URBAN VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA: OF FROG, PIG AND GOAT

ALUKO OPEYEMI IDOWU, BALOGUN OSEBI SOPHIA & ALBUDULLAHI MU'AWIYYA

Political Science Department, University Of Ilorin

ABSTRACT

Ever since mans' existence, violence had been an integral part of human society. Urban violence has become popular among nations with gains and pains. Several methods had been devised to mitigate the effect on man but little had been achieved. In most cases, it only exhibit amorphous change from one dimension of occurrence to the other. This work aim to give answer to the question of why has violence persisted in both developed and developing societies. This paper also reveals three dimensions of sustenance in which urban violence had imbibed to become insolvent in most communities. Broken window theoretical frame work is used to guide the work. Methodological analysis of 2400 perception of people across Nigeria were randomly sampled and analyzed using the afrobarometer database research to deduce how safe they feel in the community and the level of their trust on the state security. Series of recommendations that does not work were discussed and hybrid recommendations that will work were posited. Finally, the conclusion reached is that violence is an integral part of man's life which cannot end but a rightful political will and organized—continuous check-up of moderating mechanics of the state, urban violence will be reduced to a minimal level.

KEYWORDS: Amnesty Policy, Urban violence, Policy Somersault, Rule of Law and State Security

INTRODUCTION

The countries of the world all over had experience various degree of violence both intra state violence and inter inter-state even to the magnitude of war in many cases. In recent times, urban violence had multiplied and escalated to becoming a common occurrence in many societies. In facts, it has become a norm in most developing societies and strategically frequent in developed economies. There are many dimensions to which urban violence had manifested which scholars had posited on (Moser and Mcilwaine 2004 and 2006, Igwe 2012, La Monica and Omotola 2014 and Hoelscher 2015). Most scholars mostly focus on the dimension of urban violence occurrence in the society but little emphasis is laid on the dimension of its sustainability in every community.

The dimension of occurrence often emphasized include; the institutional urban violence which include violence of state and other "informal" institutions including the private sector. The political urban violence which include the State and non-state violence in a community, the economic urban violence which include Organized crime, business interests, delinquents and robbers in the society. The social urban violence which includes; Intimate partner violence inside the home, sexual violence (including rape) in the public arena, child abuse: boys and girls, intergenerational conflict between parent and children and gratuitous/routine daily violence.

This work is very important because it brings to lame light the dimensions of sustainability of urban violence in every society. This dimension is depicted by three different but prominent characteristics which had made urban violence to persist and be sustained in most communities. The frog dimension of sustenance shows the limping strategy of violence from one dimension of occurrence to the other which include urban violence fluidity and switching over among economic violence to political violence to social—religious and ethnic violence and institutional violence. The pig dimension of sustenance reveals the big but dirty business of urban violence. This depict that if violence is not lucrative or beneficial to the perpetuators at some interval, it will not be embarked upon. The illegal oil bunkering, political gerrymandering,

weakening of institutions against crime trends among others. The goat dimension of sustenance shows expressly how urban violence has stubbornly defile many governmental policies and actions to continue it pathway and cycle of amorphous states from one generation to another.

The aim of this work is to ascertain why has violence persist in both the developed and the developing countries? The theoretical frame work of broken window used in this work supports the assertion of continuous violence if neglect to fundamental security plan is jeopardized. The methodology adopted simply harvest the perception of two-thousand four hundred (2400) people in Nigeria through a random purposive sampling technique. This is to deduce how safe people feel in the community and the level of their trust on the state security. The result shows the perception of people to violence persistency in their respective neighbourhood. Recommendations that do not work were assessed and shredded while policy recommendations that will work are purported instead. Conclusion is premised on the thoughtful political will to unlock the chest of peace in the polity with a continuous check-up for possible leakage.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK THE BROKEN WINDOW THEORY

Prominent and repeated violence is an evidence of political, socio and economic lacunae in the polity. A little abandonment of any aspect of the state administrative functions gives lee way for uneasy hands to infiltrate the polity. The broken window theory explains the embryology of emergence of violence in the society and its possible symbols. It also explains the inextricably linked among the three dimensions of urban violence sustenance, the government and those who causative agents of violence. This theory is applicable because it explains disorder as a crime which can be curb with certain political or policy adjustment in the polity.

Wilson and Kellingn (1982) in The Atlantic publications were the first to coin out this theory. The theory is basically meant to explore the reason for the prevalence of crime and violence in the urban areas. The theory assumed that disorder and crime are usually inextricably linked in a kind of developmental sequence. Social psychologists and police officers tend to agree that if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired; all the rest of the windows will soon be broken.

The embryonic stage of urban violence as Karmen, (2001) supported Wilson and Kellingn (1982) is when a piece of property is abandoned, weeds grow up, a window is smashed. Adults stop scolding rowdy children; the children, emboldened, become more rowdy. Families move out, unattached adults move in. Teenagers gather in front of the corner store. The merchant asks them to move; they refuse. Fights occur. Litter accumulates. People start drinking in front of the grocery; in time, an inebriate slumps to the sidewalk and is allowed to sleep it off. Pedestrians are approached by panhandlers definitely will lead to pandemonium in the urban areas. This indicates as observed by Wilmot (1994) and Shelden and Brown (2003) that the easy hands strengthened by unemployment and other social vices coupled with disobedience to the law and constituted authorities will be available for causing urban violence moreover if their appetite for money is unsatisfied.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology adopted uncovers the perception of people in Nigeria to the democratic regime which is currently in administration (2015). The research conducted by afrobarometer round five (5) in 2012 is used; validated and interpreted. The total sample size is two-thousand four hundred (2400) participants across the country. The sample selection technique is simple proportionate purposive random sampling. Simple percentage, ration and graphical illustrations will be use to analyze the result. This research is appropriate as it reflect the true mind set of Nigeria populace

on the unending dimensions of urban violence in the country. It also reveals the perceptions of the people on the extent of the continuous democracy relevance.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

How has Government Strive to Resolving Violence in Nigeria?

| Handling resolving violent conflict between communities by Urban or Rural Primary Sampling Unit for Country=NIGERIA | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|--|--|--|
| NIGERIA | | | | | | |
| N=2,400; Weighted results | Total | Urban | Rural | | | |
| Very badly | 30% | 33% | 27% | | | |
| Fairly badly | 29% | 29% | 29% | | | |
| Fairly well | 33% | 32% | 34% | | | |
| Very well | 7% | 5% | 9% | | | |
| Don't know; haven't heard enough | 1% | 1% | 1% | | | |
| Total NIGERIA | 2,400 | 1,046 | 1,354 | | | |

Table 1 Source: Afrobarometer Round 5 (2012)

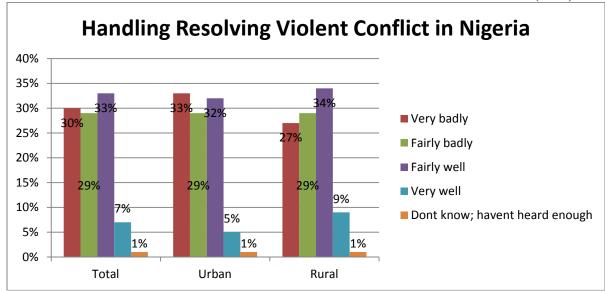


Figure I

From the graphical analysis above (figure I), sixty-two percent (62%) and fifty-six (56%) of the respondents in the urban and rural area respectively claim that the handling of violent in Nigeria is bad. Thirty-seven percent (37%) and forty-three percent (42%) regards the handling of violent in both urban and rural areas in Nigeria to be well. This implies that the approaches and techniques use by the government is not helping matters effectively as large percentage (62%) of the people regards violence handling in Nigeria as bad.

How safe are you in Your Neighbourhood?

| How often felt unsafe walking in nei Unit for Country=NIGERIA | ghbourhood b | y Urban or Rural I | Primary Sampling |
|--|--------------|--------------------|------------------|
| NIGERIA | | | |
| N=2,400; Weighted results | Total | Urban | Rural |

| Never | 67% | 66% | 68% |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Just once or twice | 14% | 14% | 13% |
| Several times | 14% | 13% | 14% |
| Many times | 4% | 4% | 4% |
| Always | 2% | 2% | 1% |
| Dont know | 1% | 1% | 0% |
| Total NIGERIA | 2,400 | 1,046 | 1,354 |

Table 2 Source: Afrobarometer Round 5 (2012)

How Often Felt Unsafe Walking in

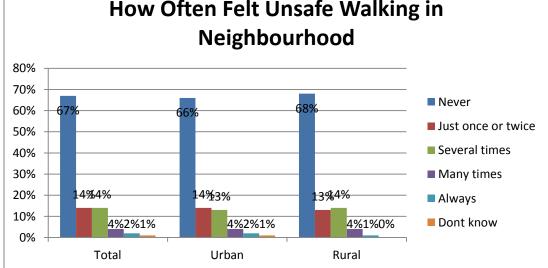


Figure II

From the graphical analysis (figure II) above, it is carefully observed that sixty-six percent (66%) and sixty-eight percent (68%) of the urban and rural respondents respectively said they have never felt unsafe in their neighbourhood. Thirty-four percent (34%) and thirty-two percent (32%) of both rural and urban respondents said they at times feel unsafe in their neighbourhood. This means that despite the urban violence, majority of Nigerians feels secured in their neighbourhood despite the unsatisfactory performance level of the government in handling violence as observed in figure I above.

From the findings above, it is pertinent to say that even though people are not satisfied with the level of performance of the state security apparatus, they still claim to be safe in their respective neighbourhoods. The inference drawn from these findings is that violence continues in the community because people are not deeply affected and to simply put, immunity against it long lasting effect had been developed after one or two exposures to violence.

DIMENSIONS OF OCCURRENCE OF URBAN VIOLENCE

Various angles of occurrence of urban violence had been identified in every state but it degree of occurrence vary from state to states. These are; Political violence organised by state and non-state violence, using: Guerrilla conflict, Paramilitary conflict, Political assassinations and armed conflict between political parties.

Economic violence organized by organized crime syndicates, business interests groups, delinquents and robbers using Intimidation and violence as means of resolving economic disputes Street theft, robbery and crime Kidnapping, armed robbery, drug-trafficking, Car theft and other

contraband activities, small-arms dealing. Other assaults 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 perpetuated by gangs, street children (boys and girls), ethnic violence, territorial or identity-based "turf" violence, robbery, theft, Petty theft and Communal riots.

Social violence organised by intimate partner violence inside the home, Sexual violence (including rape) in the public arena, child abuse: boys and girls, Inter-generational conflict between parent and children, gratuitous or routine daily violence using physical or psychological male–female abuse, physical and sexual abuse, particularly prevalent in the case of stepfathers but also uncles, physical and psychological abuse, incivility in areas such as traffic, road rage, bar fights and street confrontations and arguments that get out of control.

Institutional violence 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.

DIMENSIONS OF SUSTENANCE OF URBAN VIOLENCE

Frog Dimension of Sustenance

Conflicts in Nigeria are restless phenomenon like a frog, jumping from one position or stage to another. At any resting phase, it only gathers momentum to change it course from one form of violence to the other. It may take a form of communal conflict, later it may appear like ethno-Religious, economic or even political. Most conflicts in Nigeria trace their roots from the constant struggle among the various ethnic and religious affiliations to exert control over the state resources, which of course characterized the nature and pattern of politics right from day one of post colonial independence of the country. Ake (1992) argued that, ethnicity is politicized, politics is ethnicized and ethnic groups become complex political formations.

As soon as a leeway is gotten against ethnic violence that threatened the entire country, the urban violence frog-leap to religious crises. Muslims/Christians crisis in Kafanchan in year 1987, Zangon Kataf in year 1992, Kaduna Shari 'a riot in year 2000, Jos crisis in year 2001, Kano in year 2001 and 2011, as a result many lost their lives, billions of properties were destroyed, and many injured as well as internally displaced (Chinwokwu, 2013).

Again, electoral violence another leap of urban violence in Nigeria which undermines the inadequate access to the state resources which have eventually lead to lose of over 800 lives, displacement of over 65,000 people and destruction of many properties across the country (Orji and Uzodi 2011). This coupled with the spinning terrorism insurgence of the Niger delta militants and the Boko Haram in the North-east Nigeria.

The limping posture of urban violence in Nigeria simply put frog-jump shows a constant changing of dimension of violence. A resting phase of the violence leads to another huge leap to another phase of ethno-religious, political and economic devastating violence which makes violence to keep a seat in the society despite attempts to mitigate it.

Pig Dimension of Sustenance

Urban violence had been sustained in Nigeria over the years and indeed in many other part of the world because it has some socio-economic values on the polity. This is seen as a big dirty business outfit for some eminent personalities who are either the pioneer or are at the receiving end of these activities (Ovwasa 2013).

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. This sustenance is also further promoted by business outfits that specialize in the sales of cheap firearms especially illegally to warring factions in any society (Kunkeler and Peters 2011). This is

a huge business which helps to keep the fire of urban violence burning in the state and it is apparently against the sustainability of the state.

Goat Dimension of Sustenance

Urban violence sustenance is regarded as goat dimensions of sustenance because it had defiled numerous government policies. Several potent policies ab initio had been made impotent by this stubborn durability nature. A few include the constant upward review of fund strategy to the military by Nigeria government so as to combat this menace (International Crisis Group (ICG) 2014 and The Platform 2012). This had yielded little or no visible results.

The declaration of state of emergency measures in turbulent areas in Nigeria is another measure which had yielded little result in the clamp and cutting down of the rate of penetration of insurgencies and internal insurrections (Idornigie 2013 and Dakas 2013). No small deal of effort is put into the Niger delta amnesty program in Nigeria to the extent of de-arming and empowering of ex-militants. No long run appreciable result is recorded in this defeated strategy (La Monica and Omotola 2014 and Agbegbedia 2014)

RECOMMENDATIONS

Failed Recommendations

The government at all levels should provide an equal opportunity and a degree or level of self determination for each ethnic group within its occupied areas. Although this is logical idea but it is a mere idealistic suggestion which is utopia in reality. Self determination suggestion is a division strategy which disintegrates the polity on the ethnicity lines and religious bigotry.

Decentralized system should be restructure in federal, state and local government level to enable the various ethnic groups to have a meaningful control over economic resources at all levels of governance. The repercussion of decentralization is mostly collapse of a federal arrangement especially when the centre is weak in compare to the subordinate regions.

Individuals and groups should take-up the government in active protest and ensure corrupt government officials who has a trace or connection to propelling violence are brought to book. This recommendation might be appealing to activists but in reality it only endangers the polity in total chaos and if it gets out of controlled or being high jacked by hoodlums, the polity might eventually crash down.

Recommendations That Works

The federal government should set up a national program to ensure that no ethnic group, no matter how small is denied its basic right and entitlements. Since such denials lead to frustration and violence, no matter how little the largesse all groups should find something to take home in a clear agreement.

Individual and groups should ensure that law suits are resorted to in case of any suspected saboteur of the polity. This is done instead of protest and rioting which may lead to more havoc in the polity.

There should be a change in orientation of the people from corruption acts and a wish to be corrupt if given the opportunity. Regular national orientations and sensitizations through the mass media will go a long way to reduce the effect of urban violence of any dimensions.

Insolence and unlawful arrests by security agents and security personnel should be checked. This can be enhanced by regular civil-military and paramilitary orientations and trainings so as to correct the excess of some corrupt security officers who are supposed to uphold peace and tranquillity in the polity but rather sabotaging the efforts of the government.

This work reveals the intricacies of the dimensions of occurrence of urban violence in any polity which include the political, economic, social and institutional dimensions. In the quest to give answer to the question of why violence occurs regularly in any polity, the sustainability dimension of violence is explored. Urban violence sustenance model which makes violence to be inevitable in the polity is it sustainable ability. These sustenance dimensions include; of frog—a regular change in dimension of occurrence from time to time, of pig—which shows a big, sweet money making but dirty business for the perpetuators or the opportunists and of goat.

This work is so relevant because it reveals the perception of Nigerians to security and safety of their lives. It reveals that Nigerians are relatively safe in the country and in their respective neighbourhood but they are not satisfied with how the government handle or resolve violence so as the security level of the country. This work ended up by giving some failed recommendations and positing some hybrid recommendation that will mitigate the occurrence of urban violence in any polity if properly implemented by the concerned stakeholders.

REFERENCES

Agbegbedia O. (2014); Gender Mainstreaming and the Impacts of the Federal Government Amnesty Programme in the Niger Delta Region American Research Institute for Policy Development, *International Journal of Gender and Women's Studies* Vol. 2, No. 2,

Ake, C. (1992); What is the Problem of Ethnicity in Africa? Keynote Address Presented in the Conference on Ethnicity, Society and Conflict in Natal, *University of Natal*, Pictermaritzburg, South Africa.

Chinwokwu, E. (2013); The Challenges of Conflict Management in a Democratic Society: An Overview of Insecurity in Nigeria, *American International Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.2, No.3.

Dakas, D. (2013); State of Emergency and Human Rights: International and Comparative Jurisprudence in Azinge, Epiphany (ed) *State of Emergency in Nigeria: Law And Politics* Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies Lagos

Fearon, J.D. (1999); Why Ethnic Politics and Pork tend to go together. *Paper Presented the Ethnic Politics and Democratic Stability Conference*, Chicago.

Hoelscher, K. (2015). Politics and social violence in developing democracies: Theory and evidence from Brazil. *Political Geography*, Vol 44.

Idornigie, P. (2013); Partial Declaration of State of Emergency in Azinge, Epiphany (ed) *State of Emergency in Nigeria: Law And Politics* Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies Lagos Igwe, D. (2012); Urban Violence: A Challenge to Institutional Strengthening in Nigeria *Global Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. 1, Issue No. 1

International Crisis Group (2014); Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram *Insurgency International Crisis Group Africa* Report N°216 Avenue Louise 149 1050 Brussels, Belgium

Karmen, A. (2001); Smarter Policing and Stepped-Up Imprisonment as the Primary Causes of Falling Crime Rates in New York City: The Emergence of an Urban Legend? *Justice Policy Journal* 1, 1 (on-line, www.cjcj.org)

Khalid, S. (Undated); Ethno-Religious Conflict in North-Western Nigeria: Myth and Reality. Kunkeler J. and Peters K,(2011); *The Boys Are Coming to Town: Youth, Armed Conflict and Urban Violence in Developing Countries* IJCV: Vol. 5 (2)

La Monica C. and Omotola S.(2014); Why the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria Matters in *Horror* in Paradise Frameworks for Understanding the Crises of the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria La

Monica Christopher and Omotola Shola. (Eds). Carolina Academic Press Durham, North Carolina

Orji, N & Uzodi, N. (2011); The 2011 Post Electoral Violence in Nigeria, *Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC)*.

Ovwasa L. (2013); Money Politics and Vote Buying In Nigeria: The Bane Of Good Governance *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences* Volume 4, No. 4.3 Quarter III

Shelden, G. and Brown, W. (2003); Criminal Justice in America: A Critical View. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

The Platform (2012); Armed Extraction: UK military in Nigeria *Platform* 7 Horselydown Lane London.