchored on mutual respect by the parties will enhance peace and progress in the community.

Urban Violence: Conceptual Clarification

Urban violence is a notion that encompasses the entire community of humans. It includes huge violence in the magnitude of war, armed violence, gender based violence, ethno-religious violence, gang violence and civil unrest. It also includes minute crises at the domestic levels and work place violence. The term urban in this study does not connote geographical location of occurrence of violence. It is a notion that connotes a form of modern and reoccurring violence in the neighborhood. It is a common form of violence manifestation that is easily seen, reported across different climes or in some cases invisible violence which are underreported but still being perpetrated by different criminal syndicates in the community.

Aluko (2016) remarked that political and electoral violence such as ballot stuffing and ballot snatching, vote buying and manipulations, political agitation, violent political rallies, flying fist, throwing stones and sharp objects at a perceived target, tyre burning and political assassinations are urban violence. Felbab-Brown (2011) also opined that organized crime is one of the principal manifestations of the violence. Urban areas pervaded by illicit economies, violent criminality, and inadequate state presence, are usually controlled by non-state entities, such as criminal gangs, drug trafficking organizations, or urban militias. The paradox of urban violence is such that the illicit economies proceeds are used to deliver otherwise absent socioeconomic goods and other public goods in their locality and thereby stepping into the stateless void.

Adèle (2007) noted that urban violence is a form of armed conflict that results in casualties and injury in terms of refugees and internally displaced persons. Urban violence in the form of armed conflict and war rather than of armed criminality is the third biggest cause of human

casualties. It leads to displacement of people from their homes, the loss of access to land, property, jobs, and traditional support structures. Other negative effects include lack of access to health and social services, increased mortality and morbidity, and increased food insecurity. In addition, displaced people become more vulnerable to infectious and communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis.

In spite of all these additional concerns, the displaced people become vulnerable to more urban violence such as gender based violence where the women and girls become sexually assaulted or forced to trade sexual favours for food, shelter or protection. These women face an additional urban violence burdens homes such as rejection by family and community members, the potential loss of a spouse and possible prohibition of future marriage, often leaving them destitute without shelter or livelihood (Sharp, 2009; Jager and Marsha 2010).

Political Settlement Analysis: Theoretical Discourse

The usage of the term 'political settlement' is of a recent origin. Melling's study of industrial capitalism and the welfare state has its first usage (Melling, 1991). Khan (1995) used it in a development studies context to analyze the performance of institutions. Fritz and Rocha (2007)'s analysis is in line with Khan and Whaites (2008) as it further emphasized on strategic settlements. But what, exactly, is a political settlement? There are two quite distinct ways of thinking about political settlements. One approach is oriented towards informal, long-running dynamics between political actors, especially elites. Another is focused on specific, often formal renegotiations of political arrangements – through power-sharing deals, constitutional conferences, peace agreements and the like. Each approach has its merits in substantive terms, and our approach balances them – focusing on discrete events that punctuate longer-running processes.

The study aligns itself with the views of other scholars that PSA is focused on arrangements between elites, but it emphasizes that the broader state/society should not be viewed separately from relations in which elites are embedded. OECD (2010; 2011), perceived political settlements as an agreement, principally between elites but often connected to social groupings on: the balance and distribution of power and wealth, the rules of political engagement and the nature of the longer-running and contested political process that connect state and society. This definition excessively

focuses on the impact of the elite groups and relegates the informal networks of the local forces and other actors.

Political settlements are maintained in several different ways so that the ruling coalition is typically established, consolidated, or strengthened. The most basic is coercion. The ultimate form of coercion is to develop the capacity to use, or threaten to use, physical force. This generally means securing control of the major security sectors such as the police and military forces. In extremely fragile conditions (for example, a situation of state collapse), for an elite coalition to prevail, it must get enough military power to defend against (or defeat) competing coalitions (Parks and Cole 2010). More generally, coercion includes actions by the ruling coalition to impose their interests on other groups, including excluded elites that might challenge them.

The second method for sustaining a political settlement is through co-optation of potential threats from powerful excluded elites. This is often done by giving these elite groups a role in the political settlement, which then may be formalized in, for example, a new coalition government. The third method to consolidate the position of a ruling coalition, and ultimately the long-term viability of a political settlement, is through building and maintaining the legitimacy of state institutions established and shaped through the political settlement. Whaites (2008) noted that "even the most repressive states seek to stake a claim to some form of legitimacy, essentially a claim that state institutions have a moral right to continue to lead the state building process." The more widely the claim to legitimacy is accepted, the greater the prospects for stability of the political settlement.

The fourth method through which political settlements are maintained is through the actions of the international community. International actors may exert a stabilizing influence through a wide range of mechanisms (Parks and Cole 2010). One obvious method is through the presence of external security forces, which are able to extend or reinforce the capacity of the ruling coalition to keep potential competitors in check. Massive foreign assistance transfers may also strengthen a political settlement, especially in so far as the ruling coalition is able to capture most of the benefits.

Urban Violence in Nigeria

Urban violence in Nigeria is a phenomenon with multiple outlets of operations. Political violence is an outlet organized by state and non-state actors perpetuating violence, using guerrilla conflict, political assassinations, paramilitary conflicts, and armed conflict. Economic violence is another outlet of organized crime syndicates, perpetuated by business interests groups, delinquents and robbers using intimidation and violence as means of amplifying or resolving economic disputes, street theft, armed robbery and crimes, kidnapping, small-arms dealing, drug-trafficking and other illegal activities (Aluko, Abdullahi and Balogun 2015). Other assaults in the urban violence terrain of Nigeria include; killing and rape in the course of economic crimes, trafficking-in-prostitutes and conflict over scarce resources in the community. Economic or social violence perpetrated by gangs, street children (boys and girls) are, ethnic violence, territorial or identity-based "turf" violence, robbery, theft, Petty theft and Communal riots (Aluko 2014).

Social violence in Nigeria is most prevalent and silent in nature. It is most times, organized by intimate partners, violence inside the home, sexual violence (including rape), and child abuse. Other forms of social violence in Nigeria include the inter-generational conflict between parent and children, gratuitous or routine daily violence such as physical or psychological male–female abuse, physical and sexual abuse, particularly prevalent in the case of stepfathers or uncles, incivility in areas such as traffic, road rage, bar fights, street confrontations, and arguments that get out of control. Institutional violence is another outlet of violence manifestation perpetuated by violence of state and other "informal" institutions, including the private sector using: extra-judicial killings by police, physical or psychological abuse by health and education workers, state or community vigilante-directed social cleansing of gangs and street children (Aluko, Abdullahi and Balogun 2015).

Aluko, Abdullahi and Balogun (2015) gave three ways whereby urban violence transforms and manifests to remain prominent and unmanageable in Nigeria. The sustainability measures are Frog Goat and Pig dimensions of Sustenance. They opined that conflicts in Nigeria are restless and translate from one form to the other. Urban violence in the frog-like phenomenon jumps from one position or stage to another and "*at any resting phase, it only gathers momentum to change it course from one form of*

violence to the other". Also the pig sustenance dimension portrays the political economy of urban violence as a big dirty business outfit perpetuated by some prominent government syndicates who are either the pioneers or are at the receiving end of these activities. They opined that;

> this piggy dimension of urban violence in Nigeria had made violence to be sustained in such a way that it had been institutionalised as a tool of organizing temporal state abandonment of due process so as to get financial largess with vote of emergency or executive order (Aluko, Abdullahi and Balogun (2015:34)

Urban violence sustenance is regarded as goat dimensions because it has defiled various government policies. Several potent policies have been made impotent by this stubborn urban violence nature. Notable among them is constant upward review of fund strategy to the military by Nigeria government so as to combat this menace.

Urban Violence Management Strategies

This paper adopts the managerial strategy models identified by Aluko (2017). These models identify four major types of managerial strategies. They include; Top-Down management strategy, Down-Top management strategy, Top-Down-Top management strategy and Down-Top-Down management strategy. He posited that the centrifugal forces are embedded in the Top-Down management strategy and the Down-Top management strategy while the centripetal forces are embedded in the Top-Down-Top management strategy and the Down-Top-Down management strategy.

These managerial strategies for urban violence and political settlements either originate from the government (Top) or from other key actor (Down) which include civil societies, political parties, individuals and other elite groups such as religious and socio-cultural elite. The centripetal management strategy makes use of centripetal force of actions and the centrifugal management strategy makes use of centrifugal force of actions. The centripetal forces are embedded in the Top-Down-Top management strategy and the Down-Top-Down management strategy. The centrifugal forces are embedded in the Top-Down management strategy and Down-Top management strategy.

The first strategy discussed under the Centrifugal model is the Top-Down management strategy. This force of action creates a division and ideas of instability which originates from the government. The government is at the top of the affairs, it initiates the idea and sells, propagates and transmits it to the people. The government as the source of the policy or managerial idea in this case allows the people to evaluate the ideas, the peace talk and the settlement terms and their conditions all but to some extent. The people usually the affected community and allies, critically assess and evaluate the available information and policies that emanate from the government.

However, due to the absence or inadequate presence of the feedback mechanism from the government to the people coupled with the inadequate or lack of political, social, and economic will on the part of the government and the people, these centrifugal forces drive the implementation of the policy or the ideals into several fragments and imbroglio. There is no, or where available, inadequate communication between the government and the concerned people. Therefore the aftermath is sustained violence and poverty. The sustained violence is a direct effect of the centrifugal force which drives off implementation of the policies and breaks down the terms and conditions of peace.

The second strategy discussed under the Centrifugal model is the Down-Top management strategy. This force of action in the down-top management strategy further creates a division and ideas of instability that originates from the people. The people are at the top of the affairs; they initiate the idea, sell, propagate, and transmit it to the government. The people as the initiator of the policy or managerial idea allow the government to evaluate the ideas, the peace talk, the settlement terms and their conditions but to some extent the people have the implementation power. The government governing the affected community critically assess and evaluate the available information and policies that emanate from the people.

Due to the absence or inadequate presence of feedback mechanism from the people to the government coupled with the inadequate or lack of political, social, and economic will on the part of the government and the people, these centrifugal forces drive the implementation of the policy or the ideals into several fragments and imbroglio.Both the people and the government are not committed to the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people. Therefore the aftermath is sustained violence and poverty.

These two models result in more violence and misunderstanding in the community. Therefore, there is a need for centripetal upholding force in the state.

The first strategy discussed under the centripetal model is the Top-Down-Top management strategy. Centripetal is a force that pulls or binds a set of things together to form a compact and progressive unit of one another. This force of actions that settles and mitigates ideas originates from the government. The government is at the top of the affairs, it initiates the idea and sells, transmits and propagates it to the people. The government as the source of the policy or managerial idea onset in this case allows the people to evaluate the ideas, the peace talk and the settlement terms and conditions. The affected community and allies critically assess and evaluate the policies that emanate from the government.

Due to the presence of the feedback mechanism from the government and the people coupled with the utilization of political, social, and economic will on the part of the government and the people, these centripetal forces drive the implementation of the policy or the ideals as a single unit. Both the government and the people are committed to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Therefore there is increased peace, reduced violence, and reduced poverty.

The second strategy discussed under the centripetal model is the Down-Top-Down management strategy. Unlike the top-down-top management strategy, the centripetal force of actions that settles and mitigates ideals here originates from the people. The people are at the top of the affair; they initiate the ideal and sell, transmit and propagate it to the government. The people as the source of the policy or managerial idea onset in this case allow the government to evaluate the ideas, the peace talk and the settlement terms and conditions. The government usually governs the community, critically assesses and evaluates the policies that emanate from the people.

Due to the presence of the feedback mechanism from the people and the government coupled with the utilization of the political, social, and economic will on the part of the people and the government, these centripetal forces drive the implementation of the policy or the ideals as a single unit. Due to the presence of the centripetal forces in the polity, both the people and the government are committed to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Therefore the aftermath is also increased peace, reduced violence,

and reduced poverty.

To some significant extent, the large presence of socio-political tensions in Nigeria indicates that the managerial strategy mainly used by the government and other stakeholders falls within the centrifugal strategies of Top-Down and Down-Top models without regular mutual feedback system coupled with inadequate political, social, and economic will on the part of the people and the government which are the centrifugal forces of violence. The centripetal strategies of Top-Down-Top and Down-Top-Down models are much more compatible for multiethnic and religiously polarized communities such as Nigeria. The centripetal forces utilize regular mutual feedback system coupled with adequate political, social, and economic will on the part of the people and the government.

Recommendation

The following recommendations are directed to the government at all levels, the civil societies, and the community at large. The government at all levels will perform better if it ensures good and adequate feedback sent to the people or the concerned groups per time based on the policy at hand. At the same time, they should seek the mutual settlement of disputes in the polity. The whole idea may originate from the people or from the government, whichever way, the feedback at the outset of the peace talk or policy is important just as the feedback from the implementation of the ideas.

Civil societies are also admonished to pursue plans and policies which originate from the people and sell it to the government with full socio-political and economic will for the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people. This should be done with the aim of carrying along all the groups concerned for feedback and implementation purpose. The use of force to pursue the agenda and the centrifugal forces should be jettisoned for a continuous follow-up of plans initiated until the adequate implementation is achieved.

The community at large will achieve a greater happiness if the policies that emanate from the governments are thoroughly evaluated and analyzed. This should not stop at this stage but they must communicate the result or their opinions on the policy or terms and conditions to the government as feedback. This will assist the government to know the needs and the opinions of the community on the plan, policy, or actions embarked on. In the final analysis, the government policy will become the peoples'

policy and the full socio-political and economic will for implementation will be exerted. This will definitely result in increased peace and development in the community.

Conclusion

This study concludes on the premise that the state has a divine origin but the sustenance is the reaction of both human and divine. The political settlement analysis advocates that all stakeholders involved in the discussion should be recognized regardless of the magnitude of their contributions to the conflict or the settlement. This paper identified that there are various kinds and forms of violence in Nigeria. It described its manifestations as being in the form of goat, frog, and pig which signify a changing dimension which is not palatable to the growth and development of the country.

Urban violence can be reduced to its lowest ebb in any society when the centrifugal forces of disintegrations are suppressed with the use of the centripetal forces of integration. The centrifugal strategies of Top-Down and Down-Top models without regular mutual feedback system coupled with inadequate political, social, and economic will on the part of the people and the government are prone to dictatorship and urban violence. Therefore, the centripetal strategies of Top-Down-Top and Down-Top-Down models that utilize regular mutual feedback systems and adequate political, social, and economic will on the part of the people and the government are more compatible for multiethnic and religiously polarized communities and they ensure peace, political stability and sustainable development.

REFERENCES

Adèle Kirsten (2007).***Guns and Roses:*** **Gender and Armed Violence in AfricaUnited Nations Development Programme Government of the Republic of Kenya.**

Aluko O.I (2016)."Policing Election and Electoral Violence in Developing Democracies"**Indian Philosophical Quarterly**, 37 (1-4).

Aluko O.I., Abdullahi M. and Balogun O. S. (2015)."Urban Violence in Nigeria: Of Frog, Pig and Goat"**International Journal of Humanities and Social Science** *(IJHSS)* 3 (10).

Aluko O.I (2014). "Gang Mores in Nigeria: The Prospect and Challenges"**Developing Country Studies**4 (23).

Anke H. (2008)."**Dealing with the Consequences ofViolent Conflicts in Africa"Background Paper for the African Development Bank Report.**

Felbab-Brown V. (2011).**Bringing the State to the Slum: Confronting Organized Crime and Urban Violence in Latin America Lessons for Law Enforcement and Policymakers**. Washington: The Brookings Institution.

Fritz, V. and Rocha Menocal, A. (2007). **Understanding State-building from a Political Economy Perspective** London: ODI.

Jager, K.B. and Marsha T. C. (2010)."The Influence of Trauma on Women's Empowerment within the Family-based Services Context"***Qualitative Social Work***9 (2):267-283.

Melling, J. (1991). "Industrial Capitalism and the Welfare of the State: The Role of Employers in the Comparative Development of the Welfare State. A Review of Recent Research". **Sociology**91(2): 219-239.

OECD (2010), "Dili Declaration," Dili International Dialogue on State building and Peace building, Dili, Timor-Leste,

http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/12/30/44927821.pdf.

OECD (2011) "Supporting State building in situations of conflict and fragility: policy guidance", **DAC Guidelines and Reference Series**Paris: OECD Publishing.

Parks T. and Cole W. (2010). Political Settlements: Implications for International
Development Policy and Practice **Occasional Paper No. 2** The Asia Foundation

Rocha M., A. (2015).**Inclusive Political Settlements: Evidence, Gaps, and Challenges
of Institutional Transformation** Birmingham: DLP.

Sharp, J. (2009). Darfur Refugees Still Suffering in Chad."***Public Radio International's "The World***. Available Online: http://www.pri.org/theworld/?q=node/26677.

Whaites, A. (2008). States in Development: Understanding State-Building *Governance and
Social Development Group, Policy and Research Division DFID Working Paper*.