EFFECT OF POLITICAL THUGGERY ON SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Political thuggery is an aspect of social violence which is devastating in Nigerian democracy. The menace has become detrimental to democratic sustainability in Nigerian politics in which thugs move mostly in groups victimising, terrorising, intimidating, and injuring innocent individuals and politicians. Accordingly, the phenomenon affects individuals to pose deadly threats by deterring individuals to be active in political processes and routine socio-economic activities at their homes, shops and on the streets. The method of data collection and analysis is qualitative. The study used Elite Theory as the tool of analysis which postulates that elites are responsible for recruiting and training of thugs to serve their selfish interest of maintaining and controlling political power. The findings revealed that thuggery created fear among candidates which hindered electorate political participation. Among recommendations are the thugs and their sponsors be punished regardless of their political party affiliations, employment opportunities to the teeming youth as well as sensitisation and awareness campaigns to transform and dissuade thugs psychology.

Key Words: Politics, Thuggery, Democracy, Violence, Elite

Introduction

Political thuggery is a devastating phenomenon in Nigerian politics. It has brought about the loss of lives and valuable properties with socio-political and economic consequences. This phenomenon is characterised by crisis, conflict, dispute, rebellion, violence and even war which affect political development especially democratic sustainability. The phenomenon has become detrimental to democratic sustainability in Nigerian. The thugs move mostly in organised groups victimising, terrorising, intimidating, and injuring

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not only politicians but also innocent individuals. The menace is responsible for poor political culture as it results to death or poses deadly threats by deterring individuals from actively per taking into political processes and routine socio-economic activities at their homes, shops and on the streets within the country.

Accordingly, Elites and politicians recruit unemployed youths into thuggery for their self-aggrandisement during political processes like campaigns and elections to serve as thugs, to snatch ballot papers and ballot boxes (Hassan, 2011:122). Elite most especially political class who hold political power used various means in order to remain in power without considering the state of socio-political harmony of their respective societies and the sustainability of democracy. This class of people recruits and sponsor some youth that pays allegiance to them and consequently they benefit from the services rendered to them by these thugs. It is against this background that this paper attempts examining the effects political thuggery on democratic sustainability.

Methodology

A secondary source of data collection is employed in this paper. The official reports, books, journal, articles, magazines, newspapers and other periodic reports and publications were consulted from various libraries and centres of documentation, these included the Sir Kashim Ibrahim Library and the Post Graduate Library; Department of Political Science; Ahmadu Bello University; Zaria, The central libraries, Departmental and Faculty libraries of Gombe State University and Federal University, Kashere -Gombe state, the State Library, Gombe and the Library of the Centre for Democratic Development Research and Training (CEDDERT), Zango-Shanu, Zaria and other personal libraries. The literature review is practically thematic relevant to political thuggery and democratic sustainability.

Political Thuggery: Typology and Causes

Political thuggery has been defined differently by different scholars. As observed by Howell and Asiegbu (2004: 2011), thuggery refers to the activities of thugs connected with stealing, killing, kidnapping, rudeness, victimisation, intimidation, and harassment. This manner affects peace, harmony and mutual co-existence among groups in their respective communities. If politics is criminalised through thuggery, right people who are the observers of good values tend to be scared and keep away from political processes. This suggests that thuggery is a violent behaviour affecting political culture and other political processes in Nigerian politics. Similarly, Banwo (2003) maintains that thuggery is a process of using extra-judicial means in the course of the contest for or in exercising political power including intimidation, harassment, assassination, blackmail, and arson; for Banwo (2003) physical and psychological attacks could not help to ensure
sustainable peace and security within any democratic system like Nigeria. He further believed that attributes of sponsoring thugs are due to the fact that the Nigerian politics is characterised by rigging, violence, and ropes under the manipulation of the few elites to get and maintain political power by all means which could not assure sustainable democracy in the country. Hence, this paper sees political thuggery as the act of intimidating, victimising, terrorising, kidnapping and robbing the targeted or innocent individuals on the streets, at homes and in the shops by thugs either on political grounds or selfish interest during political, social and economic activities in their communities.

The typology of political thuggery in different parts of the country depends on the conditions, traditions and the levels of political culture that the natives of various ethnic groups processed and cherished. For instance, the native and popular name of thuggery in Gombe state is called kalare; in Adamawa state they are called Yan Daukan Amarya; in Kano state they are called Yan Tauri or Yan Daba; in Bauchi state, they are named Sara Suka; in Borno state, they are popularly referred to as Ecomog; in Lagos state, they are called Area Boys; in Bayelsa State, they are known as Egbesu; in Abia state, they are referred to as Bakassi Boys; and so on (Abubakar, 2015). These thugs, however, have similar features of the acts of intimidating, victimising, terrorising, kidnapping and robbing the targeted or innocent individuals on the streets, at homes and in the shops either on political grounds or selfish interest during in their communities. Political thuggery can manifest in different forms as shown below:

In discussing the causes of thuggery in Borno state, Mbaya (2013) had argued that (i) the majority of youths in Borno state are jobless, illiterates, with no means of livelihood, they are impoverished, and being paid easily to manipulate election results. The political elite capitalises on this weakness and recruits the youths, who not only constitute the pillar of society but also the most vulnerable to the self-inflicted poverty, as their thugs to perpetrate violence. (ii) Politics for personal gain – this has become a common feature in Nigerian politics. This is a situation in which an individual tries to hold on to power for personal gains. In an attempt to hang on to power, leaders often create a regime of violence, repression, and bloodshed. They organise political thugs, hooligans, and scavengers to sing their praises, intimidate opponents and kill them if they become intransigent. The unnecessary and uncoordinated urge to control, dominate and amass wealth for their family and friends inform the emergence of political thugs to be used to win the election by all means. (iii) prebendal politics in Nigeria, politics is conceived as an investment. The politicians, having invested huge amount of money on campaigns and other political activities, coupled with the existing system of winner takes all, would want to win at all cost. In view of the above, the need to employ the use of thugs and touts to manipulate and rig elections becomes necessary, especially when such politicians are not popular candidates. (iv) Refusal to accept
electoral defeat in good faith is also a fertile factor that can breed thuggery and trigger violence in politics. (v) The absence of good governance and low political culture are also contributing factors to the menace of thuggery and violence. Similarly, hunger, marginalisation, incapacitation, intolerance, domination and apathy etc can also cause political violence.

A study in the Republic of South Africa has shown that the root cause of thuggery and violence in South Africa is associated with the social matrix and the long history of oppression, poverty, and exploitation in the country. This is due to the fact that, from 1948, the apartheid government denied the majority of South Africans access to central political authority and embedded racially-based social inequality. The state used vertical institutional violence to maintain this inequality, racial superiority, and social control. In terms of opened political violence, the state overpowered those opposed to it via ‘legalised’ detentions, convictions and bannings, and retorted violently to any resistance to its authority. Likewise, the National Crime Prevention Strategy of the Republic of South Africa (1996) attributed the escalation in crime to the destruction of social control mechanisms, enormous social and economic disparity, unemployment and underdevelopment, the legitimacy crisis in state institutions related to the slow transformation of the old order, and the ‘culture of violence’ in South Africa. Therefore,

As South Africa moves through the transition to democracy, the legacy of political and other forms of violence will continue to take its toll on the psychological, social, political and economic coexistence of all South Africans (Hamber, 1998:2-11). This is important in understanding the effects and causes of thuggery in Nigerian politics because unemployment and illiteracy constituted major causes of the menace in Nigeria at the detriment of sustainable democracy.

Studies have shown that thuggery and violence are basically “carried out by youth whose members are openly recruited, financed, and sometimes armed by public officials, politicians, party officials, and their representatives” (Luqman, 2010:13). The extremely competitive and ethnically charged nature of Nigerian politics, particularly at the highest levels, makes political stability and sustainable democracy a difficult national asset to secure. For example, length politicians are prepared to go to obtain political office by all means has evidenced the fact that some politicians have gone as far as seeking to create ‘fake’ police and other security forces, by purchasing uniforms for their hired thugs to wear to disrupt electoral activities and manipulated elections results to suit the interest of their sponsors (TSA, 2011:18).

Additionally, thuggery and violence have contributed remarkably in the initiation of young people who are generally regarded as the future hope of the Nigerian society and custodian of good democratic values into crime. Certain factors prompt this phenomenon including social disorganisation resulting from the breakdown of values and norms in the society. The other challenges are encumbered due to negative social changes from the wave of
globalisation engendered by the movie industry, satellite, and internets as well as economic meltdown have all contributed to the degeneration Adisa (1994:149-162). For the youth, the consequences are more detrimental. Illegal roadside markets have become fertile grounds for petty thefts, daylight robberies and other criminalities that involve the youths. In a way, these youths are also co-opted and exposed to violence by the nature of their engagement in para-security employments. Adisa (1994) further instantiates this with Lagos State where the youths are called Area Boys who are responsible for organised street violence are hired by Lebanese businessmen as bodyguards or intimidators; at the same time, night clubs, restaurants, and brothels in several parts of Lagos employ their services as enforcers. Not only in Lagos, this trend is perhaps a major cause of concern as the politicians also employ these youths as body guards and errand boys from where they graduate into full blown thugs.

Today, thuggery has become a matter of national security affecting sustainable democracy, especially during campaigns and elections. Security is thus elemental in governance as it is the protection of the lives, rights, dignity and property of the citizens and the resources, territory, sovereignty and the lawful institution of the country. It is also when these institutions utilise the resources of the nation for the provision of secure, just and equitable living conditions for the citizens of the country that they own their legitimacy (Usman, 1986:173). However, in most African states, including Nigeria, the rulers of the states, empires and politics constitute the major threat to the security of the lives and properties of their own citizens. Meanwhile, the security agencies that exist to checkmate the excesses of such leaders become the propagators of disunity because of their political ambitions. These and much more have spoiled the process of sustainable democracy in the Fourth Republic.

Finally, in discussing the factors responsible for the conflict and violence, which thuggery is a part in Nigerian politics, Dunmoye (2012:7) argues that “a major factor that contributed to conflict in this country, even at the local community levels, is the economic crises and its impact on the reproduction of material. When people suffer from economic deprivation and poverty, they seek solace in group membership and collective action. At the local level, the struggle for the resources, that is, jobs, land and to some extent government patronage becomes intense, especially if the antagonists belong to different communities, ethnic and religious groups”. This argument is affirmed by Luqman (2010) who sees factors responsible for violence, in which thuggery is a part, in Nigeria is as a result of state failure leading to poverty, unemployment and the rise and proliferation of ethnic militia groups among others in the country. However, there are other societies with poorer economic conditions and do not have such spates of violent behaviour particularly political thuggery. Hence the general causes of political thuggery in Nigerian politics are unemployment, elite manipulation, illiteracy, poverty,
thugs’ personal gains, poor upbringing, poor security operatives and lack of democratic consciousness.

**Democracy and Its Sustainability**

The concept of democracy has been defined differently by different scholars depending on the circumstance and interest of their research. Accordingly, democracy here emphasises political freedoms and procedures, including ‘government by the people’, political rights and elections or civil liberties. It entails ‘civilian politics’ that provide substantive values such as peace, social and economic development, or equality and justice in every political community even within the scope of this research.

The meaning and nature of democracy are subjected to its application in different environments. In discussing the nature of Nigerian democracy, Jega (2007:15) observes that “the dominant model, historically and contemporarily, in terms of the number of the countries who have used or are using it, is a liberal democracy. It is predicated on the individual freedom; equality before the law; universal suffrage (voting rights); election and representation”. Additional features include popular sovereignty; popular representation; majority government; guarantee of freedom (basic); consensus and accommodation; peaceful resolution of disputes; free market and enterprise. Liberal democracy is also variously referred to as bourgeois democracy and elite democracy.

A democratic system is said to “enable citizens to control public policy pertaining to the holding of elections under certain forms, to the central, national decision-making organs and to the maintenance of certain fundamental political liberties” (Hadenius, 1992:36 in Umar, 2007:3). However, this definition limits the scope of democratic experience to the central level of governance by excluding other important levels of analysis such as the state and local governments that played an important role in a federal system of government like Nigeria which play an important role in ensuring democratic sustainability. Thus, any definition of democracy should not only consider the system that observes election to control public policy decisions alone but also recognises other fundamental issues that have to do with social justice, economic development, political rights, harmony and social security as the major pillars of democratic sustainability.

Furthermore, sustainable democracy is seen as the imperative for states to uphold democratic values and institutions that is premeditated upon the entrenchment of the ideals of democracy which, unlike other forms of organisation provide the citizens with the wherewithal or means to actively participate, directly or indirectly in the political system through the mechanisms of transparency, rule of law, civil rights and fundamental freedoms, and as a way of overcoming the shortcomings of the other systems. Sustainable democracy allows the citizens to know the processes of decision making with regard to the issues affecting their societies. Transparency, accountability, rule of law, constitutionalism and justice are the pivotal
principles that accompany the human coexistence in a democratic system without infringing on their Fundamental Human Rights (Umar, 2007).

Sustainable democracy is not merely the establishment of democratic structures, institutions, and procedures; it is also about the way democratic values and processes become embedded into the minds of individuals and groups in their political communities. In this view, some scholars are pessimistic that democratic values are blunted because the daunting economic difficulties, human rights violations and other abuses, ethnic cum religious crises, corruption, violence, political thuggery and fragility of civil society have disclosed and exacerbated the major challenges of democracy and democratic sustainability in Nigeria (Diamond, 1996, Monshipouri, 1995, O’Donnel and Schmitter, 1993 cited in Umar, 2007:3). Democracy in developing countries of Africa has not accompanied with the designed principles as “many cases of transition to democracy have spawned up what can be referred to as democracy without democrats or democratic dividends” (Jega, 2007:20). Nonetheless, Ake (1996) also strongly argues that democracy accommodates popular participation but such participation is highly restricted and accompanied by threats to socio-economic and political stability and development. As such, Umar (2007) also views democracy as a system that allows elite instability as a condition in which members of the political elite use violent actions or the threats of violence to remove persons from their command position in the national government.

Appraising the nature of democracy in Nigeria, Steenis (2009) notes that the “present elitist democracy is petrifying because dead money suppresses original ideas of free people. Creativity and autonomy are not appreciated. Democracy is hardly less violent than other social systems. Hundreds of millions of people are killed in wars started by democrats. Rich Western democracies support regimes that maintain a situation in which many people do not even get enough food” (Steenis, 2009:5). This shows that democracy in Nigeria is misused by the people in power at various levels of government without considering the social milieu which determines social coexistence to reach peaceful, stable and harmonious political communities. Hence, democracy is associated with negative values, more especially in Nigeria where social vices including corruption, conflict for resource control, ethnoreligious violence, armed robbery and kidnapping are engineered by known and unknown people to achieve selfish interest. These and many are inimical to the democratic sustainability in Nigeria.

**Elite Theory**

Elite theory is a political tool advanced to explain political realities within a political system. This theory was developed from the popular writings of Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), and Robert Michel (1876-1936), and Ortega Gasset. The theory emanates from political sociology to explain the political and social relationships among individuals and groups in their societies with regards to decision making,
power relations, and resources; the theory is a complement to Pluralism and Conflict theories.

Generally, Mosca emphasised the ways in which tiny minorities ‘out-organise and outwit’ large majorities, the political classes. Mosca’s term for political elites usually has ‘a certain material, intellectual, or even moral superiority’ over those they govern. Pareto postulated that in a society with truly unrestricted social mobility, elites would consist of the most talented and deserving individuals; but in actual societies elites are those most adept at using the two modes of political rule, force and persuasion, and who usually enjoy important advantages such as inherited wealth and family connections. Pareto sketched alternating types of governing elites, which he likened, following Machiavelli, to lions and foxes. Michel rooted elites ‘oligarchies’ in the need of large organisations for leaders and experts in order to operate efficiently; as these individuals gain control of funds, information flows, promotions, and other aspects of organisational functioning, power becomes concentrated in their hands. Emphasising the inescapability and also the relative autonomy of elites, all three men characterised aspirations to fully democratic and egalitarian societies as futile (Higley, 2005:2).

In a nutshell, Kayode (2008) summarises the meaning and nature of elites in Nigerian politics as “are those citizens who have either an occupational or avocational interest in issues of governance”. He further argues that elites naturally include those inside and outside the apparatus of government, those in media houses, Non-governmental organisations, educational institutions and the like, their attitude towards democratic rule has not been uniform. Therefore, the elite can be defined as individuals who, by the advantage of their defined positions in many respects of crucial establishments and arrangements, are able to determine political consequences frequently and considerably. Put differently, elites are individuals with the systematised aptitude to make factual political actions without being promptly punished by authorities concern. These individuals consist of high-status and reputable leaders, classical politicians, significant businessmen, top civil servants, high-ranking military officers, and other respected individuals in the society.

**Basic Assumptions of the Theory**

The Elites Theory assumes that any political community is divided into two, the few who are cohesive, well-organised and self-protective and above all have the power to allocate values for the communities, and the majority who are uncoordinated and confused without any political power to make policy. It is further assumed that the elites are obtained truly from the higher socio-economic status who possess certain qualities of superiority over the masses; also, the elites are essentially cohesive constantly defending the status quo, in order to ensure the protection of their gains at the detriment of the masses. The channel of sustenance include but not limited to coercion by security agencies, militancy, manipulation of the media, schools,
indoctrination of masses with deceitful ideologies and stereotype; and finally, to ensure system maintenance of their interest, elite avoids any sort of rebellion or revolt against their interest by creating institutional framework which permits gradual process to recruit and absorb tiny few individuals who will also protect the general interest of the elites.

**Nexus between Elite Theory, Thuggery, and Democracy**

Democratic systems must rely on the wisdom, loyalty, and skill of their political leaders, not on the selfish will of some people. The democratic sustainability also relies on good governance and good political culture among divided groups: the elite, or the ‘political entrepreneurs,’ who possess ideological commitments and manipulative skills; and the citizens at large, the masses, or the ‘apolitical clay’, of the system, a much larger class of passive, inert followers who have little knowledge of public affairs and even less interest. The factor that distinguishes democracy and democratic sustainability is the ability of these two groups to ensure the sustainability of the ideals of democratic values in accordance with a general will against the limited need of few individual elites to the majority need of the system.

Elite maintains different positions in their political system that informed them to behave the way they like. As stated by Kayode (2008:132) “the major determinants of particular elite attitude to democracy have been their individual positions in terms of the levels of power”. The present elitist democracy is petrifying because dead money suppresses original ideas of democratic values characterised by violence in Nigerian politics.

The case of Nigeria shows that elite and politicians recruit unemployed youths into thuggery for their selfish aggrandisement during political processes like campaigns and elections to serve as thugs, to snatch ballot papers and ballot boxes (Hassan, 2011:122). Elite most especially political class who hold political power used various means in order to remain in power without considering the state of socio-political harmony of their respective societies and the sustainability of democracy. This class of people recruits and sponsor some youth that pays allegiance to them during political activities and consequently they also benefit from the services these youths render to them during political activities; and in turn, the youths are motivated by the little amount of money, drugs and light weapons.

Therefore, Elite theory enables us to examine and explain the way in which ruling and non-ruling elites manipulate thugs to serve their interest in order to control and maintain political power. The elites use every means and tendency at their disposal by ensuring that they remain in power. Jega (2007) argues that it is preponderant to maintain that the political elites in Nigeria’s nascent democracy are the cogs in the wheel of democratic progress. The dictum of the do-or-die affair in politics is a salient credo of an unwritten ideological structure in their manifesto. They sponsor all sorts of violence for the upkeep of their personal gain and political advancement. It is for these reasons that they cherished the ideals of democracy in as much as it facilitates
and creates opportunities for blunder and plunder of public treasury and the people at their mercy. Democracy to these groups is only a desirable and a defendable venture if it is a means not an end; a means to power at the detriment of the common good of the majority of the population whereas the end being the lofty ideals of good governance and personal liberty.

**Effects of Political Thuggery on Democratic Sustainability**

The effects of thuggery on sustainable democracy are detrimental to national development in which the results show that thuggery created fear among the candidates, hindrance of the electorates, killing innocent people, violation of human rights, destruction of properties and insecurity during and after the election.

Firstly, the killing of innocent people is the foremost evil of thuggery in Nigerian politics. Abubakar (2015) believed that thugs attacked innocent people, as they hardly lay hands onto their target; they attempted to attack everybody they come across. This trend is affecting democratic and social activities negatively, especially in the Third World Countries, where democracy not allowed to be played in accordance with its guiding principles. Democracy when it is allowed, according to its norms, will facilitate stability and good governance. For instance, it was revealed that *kalare* activities still exist in Gombe state in spite the fact that Governor Dankwambo announced the demise of the phenomenon during his inaugural speech on 29th May 2011. It was gathered that during the local government elections in 2013, Governor Dankwambo was heard speaking to *Yan kalare* in Hausa language that “*bakin da ya haneku, shi ke muku umurni yau*”. This means, “The one, who told you to surrender your weapons, is the one telling you to take them” (Abubakar, 2015).

Secondly, creating fear among candidates and hindrance of electorates are also the possible consequences of political thuggery in Nigerian politics which affect democratic sustainability. Politicians and other related elites are actively involved in sponsoring thugs for their selfish benefits. No political party can deny the fact that they hired, recruited and sponsored thugs during elections. The set-up of thugs is not limited to candidates of different party affiliations but also involved ordinary electorates who go to sundry polling units to vote for their desired candidates. For example, Abubakar (2015) argues that Post-election Violence of the 2011 General Elections was flared up by the opposition thugs who were unhappy with the election result in almost Northern states in the country. Thugs burnt valuable materials including vehicles, houses, and offices of officials of PDP in different states. Similarly, innocent individuals lost their lives and valuable properties during and after the 2011 General Elections. Therefore, thuggery affects democratic sustainability negatively through quashing its core values specifically free and fair elections in Nigeria politics by creating fear among candidates and hindrance of the electorate during and after elections.
Thirdly, violation of Fundamental Human Rights is also the possible effects of political thuggery on democratic sustainability in Nigerian politics. Individuals and electorate fail to enjoy the right to vote for their desired candidates during elections as they are forced to vote for some candidate or to be injured. In some areas, ballot boxes were snatched or were not provided for the electorates to vote the prepared candidates. Abubakar (2015) further argued that political thuggery promotes political instability, intolerance and disharmony in the Nigerian politics which invariably led to crises and eventual violence in a country.

Fourthly, political thuggery also worsening insecurity during and after elections; most violent incidence in Nigerian politics was perpetrated by thugs especially during elections. Post-election violence, ethnoreligious crises, and most communal conflicts have their genesis from political thuggery which degenerated into a large form of violence in many cities of Nigerian states. This situation led to the poor political culture and more often than not affects democratic sustainability in Nigerian politics.

Finally, political thuggery is still a major threat to democratic sustainability that resulted to poor political culture in Nigerian politics. Electorates don’t care about the ideals of democratic values which enhance democratic sustainability in the country. For instance, Jega (2007) concludes that the political elites in Nigeria’s nascent democracy are the cogs in the wheel of democratic progress. They sponsor all sorts of violence for the upkeep of their personal gain and political advancement. It is for these reasons that they cherished the ideals of democracy in as much as it facilitates and creates opportunities for blunder and plunder of public treasury and the people at their mercy. Democracy to these groups is only a desirable and a defendable venture if it is a means not an end; a means to power at the detriment of the common good of the majority of the population whereas the end being the lofty ideals of good governance and personal liberty.

Conclusions

Generally, the effects of the political thuggery basically included creating fear amongst candidates, hindering electorates, killing innocent people, violating human rights, destruction of valuable properties, insecurity during and after elections and poor political culture in Nigerian politics. It is observed that thuggery is being politically and socially motivated affecting different people in different areas. As a result, government and private properties were burnt, valuable properties of different political parties and different individuals were destroyed and burnt. Innocent individuals affected with different degrees of injuries ranging from wounds to loss of lives and valuable properties have all been destroyed on the streets, in their shops, and at homes.

Finally, activities of thugs have fuelled insecurity that negatively affects sustainable democracy. It is characterised by killing, kidnapping, street
attacks, house break-ins, shoplifting, frightening and threatening innocent individuals by losing their lives and valuable properties that invariably exacerbated violence in Nigerian politics especially during campaigns, rallies, and election-related activities for which electorates and candidates of different party affiliations have been scared and frightened.

**Recommendations**

The paper recommended the following:

i. The government should ensure physical punishment to the thugs and their sponsors regardless of their political parties’ affiliations. This will deter them from involving into political thuggery in Nigerian politics and will enhance sustainable democracy.

ii. The government should ensure employment opportunities to the teeming youth and the thugs. Effective programmes should be initiated to train thugs with skills and necessary knowledge of productivity to improve national development.

iii. The government should also initiate effective programmes including awareness campaigns that will transform and dissuade these thugs psychologically from involving into such violent behaviours in the country.

iv. Finally, Nigerians should welcome and adopt any policy that will ensure democratic sustainability.

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