

# Exploring the Implication of Communal Violence on Peaceful Coexistence and Security Governance in Bauchi State, Nigeria

Kabiru Bello Ilelah<sup>1&2</sup>, Adlina Ab Halim<sup>1</sup>, Mohd Mahadee Bin Ismail<sup>1</sup> & Mohd Sabri Nor<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Government and Civilizational Studies, Faculty of Human Ecology, University Putra Malaysia, <sup>2</sup>Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Bauchi State University, Gadau

Corresponding Author Email: [adlina@upm.edu.my](mailto:adlina@upm.edu.my)

**To Link this Article:** <http://dx.doi.org/10.6007/IJARBSS/v14-i10/23278> DOI:10.6007/IJARBSS/v14-i10/23278

**Published Date:** 14 October 2024

## Abstract

Communal violence continues to be a challenge to peaceful coexistence and security governance in Bauchi State and Nigeria's national security. This has led to a loss of trust among different communities, hindering efforts towards peacebuilding and reconciliation. However, the economic impact of these acts of violence has further worsened poverty and inequality in the affected areas. Therefore, this study investigates the implications of the persistence of communal violence in hindering the achievement of peace, stability, and security governance in Bauchi State. Governance theory was used as a framework. An in-depth qualitative case study was used to accomplish the study's objective. A total of 17 informants were interviewed virtually through Zoom video calls. The data are analyzed based on thematic analysis with NVivo 12.0. The findings reveal that the persistence of communal violence has implications for the peaceful coexistence among the people. Such implications include a lack of trust and harmony among the people, loss of lives, and property destruction. The study recommends the provision of mechanisms that can enhance the monitoring of security in the communities of the state. The study can immensely contribute to policymaking, as it will aid policymakers in providing alternative strategies to enhance security governance.

**Keywords:** Communal Violence, Security, Good Governance, Peaceful, Poverty

## Introduction

Communal violence continues to challenge peaceful coexistence and security governance in Bauchi State and Nigeria's national security (Suleiman, 2019). Communal violence is a form of violence or crisis perpetrated by one group to another that causes much harm to people and property destruction. Communal violence is a crisis between non-state groups organized along a shared communal identity. Both groups use violence to gain control over resources, land, or political power (Elfverson & Brosché, 2012). It is important to note that the parties involved are non-state actors. The interests of the followers of different communities are

different but are hostile to each other; that is, what is economically, politically, socially, or culturally in the interests of one community is not so in the interests of the other group that the two cannot have common economic, social, political, interests that their secular interests are bound to oppose each other (Najar, 2014). These issues of communal violence are common in developing countries such as Nigeria. Thus, these trends jeopardized the country and the regional efforts for peace and stability. However, a trend of communal conflicts spreading throughout Nigeria in recent years has intensified in the past months, leaving hundreds of people dead and thousands displaced (OCHA, 2020). The most frequent communal conflicts caused are disputes over land, the quest for political authority, direct assaults, and looting. Communal violence refers to violent conflicts between residents of two villages or communities. Communal violence between communities is vastly underestimated in Nigeria (Pouly, 2022).

At the beginning of the introduction, the authors introduced and defined the concept of communal violence as a concept and practice. However, this paragraph expatiates the concepts related to the topic such as peaceful coexistence and security governance. Merriam-Webster defined peaceful coexistence as living together in peace rather than in constant hostility. This portrays that peaceful co-existence is the capability of people to live in harmony. As human beings, individuals need to have a mutual understanding that the diversity of cultures, ethnicities, and religions are part of human existence. Acceptance of these differences in mankind is crucial for peaceful co-existence. Therefore, understanding the idea of peaceful coexistence is important for countries with diverse ethnicities, religions, and languages. Respect and mutual understanding must be the backbone and essence of all communities. Security governance, on the other hand, refers to the formal responsibility and practice performed by the government to provide strategic direction in ensuring security threats are managed properly to avoid reoccurrence. Security governance is a framework of policies, practices, and strategies for protecting against security threats in a state or community. Therefore, security governance in this regard refers to the government's efforts in response to communal violence in the state and the country as a whole.

Bauchi State is home to different ethnic and religious groups. The state has over 55 ethnic groups and contains Christianity and Islam (Ngwan, 2022). Bauchi, in general, and Tafawa Balewa are considered crucial figures in Nigerian politics. The area is rich in natural resources, including agricultural and mineral resources. More importantly, it is a strategic location with fertile land for farming, business, and agriculture. As a result, the town draws many visitors from nearby and far away for business purposes (Suleiman, 2019). Unfortunately, from the early 1990s until the present, violence has frequently broken out within the town due to the coexistence of the different groups (Suleiman, 2019). The major violence or crisis affecting the state and the area is communal. This means that communal violence remains a challenge to the government since the 1990s between the Hausa/Fulani and the Sayawa ethnic groups in the Tafawa Balewa local government area of Bauchi state as a result of political, economic, and land control (Suleiman, 2019; Ali & Yakubu, 2017; Wadam, 2014). Furthermore, the report shows that between January 2020 and August 2021, there were 19 cases of different insecurity including communal violence in the state (ACCORD, 2021)

Several factors were reported to be the cause of such violence. For instance, Wadam (2014) reveals that the Sayawa people's views on having an independent chiefdom and the recognition of their traditional institutions free from feudalism and colonial influences were not accepted by the government, which was a significant contributing factor in the communal violence in Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area. However, after hearing about the unrest in Bauchi, the federal government formed a judicial commission to investigate the incident under the direction of Hon. Justice O. Babalakin. The findings show that interethnic strife between the Sayawa and Hausa/Fulani caused the crisis to start in the Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area and later spread to other areas of Bauchi State. The findings also show that the crisis is more communal and political than religious, stemming from the conflict between the primarily Christian Sayawa and the primarily Muslim Huse/Fulani for administrative control of the area. Even though they are more vocal and organized through the Zar cultural organization, the Sayawas feel that "the minority Hausa/Fulani" are in political dominance. The two groups could not agree to share the use of the environment because of the unhealthy rivalry that had come to define every aspect of their interactions, leading to communal violence (Suleiman, 2019; Wadam, 2014; Tahir, 1991). If violence is not adequately managed between the communal groups, it can escalate and trigger religious violence, thereby affecting the state and the country. However, the consequences have not been explored extensively in the state. Therefore, this study focused on the implications of violence in the form of communal violence.

### **Literature review**

Several studies have reported the implications of violence on Bauchi state and the North East regional efforts for peace and stability and the country as a whole. The North East is already battling the Boko Haram insurgency, and every state in the region is expected to contain local forms of violence to avoid escalation. In addition, Bauchi state has also recorded a series of violence in major towns across the state. For example, the frequent communal crisis in Tafawa Balewa (Ali & Yakubu, 2017) and recent attacks by armed bandits in various parts of the state led to the loss of lives, and properties (Orude, 2022) and have worsened the security situation of the state. If the federal and Bauchi state governments can not manage the issues properly, it can escalate beyond the management capacity of the governments, and it will affect the regions and the country as a whole.

Recent cases of violence threaten the peaceful co-existence among individuals living in communities in Bauchi state (Adamu, Wunti, & Moniruzzaman, 2016). Therefore, due to ineffective governance, the federal and Bauchi state governments continue to face violence threats for almost a decade (Onwumah, 2014). The forms of violence continue to generate severe tension and fear. It continued to affect the peaceful co-existence among the people (Williams, 2020). As a result, it limits social activities among the people. It also leads to the loss of lives and internal displacement of persons (Oyiloye, 2019). More so, it contributes to the destruction of private and public properties (Theophilus & Nnorom, 2013), affecting the state (Afolabi, 2016).

As a result, thousands of Bauchi state residents have lost their lives, and hundreds lost their homes. Many are missing, while others migrated to neighboring states for safety (Human Right Watch, 2017). This trend jeopardizes the regional efforts for peace and stability in the North East region. Therefore, there is a need to understand the effects of violence on

peace, stability, and harmony in the state (Cederman & Pengl, 2019). Therefore, this study will examine the implication of communal violence in Bauchi state on peace and stability in Nigeria. The process (governance) of managing communal violence in the state and country has been questioned by experts, analysts, and researchers who need to be re-investigated due to its effect on peace, harmony, and stability in the region (Nwagboso, 2018). So, there is a need to improve security governance to manage the issue of communal violence in the state. To achieve that the government is required to apply good governance.

### **Good Governance Theory**

The world will never be completely safe, but since there are many known correlates of violence, it is possible to "manage" safety and security, especially when good governance principles are used (Moelker, 2016). The fundamental social contract that sustains stable and prosperous nations also includes good governance. It is the yin to the yang of a high quality of life. According to the social contract theory, people's political and occasionally moral obligations to society depend on their agreement to establish society as a whole. Through governance and public participation, society's formation is upheld, safeguarded, and advanced (Menenber, 2013). Therefore, governance is a set of procedures (Gorwa, 2019), which are related to an institution's capacity to establish and uphold regulations that control citizens' behavior. In this sense, the fundamental purpose of governance was to disarm or subdue organizations and individuals working for social change. As such, it is the primary responsibility of both the federal and state governments in Nigeria to collaborate in managing the safety of the people with different backgrounds in religion and ethnicity interacting with one another in the country.

Even so, the shared moral standards that develop from the interaction of individuals and society serve to bind people together in a way that makes the whole greater than the sum of its parts. A legal system, which consists of law, institutions, and policing, is created when norms and values are widely accepted, at which point they acquire legitimacy. All those who live under the control of this system, whether it be a tribal system, a state system, or even a supranational system, are assured of safety and security once the rule of law has been established (Moelker, 2016). This explains the relevance of authority in heterogeneous societies, which emphasizes that government legitimacy depends on its commitment to controlling different communal groups to avoid violence among them.

However, within the state system, violence is always a possibility and is typically used for political purposes. When domestic violence, or violence against another group, takes place, it is frequently seen as a sign of poor governance, democratic institutions' weakness, and a lack of legitimacy among the populace. The United Nations defined good governance as being consensus-oriented, participatory, adhering to the rule of law, effective and efficient, accountable, transparent, responsive, equitable, and inclusive. There was a governance system, to be sure, but it differed in many ways from what it defined (Moelker, 2016). The implication is that when these principles are not properly upheld by the government, social problems like violence may arise and be blamed on bad leadership. But when a social contract is absent and poor governance coexists, the outcome is not good. Societies are going through some particularly challenging times as a result of the diffusion of power and capability over violence (Menenber, 2013).

From the good governance theory point of view, when public sector actors fail to fulfill their obligations to uphold the rule of law, provide essential services to the general public, and guarantee efficient and effective public sector management, this is called ineffective governance (World Bank, 1997; Stocker, 1998). These "government failures" trigger additional ineffective governance in political, economic, and civic institutions. So many problems, including poverty and inequality, insecurity, poorly planned urban development, and economic growth, can be brought on by ineffective governance. It takes an integrated systems approach to governance with solid coordination across sectors and delegation of authority to the local level to effectively reduce the issues (OECD, 2001).

From the above argument, it can be understood that good governance is a tool that provides processes and strategies for establishing better societies. When there is effective governance, societies will be better off, while when there is ineffective governance, issues such as communal violence can arise. In this regard, a lack of good governance can lead to violence with long- and short-term consequences. Thus, a lack of good governance happens when the government does not deliver essential services to the public and ensure efficient management of the public sector. This lack of good governance leading to 'government failures' results in various issues, including communal violence. Therefore, good governance theory is appropriate as a theoretical framework for this study.

### Methodology

The study adopted a qualitative case study approach. The method was selected because it made it possible to analyze the data collection procedures in detail. Three case study standards were followed in the study. Communal violence is the case. Second, the boundary is located in Bauchi, and third, the time frame is 2019–2022. One of the six states that make up Nigeria's northeastern political region is Bauchi. After key informants were identified using a criterion-based purposive sampling technique, the study's sample size was expanded using the snowballing method. As a result, 17 informants in total were contacted for the study's interviews. This sample size was determined based on the saturation point reached in the data collection process. Knowledge, position, experience, and willingness to participate were the criteria the researcher used to choose the participants (Creswell, 2009). Table 1.1 lists the informants who took part in the current study.

Table 1.1  
*Informants' categories and codes*

| S/N | Categories                     | No. of informants | Informants' identification codes |
|-----|--------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1.  | Senior government officials    | 2                 | GO 1 & 2                         |
| 2.  | Senior police officer          | 1                 | GSP 1                            |
| 3.  | A senior civil defense officer | 1                 | GSP 2                            |
| 4.  | Community leaders              | 2                 | CL 1 & 2                         |
| 5.  | Community Grassroot            | 3                 | GRT 1, 2 & 3                     |
| 6.  | Victims                        | 2                 | VCTM 1 & 2                       |
| 7.  | Members of NGOs                | 2                 | NGO 1 & 2                        |
| 8.  | Peace Ambassador               | 1                 | PAMD 1                           |
| 9.  | Politician                     | 1                 | POL 1                            |
| 10. | Academicians                   | 2                 | AC 1 & 2                         |

The categories of informants, the number of informants from each category who participated in the study, and their research ID numbers are displayed in Table 1.1 above. An in-depth interview was used to collect the data. Due to COVID-19 limitations, the researcher and informants conducted the one-on-one interview through a Zoom online meeting. Prior to the interview, the institution where the student is pursuing his postgraduate degree granted ethics permission. A letter from the supervisory committee that contained important details about the study was given to the researcher, who then showed it to each of the informants. The chosen informants were then contacted by the researcher on a regular basis by phone and invited via WhatsApp and SMS. The invitation was declined by some informants, and those who responded were thanked. In contrast, those who agreed to participate were consulted to arrange an appointment for an interview. Typically, the personal interviews lasted 35 to 90 minutes. Both English and Hausa were used to carry out the interview. All 17 interviews were recorded and transcribed, and all of the Hausa interviews were translated into English. The translation was then approved by the experienced editor.

The collected data were analyzed using thematic analysis in QSR Nvivo 12.0. The six stages of thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2008) were used to analyze the interview data. The researcher employed the triangulation strategy, the back-to-back informant transcripts method, and both second-party (the supervisory committee) and third-party (professionals) contacts to evaluate the validity, reliability, and trustworthiness of the data. Additionally, the study complies with all ethical requirements, including those relating to the privacy of informants, their voluntary participation in the study, their right to rescind at any time, and their completion of consent forms.

### **Findings and Discussion**

The study identified two main themes: peaceful coexistence and security governance consequences. The peaceful coexistence consequences have six subthemes: the lack of trust and harmony among the people, internal displacement and loss of lives, destruction of property, and the emergence of more social vices. Meanwhile, security governance has three subthemes: it hinders government efforts and attention, increases governance cost, and hinders state development as the significant implications of communal violence in Bauchi state.

#### **Peaceful Coexistence Consequences**

The peaceful coexistence implication here explains the implications of communal violence on the harmony of societies, such as the people's coexistence (interactions with one another). Therefore, the occurrence of communal violence has been implicating the peaceful coexistence among the people of the Bauchi state, thereby affecting the state and the country's national security. This implication is discussed in the following sub-section.

#### **Lack of Trust and Harmony among the People**

For people to live together in harmony with one another in a society, the government needs to provide them with security to ensure their property and social coexistence. Before the emergence of government in early life, human beings survived on fitness (survival of the fittest), the stronger would always have a portion of food and security for his family while the weaker would be left with nothing. As a result, people come together and agree (social contract) to form an authority that can unite and provide them security so that everyone can

have the freedom and right to live and enjoy their life as humans. Therefore, one of the cardinal roles of government was to ensure the security of the people and their properties. In a situation where there is violence, the people can no longer trust themselves due to fear and the government in general, because the government has failed to fulfill one of its core reasons for establishment. Therefore, trust can be an act of putting faith in someone or something's character, so society's evolution requires trust. Although there were few studies on the issue, little is understood about how and why interpersonal trust develops, how it is maintained, and how it is broken when betrayed. When people trust themselves, it can lead to harmony in their coexistence, but social interactions can be limited in a situation where there is a lack of trust due to one or the other reasons.

As a result, most informant sees a lack of trust and harmony as one of the significant implications of communal violence because they believe that people can no longer live in peace and harmony whenever violence occurs. For instance, an informant believed that one of the significant implications of communal violence is fear among the people. The informant said this when explaining the implication as quoted: "As I told you, it creates fear, resulting in a lack of trust among the community's people. Everyone would be suspicious of the other. So, it creates that self-belonging, and many are not enjoying the peace like before when mingling." Source: Informant VCTM 2. As the above informant sees fear as the implication of communal violence, which creates a lack of trust among people living together, the informant went further to cite instances in the following way:

*"...this fear of violence further creates fear. For example, like before, our men used to have dinner with their co-men in the community and stay together until 10 or 11 pm before they came into their houses due to the fear, this cultural value had been stopped. Thereby, hindering the peaceful co-existence among the people."* Source: Informant VCTM 2

As communal violence creates fear among the people, leading to disharmony, the other victim in the interview further stated that communal violence typically comes with consequences. The informant shared this during the interview: "It brings disharmony to the peaceful co-existence of the people living together. I lost two friends due to the communal crisis, and they were good friends." Source: Informant VCTM 1. In his perception, a grassroots informant posited, "Communal violence also disrupts social interactions and movement, which hinders people's peaceful co-existence in the community." Source: Informant GRT 2. According to this informant, communal violence disrupts the social interaction among groups who bond to live together. In a similar view, another informant added: "The effect of communal violence in society is severe because, for example, if there is no security in the society as a result of violence, then there will be no peace in the first place, and you will not be able to live in your house, no one will be able to live like before." Source: Informant GSP 2

Communal violence is considered a factor that hinders people's harmony. An informant from the category of NGO further states that in a situation where communal violence occurs, harmony among the people cannot be achieved, eventually affecting their progress as humans.

*“So, ... where there is no harmony, as a result, the people cannot even think properly about things that can bring progress to their life as an individuals and to their society. All they want and think of is peace to reign. For example, during the land dispute in Tafawa Balewa, there was a man I knew very well, and his into the crop business, which was successful. However, at that time, that man was looking for a way to secure his family, not his business, and at last, he lost his business and investment.”* Source: Informant NGO 3

From the foregoing analysis and interpretation, it can be understood that communal violence is one of the sources of disharmony among people coexistence in Bauchi and Nigeria as a whole. In this regard, communal violence is a factor that creates disunity and discontinuity. Harmony among the people in society is crucial to their unity and progress. As a result, the governance theory emphasizes the function and role of government in ensuring peace and harmony among its citizens through delivering goods and services. However, in reality, in most developing countries like Nigeria, people are not living in harmony, which eventually leads to the emergence of other social vices in the country.

Thematic research shows that disharmony among the people can cause violence, directly affecting the government effort (Hutton, 2023). Rotberg believed that when the government allows violence in all forms to erupt and continue, disharmony can exist among the people. When there is disharmony, the people will not support the government (lack of legitimacy), so the government can become illegitimate in the eyes and hearts of its citizens. There is every possibility that the government or society can be turned over. Nwanguma (2018) added that despite several attempts to live in harmony as a people, peaceful coexistence in Nigeria has repeatedly proven to be nearly impossible. This is because evil persons have repeatedly exploited the pervasive ethnic or religious bigotry in the country to further their evil ends. Therefore, it was said that Nigeria's peace was unsatisfactory. Osakwe (2017) further Nigeria's lack of peace and harmony results from interethnic violence. The author believed that all of the ethnic conflicts that have occurred in Nigeria's six geopolitical zones—North West, North East, North Central, South West, South-South, and South East had been caused by the same factors. Ethnic differences have caused insecurity, instability, poverty, and corrupt political institutions in the nation, which poses a more severe threat to peace and stability today. In this regard, the government must search for a way to restore harmony among its citizens to avoid further consequences of such action (violence). As a result of disharmony, another issue that can emerge is internal displacement and loss of lives.

### **Internal Displacement and Loss of Lives**

Internal displacement and loss of lives are considered an implication of communal violence. According to the OCHA (2004), are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border. Based on this definition by the United Nations, it can be noted that internal displacement is an implication of communal violence, which has other effects on people such as young adults, women, and children, particularly girls. When communal violence occurred, many lost their homes, businesses, parents, and other loved



ones, which pushed them to leave their homes in search of another shelter in the neighboring community.

The informants also affirmed and lamented that one of the consequences of communal violence on the victim, community, and the state is internal displacement and loss of life. For instance, a government official stated that when violence occurs, it forces people to leave their homes to another community. The implication is that the host community may not know the type of people it is hosting, as they may end up hosting criminals. Below is what the informant shared:

*“Now let us look at it from this aspect. Let us take Bogoro and Tafawa Balewa, for example. Communal, and ethno-religious violence are there. The whole state is affected because we have refugees from that community flowing to the other part of the state for survival, and you do not know who they are. So, insecurity may increase in the state due to this migration which affected many structures in the state either owned by private or public.”* Source: Informant GO1

The above informant believes that communal violence forces people to leave their homes and communities to other areas in search of shelter. The other informants see it from the angle of the victims of communal violence and how such threats affect them. For example, an informant posited that the occurrence of communal violence had affected the victims in different ways, as quoted “Hmm... communal violence is a threat, and its existence has many implications. It seriously affects the victims physically and internally. The events will keep disturbing their internal peace, especially when they lose their loved one or what they value as the cause of that violence. Some people are run mad because it touched their brain.” Source: Informant CL2

The above informant sees the implication of communal violence from the victim's point of view, which to him, has many effects on them, such as the loss of loved ones, and as a result, it can affect their brain. On this basis, in another interview, an informant stated that during communal violence, women and children lost their houses, husbands, and fathers, which made them look for somewhere to stay. “It also led to the internal display of persons, especially the women, and children, because they lost their homes, their fathers or relatives. So, this forces them to fly to seek refugee somewhere, and if care is not taken, that is the end of those people. Source: Informant VCTM 1. A grassroots informant added that during communal violence, people lose their lives, and children are left without parents “Yeah, people are sometimes killed, and family members and children grow up without their parents... they have no option but to go out in search of shelter and a way to survive. Nevertheless, in most cases, those participating in violence are youth, most probably the ones without the parents which society allows them to grow up without proper guidance and parenting.” Source: Informant GRT2

An academician added that most people who lose their lives due to communal violence are able youth between the ages of 15-28 with the potential to serve in the military, police, and other security apparatus. His statement is shown below:

*“Each violence has its implication, but the most of it there will be their loss of life. Violence occurs because of political or economic interests. Suppose you are identified as an enemy or opponent that can bring destruction toward achieving the goal you can be eliminated. The worst is that innocent people can lose their lives at the cause of such violence. So the implication here is that for those who lost their lives, the majority will be the youth between the ages of 15-28. The state and country are losing their able youth who can serve in the military, the police, medical doctors, and future leaders.”* Source: Informant AC2

From the foregoing analysis and interpretation, it can be noted that communal violence can lead to the internal displacement of women and children. This results from losing their homes, husbands, and fathers who can provide shelter for them. In most cases, people lose their loved ones due to displacement. Others will go to neighboring communities, while others can move far from the neighboring communities as a refuge. As a result, they can lose contact with the other family members. Furthermore, some reports, such as the UN report on IDPS, show that women and children face challenges such as sexual harassment, maltreatment, and trafficking, which they have not experienced before. Although, the IDP camp was initiated to provide shelter for the victims of violence or conflicts before the restoration of peace in their respective communities. In Bauchi, there were about 56,000 internal display persons from different northern states who took refuge in the state (Oginni, 2021). The UNHCR recommended that the victims of violence stay within their country and remain under the protection of their national government, even if the government is the reason for their displacement. Because in most cases, these people occasionally go to communities where the host government or the people can have difficulty providing humanitarian services to them. As such, these people will end up doing other criminal activities in the host communities where they take refuge for them to survive. The findings are linked with Adesote & Peters (2015) who argued that a decade of poor governance, underdevelopment of outlying areas populated by ethnic minorities, mishandling of identity conflicts, persistent abuse of power resulting in egregious violations of human rights, gross inequities in the shaping and sharing of power, national wealth, and other factors are the root causes of violence, which may be ethnoreligious, inter-ethnic, political, and inter-communal.

### **Destruction of Property**

The primary responsibility of the government is to provide security to human lives and their properties. That is, the government must protect its citizens' lives and property against anything that can harm or destroy them. So, threats such as communal violence can emanate when the government cannot provide the utmost security to human lives and properties, especially in a heterogenous society like Bauchi. Thus, communal violence such as ethno-religious crisis, communal violence, and protest involved property destruction.

In this aspect, property destruction can refer to the situation where public and private properties are destroyed due to violence in the community, state, and country. These properties can be houses, government offices, hospitals in some cases, schools, boreholes, street lights, business centers, and shops. Therefore, property destruction was noted to be one of the significant implications of the persistence of communal violence in Bauchi state and Nigeria as a whole. According to one of the victims of violence, violence can bring property loss and damage. The informant has this to share: “Communal violence has many

implications, depending on the victims or how someone perceives it. However, to me, one of them is the destruction of property. For example, I lost my house and other relevant things, which I found difficult to move out of the house. So, it affects me. So many things are gone forever.” Source: Informant VCTM 1. As the above informant shared his experience of how communal violence made him lose his house, in a similar direction, two informants from grassroots and NGO categories added that communal violence always comes with destroying properties meant to serve the people. For instance, the NGO said: “Communal violence brings destruction such as destroying public places like government offices, schools, hospitals, places of worship and other places.” Source: Informant NGO 3. While, the grassroots informant attested that: “Also, government and private properties are very often destroyed... I mean, like government offices, boreholes, and roads.” Source: Informant GRT2.

An academic informant reaffirms that all the violence that occurs comes with the destruction of important places. His statement is quoted as follows: “Another implication is property destruction. All violence comes with destruction, such as burning houses, public places, religious worship, and shop destabilization. This can be a long-term consequence among the people affected by the violence.” Source: Informant AC2. To further on the issue of property destruction as an implication of communal violence, the government official stated that during the violence, destruction is made, and the victims face the consequences. His statement is: “During such violence, destruction is made, hospital or school built with millions of naira may be destroyed or burned down, and it is the community which will feel the pain of such destruction.” Source: Informant GO1.

The foregoing portrays that property destruction is one of the major implications of communal violence in the state. The informant believes that any violence comes with the destruction of properties such as schools, religious worship places, hospitals, government offices, and shops. In most cases, public and private properties were destroyed when violence erupted. Some of these properties can be restored, while others can take a long time before their restoration due to their expensive. Because the government had to spend billions of naira before materializing it, but as a result of violence, it can be burnt down or destroyed using other means. Even with the private ownership of properties, people invest a lot in them. Therefore, this property destruction can harm state development and national security because the government must look for funds to rehabilitate the destroyed places. So other money that can be used for other things will be used to reconstruct an old building instead of constructing new ones. Moreover, many private ownerships were also fell victim because their houses burnt down, which maybe it would taken him more than years to build, or he probably collected a loan to build it. In contrast, some perpetrators used violence to loot people’s property in shops and houses. This will affect the owners, sometimes leading to heart attacks and sudden death.

The findings of the study are consistence with previous studies which argued that damaging, destroying, or looting is considered violent since it involves taking weapons such as sticks, cutlasses, and stones (Lowry, 2020). Alao (2021) believed that violence involves destroying property to cause another person emotional or psychological harm and financial loss. For example, elections under the current democratic system in Nigeria have been marked by violence, loss of life, and property damage. Additionally, since the start of the Fourth Republic, several reports of violence associated with elections have destroyed homes

and other property. Therefore, destroying or looting someone's property is an act of crime and violence and is regarded as one of the significant implications of violence.

### **Emergence of More Social Vices**

This section explains the reason why the occurrence of communal violence can enhance or lead to new social disorder. One of the main reasons why communal violence emanates is a lack of trust among the people. It is believed that communal violence brings mistrust, as argued previously. In most developing countries such as Nigeria, the government usually pays little attention to issues related to social vice which results from other forms of violence, and the consequences are usually severe on the peaceful co-existence among the people living together in a state. When violence erupts, and the government commitment is less, the violence can escalate, and many can have access to weapons (emergence of the small and big proliferation of arms) in the state and the country as a whole, which would be used for another criminal act. Most scholars in the discipline of security and strategic studies believe that one violence can lead to the other if the government is less committed to tackling the menace.

In this regard, this study's informants noticed and believed that communal violence can lead to other social crimes. For instance, government officials state that one of the consequences of communal violence is that it brings other social crimes such as robbery, thuggery, and kidnapping. The informant attested that:

*"It is glaring. We have seen it all over. White color crimes are always on the increase. Kidnapping is increasing, and thuggery is always on the increase that's the consequence of it. Just like President Muhammadu Buhari said: if we did not kill corruption, it would kill us. So, suppose we do not end violence if we do not deal with the perpetrators ruthlessly. In that case, I am telling you the issue of communal violence and other crimes such as kidnapping, thuggery, banditry, and other white color crimes will always increase... do you understand."* Source: Informant GO2

As the above informant clarifies the implication of the persistence of violence in any form can lead to the emergence of other social crimes, such as banditry and kidnapping. Another informant added that communal violence always comes with other crimes which affect the people's peace in the community as he laments that:

*"The persistence of communal violence has implications, and one of them is the little crime happening in society, such as thief and robbery. So, to me, violence always comes with other crimes... yeah, when communal violence happens, the perpetrators may likely have access to small or big weapons, and they can use such weapons to intimidate other people into snatching their property like handphones, pieces of jewelry in the case of females and money. Such incidence is happening daily in society."* Source: Informant AC1

In some cases, communal violence can lead to arms proliferation in the state which certain people would use against innocent people to snatch valuable things. An informant added that the persistence of insecurity, such as communal violence, emerges due to poverty, increasing

other social crimes. This was noted when the informant said: “one of the implications is poverty. The persistence of insecurity comes as a result of abject poverty. When communal violence continues, it will increase poverty in the community and the implication that other social crime can also emanate in the community.” Source: Informant NGO1. In another notion, an informant added that communal violence always leads to ethno-religious violence. This was noted when the informant said: “As I told you earlier, ... So, the continue of communal violence can lead to ethnoreligious violence as we witness in the state, and this can further give birth to other crimes which can have more consequences to the people in the community and the state as a whole.” Source: Informant GSP2

Based on the analysis above, it can be interpreted from the data that most communal violence gives birth to another social menace with severe consequences. This social menace can be in the form of ethno-religious violence, robbery, theft, kidnapping, and banditry. This is because people in this period generally have access to small arms (arms proliferation). Some of the informants of the study believe the current increase in banditry, kidnapping, and day robbery is a result of the insurgency because the group has access to weapons that they can use to their advantage. Most scholars in violence such as (Forum on Global Violence Prevention, 2013) have confirmed that one violence can lead or give birth to another violence ‘violence begets violence’ which will ultimately be more effective on the people and society than the former.

From the foregoing analysis and discussion of the socio-cultural implications, it can be understood that communal violence has implicated the state socially and culturally. The findings reveal a rise over time, posing a significant threat to lives and property, obstructing commercial activity, and discouraging local and international investors, all stifling Nigeria's social, cultural, and economic progress. This increasing tide of insecurity has not abated but has taken on a dangerous aspect that threatens the country's shared survival as a geographical entity. Therefore, the primary and secondary data are in line with one another. The next part (themes) discusses how communal violence affects security governance.

### **Security Governance Consequences**

Security governance consequence is the second theme. The implications of communal violence on security governance explain the capability of the government to manage security threats. Implications of communal violence are not mainly affecting the people and their property alone. Instead, it also goes beyond to affect the government itself. Again, the government is seen as an institution that can protect its structure, officials, citizens, and other cultural values from any internal and external threat. When the people and their properties are affected, even if the government structure is not affected, the government is directly or indirectly affected by the existing threat. Based on the above argument, the informant of this study highlights some areas in which they believe communal violence affects the security governance at all levels of government in the state. From the informants' view on the implication of communal violence on the government, three subthemes are identified, hindering government efforts and attention, increasing governance cost, and hindering state development. These sub-themes are analyzed accordingly.

### Hinders the Government Efforts and Attention

Communal violence has remained one of the significant challenges to governments in heterogeneous societies, especially developing countries. This is due to the lack of adequate commitment by the government. When violence erupts, different sides of the state, including the government, can be affected. Even though national and state governments do their best to see that measures are provided to curtail or address the problem identified as a security threat, most of their attempts have been hindered due to inadequate governance.

In Nigeria, most states are criticized for their inability to use governance to address issues related to insecurity such as communal violence. Therefore, communal violence can harm the government's efforts to provide goods and services to the people. This is because government attention and efforts are diverted from one thing without completion during the violence. According to an informant from the government, communal violence never allows the government to focus entirely on other issues that can bring development and achievement to the state. The statement was quoted as follows:

*“Well. You know. Clearing throats... the major implication is that it will not allow the government to settle down. So, for example, if there is an election and the sitting government is lucky to retain its position, such violence will not allow it to consolidate its progress or achievement. You know it has some objectives that will fail the people, and if there is this violence, it will derail its programs and may jeopardize its actions. However, if a new government comes in, they will start on the wrong footing because they will be confronted with this destruction as soon as they come in, destabilizing them, which has a serious implication.”* Source: Informant GO1

Similarly, a grassroots informant shares the same opinion:

*“Well, my view is that communal violence can harm the government itself because I know that during the violence, the government will be worried and start to look for an alternative to settle the issue while abandoning the existing project. So, you see, the focus of the government is change. So, it affects the government.”* Source: Informant GRT3

The informants above believe that communal violence diverts the government's attention and perpetually affects the government's achievement in the state and the country. Though the implication of communal violence is not limited to particular or targeted groups, it can go beyond expectation. To add more, another informant stated that communal violence does affect security management by diverting the attention of security personnel. The informant shares this: “Hmmm... It implicates the management of security in so many ways. One such reason is diverting the attention of the security to a particular situation, and the attention is diverted to other forms that can come up elsewhere.” Source: Informant GSP1.

In another view, an informant stated that communal violence had affected security management because of biases in the security approach. “But as long as the business will come in, influence will come in. I am telling you we are not going anywhere, so that affects the management. However, we must put these two aspects into play before we get where

we need to go.” Source: informant GO2. This means that sometimes the government tends to use some approaches that are not suitable to address the identified threat in the state, which escalates violence, thereby affecting the government's achievement in the future.

The above analysis shows how the government is affected by communal violence. The informant believed that the emergence of communal violence in the state could hinder the federal and the state government's performance in providing services to the people, which is the primary aim or function of the government. As Fukayama (2013), argued, governance measures the government's performance in providing services to its citizens. Therefore, when the government pays little attention or commitment to violence, such a threat can escalate beyond the state's management capacity. In this regard, government performance during violence is hindered in some cases, and it loses its support and allegiance from the citizens because the people will feel that the government failed in providing security to them and her primary aim was not achieved. Therefore, security threat requires full attention and commitment of the government to address while neglect can go beyond the state's ability. The study of Sousa (2013), which reviewed 50 pieces of literature on violence, shows how violence threatens three interconnected domains of functioning: individual functioning about their environment, community functioning and social fabric, and governmental functioning and population service delivery. Njoku (2010) states that the consequences of insecurity such as communal violence in Nigeria include a high rate of political assassinations and a resulting threat to the nation's democracy. The consequences of political unrest in Nigeria also include the thoughtless destruction of people's lives and valuables, and the potential breakdown of law and order in the nation, which would harm government initiatives. Therefore, communal violence undermines the government's full efforts to deliver service to its citizens. One of the ways it undermines the government is by increasing the government budget (cost) and affecting other social service delivery. The next subtheme explains how communal violence increases the cost of governance.

### **Increases Cost of Governance**

The increased cost of governance in this aspect entails the government security budget being hindered due to communal violence. Government at the national and state levels is seen as an institution with the ability to use resources ultimately in providing service delivery to the people, including security. On this basis, the government collects taxes and levies from the citizens to enhance its capacity to provide the services needed. The government makes a budget yearly to project its spending. In a situation where communal violence erupted, governments in developing countries like Nigeria found it difficult in terms of funds to confront the threat. As such, the study's informants see this as an effect on the government. For instance, the government official was the first to provide this information. He stated that during the period of communal violence government budget was usually inflated, leading the government to seek assistance from external donors. His statements were captured when the informant said this:

*“This may also inflate the government's budget because the government has to look for money again to either renovate or build a new one. So, it has so many implications...and you know, when such things occur, much money needs to be involved. If there is violence, you know the destruction that may follow, the dislocation, the displacement of people, we always have internally displaced*

*people. You know it will be the role and responsibility of the government to settle them and provide them shelter, food, medicals, and the rest. So, it affects the state government negatively.”* Source: Informant GO1

It is observed that communal violence increases government spending because the government needs to provide other necessary things needed for the victims, such as shelter and food. On this basis, another informant lamented that:

*“Definitely... whenever communal violence occurs, the government needs to do extra, apart from the initial security budget. Is through the budget, the government helps the victims of the violence to rehabilitate them and re-orient them, and this how my office comes in. so you can tell... the money that was kept to solve other issues will be diverted to security... of course, there is extra money kept for emergence. However, it will not be enough to handle the situation.”* Source: Informant GO 2

An academician further attested that the government has to do extra spending during communal violence to meet the people's demands.

*“It is obvious that the government budget increased during communal violence. You know, the government makes a budget based on her projection. During communal violence, the perpetrators destroy public and private properties, people lose their lives, and some get serious injuries. All this required adequate resources to rehabilitate the destroyed structures, treat the injured ones, and bury the dead corpses.”* Source: Informant AC1

It can be noted here that communal violence implicates the government budget. Though the government kept extra funds for such emergencies, in most cases, such funds are not enough to solve the problem. The federal and state governments are criticized for mismanaging security funds for their personnel benefits while allowing the problem with little funds. This means that the government does not adequately utilize the resources allocated for security in the state, and issues related to insecurity, such as communal violence, require adequate funding. In return, the government utilized other resources meant for education, agriculture, and other things for security (Jelilov, Ozden & Briggs, 2018). The resources allocated to security allowance and welfare by the government, especially to those confronting the violence, are mismanaged by some public officeholders. Most studies in Nigeria (Njoku, 2020) show that the security personnel were not paid properly. Communal violence can affect the government budget and the cost of governance in managing the affairs of the citizens. In this regard, communal violence is considered an implication to the state administration. As communal violence increases the cost of governance, other aspects that need improvement do not have proper attention. The next subtheme explains how communal violence hinders a state's development.

### **Hinders the State Development**

In their interviews, most informants mentioned how communal violence implicates the state's development politically and economically. States in Nigeria were growingly developed concerning economy and politics until the return of democratic rule in 1999 when the state



began to lose its development as before. Through the return to democracy, the state and the country are expected to perform extraordinarily in administrating and developing independently because the people can serve and control the government. Unfortunately, the reality shows that federal and state governments face economic and political developmental challenges due to a lack of effective governance, leading to social insecurity, such as communal violence.

The informants (8 out of 17) believed that communal violence directly affects the state's development, especially in democratic and economic areas. For example, security personnel stated this during the interview:

*“It also affects the country's development as the money allocated to physical development will be used in curbing communal violence alone. Therefore, the state will look underdeveloped regarding physical development... the socio-economic and political aspects will also be implicated. The socio-economic is related to harmony among different groups, ethnicities, and tribes, while the political is the democracy itself.”* Source: Informant GSP1

Similarly, another informant stated that communal violence always changes the environment, affecting sustainable development. “Yeah, you know communal violence sometimes distorts the environment, the environment cannot be conducive without harmonious. So when the communal violence arrived, no sustainable development can be archived.” Source: Informant NGO 3. It was added that “yeah, as I said, this persistence communal violence slows down the development of the state because the state cannot develop when you have violence there.” Source: Informant GRT1

The two informants above stated that states in Nigeria face serious developmental issues during communal violence, which affects the state's physical development, such as infrastructure. A government informant believed that communal violence can lead or signify that the community or the state is not politically mature. His statement was noted during the interview when he said: “Well, you see, communal violence is an indication of or indicative that a country or society with such violence is not matured politically...It also affects us negatively because it will not allow our democracy to grow.” Source: informant GO1.

Thus, the security personnel and the second government informant see the implication from an economic point of view where they stated that communal violence can increase insecurity due to hardship in economic. Their statements are quoted below,

*“The effects of communal violence. Yes, its effects on economic insecurity have increased in the second place. Because I can remember there was a time when the curfew was imposed which most of shops and markets were closed, during the periods many businessmen lost their goods and services due to damages.”* Source: Informant GSP2

From the foregoing analysis and interpretation, the data show that communal violence can directly negatively impact the state and country's development politically and economically. The economic implication directly involved the halt in commercial activities, which hinders

the source of revenue to the state and the country. It also entails how the federal and state are spending more on security. At the same time, political development entails democratic consolidation, where it is noted that democracy is hindered, which can lead to military coups, as in the case of Mali, Sudan, and Chad. However, communal violence can also physically hinder state development due to infrastructure damage.

However, violence, such as terrorism and insecurity, has been shown in a few studies to obstruct a state's or country's growth and improvement. For example, Nwanegbo & Odigbo (2013) believe that security reimbursements a country's progress. Ewetan & Urhie (2014) believe that insecurity has been seen to hamper corporate operations and weaken distant and near financial backers. Adegbami (2013), in his analysis, concluded that insecurity is inconvenient to individuals' overall success and leads to the obliteration of businesses, properties, and project relocation. Udeh & Ihezue (2013) noted that insecurity hinders Nigeria's efforts toward national economic development and has an impact on its Vision 2020, as well as raising concerns about foreign investment's interest in Nigeria and its promises to economic development. Moreover, Ibok & Ogar (2018) Nigeria's progress is significantly hampered by violence. In the author's opinion, violence discourages domestic and foreign investment in our economy, results in government revenue and resource losses, and elects unqualified members, which is detrimental to the nation's economic and social advancement. Violence is a human trait, and it is evident in Nigeria's political system today. It was suggested that violence in Nigeria had led to numerous military interventions.

Theoretically, the findings of this study provided evidence and revealed the views of the most critical actors regarding the consequences of communal violence on peaceful coexistence and security governance. However, the application of the theory of good governance has guided the study toward understanding the problem of communal violence. For instance, the World Bank highlighted that fostering collaboration among different sectors of society leads to stability in political, social, and economic growth. In a situation where the case is reversed, political and socio-economic issues will continue to hinder development. This highlights that the government's inability to involve all segments of society in decision-making can lead to violence, a lack of harmony, and peaceful coexistence. This situation affects people in society. However, poverty, hunger, inequality, and underdevelopment remain the main socio-economic features of that society. Therefore, avoiding communal violence and its short- and long-term consequences is related to achieving effective and good governance, which entails a coordinated systems approach, sector-wide coordination, and empowering local authorities to address these challenges.

### **Conclusion and recommendations**

From the foregoing analysis, interpretation, and discussion, it can be concluded that the persistence of communal violence has many implications for the people, the state, and the countries. Communal violence can harm people, as they may fall victim either as individuals who lost their lives in the cause of violence or as those who lost their loved ones and properties. Furthermore, it can go to the extent that it distorts their social interaction and harmony, leading to distrust among the people in the community. As for the government, it can get affected politically and economically, which will affect its performance, thereby lacking support from the citizens. Hence, these issues can hinder governance's influential role in managing communal violence in the state and the country as a whole.

Based on the conclusion, the study recommends the provision of mechanisms that can enhance the monitoring of security in the communities of the state. That is, the government and policymakers should come up with a strategic plan that can enhance and provide frequent patrols of communities, especially areas that are identified as red zones. "Providing such action can help in mitigating communal violence in the area. There is a need for a proper awareness program aimed at educating people about the consequences of violence and the importance of living together in harmony. Such awareness can sensitize and enhance people's awareness, and it can help them avoid violence. The program can be promoted through the media, community leaders, and family. It was further recommended to the government and policymakers that they provide programs aimed at rehabilitating the victims of violence. This can be achieved through awareness and education programs. The open-age schools and houses should be further enhanced and established in other parts of the state with the aim of accommodating children who lost their parents to violence or natural causes. This house should have all the educational facilities and skills acquisition tools that can be used to train the kids for self-reliance. The house should be totally under the government's watch and control. As for social support, the government should provide programs where it will give social support to those who lost their properties; doing so can reduce tension and mental health problems.

### Acknowledgment

The study acknowledges the informants who participated in the study for sharing their views, opinions, concerns, and experiences about the topic under investigation. Without their views, it is not possible to achieve the research objective. The study thanks the University Putra Malaysia for providing the resources and basic tools for research. Bauchi State University is also acknowledged in the study.

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