Youth and Political Violence in Nigeria
A Comparative Study of the 2011 and 2015 General Elections in Zamfara State

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YOUTH AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE 2011 AND 2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN ZAMFARA STATE

A Project submitted to the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University Gusau

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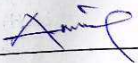
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CERTIFICATION

This project by Aruwa, Saino Haruna (1410206007) has met the partial requirements for the Award of Bachelor of Science Degree in Political Science, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University, Gusau and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to Almighty GOD who has made it possible for me to be awarded with B.Sc. (Hons) Political Science

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ABBREVIATIONS

AG............ Action Group

ANPP.......... All Nigerian People Party

APC........... All Progressive Congress

CVR..........Continuous Voters Registration

DDC.........Direct Data Capture

DPO............ District Policing officer

EC............ Electoral Card

HND............ Higher National Diploma

HOD......... Head of Department

INEC.......... Independence National Electoral Commission

NCE........... National Certificate of Education

NECO......... National Examination Council

NPC......... Northern People Congress

PDP........... Peoples Democratic Party

PUs.......... Polling Units

RACs..........Registration Area Centers

REC............ Resident Electoral Commissioner

VEP......... Vice Electoral Principal

WAEC......... West African Examination Council

WHO........... World Health Organization

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ABSTRACT

Political violence in Nigeria has become a regular feature in Nigeria most especially during election periods in Nigeria. The phenomenon has attracted scholarly attention because of the consequences and effects of the phenomenon. This research is aimed at exposing the factors responsible for youth political violence in Nigeria and in Zamfara state in particular. The research makes use of both secondary and primary sources of data and employs the elite theory and synchronic approach. The research finds out that youth are being manipulated by the political elites to cause violence during election periods for their personal gain. Other factors contributing to youth violence in Zamfara state are poverty, unemployment religion and poor educational background. Also the research finds out that political violence is inevitable in every society as long as politics continue to exist most especially in the underdeveloped/developing countries. The research concludes that, there is need for more creation of employment opportunity, re-evaluating of poverty alleviation strategies in the state, wealth generation, educational improvement both in quality and access in other to minimize the chances of youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state. The research recommends that adequate political education and orientation should be seriously emphasized by the electoral body (INEC) and mass media regularly, the government of the state should enhance the educational standard, facilities and quality of the state education by making the youth their most priority and in minimizing youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state. Finally, the research recommends that effective and efficient political consensus and dialogue should be the way out among political interest groups and individuals and not violence.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The Nigerian state is not new to electoral violence which can be trace as far back as the pre-independence elections. The Nigeria political scene has experienced political violence of varying degrees. Contestants in Nigeria can go to any length to rig and win elections even if it means to break the state monopoly of violence to deployed terror to win election (Ladan-Baki, 2016). Election all over the world is viewed as a peaceful means of electing leaders and government officials into governments so as to push the demands and needs of the people into a high level of policy making. This is periodically conducted through free and fair electoral credos.

Youth participation in political violence has disrupted the electoral processes in Nigeria. It has been ingrained as normal political life of Nigerians. It is viewed as a formula of changing government in Nigeria. Political violence did not just start in 2011 and 2015 elections in Nigeria, it origin can be traced to the development of Clifford constitution of 1922. The constitution came with the ideal of electoral principles which gave room for voting… and also paving way for politicking in the Nigeria polity (Ladan-Baki, 2016). The 2011 presidential election was described as "a do or die affair" within the holistic context of Nigeria. Violence erupted in the Northern states of Nigeria such as Kano, Kaduna, katsina, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Adamawa, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara state. Relief officials estimate that more than 65,000 people were displaced as a result

(peace and security working group, 2015). Political Violence was also recorded in the case of 2015 election. Political violence does not only refers to political crisis and killings of opposition members alone but it also involves snatching of ballot boxes during election, kidnapping of opposition members, thugery, imposition of fear by thugs, underage voting, threatening of electorates to cast their votes for certain party, voters manipulation and bribery and so on.

Zamfara state as a political entity is populated with the Hausa and Fulani people. The area as it is called today Zamfara state was one of the old Hausa city-states and the earliest inhabitants of Zamfara state were belief to be hunters. They established their first settlement at Dutsi which was the first capital of Zamfara state. Later as centuries past through the invasion of the colonial masters, Gusau became an important commercial and administrative center. Contemporarily, the people of Zamfara state have over the years struggled for autonomy, not until 1996 under the military regime of late General Sani Abacha caved the state from the present Sokoto state. Zamfara state landmarks covers 38, 418 square kilometers, Zamfara is bordered in the North by Niger Republic, South by Kaduna state, East by katsina state, and in the West by Sokoto state and Niger state. By the official relief figure of 2006 census, Zamfara state is said to have M3, 278, 873 people from it 14 Local government areas. The state is spitted to 147 Registration Wards, three (3) senatorial district and seven (7) federal constituencies (National Bureau of Statistics).

Zamfara state is not left out in terms of political violence and electoral violence perpetrated by youth. Relatively, the elites are responsible for sponsoring such political violence by using the youth as instrument for winning political power in the state. It is premised that this research seeks to know the factors responsible and consequences of youth violent

participation in the 2011 and 2015 general elections in Zamfara state. Major political parties in Zamfara state were ANPP, now APC and PDP. From the inception of democratic rule in the state, ANPP has held the governorship position in the state which later merges with other three political parties in Nigeria to form the almighty alliance that produced All Progressive Congress (APC). In 2011 it was recorded that there were electoral violence in Tsafe, Gusau, and Bakura LGAs. Violent angry youths targeted religious houses and shops, especially in Tsafe and Gusau (peace and security working group, 2015). Following the pre-election violence of 2015, on the 12th march, 2015, the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), organized a one day workshop on sensitization and awareness campaign on dangers surrounding electoral violence by the youth. Political elites mobilized unemployed youths, often along ethnic, religious and party affiliations, as important violent arsenal. This research work is premised to discuss youth and political violence in Nigeria: a comparative study of 2011 and 2015 general elections in Zamfara state.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Political violence over the years has destroyed many lives and properties worth millions of Naira in Nigeria. The phenomena have caused the country a huge lost of human resources and infrastructures. After every four years in Nigeria, political violent seem to be a regular feature of the Nigeria electoral process. Every past election in Nigeria is often characterized by violence. It has disrupted many electoral processes in Nigeria. It has break ties between and among ethnic groups and individuals. Youth political violence has led to the killing and homelessness of lives, it has destroyed national resources that worth billions of Naira. Electoral violence does not just destroy the people but it also destroys the nation

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as a whole, He states that the state becomes backward and evens the economy (Ladan-baki, 2016).He concludes that investors have deserted the northern part of the country and have fled to neighboring states to set up their business. Zamfara state as one of the states in Nigeria is not an exception and the question is "how can this problem be solved or minimized in Nigeria and Zamfara state in particular?"

1.3 Research Questions

This section of the research covers questions that demand answers in this work. This includes;

> What are the factors responsible for youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state?

> What has been the effect of youth political violence on the socio-economic and political development of Zamfara state?

> What is the dominant form of youth political violence in the polity of Zamfara state?

> What are the differences and similarities recorded between the 2011 and 2015 general elections violence in Zamfara state?

> How can youth political violence be solved or minimize in Zamfara state?

1.4 Objectives of the Research

The general objective of this research is to examine youth and political violence in Nigeria: with a comparative study of 2011 and 2015 general election in Zamfara state. Meanwhile, the specific objectives are;

- To explore factors responsible for youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state.
- To explore the effect of the phenomenon on Zamfara state electoral processes and human resources.
- To identify the dominant form of political violence within the polity of Zamfara state.
- To identify the differences and similarities recorded between the 2011 and 2015 general election violence in Zamfara state.
- To proffer a workable solution or a method of minimizing youth political violence.

1.5 Justification of the Research

It is important to understand that over seventeen (17) years of the fourth republic, the political system of Nigeria still suffers democratic deficit. The political system of Zamfara state is faced with political instability, poverty issues, unemployment, lack of quality and credible leadership, poor political culture and poor infrastructural development. The study of youth violence in Zamfara state in 2011 and 2015 general election, will serve as a cumulative instrument to knowledge. The research will help in uncovering the democratic challenges confronting the state. The research is important because it will serve as a policy guide for policy makers. The research will be valuable and source of reference for others whom will love to make research on topics related to this research project.

1.6 Assumption of the research

- The factors responsible for youth political violent participation in Zamfara state have economic, political, and religious undertone.

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- The phenomenon of youth political violent participation in Zamfara state has affected the electoral process of the state and has hindered the state from achieving democratization.

- The differences and the similarities of casualties recorded during the 2011 and 2015 general elections in Zamfara state has two dimension: first, the differences can tell us that there are different method used in deploying political violence in the state. Secondly, the similarity gives us a conclusion that youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state is used as a means for winning political power.

- There has never been any case of youth political violence in Zamfara state.

1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study

Youth political violence in Nigeria is complex and multi-dimension in scope and in content. As such the scope covers intellectual, political, and economic dimension of youth political violence in Nigeria with a comparative study of 2011 and 2015 general election in Zamfara state. Intellectual dimension connotes the corpus of youth violent participation thought in terms of why youth participate in political violence. Political dimension deals with how youth violence has disrupted electoral processes. The economic dimension deals with economic factors influencing youth participation in political violence.

The research is to cover Zamfara state. Generally, Zamfara state has 14 local governments' areas and three (3) local governments will be studied. Out of the three (3) senatorial districts (west, south and central) one (1) local government from the three senatorial districts will be studied. This research will make use of qualitative method but depending largely on primary and secondary source of data collection by studying three local

governments in Zamfara state which will represent the population of study. Each local government represents the totality of a particular senatorial district in Zamfara state.

The limitation of this study lies within the assessment of data and information from where ever necessary. The cost implication of transportation and sincere responds from respondents, assessing some important political personnel in the state and the time frame for the completion of the study is a huge challenge to this research.

1.9 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

1.9.1   Youth

The concept of youth cannot be clearly defined rather it can be understood through certain characteristics. Therefore, a youth can be described as a young vibrant person who falls within the age of 15-26.

1.9.2   Political violence

Political violence is a violent activity or an action that seeks to disorganize and distort the political process which is geared towards certain interest or political gains. Political violence is often aimed to threaten and frightening oppositions. It can only be understood from its objective point of view.The objectives can be achieved through "overt" or "tacit". The overt political violence sought to kill and destroyed infrastructures,life's and properties which often involve the use of thugs, while the tacit political violence includes underage voting, inflation and deflation of electoral figures, snatching of ballot boxes, manipulation of results etc which involve the use of electorates, electoral officers and security personnel's for political power gain. Thus it will not be an over statement to say that "power is the sole determinant of political violence".

1.9.3 Electoral violence

Political violence is also an imperative concept in this research which need operationalization. Thus, electoral violence can be understood from its objective point of view. In order word, electoral violence is goal oriented. Virtually all electoral violence is aim at destroying the electoral process for certain gain. This usually takes place during elections periods. Electoral violence often matured into political violence in society. This is because it leads to opposition and confrontation between two or more group of people in a political system.

1.10 ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

1.10.1 Chapter one

The study utilizes five (5) chapters. chapter one covers general introduction/background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, aims and objectives of the research, justification of the research, proposition, methodology, scope and limitation, operationalization of concept, and organization of chapters.

1.10.2 Chapter two

Chapter two covers literature reviewwhich includes the conceptualization of youth, political violence, and electoral violence, causes of political violence and implication of electoral violence.

1.10.3 Chapter three

The centerpiece of this chapter is methodology. The chapter explores the following; sources of data, the study population, sample size, method of collecting data and method of data analysis.

1.10.4 Chapter four

The chapter four of this research project covers analysis and presentation of data. The focus is on historical evolution of political violence, overview of the 2011 and 2015 general election in Zamfara state, effect, factors responsible for political violence in Zamfara state, consequences, comparison of 2011 and 2015 general elections in Zamfara state.

1.10.5 Chapter five

Thechapter concludes the research by looking at findings of the research, conclusion and recommendations.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Youth violence in the polity of Nigeria has affected electoral processes and has put many lives at stake in the country. Youth violence is a multi-faceted phenomenon that has divergent dimension of it result. There are many factors and reasons that are responsible for youth violence. The aim is to review existing literature and see which gap can be filled.

COCEPTUALIZATION

2.1 Youth

Youth is a broad based concept that encompasses so many definitions but I will try as much as possibleto stay with the conventional international definition. Just as it is difficult to define some social conceptsin the same manner biological classification places limitations in classifying youth within a social context. According to (Adamu and Maiangwa, 2015), Youth as a social concept underscore personality attributes; high mental wellbeing, skill, energy, as tutees, strength, readiness, exploration, adventurism, among others. The definition of Adamu and Maiangwa from above can be more of describing who a youth is instead of defining a youth. Another scholar on the economic rating and production within the system, Professor Akpan H. Ekpo, an economist defined youths as persons between the ages of 17 and 35 years. In this connection, they are supposed or in fact are strong as well as being able to give and take the best society can offer (Dominic, 2015). The Nigerian Constitution defines youths as people between the ages of 18 and 30 years. That explains the fact that at 18 years, one can contest or vote for an elective

position or office in governance. In terms of interaction, the World Football Body, Federation of International Football Association FIFA defines youths as people between the ages of 17 and 20 years (Niyi, 2011; Ekpo, 2011; FIFA, 1985; Nigeria Constitution).Youths according to the United Nations (UN) are those persons between the age of 15 and 24 years. The broader use of the term underscores the need for policies and programmes to focus less on age and more on recognizing the specific development needs of people as they transit from childhood to adulthood (UN 2010). By this therefore youth can be any person on the stage of transition to adulthood who also is dependent on others for means of survival, shelter and other necessitiesof life. Another erudite scholar (Kenniston, 1971), refers to youth as representing a period between adolescence and adulthood in a post-modern era. He stress emphatically that it is a new stage of life which millions of young people are known to have entered today. The United Nations Children Education Fund, UNICEF (1972) observes that those between the age of 15 and 25 years are best described as youth. Johnson (cited in Abhuere, 2000), on the other hand argued that while leadership of youth programmes has no upper age limit, their membership has in real practice covered persons of over 35-45 years old. Berger (1972) also insisted that youth cuts across age, pointing to culture as the major issue that really matters, adding that anyone who feels youthful, and exhibits such qualities as spontaneity, impulsiveness, energy, etc. should be considered as a youth. For (Umar, 2016), agrees that, Many others have conceptualized that "youth" should just be viewed as a transitional stage in life between childhood and adulthood rather than as a rigid construct based on age. From the foregoing, the concept of youth cannot be clearly defined rather it can be understood

through certain characteristics and description. Therefore, a youth can be described as a young vibrant person who falls within the age of 13-59 years.

2.2 Violence

Having defined youth, it is pertinent to define violence and restate what in specific constitutes youth violence. The concept violence like youth lends itself to different interpretations. To avoid confusion in defining and reviewing the term 'violence' in this study, we shall deploy the use of Corsini's (1999) definition which sees violence more as "the expression of hostility and rage through physical force directed against a person or property". Also, Social psychologists Sigmund Freud, John Dollard and the host of others theories stressed that violence is an outcome of frustration which might long overdue as a result of certain deprivation, discrimination or alienation which certain individuals have entertained for a long period of time (cited in Maiangwa, 2014). Another scholar considers violence as "the illegitimate and unauthorized use of force to effect decisions against the will or desires of other people in the society"(Wolf, 1969). According to (Ikyase and Ebgeri, 2015) in Review of Public Administration and Management Vol. 4, No. 8.Violence could be an instrument employed by non-governmental organizations, individuals and groups to press forward their demands.

2.3 Youth violence

Against this background, that this study conveniently define youth violence as essentially a deviant group of people that seek to cause havoc to the status quo through different means. In essence, therefore, youth violence is demonstrative of profound deviant characteristics, which further suggest an abnormal situation, making youth become directly liable to being

involved in a series of illegal or anti-socialactivities (Umar, 2016). Youth violence, as used in this study, refers to abnormal practices of youth behavior against political process. Thus the various dimension which youth violence occur includes; ethnic identity, elite influence and socio-economic conditions and political violence. Nachana'a and Yusuf, (2015) conclude that youth in Nigeria's democratic environment are often manipulated by political elites to perpetrate violent conflict for their benefits and in this regard they are more of victims of violent conflicts than perpetrators. From the following views of scholars, Dominic, (2015) opined that "Nigerian youth have become associated with political violence because of the economic and social condition of the environment". According to Olusegun Adeniyi on Thisday newspapers 22 September, 2016 asserts that "Nigeria is currently engulfed in a major crisis of intergroup relations that are rooted in the politics of economic survival but which is easily exploited by the elite". He also state that Youth violence therefore condones a reaction through the use of force owing to frustration and despair to draw attention of the authorities (government) to their needs or change the course of action of government seen as inimical for development. Militias in Nigerian polity are made up of youths David, (2015). He further argued, Hence, having a large pool and army of unemployed youths becomes an imperative strategy, and is more beneficial to political elites and their associates... the political elites often manipulate unemployed youths using religious, ethnic and other cleavages that best serve their political ambitions (David, 2015). And according to Onwudiwe and Berwind-Dart, (2011) agree that politicians and party bosses found a ready supply of unemployed men, frequently youths, willing to perpetrate violence in exchange for pay and fire power. According to Umar, (2016) young people may be drawn to defend their own ethnic base or political ideologies

through the use of violence. Umar advanced his opinion that, as a means of maintaining existing bodies expectedly employ strategies of recruiting marginalized young people and socializing them in norms of violence. It is also agreed by scholars that most youth did not understand the meaning of politics, but that the only language they understand and respect is the pendulum swing against them, meaning that when they fail to achieve their aim either during electioneering campaign or voting periods, they alter the course of peace through violence.

2.4 Electoral violence

Thus all previous elections conducted after independence in Nigeria where marked out by widespread violence, intimidation, bribery, and corruption just to maintain or wrench power (Sule, 2009). For Ladan-Baki, (2016), 2011 election was a do or die affair. Igbuzor, defines electoral violence as: 'any act of violence perpetuated in the course of political activities, including pre, during and post election periods, and may include any of the following acts: thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or the use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process or to cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with electoral (Igbuzor, 2010). Another scholar posits that, electoral violence is synonymously used as political violence, looting, arson, thuggery, kidnapping etc. spontaneous or not, which occur before, during and after every election (Ilufoye, 2006). It is clear that lack of mentoring has left the youth at the mercy of fate and satanic godfathers who exploit the lapse to achieve their selfish goals, one of which is to incite the youths to participate in unleashing terror through electoral violence. She further explains, this electoral violence affects the entire credibility of the democratic system, human security and wanton destruction of properties...., erode

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the credibility of the rule of law and impacting negatively in democratic activities. We need to know that the goal of inciting any form of political violence is to disrupt the electoral process and political campaigns or to repress voters' turnout and there by deny the legitimacy opposing points of view.

2.5 Political violence

Political violence is a broad term used to describe violence perpetrated by either persons or governments to achieve political goals. Many groups and individuals believe that their political systems will never respond to their demands. As a result, they believe that violence is not only justified but also necessary in order to achieve their political objectives. Political violence can take a number of forms. Political violence varies widely in form, severity, and practice. Political violence (in types) includes state actors violence and non-state actors participating in the act of political violence. Maiangwa, (2014) considers terrorism as the highest form of political violence. Terrorism as a form of political violence is usually perpetrated by the weaker side of a conflict, and so may also fall under violence between a state and non-state actor. The United States Department of Defense however defines terrorism as, "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological." According to (Gurr, 1970), political violence refers to all collective attacks within a political community against the political regime, its actors including competing political groups as well as incumbents or its policies. According to Anifowose, (1982) is the use of or threat of physical act carried out by individual or individuals within a political system against another individual or groups and property, with the intent to cause injury or death to persons,

damage or destruction toproperty, and whose objective, choice of targets or victims, surrounding circumstance, implementation, and effects have political significances, that tends to modify or change the behavior of others in the existing arrangement for the political system. David, (2015) assert that political leadership as stressed trigger conflict driven in the society like social division, militarization, elites fragmentation and competition and the emergence of ethnic and sectarian militias in order to increase and rationalize military spending and repressive apparatus to forcefully hold the people within bounds of order. Dominic asserts that, political violence may take the form of arson, torture, kidnapping, killing by any means, destruction of property, blocking of ways. Political violence could take two dimensions that are pre-electoral violence and post-electoral violence (Tamuno, 1991). This political violent can take place before or after the election. Ikyase and Egberi went further to state that; "The pre-electoral violence may occur where electoral laws or provisions are seen to favor a particular candidate at the expense of the other. It could also occur when a particular candidate is over-ambitious and perhaps sees the signals that he may likely lose the election to the opponent. Post-electoral violence on the other hand, may be spontaneous. It may be engineered by individuals who feel cheated, alienated or deprived by the unfairness of the electoral process. This deprivation may be real or perceived (Ikyase and Egberi, 2015)."

Political violence exist in form of terrorism, genocide, torture, capital punishment, police brutality, rebellion, riot, civil war, revolution, counter insurgency, armed conflicts etc.In understanding the concept of political violence, two important theoretical are imperative to this section of this research. These include the macro and micro theoretical analysis of political violence. The theories of political violence can be organized by there level of

proponent of the resource mobilization asserts that the resources can be time, money, organizational skills, and certain social or political opportunities. It is one of the major sociologicaltheories in the study of social movements which emerged in the 1970s. It deals in acquiring the needed resources in a timely, cost-effective manner. The resource mobilization theory advocates having the right type of resources, at the right time, at the right price with making right uses of acquired resources thus ensuring optimum utilization of the same. The theory is postulating that where there are efficient resources, violence seems to be inevitable. The theory fails to consider psychological and physiological needs which may also result in violence. For the functional school, violence is functional. While forgetting the consequences violence can cause.

On the other hand, of the Micro view, individuals are regarded as subject of analysis of why political violence takes place. One of the theories of the micro view is rational choice theory. This is a decision-making approach in which the decision makers compare the expected utility of competing options and select the option that produces the most favorable outcome. Political violence occurs when the benefit in participating in political violence outweighs the costs (Conteh-Morgan, 2003). The theory centered on rational calculative of an individual whom often calculate the cost and lost before taking a cause of political violence. The high cost or benefits determine individual decision of engaging in a political violence. The relative deprivation theory is another theory that explains why youths or individuals participate in political violence. In "why men Rebel," Ted Robert Gurr uses relative deprivation theory to explain why men commits acts of violence. He states that, "Relative deprivation is defined as actors perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their capabilities." In other word, relative deprivation is the

gap between the wants and the needs we (who?) we deserve versus what we are capable of "getting and keeping" (Gurr, 2011). The collective discontent, the gap between the expected gap and achieved welfare, leads people to resort to violence.

Collective action theory is also another micro theory that explains why people participate in violence. A person decides to participate or not to participate in a rebellion based on the benefits and cost. However, if people are expected to receive private goods, like material rewards or power, then that person is expected to rebel (Muller and Karl-Dieter, 1986). The micro view are prone to individual interest in its analysis while forgetting factors that has wide effect which are beyond individual point of view.

2.7 Causes and implications of political violence

These acts of violence in the geopolitical zones left its mark such as: massive destruction of property, loss of lives and the razing down of several communities. Available literature on casualties, shows that about 3,361 lives were lost; over 20 towns sacked; over 6 buildings razed down; 200 brand new Peugeot 307 cars, and 500 brand new tricycles were burnt down; 20 Toyota Hiace Buses and 9 Hilux Jeeps were either completely destroyed or vandalized (see Christian and Ambily, 2013; Dunmoye, 2011; Ekong, 2011 and Elaigwu, 2005) cited in Nachana'a and Yusuf, (2015). In addition we submit here that so many people were displaced as a result of violent acts and specifically the surviving inhabitants of the over 20 communities noted to have been sacked are such displaced persons. Bamgbose, (2012) explains that political violence or electoral violence has continues to threaten the democratic experiment in Nigeria. He further analyze that this has done incalculable damage to the Nigeria's democracy having stifled many democratic experiment in Nigeria. Another scholar state that; Political violence brings complex set of

events such as poverty, ethnic or religious grievances which affect the social relationship of the people in the society (Aver et al, 2013). They also advance their opinion by stating that;

"Political violence impact negatively in many forms of development such as the inability for people to interact with one another creates unhealthy child growth. More so, during political violence a lot of people abandon their ethnic, cultural values, religion or traditions to pledge allegiance to new, artificial and unproven states. This unfortunate, states have plugged people into deeper crisis, poor interaction resulting to fierce elimination of people. The phenomenon is used extreme, repressive measures that have threatened the rule of law, personal freedoms and human rights. Political violence is a determinant of armed conflict, complex interplay of ideology, quest for power by competing groups, specific in the country and international conditions (Aver et al, 2013)."

However, violence when it is endemic and persistent or unmanageable may become an impediment to political stability and economic progress (Ikyase and Egberi, 2015). Also the failure of leadership propels Ezeani and Ezeibe, (2011) to posit that, "political leadership has failed to prioritize nation needs and respect the virtues that bond society, promote stability and harmony such as social justice, equity, rules of law and respect for individual/group rights and other democratic principles". Political intolerance and the tendency to see election as a do or die affair also contribute toelectoral violence at the detriment of democratic stability. From the above implication, causes of political violence, it can be agree that, political violence cut across political, social and economical sphere which destroyed the system. Marx, (1968) posits that violence, particularly political

violence, represents a disturbance movement to the political equilibrium and peaceful co-existence of the system.

Thus, youth violence in political participation has eroded the country and Zamfara state is not exempted from achieving true democratic culture. It is at the topmost end of this research project to fill the gap left by the above scholars. The gap this research projects seeks to fill is to expose the determinant responsible for youth violent participation in 2011 and 2015 general election in Zamfara state through a comparative study. And to identified how electoral violence in 2011 and 2015 shaped and influenced electorate participation in both elections in Zamfara state.

The post election period of the 2011 general election in Zamfara state presented a delicate feature of the Zamfara state politics. Although, the political atmosphere of the country goes ablaze by political violence.State like Kaduna among others witness the killing and destruction of properties after the announcement of the 2011 presidential election. Zamfara state was not exempted •from the phenomena. There are other reasons that have led to political violence in Zamfara state in the 2011 and the 2015 general election. These reasons have both historical perspective and contemporary opinions.

2.8.1 Elites Manipulation of Youth

Various news papers and article have carried various news of elites using the youths as violent instrument to achieve their political goals. The largest numbers of the population of Zamfara state is youth but are unemployed. The political elites of the state make use of this as an opportunity of employing the youths as local thugs to cause problems. On a report on

Thisday (Lagos) in Allafrica.com by Mohammed Aminu, 12 July 2010 the then Zamfara state Governor Alhaji Mahmuda Shinkafi;

"Described sponsors of political violence in the state as who are meant on creating confusion and chaos, as enemies of progress and development."

On 19 January, 2015 the office of the PDP was burnt down by some unknown youths along Kaduna Zaria road. Three persons were injured, while three motor cycles were burnt in the incident.

In Vanguard February 16, 2011 state that; Senator Sani Ahmed Yerima, former governor of Zamfara state (a political gladiator in the state) faced criticism by the national assembly members from the state, accuse him of unleashing mayhem in the state, using hired political thugs from neighboring states.

From the foregoing, although, not clearly concord, but tacitly the youths have been used as instrument or arsenals for political violence by political elites in the state. With a lot of report recording the meddling of some of political elites and gladiators in the state is a fact. Thus the above report by various analyst has not yet identified causal analysis rather the analysis are more on speculative and accusative terms. This is because the political elites, gladiators and godfathers cut-up in the act often deny their involvement and sometime they use their position to silence such issues. This phenomenon is common and attracts little attention from the government and its security agencies. Those arrested for political violence are usually low level thugs, whilst their sponsors are ignored (Human Rights Watch 2003).

2.7.2 Religion

Religion antagonism is not well pronounced in the polity of Zamfara state. This is because out of the total population of the state, about 90% are Muslim. Therefore Islam is considered as the dominant religion in the state. The introduction of Sharia law in September 19, 1999 became a religious instrument of gaining political power in Zamfara state by politicians. An empirical analysis conducted by Brandom Kendhammer, (2013) assert that ;

"Yerima an APP Governor with a limited history of religious activity seems to have initially constructed his Sharia proposal as way to provide religious legitimacy to his political candidacy, and as a means of disguising his electoral platform from the PDP's" (Kendhammer, 2013).

The members of prominent Islamist groups subsequently participated in crafting Sharia policy and conducted enlightenment campaign to drum up support for Sharia. Most of the successful advocates of the Sharia law were members of national political parties. Overtly, it can be view that the establishment and manipulation of the Sharia law was premise to achieve and promote Islamic credos through Sharia law. Tacitly, the politicians and other party's members manipulated the Sharia law under the umbrella of religion to checkmate their political opposition from any political office. An example is the political elite's complicity in the exploitation of religion for political gain is illustrated by the 1999 gubernatorial political campaign in Zamfara state. Here the aspirant governor used calls for Sharia law to secure his electoral victory. This ultimately led to violent clashes between competing religious groups, competing Islamic sects and between Islamic sects and the

police (Seiyefa, 2016). On an interview with Wole Soyinka commented on the manipulation of religion for political ends, he cited the case of former governor of Zamfara state Sani Ahmed Yerima, whose gubernatorial political campaign was known for Sharia law. "[...] when he was asked why he decided to turn Zamfara state into a theocratic state in a secular dispensation. He said and I dare him to deny it, that it was the only weapon he had to snatch power. He said that the PDP was so strong that he needed something which would appeal to raw emotions to mobilize and get the governorship..." (Soyinka 2012; cited in Sahara Reporters). "This also creates political violence in the state. The prone sharialist uses the Sharia law against their opponent by instigating the public to shun political opposition who are not prone sharialist. This also results to violence by killing and destruction of properties of oppositions whom might not have ideology of the Sharia law in their party manifesto. It is evidently enough to prove that the Sharia law was only used as a strategy of gaining political power rather than promoting its essence. Even the proponent of the Sharia law in the state, fails to adhere to principles of the Sharia law as it was meant to be. This prompted the Emir of Kano Muhammad Sanusi ii on April 10, 2017, speaking at the Mo Ibrahim Forum in Marrakesh, Morocco state that;"...many of those who seized religion as tool of getting power were not necessarily better than the rest of the people...it's a matter of time for people to realize that this is all deception, this is all politics, this is not religion."

2.8.3 Poverty

Poverty means different thing to different people. Poverty is both a political, economic and social problem and phenomena; it covers the holistic spectrum of the political system. Poverty is one of the central issues in the millennium development goals (MDGs). Poverty

is the root cause of low quality life and loss of Human dignity and Justice Narayan, (2014). For most conception and review of literatures, always fall within the axons of economic and social while the political has not been given much impetus. The people are suffering from political knowledge. People in Zamfara state lacks the political knowledge that is required and needed for a good democratic dispensation. Thus, it cannot be said that the economic and social dimension has no importance. The people of Zamfara state, has all the 34 mineral resources in the world but Zamfara state is still a poor state in Nigeria. Most of the population depends on what they can get from the government. The rate of poverty becomes endemic when the attitude to work is poor. People especially the youths engage themselves in violence so as to quench the poverty hunger.

The 2011 pre and post-presidential elections were recorded as the bloodiest elections in the history of Nigeria (Human Rights Watch 2013 and IFRA Nigeria 2015) due to the magnitude of political violent acts by members and supporters of opposing political parties (Abdullahi 2013). Violent activities related to government elections involved the deployment by political parties of armed youths commonly known as, 'thugs', to intimidate and actively engage in armed conflict to ensure political victory (IFRA Nigeria and NSRP 2015).

It is also important to understand the nature, dimension and context of youth violence and its impact on the polity of Zamfara state. This research project seeks to explore the number of casualties recorded during the 2011 and 2015 general election in the state, it also point out how youth violence has affected political process of the state, and how it has set-in a new dimension of political culture among the individuals and groups within the state.

Finally, this research seeks to uncover the realities recorded in both elections so as to help understand the differences and similarities between the two elections in Zamfara state.

2.9 Research Gap

From the foregoing literature reviews, it can be obtained that there are scanty literatures that have identified the problem or phenomena of youth political violence in Zamfara state. From the researcher's investigation, there are no much scholarly positions and writings regarding youth political violence in Zamfara state. Most of the writers and analyst writing on political violence have majorly centered their attention on the Nigeria context alone but not precisely to a specific state, for example like Zamfara state.

Most of the literature reviews and conceptualization of scholars and theorist, very few have really identify theoretically youth violence in Zamfara state, factors responsible for youth political violence in Zamfara state and who are the front runners of sponsoring youth political violence in Zamfara state polity. Although, some of the identified news paper above tried to points out some statesmen to have been the major player of youth violence in Zamfara state, there has not been any legal fact of proving those statesmen guilty of the act.

Academically, few literatures exist specifically on this topic "youths and political violence in Nigeria; a comparative study of 2011 and 2015 general election in Zamfara state".

Thus, this research is premised to fill in the following gap;

The research covers the gap by pointing out the factors influencing youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state 2011 and 2015 general elections such factors include

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poverty, unemployment, elites manipulation etc. The research is aimed to examine the 2011 and 2015 general election in Zamfara state and point out the inadequacies that occurred during the elections. Also the to be filled by the researcher is that electoral manipulation, snatching of ballot box, buying of votes are considered and can be defined as a form of political violence and electoral violence.

2.10 Theoretical framework

This research adopts two unique theories or approaches to the analysis of youth participation in political violence and also to exhaust the comparative study of the case given. These theories are; Elite theory and synchronic approach. The rationale behind choosing these theories is because of their significant to the research case study. The elite theory is adopted in this research to help us understand the determinants of political violence. In the heart of the theory, groups of influential men and women are considered to possess political power, economic power and social important dominate every society and rule the society.

2.10. 1 Elite theory

The elite theory is deep-rooted in classical Sociology especially that of Weber (2005)(1922), Pareto (1935), Mosca (1939), and Michels (2009)(1915) cited in (Lopez, 2013:1). These scholars are regarded as the founding fathers of elite theory usually called the classical elite theorists. Beyond its strong root in classical sociology, elite theory evolved into a vibrant theoretical field, intersecting other theories, such as rational choice theory and political culture theory. The elite theory is subdivided into two. That is the

classical and the contemporary elite theory. The classical and contemporary elite theorists share the ambition of explaining state outcomes through elite behavior (Lopez, 2013).

Elite theory claimed that both democracy (as the government of the people) and socialism (as a classless regime) are impossible outcomes because society is necessarily elite driven. In their view, elite could only be substituted by another set of elites, (see Pareto's, 1935 law of elite circulation), (see Mosca's 1939, notion of political class and (see Michael's 2009 (1915), iron law of oligarchy.

The principle or law of elite circulation holds that, elites alternate in power as a result of either peaceful or violent competition. According to (Onuoha and Ufomba, 2017), the elite theory is anchored on three main tenets. These are;

I. In every society power and influence is not distributed equally. This unequal distribution therefore, creates two classes. There is the dominant class which is the class that has more power and influenced and with it shapes. The society making the rules through which it governed, and there is the receptive class of the ruled.

II. The elite are an organized class that is internally homogeneous, self conscious, self perpetuating and drawn from the very exclusive segment of the society.

III. The elite are essentially autonomous and self-preservation.

The contemporary elite theorists, which includes; Domhoff Hunter, Put many, and Burnharm rally round on the effectiveness with which economic elites are able to influence political outcomes and determine the future of the rest of the society. Societal power is embedded in key economic corporations and political institutions... and no matter what the

situation portends they (elite) determine the economic and political fate of the rest of society through their influences on the policy - making organs of government (Odubajo and Bamidele, 2014).

From the sampled theoretical framework, with the notion that elites have both economic and political power, the elites manipulate and influence youth to distort the political system on their own favour so as to maintain the status quo. From the our assumption we proposed therefore that electoral violence is not directly caused by diversity in the ethnic composition of African states or religious polarization neither is it a direct funetion of poverty nor political mobilization along identity lines rather electoral violence... Is a function of the clash of interest of...Elite classes in their struggle for power and resources (Onuoha and Ufomba, 2017). Another scholar observed that; the development and sustenance of organized violent groups in Nigeria is as a result of the political elites behaviors that either provoke violence or adopt violence to achieve political aims (Seiyefa, 2016).

2.10.2 Synchronic Approach

Synchronic approach is one of the approaches used in comparative study. It was first used in the study of language by Professor Ferdinand De Saussure (1896-1911). The approach is also borrowed by political scientists. The approach analyzes the similarities and differences of languages at a given point in time by focusing on the structure features and characteristics... (Hamalainen, 2013). For political scientists, synchronic approach analyzed a particular event at a given fixed point in time it does not attempt to make deductions about current state as it is (David, 1993). Synchronic approach compares

institutions, behavior, and phenomenon. It can also compare cross national borders (Holt and Richardson, 1972). The weakness of this approach is its inability to make deductions.

It is a temporary comparison.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The discussed methodology adopted for the purpose of this research study is qualitative research method. The study adopted qualitative research method. Also discussed in this chapter, sources of data and most importantly, the discussion on the research tools applied, the application of face-to-face, and non-participant observation, questionnaire and focus group discussion has been employed in the gathering or collection and analyzing data concerning youth and political violence: As well as comparative study of the 2011 and 2015 general elections in Zamfara state.

3.1 Rationale or reasons behind the adoption of qualitative research method

It is of most important to state that, qualitative research investigation emerged from research questions. There are numerous ways in which qualitative research gather first-hand information in the course of conducting research in the field. That is to say, the qualitative method study phenomenon empirically base as regards to its context of origin and make huge effort to interpret and analyzed data in a way people view the qualitative research is primarily exploratory research. It is used to gain an understanding underlying reasons, opinions, and motivation. Its provide insight into the problem or help to developed ideas or hypothesis for potential quantitative research. It is used to uncover trends in thought and opinions, and dive deeper into the problem.

According to (Ladicoet'al, 2006), qualitative studies are carried out in a naturalistic conditions with large research question designed to explore, explain, and translate the social context which the participant are selected in a non-random ways. Bogdan and

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Biklen, (1992), states that qualitative research apply scientific investigations due to the fact that it deals with concrete episode attached to human behavior which enable researchers to think and to simply understand human conditions. Qualitative research is much more open ended compares to quantitative research. Because of the researcher engagement in asking the participants or audience many questions as possible so as to get knowledge about the phenomenon under investigation course of discussion.

The goals of qualitative research are to provide findings not arriving at as a means of statistical proceedings. Cresswell (1994) emphasized that this techniques as explain above is strictly for investigators or researchers who are prepare to spend much time during the course of the study, gather enough and relevant data that can be easily reduced to reasonable themes and then discus the content at large. From the above explanation, qualitative research method is adopted for this research due to its importance to the case study.

3.2 Sources of data

There are two major and important sources of data collection. That is, the primary and the secondary sources. The data collected for this research was derived from both sources. The primary sources are obtained through 100 semi-structured questioniers administered on voters and statesmen. Also the researcher adopted the use of face-to-face interview, and focus group discussion. This covers various electoral officials, district head, youth leader of Zamfara state, security agencies and others partisan members. The secondary source on the other hand includes data from Zamfara state federal office of the independence national

electoral commission (INEC), articles, journal, national dailies, magazines, internet materials and conference proceedings so as to fulfill scientific and empirical validation.

3.3 Study area

Zamfara state is a state in North western Nigeria. It capital city is Gusau and its current Governor is Abdulaziz Abubakar Yari a member of the All Progressive Congress (APC). The state was founded in 1996 by the military regime of General Sani Abacha. Prior the 1996, the state was part of Sokoto Area. The state has a total land mark of 39, 762 km square. It is bordered in the North by Niger Republic, to the South by Kaduna state, in the East by Katsina state and in the West by Sokoto state. According to the 2006 census, it has a population of 3,278,873 which contains fourteen (14) Local Government Areas with three (3) senatorial districts (West, Central and North). Zamfara state is mainly populated by Hausa and Fulani people, with some members of Gwari, Kamuku, Kambari, Dukawa, Bussawa and Zambarma ethnic communities (http://www.onlinenigeria.com/map.gif) others includes Igbos, Yoruba, Kanuri, Nupe and Tiv. Agriculture is the dominant occupation of the Zamfara state community and Islam is the principal religion in the state.

3.4 The study population

The area study has a total of 14 local government areas (National Bureau of Statistics). The study selected 3 senatorial districts whereby the researcher selected three (3) local governments, one (1) from each of the senatorial districts (Central, West North senatorial districts). The selected local governments were Gusau, Kaura Namoda and Talata Mafara. Each of the local governmentrepresents a senatorial district.

3.5 Sample of the study

The sample of the study adopted in this research was probability sampling. This is because of the large population of the area to be studied. The choice of probability sample was important because of the subjects of the sample to be studied are chosen based on clear knowledge of the probabilities. Therefore, each member of the population has equal chances of been selected so that the sample would be a true representation of the entire state (Zamfara state).

3.6 Sampling techniques

This research utilized the cluster and random sampling. This is because of the large population of Zamfara state. The research divide the state into three (3) senatorial districts and out of the three (3) senatorial districts (West, North and Central), one Local government represent each senatorial district. The sampling size and procedures of 100 (one hundred) respondent is selected to represent the population study. This consist of 30 respondent randomly selected from each local government randomly selected from each of the 3 senatorial districts of Zamfara state. The remaining 10 of the questionnaires was given to statesmen, and security agencies. The sampling technique chose for this research is justifiable because it have been recorded that political violence has occurred in Zamfara state.

3.7 method of data collection

3.7.1 Interview

According to Mason, (1996), the most frequently used method in qualitative research are interviews. Thus, interviews data were used in this study as primary source so as to gain first hand and detailed information and to acquires rich and entire understanding of the knowledge, experiences, views and characters (May, 1997; Patton, 1987; Holistein and Gubrium, 1997; Mason, 1996).

The interview guide followed in the conduct of this research is presented in appendix. The use of the interview guide was flexibly applied due to the fact that the researcher at a point in time made some unavoidable changes to the guide earlier planned where the need arose. In the course of conducting an in-depth and face-to-face interview for the purpose of this study, The interviewee were informed about the case study before the commencement of each interview to enable the interviewee to be confident, have an open, sincere and honest response.

The researcher also makes some effort by assuring the interviewees of the confidentiality of any information gotten from them during the interview. The researcher begins by explaining the nature and reasons for the study to the main participants and thereafter, the interviewees were questioned about their knowledge and experiences about youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state with reference to 2011 and 2015 general elections. Much more significantly, the interviewees had worked with various organizations at different points in time and held different positions of authority ranges from politics, traditional chief, youth leader, police officers and electoral returning officers

and believed to have acquired different degrees of skills, experiences and from distinct background.

Therefore, the process of selecting the interviewees was done on a gradual process in the collection of data in study area because it was a purposeful sample. This was to enable them have a proper sufficient understanding of their responsibilities, involvement of their responses as the time political violence occurred. The duration of the interview varies in terms of length usually took from 30 minute to 1 hour depending on the interviewee's response.

The face to face and in-depth interviews were conducted under the period of 2 months. Another important issue consider by the research was that, during the time of the interview, the involvement of the participants in the political violence that took place and the role the played in managing the violence determine the way and how often they were interviewed. The venues for the interviews were in the office of the participants while others were at the convenience of the participants.

Items used in the carrying out the interviews include a phone recorder while the researcher jotted statement down in the form of note-taking in order to complement the voice recording. This is because tape is the accurate method for gathering accurate and reliable interview. The note-taking by the researcher help him to investigate and prepared follow-up questions and to take into consideration some of the issues raised by the interviewees. Another important thing to note is that, in situations whereby interview were not recorded due to technical hiccup, the researcher took note to serve as clarity to other important issues raised by the participants in their opinions. The participants were giving the liberty

to relax and confident to express themselves essentially in the aspect of particular language, pronunciation terms and pauses they made. The researcher was also confronted with certain disagreement from the participants over voice recording of the interview and as such, note were taking. The researcher studied the voice record and the note-taken carefully to understand the narration of the respondents.

3.7.2 In-depth interview method

3.7.2.1 Face-to-face interview method

It is of most importance to opine here that, the interviews conducted were interactive in nature. Thus, the researcher asked many probing questions and utilized other techniques so as to achieve depth analysis in terms of explanation and exploration. The interviews were generative in nature because it benefits the investigation to gain more information. Cresswell, (2008) posit that an in-depth interview should be conducted using the following stages;

Arrival: Here, the researcher established a cordial relationship with the respondents. The researcher make sure that the participants feel free and to make things easy for them before, during and after the interview. The researcher played the role of a host.

Introducing the researcher: in this stage, the researcher starts the interaction by introducing the research topic and let them know the rationale behind the research. After this, the researcher asked the interviewee their permission to record the interview.

Interview: Here, the researcher started with normal topic by asking personal details of the participants such as name, age, educational qualification, LGA and lot more.

3.7.2.2 Questionnaire

The questionnaire is another instrument adopted by the researcher in collecting the data for this study. The research questionnaire is a semi-structure and open ended. The questionnaire is divided into three sections. The first section includes the rationale behind administering the questionnaire to the respondents. Section two includes the demographical distribution of the respondents. Finally, section three includes the questions. A total of One Hundred (100) questionnaires will be administered.

3.7.2.3 Focus Group Discussion

The participants have experience incidence related to the case study. The focus group discussion was plan to the participants but planned by the researcher. The researcher opens the floor by asking a question that led to the discussion. After the discussion, the researcher takes some note down for analysis

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

In data analysis, the researcher started with a wide body of information gathered, arranged and then group it and narrow it down to the case study. Leedy and Ormrod, (2005) pointed out that researchers are to construct interpretative narrative from the data sourced and sought to capture the complexity of the phenomena under study.

Also analyzed in this research, were the themes that came up in the context of each research question for the purpose of addressing the research findings. The research questions include; what are the factors or causes responsible for youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state? The researcher collected the data, analyzed and

addressed the extent of the influence of elite, religion, poverty etc. the findings of this question were reviewed and pattern matched into meaningful data as presented in a descriptive form. What have been the effects of youth participation in political violence on the socio-economic and political development of Zamfara state? The researcher collected the data, analyzed it in a way that pattern matched how the youth participation in political violence affected the socio-economic and political development of Zamfara state. What is the dominant form of political violence in the polity of Zamfara state? Data were collected and analyzed and pattern matched so as to examine the dominant form of political violence by the youth in Zamfara state. What are the differences and similarities between the 2011 and 2015 general elections in Zamfara state? Data were collected and analyzed so as to prove and demonstrate differences and similarities between the two general elections in the state. How youth participation in political violence can be solve or minimized in Zamfara state? Data were collected and analyzed by the researcher and came up with findings. In analyzing the data, the researcher undertakes the following steps.

Preparing and organization: Here, qualitative data is used through hand analysis by reading the data manually and making it by hand with the help of transcription method by using field notes and audio tape voice recording to be converted into text or written data.

Exploring and Coding the data base: in this step, all the sourced data in the process of interviews are designed and coded to form as description.

Describing Findings and Forming Themes: in this step, the researcher deals mainly with the research questions and established an in-depth knowledge of the main concept via

descriptive and formation of themes. The researcher coded aggregated themes together in order to source for the main idea in the data.

Representing and reporting of findings: this step focus on the explanations of answers of research questions in a figure and tabular form.

Testing of Hypothesis: Here, the researcher tested the research assumptions. This was done after representing and reporting of findings so as to validate the assumption of the research.

Research Findings, recommendation and conclusion: here, the researcher make a compendium of the research and make recommendations from the research findings before conclusion.

3.9 Validity of the research

All the data collected by the researcher were from reliable sources. The researcher adopted the qualitative method with optimism of making use of the primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data were collected from various random selected respondents and participants. The researcher was privilege to have access to 2011 and 2015 general election report from the national office of the Independence National Electoral Commission (INEC) Zamfara state under the directives of the Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) in person of Dr. (Mrs.) Asama'u Sani Maikudi. This was made available by HOD VEP (Head of Department of Vice Electoral Principal) in person of Mr. Garba Galadima. Five officials were interviewed and four were giving questionnaires. Also Police personnel were interviewed and issued questionnaires. The researcher makes use of relevant and contemporary literatures that make the findings and the submission of the researcher possible.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This section of the research covers data presentation. The data collected for presentation consist of the information about the personal subjection and characteristics of the respondents, their perception or rationale and their deductions about Youth Political violence with reference to the 2011 and 2015 General Elections in Zamfara state. The information was gathered from the following sources;

Primary source: Here, the information collected was from distributed questionnaires, interview (face to face and telephone interview) and focus group discussion. The information was sourced out from the research sample size of the study. Three local governments were selected from each senatorial districts of Zamfara state whereby 100 questionnaires were distributed. Out of the 100, 90 were distributed to the three local governments Areas. The remaining 10 were administered to INEC officials, security personnel and other important personnel. From the 100 questionnaires distributed, only 85 questionnaires were returned while 13 questionnaires were not returned and 2 were returned unanswered. Thus, the total of 85 respondents formed the random selected sample of the population.

Table 4.0.1 Returned, Unreturned and Unanswered Questionnaires

Returned	Unreturned	Unanswered	Total
85	13	2	100

Source: Field work, 2018

Interview: the interview conducted by the researcher include in-depth face-to-face. Four (4) officials were selected from the INEC office including the Residence Electoral Commissioner (REC), 2 security personnel (Commissioner of Police and Divisional Policing Officer D.P.O) and Zamfara state youth leader. That gives the total number of persons interviewed to be 7 in this research.

Focus group discussion: the focus group discussion deployed by the researcher was conducted with the presence of 5 participants.

Secondary sources of data: the secondary sources collected the data from various literatures, journal, newspapers, articles, magazine, internet materials and conference proceedings.

This section of the research also employs the use of two forms of data presentation. This includes Textual presentation and Tabular presentation.

4.1.0 Textual presentation

4.1.1 Historical evolution of youth political violence in Nigeria

The history of youth participation in political violence is a long way analysis that can be traced to many centuries and decades ago in the world. Youth political violence occurs

invariably in different regions and societies. In it context, it undertook different form in different geographical configuration. Violence is an inevitable characteristic of every society due to diverse interest and competition within the society. Violence by young people is one of the most visible forms of violence (WHO, 2000). Political violence is old as human existence.

In Nigeria, youth political violence is prominent and inherent. The history of youth violence is central in the analysis of the invasion of the colonial masters in Nigeria. This can be traced to the aftermath of the 1922 Huge Clifford constitution. This was because, for the first time the idea of electoral principles which gave room for voting in Lagos and Calabar and Paving way for politicking. Nwolise in (Ladan-Baki, 2016), posit that from the 1959 general elections that ushered in the independence of 1960, the state began to experience a high level of electoral violence varying from all sphere which include physical, structural and psychological violence. This was followed as a result of lack of ideology of political parties and most of the membership was ethnic inclined. With the presence of colonial masters, political violence was more or less on a low scale.

The Kano riot of 1953 has been as well mark the evolution of political violence in Nigeria within a high scale. According to (Dominic, 2015), it is often referred to as the Kano riot of 1953 where people of northern origin engaged the southerners (that is the Yoruba and Igbos) in a bloody clash which resulted at a strain relationship among elders regarding the actual date to attain self-rule. Since the 1962, and 1964 experiences, political violence has become a regular feature and a political way of life in Nigeria. One the most endemic and bloody political violence experienced in Nigeria was the civil war that bedevils our Nigeria society.

Since then, political violence has assumed it position as a regular phenomenon in Nigeria. Today, it will not be an over statement to assert that no Nigeria state is political violent free since independence. Zamfara state has also been identified as one of the state that experienced political violence. The state currently is faced with armed robbery, banditry, kidnapping, cattle rustlers, and illegal mining which have contributed to variety or forms of violence experiencing in the state.

4.1.2 Factors Responsible for youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state

There is no single agreed factor that can be said to be a factor for youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state. This is because many factors are responsible for the youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state. These factors cut across, poverty, religion, unemployment, elite and low educational background. According to (WHO, 2002), categorized the factors into three group. Namely, individual factors, influence by family and peers, and social, political and cultural factors.

The individual factors are mostly psychological factor. These revolve around personality and behavioral principles. These include hyperactivity, impulsiveness, poor behavioral control, attention problems, history of early aggressive behavior and low educational achievement.

Considering one of the factor under this individual factor, it can be agreed that low educational level can be responsible for youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state. It is recorded that education has always been on a low scale in Zamfara state. This

was captured by state senior official of the ministry of education at the ministry of education who state that;

"lately, there has been a decline in the number of centers and candidate for the November/December senior secondary school certificate examination council (WAEC) and National Examination Council (NECO) The official further observed that, some students have abandoned schools to start or join small business including riding motor cycle in big...(Daily Trust2018). With such negligence towards the education, the students stand the chances to be manipulated to cause political violence. Thus education in Zamfara state is low when compare to other neighbouring state in the Northwest.

In the second category, poor supervision of children by parents and harsh physical punishment to discipline children, parental conflict in early childhood, a low level of attachment between parents and children, a mother who had her first child at an early age, experiencing parental separation or divorce at young age, a low level of family cohesion, socio-economic status of the family. The influence of the family and peer is responsible for youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state. For example, youth whom might have experienced parental separation or divorce at their early age, lack of family bond or cohesion, lack of attachment between parents and their children, parental conflicts, poor parental supervision are liable intimidate the youth to become political violent participators. Within the context of Zamfara state, divorce and parental separation is part and parcel of the values of the people of Zamfara state. This resulted to homelessness and hungry children around the streets looking helplessly and lack of attention by parents. These children are or young once can easily be manipulated to cause political violence.

On the third category; gangs and local supply of guns and drugs, low level of social cohesion within a community, the quality of a country's government, income inequality, cultures that do not provide non-violent alternative for resolving conflicts. The supply of arms and drugs become a factor for political violence. The quality of a government of a state determines political violence. If the state is weak to enforce the law and curb other crimes in the state, it may result to political violence. WHO, (2002) stressed that its law and extent to which they are enforced, as well as policies for social protection has an important effect to violence. When the enforceability of the law is weak, political violence can seems possible. Increase in the population of the youth leads to scarce resources and income inequality which can motivate violent behavior. The few resources are to some extend monopolized by the political elite and their families while leaving the public in idleness. This has also contributed to the kidnaping, theft, arm rubbery, etc.

According to Dominic, (2015), some of these reasons (responsible for youth participation in political violence) put forward include poverty, unemployment, greed, sycophancy, Godfatherism, injustice, variant of interest among other things.

Poverty is the absent or inability to feeds, clothe self and access to basic needs of life. Despite of the natural resources within the geographical location of Zamfara state, the state is recorded to be one of the poorest in the country. Recently united nation indices of poverty in our dear nation placed Zamfara state as the most poverty stricken state in the country with 99.88 percent rating" (The Sun Newspaper, 2017). As a result of this ugly phenomenon, has led many people into prostitution, armed robbery, drug abuse etc. Dominic, (2015) opined that it is also from this group that Nigerian bourgeoisies

politicians recruit and armed as political thugs and aids during elections and extension increases the social problems in our communities.

Unemployment is another determinant leading to youth participation in political violence. The rate of unemployment/underemployment in Nigeria is alarming and a country cannot said to be stable if jobs are not created to reduce the unemployment rate (Adamu et'al, 2017). Most of the youth in Zamfara state are unemployed. It is a regular feature to see Degree, HND, NCE holders are unemployed. It is also from this group of youth that the dubious politicians usually recruit to do their bidding during elections periods by making all form of juicy promises and rewards.

Religion is also having a great effect by instigating the youth to engage in political violence. One the senior official of INEC at the national office in Zamfara state during the interview believe that religion is never a factor in Zamfara state that leads to youth participation in political violence. For him, Zamfara state is relatively mono-cultural society and unify-religion. While interviewing the Assistant Director of INEC National office Gusau Mr. Amodu Ibrahim, opines that religion is another determinant that leads to political violence in Zamfara state. According to him, there are 90% Muslim in the state, whenever politicians want to send messages to the people it is the mosque that is consider as a truthful place. Thus no matter how violent and destructive the message may be, as long as it is from the mosque it will be adhering to without second thought.

In the opinion of Amodu, lack of political sensitization, orientation, and low level of education are factors responsible for youth participation in political violence in the state.

He also admits religion, poverty, elites, and unemployment to be factors contributing to youth participation in political violence.

Another thing to be considered is that, most of the youth lacks the political awareness. But the simple language they tend to understand and respect is the language of political master who armed them to kill, maim when the political pendulum swing against them; meaning that when they fail to achieve their aim either during electioneering campaign or voting periods, they alter the course of peace through violence (Dominic, 2015). In the concluding section of the interview, the participant agrees that there is a perfect correlation between youth participation in political violence and poverty, unemployment, and elite manipulation.

4.1.3 Youth Political Violence and Zamfara State in Context; Effect of Youth Political Violence on the Socio-economic and Political Development of Zamfara State.

From the view of the interviewees, Zamfara state has always been more or less peaceful state during the 2011 and 2015 general elections. But they did not dispute the fact that some local government areas experience political violence of one form of the other.

In 2011 it was agreed that there were electoral violence in Tsafe, Gusau and Bakura local government areas. According to the report by (peace and security working group, January 15 2015), violence by angry youths targeted towards religious houses and shops, especially in Gusau and Tsafe. Also in the report, in Bakura, there was a fight between PDP and ANPP supporters. The report further stressed that, several hot spots identified by consulted participants included Gusau, Tsafe, Bakura, Bukkuyum and Talata Mafara because of their

past history in electoral violence and resent cattle rustling violence. In speculation of the 2015 general election in Zamfara state, the Peace and Security Working Group assert that;

"In Zamfara North senatorial district, political thuggery intimidation, and assassinations are possible, due to contestation between PDP and APC supporters. [...] in Zamfara central, where Gusau the state capital, and Tsafe are located, ballot box snatching, voter intimidation, protest, political violence that degenerate into sexual violence and burning of properties may occur" (Peace and Security Working Group, 2015).

This is complement the statement of the INEC Zamfara state national office, Assistant Director during the interview section, who said that in 2015 Zamfara state was more or less a peaceful state. But violence that was feared to take place was the insecurity problem in some areas. There were expectations that 2015 general election will be bloody.

The consequences of this political violence in Zamfara state, has resulted to loss of lives, destruction of properties and public infrastructures, and has create more room for poverty and unemployment, render many people homeless and starved. Investors run away because of insecurity of their properties and businesses.

Thus, it was agreed that electoral violence led to the death of an APC (former ANPP) women leader in Talata Mafara. Many lives have been lost before, during and after 2011 and 2015 general elections in Zamfara state. The incident that occur in Tsafe and Gusau local government area resulted to burning of houses, shops and other forms of properties as response to the 2011 announcement of results: Some of these deaths were not officially documented but the communities witness assassinations of different form such as beheaded, organ extractions and so on of its people.

Politically, it looks immature of the political culture of the people. This has manifest into poor nature of political socialization and education, lack of political sensitization and orientation and lack democratic culture.

4.1.4 Differences and Similarities between the 2011 and 2015 General Elections in Zamfara State.

The disparity and the similarity between the two elections in Zamfara state can be accessible in the INEC 2011 and 2015 general elections reports as submitted to the Federal INEC Head-quarter Abuja. This will be explained one after the other.

4.1.4.1 The 2011 INEC General Elections Report

According to the INEC report of the 2011 general election as compiled by the then Residence Electoral Commissioner (REC) Jibril Ibrahim Zarewa states that;

"There were a number of challenges encountered in the conduct of the election. These included cases of missing names in the voters registration, boycotting of election by corps members which nearly crippled the conduct of elections in many local government areas; and inadequate security personnel to handle elections at various level" (INEC 2011 general election report).

The report also state that, there were fifteen (15) cases involving seventy one (71) suspected electoral offenders being prosecuted in the law courts for offences including; snatching and destruction of electoral materials and disruption of voting. According to the report, the number of political parties and candidates that participated in the 2011 General Election was as follow: presidential elections 20; Governorship Election 19; National

Assembly Elections 15: and state House of Assembly 9. Only the ANPP and the PDP won seats in the various elections. The ANPP won the governorship election, 2 Senatorial district seats, 5 House of Representatives seats, and 13 states House of Assembly seats. PDP won 1 Senatorial District seat, 2 House of Representatives seats, and 11 seats of the state House of Assembly election.

The report concluded that, a total of fourteen (14) elections petitions were filed at the governorship and state Assembly election petitions tribunal after the 2011 General elections.

4.1.4.2 The 2015 INEC General Elections Report

The 2015 general elections report was compiled by Abubakar Umar Wara the then Residence Electoral Commissioner (REC). The report presents the following;

In the course of the conduct of the elections the following challenges were encountered:

i.   Mix-up in the packaging of EC 8 series for the local government areas

ii.   Failure to activate RACs in the 28th march elections

iii. Centralized enrolment of ad-hoc staff which caused the short-listing of unqualified personnel;

iv.   Use of obsolete DDC machines during the CVR exercises; and poor timing in the re-location of Pus which was done too close to Election Day.

On the conclusion of the 2015 General election, Wara opined that; "generally, the election as monitored by INEC officials and accredited observers were adjudged peaceful and orderly. There were no records of serious incidents of violence in Zamfara state" (INEC

2015 general election report). From the above 2015 general election report in Zamfara state was peacefully and orderly conducted without cases of political violence. At the conclusion of the 2015 general election polls, the APC won a majority of the votes in the presidential election, the three senatorial district seats, seven houses of representative seats and 24 state houses of assembly seats (INEC 2015 general election report).

4.1.4.3 Differences

In the 2011 general elections, the challenges recorded were more of physical violence. While in the 2015 general elections, the challenges were technical problems. Also the 2011 election filed fifteen (15) cases involving seventy one (71) suspected electoral offenders being prosecuted in the law court for such offences; snatching and destruction of election materials and disruption of voting. No of such cases were recorded in the 2015 general elections. Also another distinction between the two elections is that, the political offices were fairly contested in 2011 while in 2015 it was a landslide by the All Progressive Congress (APC). The 2011 general elections compiled by INEC is seems more comprehensive and clarified than that of the 2015 general elections in Zamfara state. Both elections (2011 and 2015) differ in nature, time, context and conducts. The three senatorial districts were all won by APC in the 2015 general election, while in the 2011, ANPP (later APC) won 2 senatorial seats and PDP won the other one seat. Finally, the 2011 general elections were characterized with political violence of various forms and dimension. This is inline with the assertion of the Assistant Director of INEC Zamfara state during the interview agree that, political violence were more experienced in the 2011 elections compare to 2015 general elections in Zamfara state. In a chat with the HOD VEP in the INEC national office Zamfara state Mr Garba Galadima state that, there was no violence in

the conduct of 2015 general elections in Zamfara state. Another senior INEC electoral officer also said that there were no or little violence during the 2015 general elections. While the 2015 General Elections were characterized with less or no political violence.

4.1.4.4 Similarities

The only similarities which can be recorded in both 2011 and 2015 general elections are insecurity problems and the returned of the victory of APC to the governorship seat.

4.1.5 Can Youth Political Violence be Minimized or Solved in Zamfara State?

To minimize or solve youth political violence in Zamfara state, a coordinated effort is required by both individuals and government. It is a two way approach that required active effort from each. Both government and the citizens needs to corporate in curbing political violence. Meaning it's a societal responsibility to curb political violence in Zamfara state polity. Political violence is a complex phenomenon which took occurs in diver's forms and dimensions. Since politics is about a game clash of interest and competitions whether in a regulated or unregulated condition, violence most especially political violence, will always be inevitable. Political violence can be minimize in a most regulated or controlled political system. Therefore, the government of Zamfara state must devise a strong and coercive law against those perpetrating and sponsoring of the political violence in the state. The punishment must be draconian in nature. Also, the government of Zamfara state must make effort to increase employment opportunities, increase income of individuals and increase educational life of the people of Zamfara state.

On the part of the citizens, they must develop the attitude of shunning political violence by considering the effects and consequences. They must not allow themselves to be

manipulated by the political elites. They should be able to challenge those whom want to use them as arms to cause political violence to use their children instead. They should also report such persons to the authorities. Thus in addition, political sensitization, education and orientation of the public about elections and politics must be stressed by the electoral body (INEC) and the government and also other non-governmental organization as well as private corporations. One of the INEC senior electoral officer interviewed opined that the youth are not the initiator of political violence, but they are pushed to do it. Therefore the youths must disengage themselves from being manipulated by political elites and others. In order to complement my assertion above, below is a tabular explanation strategy to minimize or solve political violence by World Health Organization (WHO);

Table 4.1.5.1 Examples of Strategies to Prevent Youth Violence

Individual	Relationship	Community	Societal
Pre-school enrichment programmes	Home visitation… Training in parenting Family therapy	Improving school settings, including teacher practices, school policies and security	Public information campaigns Effort to reduce media violence.
Social development programmes (particularly those that emphasize social skills and competency)	Mentoring programmes Peer mediation/peer counseling	After school programmes Extracurricular activities Community policing	Strengthening and improving police and judicial systems. Reforming educational systems. Policy changes to
Bully prevention			

programmes	Gang prevention programmes	reduce poverty and inequality.
Counseling	Modification of the physical	Activities and policies to mitigate
Vocational training	environment	the effects of rapid
Incentives for youths at high risk of violence to complete secondary schooling	Improving emergency response, trauma care and access to health services Training health care workers to identify and refer youths at high risk for violence Reducing the availability of alcohol.	social change and tackle gun violence among youths.

Source; World Health Organization, 2002

From the table above, it can be observed that political violence cut across diverse form and can be minimize or solve through political, social, economic, psychological method.

4.2 Tabula presentation

Table 4.2.0.1 Gender Distribution and Percentage

S/N	Gender/Sex	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Male	64	75.3%
2	Female	21	24.7%
	Total	85	100%

Source: field work, 2018

From table 4.2.0.1 above, 64 male respondents of 75.3% were consulted and 21 female respondents of 24.7% were also consulted. Note the values, norms and culture of the people limited the number of female respondents.

Table 4.2.0.2 Distribution of Year of Residence and Percentage

S/N	Years Range	No.of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	1-20	42	49.41%
2	21-40	25	29.41%
3	41-60	18	21.18%
	Total	85	100%

Source: field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.0.2 above shows the years of residence of the respondents in Zamfara state. 42, 25, and 18 respondents within the year range 1-20, 21-40, and 41-60 with 49.41%, 29.41%, and 21.18% respectively have dueled in Zamfara state.

Table 4.2.0.3 Marital Status Distribution and Percentage

S/N	Marital Status	Number of respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Married	51	60 %
2	Single	34	40%
	Total	85	100%

Source: field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.0.3 above is the marital status distribution of the respondents. 51 Married respondents with 60% were consulted and 34 Single respondents with 40% were also consulted.

Table 4.2.0.4 Age Distribution and Percentage

S/N	Age	Number of respondents	Percentage (%)
1	25-35	25	29.41%
2	36-45	36	42.35%
3	46-55	24	28.24%
	Total	85	100%25

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.0.4 above shows the age distribution of the respondents. 25, 36, 24 respondents with 29.41%, 42.35%, and 28.24% falls within the age range of 25-35, 36-45, and 46-55 respectively.

Table 4.2.0.5 Educational Qualification of Respondents and Percentage

S/N	Qualification	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Degree/HND	13	15.3%
2	NCE/ND	53	62.4%
3	SSCE	11	12.9%
4	Others	8	9.4%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.0.5 above, 13 respondents with Degree/HND with 15.3% were administered with questionnaires. 53 respondents with 62.4% with NCE/ND, 11 respondents with 12.9% with SSCE and 8 other respondents with 9.4% were also participated in this study.

Table 4.2.0.6 Occupational Distribution and Percentage

S/N	Occupation	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Students	14	17%
2	Civil Servants	56	66%
3	Public Servants	4	5%
4	Others	11	13%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.0.6 above shows that 14 respondents (students) with 17%, 56 respondents (civil servants) with 66%, 4 respondents (public servants) with 5%, and 11 others were administered questionnaire.

4.2.1 SECTION C

Table 4.2.1.1 Voting Distribution and Percentage

S/N	Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	70	82.4%
2	No	15	17.6%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.1.1, it is agreed that 70 respondents of 82.4% voted. While 15 respondents with 17.6%, did not participate in voting.

Table 4.2.1.2 Pre and Post Political Violence in Zamfara State

S/N	Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	61	71.8%
2	No	24	28.2%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.1.2, 61 respondents agreed that there were pre and post political violence in Zamfara state with 71.8%. While 24 with 28.2% respondents disagree that there were no pre and post political violence in Zamfara state.

Table 4.2.1.3 Cases of Political Violence in Zamfara State

S/N	Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	57	67.1%
2	No	28	32.9%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From 4.2.1.3 above, 57 respondents with 67.1% agreed that there were cases of political violence in their areas. While 28 respondents with 32.9% disagreed that there were no cases of political violence in their areas.

Table 4.2.1.4 Have the Youths been Responsible for Political Violence in Zamfara State?

S/N	Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	41	48.2%
2	No	44	51.8%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.1.4 above, 41 respondents agreed that youth are responsible for political violence in Zamfara state with 48.2%. While on the other hand, 44 respondents with 51.8%, disagreed that the youths are not responsible for political violence. This complement the statement of one of the respondent interviewed who opines that the youths are responsible for political violence in Zamfara state, but they are pushed to do it.

Table 4.2.1.5 Electoral Malpractice during the 2011 and 2015 General Elections in Zamfara State

S/N	Response	No. of respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	27	32%
2	No	58	68%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.1.5 above, 27 respondents with 32% agreed that there were cases of electoral malpractice in Zamfara state. But 58 respondents with 68% opined that there was no electoral malpractice recorded.

Table 4.2.1.6 The general elections that experiences more political violence

S/N	Election Year(s)	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	2011	69	81%
2	2015	16	19%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.1.6 above, 69 with 81% respondents agreed that 2011 general elections was characterized with high level of violence. While 16 respondents with 19% on the other hand, agreed that the 2015 general elections was violent.

Table 4.2.1.7 Factors Responsible for Youth Participation in Political Violence

S/N	Factors	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Poverty	28	33%
2	Religion	5	6%
3	Unemployment	21	25%
4	Elite	31	36%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.1.7 above, 28 respondents with 33% agreed that poverty is responsible for youth participation in political violence. 5 respondents with 6% agreed that religion is a factor contributing to political violence in Zamfara state. 21 respondents with 25%contoured that unemployment is responsible for youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state. Finally, 31 respondents with 36% totally agreed that elites are responsible of instigating the youth to invoke political violence in the state.

Table 4.2.1.8 The Effects of Youth Political Violence on Socio-economic and Political Development of Zamfara State

S/N	Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	59	69%
2	No	26	31%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From Table 4.2.1.8 above, 59 respondents with 69% agreed that youth political violence affected the socio-economic and political development in Zamfara state. On the other hand, 26 respondents with 31% disagree.

Table 4.2.1.9 Can the Government Curb Political Violence in Zamfara State?

S/N	Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	70	82%
2	No	15	18%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.1.9 above, 70 respondents with 82% agreed that government can curb youth political violence in Zamfara state. While 15 respondents with 18%, disagree by saying no.

Table 4.2.1.10 The Differences and Similarities between 2011 and 2015 General Elections in Zamfara State

S/N	Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	53	62%
2	No	32	38%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.1.10 above, 53 respondents with 62% agreed that there were differences between the two elections but 32 respondents with 38% believe that both elections were similar.

Table 4.2.1.11 How to Minimized or Solve Political Violence in Zamfara State

S/N	Methods	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	Political education	22	26%
2	Increases Employment	24	28%
3	Reduce poverty rate	29	34%
4	Increases Security	10	12%
	Total	85	100%

Source: Field Work, 2018

From table 4.2.1.11 above, 22 respondents with 26% believed that political education will be of great help in curbing political violence. 24 respondents with 28%, also agree that increase of employment opportunity by the state government will help minimize youth political violence. Another set of 29 respondents with 34%, suggest that reduction of poverty rate will help in dealing with youth political violence. Finally, 10 respondents with 12%, agree that increase in security personnel, approach and instruments will help to reduce political violence in Zamfara state.

4.3 Hypothesis

H1: The factors and causes of youth political violence have socio-economic and political effects.

H1: Youth political violence in Zamfara state has affected the electoral processes and democratization whereby elections has been cancel, postponement and voters intimidation of various forms

H1: There were different context and dimension of political violence in the 2011 and 2015 General Elections in Zamfara state.

H0: There was similarity between the 2011 and 2015 General Elections in Zamfara state in the sense that, electoral or political violence no matter it form, context and dimension of occurrence is still political violence.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Research Findings

In the process of conducting this research, there were various factors discovered which influences youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state. The findings of this study serve as an eye opener to researcher, statesmen, policy maker and researchers or to readers. Youth and political violence has often been a regular feature of many general elections in Nigeria and Zamfara state in particular. Some of the research findings are as follows.

i.   Youth participation in political violence in Nigeria and Zamfara state in particular has historical origin of analysis. This is because, political parties formation have always been on ethnic lines. For example the Oduduwa people congress which metamorphoses into the Action Group (AC). Another example is also the Jamiyar Mutanen Arewa which metamorphosed into Northern People Congress (NPC) which has created room for violence and confrontation among political parties in Nigeria.

ii.   There are various factors that lead to youth participation in political violence. Among these factors are; poverty, manipulation of religion, unemployment, lack of political education and high rate of illiteracy. Elites are seems to be major influencer of political violence.

iii.   The 2011 general elections witness more political violence than 2015 general elections.

iv.   The participation of youth in political violence in Zamfara state in the 2011 and 2015 general elections has affected the socio-economic and political development of the state through the destruction of businesses, setting houses ablaze and political assassination of opposition most especially in the affected areas like, Talata Mafara, Gusau, Tsafe, Kaura Namoda, Bukkuyum, Bakura local government areas.

v.   The dominant form of political violence that seems to be effective and practically experienced in 2011 and 2015 general elections includes; snatching of ballot boxes, voters and electoral officers intimidation, protest, destruction of properties, assassination, and kidnapping.

vi.   Political violence is an inevitable phenomenon most especially in underdeveloped/developing countries like Nigeria and Zamfara state in particular, since the state is characterized by constant political and economic competition for resource of various kinds which are limited. Thus, political violence cannot be eradicated because of existing competition for political power and economic domination.

vii.   Poor attitude toward political education, sensitization and orientation of the people have pave more room for political violence in the state.

viii.   Low level of standard education has affected most of the youth. This resulting to some of them easily influence and manipulated to instigate political violence in the state.

5.2 Conclusion

From our Academic Journey, it has been discovered that youth have been the major weaponry and vipers of political violence in Nigeria and Zamfara state in particular. This has been triggered by a number of factors. In curbing this youth political violence in Zamfara state, a collective effort is required. Both the government and individuals must be responsible in curbing the political violence by devising various means or mechanism to regulate the electoral processes. Effective regulations, policies and programme must be set up by the government to checkmate hostile behavior against the electoral processes in the state. There is need for more creation of employment opportunity, re-evaluating of poverty alleviation strategies in the state, wealth generation, educational improvement both in quality and access etc. The individuals needs to adopt a positive attitude against political violence and should help the security personnel's expose those that are liable to instigate political violence in the state. Parent should ensure proper parental training of their children by giving their children. The state government should not only rely on Federal Government allocations for developmental projects, but should look inward and generate wealth they should devise means by venturing into mineral exploration, mining and invest heavily in Agriculture, building recreational centers within the state to generate more funds to curb the problem of poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment. The establishments of industries like rice and sugar processing industries in the state because of the geographical advantages of the state in rice and sugar-cane production. This can help minimized the chances of youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state and in Nigeria in general by creating jobs, use the revenue generated to funds education and make the life better for all. High rate of devours needs to be checkmate by the religious leaders of the

community. The religious leaders must also preach and teach values that are anti-political electoral violence. Government should build more standardized educational facilities, employed more teachers. Further research can be conducted on, effect of poverty and unemployment on youth violence and effects of lack of education on socio-economic and political development

5.3 Recommendations

I. Youth participation in political violence Nigeria has assumed a historical origin seeing various ethnic local groups transform into political parties in Nigeria. This has create antagonism and opposition among ethnic groups because the various political parties and organizations are ethnic based. During the colonial period, most of the youth agitate against the colonial policies and domination. This violent agitation became prominent during the independent movement epoch. By 1960 till date, political violence engagement of youth has become a regular exercised in Nigeria political system. This is because new political parties with different ideologies are emerging everyday. This makes the political arena competitive. Youth and Nigerians needs to look back and ration the negative effect of political violence on our society and avoid it future happening.

II. Youth must reclaim their position in other to debunk the influence and manipulation of the elites. They should not allow themselves to be use as instruments of political violence.

III. The 2011 witness much political violence than the 2015 general election. This was as a result of serious protest and agitation after the announcement of the 2011 presidential election result nation wide. The Independent National Electoral

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Commission (INEC) should always weigh the political tension of the political system before announcing results. The political atmosphere most be understood before during and after elections.

IV. To avoid snatching of ballot boxes, voters and electoral officers' intimidation, protest and destruction of electoral processes, there is need for adequate legislation to checkmate any group, or individual who want to cause mayhem to the political processes. Areas were such cases are recorded their votes should not be counted and compiled.

V. Government should make adequate security available before or during and even after elections so as to avoid crisis and violence. The security agents or personnel should be well kited with good arms so as to scare away those who might like to course any misconduct of the electoral processes.

VI. In minimizing youth political violence in Zamfara state, effective political consensus and dialogue should be the way out among political interest groups and individuals. The media must also play an effective part in educating the public on electoral violence and its implication to the society.

VII. Adequate political education and orientation should be seriously emphasized by the electoral body INEC regularly in Zamfara state and Nigeria in general so as to politically socialize the youth

VIII. Finally, the government of the state should enhance the educational standard, facilities and quality of the state education by making the youth their most priority.

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APENDIX SECTION

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Topic: Youth and political violence in Nigeria: A comparative study of 2011 and 2015 general elections in Zamfara state

NAME:..

OCCUPATION...

NAME OF ORGANIZATION...

RANK..

QUESTIONS

1. What can you say about the 2011 and 2015 general elections violence in Zamfara state?

2. What do you think is political violence?

3. Were there any cases of electoral or political violence in your area during the 2011 and 2015 general elections in Zamfara state?

4. What is the nature of political violence that occurs in your area?

5. Are the youths responsible for political violence?

6. What do you think were the major factors responsible for youth participation in political violence in Zamfara state?

7. In your opinion, is there any correlation between religion, political elites, unemployment, poverty and political violence?

QUESTIONIER

By

Aruwa, Saino Haruna

Federal University Gusau Department of Political Science

SECTION A

This questionier seeks some very important data from you as a respondent. The reasons for asking such questions is to understand the differences and similarities between 2011 and 2015 general election in Zamfara state to understand the outcome and implication of youth participation in political violence during the 2011 and 2015 general election in Zamfara state respectively.

Your responses will be used to justify this research problem and help us in understanding the problem better. This study cordially solicits for your cooperation and your responses will be treated with confidentiality.

SECTION B

TITTLE........., LGA............................. YEARS OF RESIDENCE...............
SEX..............., AGE........., MARITALSTATUS......................EDUCATIONAL
QUALIFICATION......................., OCCUPATION...............................

SECTION C

QUESTIONS

1. Do you participate in voting? YES........OR NO............
2. Were there any form of political violence before or after the 2011 and 2015 general elections in Zamfara state?
3. Have there been cases of political violence in your area in the 2011 and 2015 general election? YES........... OR NO............
4. Have the youth been responsible for political violence in Zamfara state? YES......OR NO......

5. Was there any electoral malpractice recorded during the 2011 and 2015 general election in your area? **YES**...... **OR NO**......

6. Which of these general elections (2011 or 2015 general election) experience more political violence? ....

7. Which of the following youthink is responsible for youth political violence in your area? Religion......, poverty......, unemployment...... elites influence......?

8. Do you think that youth participation in political violence affected the socio-economic and political development of the state? **YES**......... **ORNO**......

9. Can the governmentcurb political violence in Zamfara state? **YES**...... **OR NO**......

10. Where there any differences from the two general elections? **YES**..... **OR NO**......

11. What do you think should be done to minimize political violence in Zamfara state?

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Additional observation

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FEDERAL UNIVERSITY GUSAU

Head of Department
Dr. Musa Yusuf

P.M.B 1001 Gasau
Zamfara State

Website: Www.fugus.edu.ng
E-mail:

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

REF NO:
DATE: 9TH AUGUST, 2018

The Resident Electoral Commissioner,
Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC),
Gusau,
Zamfara State.

Sir,

INTRODUCTION LETTER IN RESPECT OF ARUWA, SAINO HARUNA (REG NO: 1410206007)

I write to introduce the above named undergraduate student of Political Science Department, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University Gusau, Zamfara State.

He is currently undergoing a research on the topic titled **"Youth and Political Violence in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of the 2011 and 2015 General Elections in Zamfara State"**.

You may kindly wish to accord him all the necessary assistance he may require.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

musa 19th August, 2018

HEAD
DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE

Dr. Musa Yusuf
HOD, Political Science

FEDERAL UNIVERSITY, GUSAU

Head of Department
Dr. Musa Yusuf

P.M.B 1001 Gasau
Zamfara State

Website: Www.fugus.edu.ng
E-mail:

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

REF NO:
DATE: 3RD SEPT., 2018

The State Police Commissioner,
Nigerian Police Force,
Gusau,
Zamfara State.

Sir,

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DATE

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HOD, Political Science