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Policy Implications of Public Cemetery Management for Residents' Security in Selected States in South-West, Nigeria

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Abstract: Despite the capability of public cemeteries to accommodate deviant behaviour, it has not formed an item of analysis in understanding insecurity in residential areas in South-West, Nigeria. The study identified the forms of security threats public cemeteries pose for residents in South-West, Nigeria; examined the management of public cemeteries in South West, Nigeria; and reviewed residents' roles in cemetery security in South West, Nigeria. The study was guided by the assumption that a public cemetery is not a security threat to residents in Nigeria. The theoretical framework adopted and applied to the study is the Broken Windows Theory. The theory was adopted and applied to the study from the perspective that neighbourhood challenges are not promptly and properly addressed, such as the activities of deviant persons in cemeteries lead to more neighbourhood challenges. The study noted that public cemetery implies environmental abuse, security threats, physical abuse, and health challenges to residents. Public cemeteries are statutorily managed by the local government. The poor funding of Local government implied poor management of public cemeteries. Residents' role in the protection of public cemeteries has been identified to include complaints and praise to the appropriate authority. Hence, the assumption of the study that a public cemetery is not a threat is valid because it is the management failure of the facility that informs the possible threat it poses to residents. The study recommended that prompt attention should be paid to the management of public cemeteries wherever located. Also, residents should be empowered to protect public cemeteries in their respective areas.

Keywords: Cemetery management; Insecurity; Local governance; Public cemetery; Residents; Nigeria.

Introduction

Hitherto, public cemetery vis-à-vis its management has not formed an item of analysis in understanding insecurity, especially as routinely experienced in some residential areas in the South-West, Nigeria. The reason for this is attributable to the sociocultural and political perceptions of cemeteries in the country. For instance, the cemetery has been recognised culturally as a land of ancestors and reward for the elderly (Smirnov, 1989; Adamolekun, 2001; Lee &

Vaughan, 2008; Azeez & Salami, 2018; Streb, kolnberger, & Kmec, 2019), religiously as 'holy ground' established to contain the corpse of deceased members (Adeboye, 2016), and as a necessary health approach to ensure residents right to a conducive surrounding (Burkette, 2016; Suwalowska et al., 2021; Adeforiti, 2023; Amoah, Forkuor, & Opoku, 2024). Amoah et al (2024) presented a cemetery as a social infrastructure designated as the final resting location for the dead and also serves as a historical and cultural landmark. Hence, while Wygnańska (2019) explained that social order

legitimisation is one of the political demonstrations exhibited by burial, Francis (cited in Burkette, 2016) presented the cemetery as an absolute representation of commonly held perspectives by a community on the nexus between the living and the dead. As such, these perceptions may have informed the provision for public cemetery management in the constitution and allotment of the social obligation to the local government in Nigeria. However, despite the reasons for its creation and management measures in place, Deering (cited in Woodthorpe, 2011) has argued that public cemeteries accommodate 'deviant behaviour' persons, and this could imply insecurity for residents.

Deviant behaviour has been identified in the literature to include begging (Bamisaiye, 1974; Fajemilehin, Ayandiran, & Salami, 2007), and this is occasioned by factors such as homelessness, absence of support for the elderly, and hunger and starvation among the Internally Displaced Persons (Ibeanu, 1998; Fajemilehin et al., 2007; Abebe, 2009; Nwaoga, Okoli, & Uroko, 2017). Furthermore, most beggars are noted to experience penury (Abdussalam, 2016), which, while allowing them to become a tool for insecurity, equally propelled them into search for 'spaces' such as public cemeteries because of their financial and social status. While insecurity has been noted to have assumed a new status in Nigeria since 2008, 'unknown gunmen' syndrome (Akinyetun, Ebonine, & Ambrose, 2023) may have been aided by ungoverned spaces (Ukwuoma, Oke, & Nimfel, 2020), such as a public cemetery. While insecurity persists in diverse forms such as abuse of physical force and environmental misuse (Oyemwinmina & Aibieyi, 2016; Badiora & Ntamark, 2017; Odewale & Lamidi, 2020), the management of deviant behaviour, including those resulting from poor management of the Internally Displaced Persons, IDPs, could impact government measures on security services in the country.

IDPs have been identified as individuals or groups who, as a result of human and natural circumstances, are forced or voluntarily leave their residence, usually without any plan on such and remain within the confines of the country (United Nations cited in Nwaoga, Okoli, & Uroko, 2017). The causes of internal displacement in Nigeria are natural and manmade issues. IDPs are often neglected (Adewale, 2016), and this resulted from the absence of a national policy and legal and institutional framework in addressing issues with them in the country (Gwadabe, Salleh, Ahmad, & Jamil, 2018). The implications of their neglect are increasing difficulty in accessing adequate food, water, and accommodation among the IDPs (Adewale, 2016), which is evidence of poverty among them. Challenges of IDPs in Nigeria have been presented by Gwadabe et al (2018) as issues of protection, poor lifesaving aids, and the improper prospect of accomplishing durable solutions. Hence, while Okoli et al (2017) reported cases of acute hunger and starvation among the IDPs, Ekoh, Okoye, George, Chukwuemeka, and Agbawodikeizu (2022) explained that housing challenges among the IDPs expose them to disease, and also there is the risk of second displacement among the IDPs which may jeopardise progress, development, and resilience built in the country over the year. The reported cases of neglect of IDPs may propel insecurity, with victims inhabiting spaces such as public cemeteries. Though public cemetery is dedicated to the achievement of environmental security and health, measures of the government against crime detection, prevention, and arrest include the police institution and licensing of private security outlets.

The police institution, for instance, is one of the measures of government for the maintenance of law and order in the country. The issues with the police have been documented to include the perception of personnel on their expected role which is often regarded as an agency rather than a service institution, poor funding, widespread corrupt practice, and lack of confidence in the institution by member of the public (Okereke, 1995; Oyemwinmina & Aibieyi, 2016; Arisukwu, Adebisi, Igbolekwu, & Asamu, 2021). Also, the socioeconomic status of residents influences the type of service received from the police (Arisukwu et al., 2021).

The challenges confronting the police may have informed the adoption of private security organisations, which Oladele (2020) argued to have resulted from residents' believing that security services by the government are not adequately provided for residents. While a private security institution is the alternative, it is confronted with challenges, inclusive of poor funding, poor personnel training, and poor staff remuneration, and these influence the discharge of their obligations (Omotosho & Aderinto, 2016). Also, the motivation behind the creation of Amotekun, as a regional security measure in South-West, Nigeria, was to address the recurring cases of insecurity manifesting as ritual killings, kidnapping, and robbery in South-West, Nigeria (Odewale & Lamidi, 2020), which has been made possible by the persistent challenges with the police institution in the country, and prevalence of 'ungoverned spaces', and the need for a complimentary organisation to ensure the security of live and property in the Southwest of Nigeria.

Nonetheless, the security of life and property in residential areas is also influenced by factors including built environmental design and location (Jegede, Ibem, & Oluwatayo, 2020). Nwokaeze, Ikiriko, and Johnbull (2022) attested to this in the findings of their study, in which it was explained that the use of urban design in crime control differentiates between inner city and

periphery urban areas. While there is the use of natural surveillance to control crime in the 'inner city', target hardening was deployed as a measure for crime control in the 'peri-urban'. Also, while both neighbourhoods made use of state and non-state actors in crime control, the high-income areas were favoured in security service provision by the police, and the local vigilante rendered security services for low-income areas. Similarly, Monday, Ilesanmi, and Ali (2013) in their study revealed that there is a high rate of crime in 'slum areas' when compared with the non-slum areas. The identified challenges in slum areas include limited vehicular access to the compound, improperly designated waste collection centres, poor status of public conveniences, inadequate personnel for security and safety operatives, and unplanned and haphazard physical development (Monday et al., 2013). These influence the security services of residents in the affected areas.

Whilst to ensure good governance in the country, the (1976) local government reform homogenised the hitherto local government structure into a single multipurpose level to provide service inclusive of security in local areas and cemetery management, studies continued to identify issues confronting local governance in the country including the subjection of local government to the control of the State (Asaju, 2010; Koni, 2016), and homogenization (Ikeanyibe, 2018).

Equally, policing in Nigeria remains problematic, and the reasons for the poor discharge of security services have been identified in the literature to include poor funding and corrupt practices (Okereke, 1995; Oyemwinmina & Aibieyi, 2016; Arisukwu et al., 2021). While issues of insecurity persist in the country, no study has evaluated the implications of public cemetery management for residents' security in South-West, Nigeria. The study is conducted to fill the gap.

The Broken Windows Theory was adopted to provide the theoretical framework for the study's analysis. It holds that neighbourhood challenges not promptly and properly addressed, such as the activities of the deviant person inhabiting public cemeteries, poor management of the public cemetery, and lack of adequate security measures in public cemeteries, lead to more neighbourhood issues. Such neighbourhood issues manifest as a social or physical disorder in a community. While social disorder requires the presence of individuals behaving in a way that makes others uncomfortable and whose unintended behaviour results in community control breakdown, informing insecurity among community members, physical disorder is the outcome in the urban landscape resulting from actions of individual or property neglect such as overgrown lawn, abandoned property, abandoned cemetery management, etc. (Piscitelli & Doherty, 2018). Hence, the increase in the levels of social and physical disorder

witnessed in a community propels an increase in fear of crime among community members. Also, it is useful to note that disorder signals to potential criminals that they can commit crimes in specific areas without being caught. The theory is adopted to explain the study from this perspective.

The study identified the forms of security threats public cemeteries pose for residents in South West, Nigeria; examined the management of public cemeteries in South West, Nigeria; and reviewed residents' roles in cemetery security in South West, Nigeria. The study was guided by the assumption that a public cemetery poses no security threat to residents in South-West, Nigeria. The study contributes to knowledge by providing information on public cemetery management and insecurity in residential areas in South-South-West, Nigeria.

Managing Deviant Behaved Persons in Nigeria

Deviant behaviour has continued to manifest in forms including begging, and the prevalence of street beggars in Nigeria has been established in studies (Bukoye, 2015; Oluwole, 2016; Inmpey & Bernard, 2018; Ojedokun, 2021; Adesokan & Owoyemi, 2022). Street begging refers to the practice of appealing for funds, food, clothing, and other favours by a beggar usually in a public place without any exchange in response from the giver (Bukoye, 2015; Adesokan & Owoyemi, 2022), and this is occasioned by factors including laziness, individualism, and religious mendicancy (Oluwole, 2016; Ugwu & Okove, 2022). In the study by Oluwole (2016), the three main factors encouraging street begging were identified to include physical defects, broken homes, and the absence of economic opportunity. Makama, Makama, Waziri, and Mustapha (2024) explained how the Almajiri system of training in northern Nigeria exposes children involved to begging as a means of surviving hunger, and consequently exposes them to infections, child predators, starvation, and object of violence. Also, Ojedokun and Aderinto (2015) differentiated between indigenous and foreign beggars and argued that while indigenous people dominated street begging, migrant' beggars are now recorded in Nigeria. The push-pull factors that drive migrants into the country were identified as socioeconomic and environmental factors (Ojedokun & Aderinto, 2015). The location of street beggars has included marketplaces, religious centres, streets, and road junctions (Inmpey & Bernard, 2018), and it features children, able-bodied, and the physically challenged person, and this set of individuals routinely solicit for alms every day as a means of survival (Ojedokun, 2021). The problems posed by beggars in society include the presentation of bad images to strangers about the community, and the abhorrence of criminals in society (Fawole, Ogunkan, & Omoruan, 2011).

Whilst street begging has become prominent in the country, with issues responsible including manmade and natural factors, and with possible security implications, concerns have been on the role of social security as a mitigating measure. Social security has been explained as a form of socially organised collective protection for individuals against penury destitution, which may jeopardise social life, inclusive of loss of means of livelihood such as income due to sickness, maternity, old age, unemployment, and death of the bread-winner. Concerning the social security for the aged in the country, Tanyi, Andre, and Mbah (2018) claimed that there is an absence of a functional national policy on older person care and welfare in Nigeria, despite the changing demographic composition, breakdown of family relations, and the resulting vacuum emerging from the introduction of neo-liberal economic policy. Edeme (2018) captured the need for increased social welfare along with economic development, with the explanation from the economic perspective that social welfare in a country should correspond with economic growth. It was argued that economic development may fail if authorities fail to provide enough welfare for the people at the same level as economic growth (Edeme, 2018). By the above, Anfalaje (2017) evaluated the role of the constitutions through its provisions vis-à-vis other legislations on social security in Nigeria to determine the extent to which such rights are actualisable in the country and argued that laws on social security in the country are inadequate both in content and scope and that the different program for social protection in the country lacks legislative backing to ensure citizens accessibility. As such, Okpa, Ikeme, Wilson, Obeten, and Nwadike (2022) presented the factors affecting access to and the utilisation of social welfare with evidence from Yenegoa in Bayelsa state, Nigeria to including the serendipity variable, inclusive of terrain condition and knowing a government official. To address the issues, it was suggested that there is a need for mass delivery of social services in the country.

Also, poverty alleviation programs have been initiated as a measure in addressing social issues, inclusive of deviant behaviour such as street begging and insecurity in the country. Poverty has been identified as a multidimensional issue (Taiwo & Agwu, 2016), with social and economic aspects, with social indicators in education, health, access to food, potable

water, and sustaining income (Jude, Bamidele, Chijioke, & Chioma, 2024). In Nigeria, the rise in the incidence of poverty rose between 1970 and 1980 was due to instability recorded in the macroeconomic, deteriorations in terms of trade, shocks recorded in oil, debt overhauling efforts (Jude et al., 2024), and the poverty alleviation program, the measures government for revamping and reconstruct the economy (Baghebo & Emmanuel, 2015). The measures deployed by the government to address the issue have included Operation Feed the Nation of 1978, the 1982 Green Revolution, the National Directorate for Employment, the National Poverty Eradication Programme, and other measures. Despite efforts from the government, poverty remains high. The issues with the various measures to address poverty have been identified to include overfocusing on a sector of the economy, especially the agricultural sector and rural areas, while poverty is a multidimensional issue (Taiwo & Agwu, 2016; Kolawole, 2021). Rex (2019) has noted the issues with the poverty eradication program in Nigeria to include corruption and mismanagement, imitation of another program without proper consideration, deception and interference from politicians, World Bank and IMF hypocrisies, and erratic issues in PEP programs and policies.

Thus, while issues of street begging have been identified in the literature as a deviant behaviour with factors responsible vis-à-vis implications for society, the measures of government on addressing the issue have included social security/welfare, and poverty alleviation programs. Of course, the measures devised or adopted as a solution to the issues are fraught with challenges, including security issues. The security implications of the deviant behaviour and challenges with measures devices have not been studied concerning public cemetery management and resident security in the southwest, Nigeria.

Method

Newspaper-reported cases on public cemeteries were adopted for this study. Reported cases were searched using the Google search engine, and relevant cases reported were purposively selected in Lagos, Oyo, and Ondo. Thus, objectives one, two, and three were answered through the available newspaper reports. Information obtained was presented thematically.

Table 1. Showing Selected LGAs and Residence in Nigeria

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Result and Discussion

Information gathered from the qualitative analysis of newspaper articles on purposively selected LGAs was thematically presented as follows;

Security Threat from Public Cemetery in South West, Nigeria

The forms of security threats posed by cemeteries have been documented by newspapers based on experience shared by residents in affected areas. In Lagos State, for instance, available information revealed as follows;

At Imota cemetery in Ikorodu LGA, there was a viral report of a corpse inside an open grave (Mohammed, 2020). The situation was clear evidence of a pollution source to residents through neglect of the cemetery. The situation at Eyita Sabo Cemetery, located at Otuja Harmony Estate, Ikorodu, was said to be a site for ritualists and robbers (Omojuyigbe, 2022). A resident by the name of Iyabo was reported (by Omojuyigbe, 2022) to have been robbed of her valuables around the cemetery. It was further reported that the resident claimed that women are mostly victims, who are usually robbed and raped around the cemetery (Omojuyigbe,

2022). Put differently, Uche (2020) reported the protest against the siting of a cemetery in the Ejigbo community by residents. The argument of the residents of the community against the proposal includes the poor economic development of their community. At ItaMarun cemetery, a resident by the name Opeyemi Ibrahim was quoted to have stated that hoodlums have turned the cemetery into their hideout to smoke weeds and perform other nefarious activities (Premium Times, 2019). Equally, graves in the cemetery were noted to continue to collapse, hence pollution of the environment with possible implications for residents' health (Premium Times, 2019).

In Oyo State, the Sango cemetery was described as 'snake forest' (Tijani, 2015) because of its bushy attributes. It was reported that the 'caregiver' was burning a snake during a visitation by The Cable newspaper (Tijani, 2015). Stench from the cemetery was also reported as disturbing and a major source of pollution to residents of the area (Tijani, 2015). The cemetery was also identified to be of a threat to residents because of the poor arrangement and organisation of the cemetery (Mohammed, 2020).

The case of Akure South Local Government Cemetery along Imafon was also presented, which continued to feature open decomposing human corpses, empty graves, and accommodation of underworld men (OSRC, 2020). Tijani (2015) general remark on the management of cemeteries in Nigeria is that the site stands the chance of serving as a breeding ground for mosquitoes, hence an increase in malaria with possible transmission of dengue fever. The cemetery has implied living in fear and a polluted environment for residents (OSRC, 2020).

Public Cemeteries Management in South West, Nigeria

Cemetery, as noted by Mohammed (2020), is traditionally not used in burying the dead in Nigeria; instead, corpses were and are still interred in residences. However, cemeteries are now owned by communities and the government. Cemeteries owned by the government are directly under the supervision, control, and management of local government (FGN, 1999; Mohammed, 2020), and the interrogation of this is the focus of this section. Public cemeteries are known for neglected graves, overgrown weeds, and poor maintenance (Mohammed, 2020). The state of public cemeteries in Lagos, specifically Imota, is that the facilities are poorly managed by the appropriate authorities (Mohammed, 2020). In an Investigation by the News Agency of Nigeria (2019), it was concluded that local government has consistently failed in maintaining public cemeteries despite the huge amount that accrues from the facilities. However, following the attack on the Eyita Sabo Cemetery in the Ikorodu area of Lagos State, it was reported that the LGA council chairman (that is, Wasiu Adesina) claimed to have started the renovation of the cemetery despite not being aware of the insecurity the facility poses to residents (Omojuyigbe, 2022). It was stipulated by the council chairman that solar streetlights and fences are being put up as a security strategy (Omojuvigbe, 2022). More so, it was stated that the service of some vigilantes' personnel was engaged at the cemetery for adequate security (Omojuvigbe, 2022).

Furthermore, in Ikorodu Town, the Ojokoro Cemetery was well maintained, and residents attest to this. The cemetery was reportedly fenced to provide security for the facility (Premium Time, 2019). Salawudeen Shokunbi and Aderonke Shittu were reported to have appreciated the council chairman for the renovation and reconstruction of the cemetery, especially the fencing of the facility (Premium Time, 2019).

The Sango Cemetery in Oyo State, under the supervision of Irepodun LCDA, was noted to have a disorganised layout and shallow graves. The grave features include marked and unmarked graves. The

unmarked graves were identified as those containing the remains of unclaimed victims of accidents and crimes. The cemetery was also noted to have security implications for the environment, especially for residents. The cost of securing a vault in the cemetery was estimated at between sixty-five thousand and one hundred and fifty thousand naira only (Mohammed, 2020). Mrs Gbadamo detailed the sixty-five-thousandnaira payment expenditure to include the payment of twenty-five thousand naira to the Local government authority, and forty thousand naira for men to dig the grave. The one hundred and fifty thousand graves will also feature the payment of twenty-five thousand naira, but the remaining fund will be used to purchase blocks for the construction of the cemetery chamber (Mohammed, 2020). The block chamber cemetery is considered more secure for the interment of the dead from tomb robbers (Mohammed, 2020). Despite the income generated, it was noted that income generated from government cemeteries is not used to maintain them; rather, they are left in a poor state (Tijani, 2015).

At the Akure Cemetery along Igatoro Road revealed that the site has become a den of ritualists trading in human parts (OSRC, 2020). Decomposing human bodies, cloths used to wrap corpses, and open graves are reported from the cemetery. The cost of burying a corpse at the cemetery is fifty-six thousand naira only (OSRC, 2020). Hence, fifty thousand naira is paid for a grave space, one thousand for the form, and five thousand for grave diggers (OSRC, 2020). Despite the cost payable for burial, it was reported that dead bodies are indiscriminately buried at the cemetery even without concerns for residents' health (OSRC, 2020). Sometimes, the corpse is not properly interned, and this calls for concern. It was also alleged that the cemetery is the site for cultist activity (OSRC, 2020).

Residents' Role in Cemetery Security in South West, Nigeria

Residents, being the possible bearers of the effect of insecurity, do participate in the provision of advice and possible apparatus to ensure safety around cemeteries. Badejo (reported by Omojuvigbe, 2022) had identified the measures suggested to the LGA council chairman on ensuring security at the Eyita Sabo Cemetery to include: grass cutting in the cemetery, fence raising, provision of illumination, and adequate security personnel (Omojuvigbe, 2022). Despite the suggested measures, it was noted that only three sources of illumination were provided at the cemetery facility, which was considered inadequate and not able to address the security challenge (Omojuyigbe, 2022). Events outside the study areas, such as Ite-Olorisa Cemetery at Badagry Local Government, further confirmed residents' role in cemetery security. Sunday Avoseh appealed to the Segun Onilude-led Badagry Local Government Authority to clear the bush and ensure maintenance of the cemetery for resident security (Premium Times, 2019).

In Akure, it was reported by the OSRC that the unkempt nature of the cemetery has propelled the demand by residents for the relocation of the cemetery. The cemetery has been noted to constitute health and security challenges to occupants around the facilities. Also, the rapid development around the facility and the poor management of the facility remain challenges. There is an absence of security personnel to ensure the protection of human remains in the cemetery.

Discussion of Findings

The study was informed by the possible insecurity resulting from the persistent oversight of the role of poor public cemetery management in South West Nigeria in residents' security. The forms of security threats identifiable with public cemeteries for residents in South-West, Nigeria are pollution, robbery and rape, accommodation for dangerous reptiles, a hideout for nefarious activities, including weed smoking. The findings of the first objective validate the claims of Deering (cited in Woodthorpe, 2011) that it accommodates the defiant behaviour of persons. The findings established the challenges confronting the security institutions in the country (Omotosho & Aderinto, 2016; Odewale & Lamidi, 2020; Oladele, 2020). The finding confirmed the implications of the challenge with local government in the country for the discharge of its statutory function. The issues allow the site to become a threat to residents, and this is an addition to existing literature. The findings confirm the established theoretical framework of analysis that poor measures in addressing neighbourhood issues lead to more challenges.

The management of public cemeteries in South West, Nigeria, is statutorily under the control of the local government, and there is a requirement for a levy to be paid for interment in the facility. It was discovered that the level of government is responsible for the routine maintenance of bush clearing, perimeter fencing, and the maintenance of the required security outlet. The finding demonstrated the Broken Windows Theory that neighbourhood issues not addressed present further challenges (Piscitelli & Doherty, 2018). Hence, the action or inaction of the local government determines the security status of the public cemetery for residents.

The study revealed the role of residents in public cemetery management as making demands on the concerned authorities on issues concerning maintenance of the facility, especially as it ensures their safety. The findings contribute to the Broken Windows Theory that addressing neighbour issues requires the participation of the concerned persons. Hence, while it is the function

of government to perform obligations as bush clearing, the erection of perimeter fence, and the provision of security lights, the advice from resident provides information to the government in solving their problem.

Conclusion

The study appraised the policy implications of public cemetery management for residents' security in selected states in the south-west, Nigeria. It was based on the assumption that a public cemetery is not a security threat to residents in South-West, Nigeria. The specific objectives of the study were to identify the forms of security threats public cemeteries pose for residents in South West, Nigeria; examine the management of public cemeteries; and review residents' roles in cemetery security. Broken Windows Theory was applied to the study from the perspective that neighbourhood issues not promptly addressed led to other challenges, especially for residents. The study noted that a public cemetery implies pollution, allows for environmental abuse, physical abuse, and insecurity. The study also noted that public cemeteries are poorly managed due to poor funding for the local government. Most cemetery lacks proper security measures owing to poor funding and widespread corruption in Local government. The residents' role has been identified to include complaints and praise to respected authorities. Hence, the study concluded that public cemeteries are not a problem, but the management of the facility addresses issues it poses to residents. The study recommended that prompt attention should be paid to the management of public cemeteries wherever located. Also, residents should be empowered to protect public cemeteries in their respective areas.

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