

ASSESSMENT OF RELEVANCE OF SOCIAL STUDIES IN CREATING
AWARENESS ON ELECTION-RIGGING AND POLITICAL CRISES AMONG
SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA

BY

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FACULTY OF EDUCATION,
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ZARIA

DECEMBER, 2019

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES,
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DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION,
FACULTY OF EDUCATION,
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ZARIA

DECEMBER, 2019

DECLARATION

I Musa SAIDU P15EDAS8111 declare that the work in this dissertation entitled “Assessment of relevance of Social Studies in creating awareness on election-rigging and political crises among Secondary School students in Kaduna state, Nigeria” has been carried out by me under the supervision of Prof. H.I. Bayero and Dr. Z.S Gaya in the Department of Arts and Social Science Education, Faculty of Education, ABU. Zaria. All information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in text and a list of references provided. No part of this dissertation was previously presented for another degree or diploma at this or any other institution to best of my knowledge. I am liable for any mistake(s) in this work.

Name of Student

Signature

Date

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled “Assessment of relevance of Social Studies in creating awareness on election-rigging and political crises among Secondary School students in Kaduna state, Nigeria ” by Musa SAIDU meets the regulations governing the award of the master’s degree in Social Studies of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

Prof. H.I. Bayero
Chairman, Supervision Committee

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Dr. Z.S Gaya
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Prof. Abdullahi Dalhatu
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Date

Prof. S. Abdullahi
Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies

Sign

Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my beloved parents Malama Zainabu Muhammad and Late Alh. Saidu Musa.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U:	Ahmadu Bello University
ACF:	Arewa Consultative Forum
ACN:	Action Congress of Nigeria
AD:	Alliance for Democracy
APC:	All Progressive Congress
ASESP:	African Social and Environmental Studies Programme
B.Ed:	Bachelor of Education
CESTAC:	Comparative Education Study and Adaptation Centre.
CPC:	Congress for Progressive Change
ICSA:	Interim Common Services Agency
CREPOCSOS	Creating Awareness on Election-Rigging and Political Crises through Social Studies
IVAS:	INEC Voters Authentication System
JCC:	Join Consultative Committee
JSS:	Junior Secondary School
MEND:	Movement for Emancipation of Niger-Delta
NCE:	Nigeria Certification in Education
NCSS:	National Council for Social Studies Education
NERC:	National Education Research Council.
NERDC:	National Education Research and Development Council.
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
NOUN:	National Open University of Nigeria
NPE:	National Policy on education
NTI:	National Teachers Institute

OII:	Ohanzee Indi Igbo
OPC:	Oduduwa Peoples Congress
PDP:	Peoples Democratic Party
PGDE:	Post Graduate Diploma in Education
SOSAN:	Social Studies Association of Nigeria
SOSCEAN:	Social Studies and Civic Education Association of Nigeria
SOSTAN:	Social Studies Teacher's Association of Nigeria
SPSS:	Statistical package for Social Sciences
UNHRC:	United Nation Human Right Commission

ABSTRACT

This study assessed the relevance of Social Studies in creating awareness on election-rigging and political crises among Junior Secondary School students in Kaduna state, Nigeria. Five (5) research objectives and questions as well as four (4) hypotheses guided the study. Descriptive survey method was employed and the population of the study was all JSS II and III students in Giwa Educational zone which stood at ten thousand and ninety-five (10,095) out of which a sample of four hundred and fifteen (415) was selected. “Creating Awareness on Election-Rigging and Political Crises through Social Studies (CREPOCSOS)” questionnaire was used for the data collection. Reliability index of 0.897 and 0.747 were obtained using Cronbach Alpha method. Mean and deviation were used to answer the research questions and null hypotheses were tested using t-test statistics at 0.05 level of significance. The study revealed, significant difference between the mean response scores of male and female JSS students on the impact of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises. However, no significant difference was found between the mean responses scores of JSS II and III Students on the impact of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises. Similarly, significant difference was not found between the mean response scores of urban and rural JSS students on the impact of Social Studies education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises in Kaduna State, Nigeria. Based on the findings, it was recommended among others that, content on the consequence of election rigging and political crises should be included in Social Studies curriculum at JSS level in order to inculcate positive democratic values and attitudes among students as well as save our electoral processes from violence; Social Studies should be introduced at Senior Secondary school level in order to increase students’ awareness on rigging in Kaduna state and the country at large.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Election- Rigging: In this study, election-rigging refers to the act of influencing the result of election illegally.

Political Crisis: Political crisis in this study refers to the intimidation, harassment, assassination, blackmailing, arson, thuggery and other use of other threats or forces against opponents, supporters of same or other political parties in a democratic system of government.

Social Studies: Refers to in this study as the study of man and his political environment with the aim of promotion political socialization and election awareness among junior secondary school students.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Democracy is a form of government in which all qualified adult citizens share the Power (exercise governing power) either directly or through representative periodically elected by them. Omobolaji (2010) viewed democracy in three (3) aspects i.e. Basic minimum civil and political rights engaged by citizens; procedures of accountability in day to day administration under some overarching constitutional rule of the game; and periodic exercises in electoral representativeness. Democracy has assumed a wide dimension of acceptance as the best political ideology, which guarantees popular participation in governance. The success and the failure of democracy in a country depend largely on the free and fair election.

Election as one of the basic pillars of democracy which is refers to as system whereby the citizenry (electorate) consciously choose people in to civic roles through a competitive selection process. According to Abdullahi (2014), election is the process of selecting one person or more for an office, public or private from a wider field of candidates. On the other hand, election rigging is the act of influencing the result of election illegally in order to get desired result. Anthony (2015) viewed election rigging in Nigeria as any act done by an individual or group of people, agency to make elections result in valid. Therefore, election rigging refers to the improper, illegal, deceitful or immoral behaviours and conducts which vitiates free and fair election.

Election rigging leads to political crises in most cases, because of the employment of force by political parties or their supporters to intimidate opponents, in order to force them not to dare open or freely express their choices of candidates, during or after election. Tochukwu (2011) assert that political crises is the use of threat or force against opponents within the context of

state power and resources, it include, intimidation, harassment, assassination, blackmail, arson, looting and thuggery amongst others.

Election, rigging and political crises have been in existence not long after independence. The post –independence elections in Nigeria for instance, 1964, 1965, 1979 and 1983 resulted in military interventions (coup) in 1966 and 1983 (Omoboalaji, 2010). However, election rigging and political crises poses a serious threat to constitutional democracy of Nigeria, legitimacy of the state, security of life and property and continuous existence of Nigeria as a sovereign state. Tochukwu (2011) add by saying “the spate of political violence has been such that virtually all the 36 states of the federation are embroiled in political violence”. Hence, with the reoccurrence of election rigging and political crises in the country, it becomes imperative to examine the relevance of Social Studies in addressing this issue.

In the words of Ololobou (2010), Social Studies Education is an organised integrated study of man and his environment, both physical and social emphasizing on cognition, functional skills, and desirable attitudes and actions for the purpose of producing an effective citizenry. Similarly, Abubakar (2012) viewed Social Studies as a tool for Social change and democratic attitudes, values, and skills. Thus, Social Studies should create awareness on election rigging and political crises among JSS students, in order to inculcates and instils in them (present generation and future generation to come) the right spirit of democratic values, political participation, right skills, civic virtues, reasoned judgements, transparency, accountability, honesty tolerance to mention but few.

Added to this, Social Studies Education has been introduced and charged with the responsibility of developing citizens right (positive) attitudes towards these problems. Finally, Social Studies Education is an integrated study of man as he battles for survival in

the environment preparing him, for citizenship through acquisition of useful knowledge, skills, information, values, attitudes and positive actions, which prepared and mobilized the learners for the purpose of enabling them cultivate an awareness and understanding that would transformed them in to citizens, with skills competencies, moral values, and reasoned judgements to effectively live and interact, interrelates and contribute positively to the economic, social, political and cultural development of the society.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In all democratic societies, free, fair and credible elections are considered as one of the basic pillars of democracy and primary mechanism for exercising the principle of franchise of the people. Through such elections, citizens participated in the governance of their country by choosing those who govern in the quest for development. Unfortunately for Nigeria, election rigging and political crises have become the order-of-day right from 1959 to date. The post-independence elections in Nigeria (1964, 1965, 1979, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019) have also been seriously alleged of rigging and political crises. This is because many Nigerians are not demonstrating acceptable political attitudes and values necessary for free and fair election.

In Nigeria, the election are characterized by lack of peaceful co-existence and outcome acceptance which usually led to election rigging and subsequently to political crises which may result to intimidation, harassment, assassination, blackmail, arson thuggery, killing of political opponents, kidnapping of candidates during elections, snatching ballot boxes, casting vote more than one, buying of voters card, destroying political opponent properties, looting and gross indiscipline acts displayed by political leaders and followers, amongst others. It is evidently that there are irrational and undemocratic attitudes and high level of ruddiness commonly among the youth, especially those from uncultured and poor home.

These are believed to be the main causes of political crises and election rigging in Kaduna State and Nigeria in general. These problems were perpetuated by both male and female, youth and adult in the society. It is also taking place in rural and urban areas of Kaduna State and other state in Nigeria. However, considering the above problems make the researcher sees it necessary to research on the topic using Social Studies Education as a viable means in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among JSS students (i.e present generations and the future generation to come) who are the leaders of tomorrow. Since, Social Studies Education inculcates in the learners good attitudes, values and in overall the love and feelings of their nation which can help in promoting peaceful co-existence, harmonious living, development of democratic structure, and progress of Nigeria.

Social Studies curriculum at junior secondary school level is designed to teach students the fundamental of democracy with themes such as political socialization which include topics such as politics, democracy, voting, political crisis among others. Through the teaching and learning of themes/topics, it is expected that JSS students will develop positive attitude towards electoral process well as understand the negative impact of political crisis to democratic development in Nigeria.

Similarly, according to in Okam (2014), the idea of teaching Social Studies at JSS level is to create awareness through a variety of techniques and forms of guided self-analysis in which learners or students would become very highly informed and aware of their electoral rights. It is based on the background that the JSS curriculum content is designed to include themes/topics such as election process, political socialization, citizenship and democracy. An acquisition of the curriculum content intrinsic in Social Studies education by JSS students is meant to arm them with the necessary knowledge, attitudes, values and skills germane not only for developing political awareness but also to promote their awareness on the effects of

election rigging on the country's democratic development. Based on this, the study is set to find out the relevance of social studies education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among secondary school students in Kaduna State, Nigeria.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The aimed of this study is to assess the relevance of social studies in creating awareness on election rigging and political crisis among secondary school students in Kaduna state, while the specific objective were to:

- i. find out the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crisis among JSS students;
- ii. assess the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging among JSS II and JSS III students;
- iii. find out the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis among JSS II and JSS III students;
- iv. assess the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging among urban and rural JSS students;
- v. find out the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis among urban and rural JSS students.

1.4. Research Questions

The following research questions have been advanced for this study:

- i. What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crisis among JSS students?
- ii. What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging among JSS II and JSS III students?

- iii. What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis among JSS II and JSS III students?
- iv. What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging among urban and rural JSS students?
- v. What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis among urban and rural JSS students?

1.5 Null Hypotheses

The study is based on the following hypotheses:

HO₁ There is no significant difference between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging.

HO₂ There is no significant difference between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis.

HO₃ There is no significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging.

HO₄ There is no significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The research work focused on impact of social studies education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among J.S.S. Students in Kaduna State, Nigeria. Therefore, the study would be of great relevance significance to the following stakeholders as

Politicians, Government, policy makers, curriculum planners and Developers, Teachers; and students of Social Studies, Lecturers and students of political science in the Universities, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), member of public and researchers in the field.

Politicians would benefit from the findings of this study because, the citizens or electorate will have more idea and knowledge about politics and democracy, and they will be ever ready to contribute their quota in the way forward their community and their country at large. The findings of this study will encourage curriculum planners and developers, to improve and developed the areas that need to be refocused in order to put more concepts that calls for free and fair election and politics of free violence in Nigeria.

The findings of this study would be of immense benefit to teachers and students of Social Studies right from JSS level up to the tertiary level. Because one good thing with Social Studies its help in Socializing citizens into full developed human adults by relating them to their society by means of appropriate knowledge and experiences selected from the Social Science e.g. political Science and other Social discipline.

The finding of this study would be of great significance to the lecturers and students of Political Science in the universities because there are the Social Scientist which they laid more emphasis on politics and how citizens are participation in the democratic process for the development of our infant Democracy.

The findings of this study would also benefit the independent of National Electoral Commission (INEC) in such a way that, the citizens / electorate have acquired a certain degree of awareness about what politics and political participation are all about. By doing so, the citizens will take major responsibility in their accomplishment of their civic right. The

members of public would also benefit from the findings of this study by making known to them that purpose of formal schooling is to produce students that would be functional and contribute to nation building.

Teachers and Education Stakeholders would also benefit from the findings of this research, because they will identify the lapses in the Social Studies curriculum, so that the predicament can be addressed in order to make the subject a achieve goals and objective of the country. Finally, the study would constitute a vital reference material, source of data empirical to researchers who are interested in the field for further investigation.

1.7. Scope of the Study

The study assessed the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crisis among secondary school students in Kaduna State, Nigeria. This research work is delimited (limited) to JSS II and III students from rural and urban areas, involving male and female in Kaduna State, Nigeria. The coverage of the study was Giwa Educational Zone which consists of three Local Government Areas that is, Sabon – Garin Zaria, Kudan and Giwa L.G.A.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature that is related in the area of Social Studies Education, Election rigging and Political under the following sub-headings:

- ✓ Theoretical Framework
- ✓ Concept of Social Studies Education
- ✓ Objectives of Social Studies Education
- ✓ History and Justification for Introducing Social Studies Education in Nigeria
- ✓ Nature and the Scope of Social Studies
- ✓ Concept of Democracy and Electoral System.
- ✓ Concept of Election and Election Rigging.
- ✓ Dimension of Election Rigging and Political Crises in Nigeria.
- ✓ Political Parties and Election Rigging
- ✓ Causes of Election Rigging and Political Crises in Nigeria
- ✓ Review of related empirical studies;
- ✓ Summary.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Therefore, this study adapted “Liberal theory of democracy” in the analysis of free and fair elections in Nigeria.

The liberal theory of democracy is said to be common among capitalist and peripheral capitalist nations. This notion of democracy emerged when capitalism became dominant mode of production in Europe and North America Supported by Philosophical writing of John Locke, J. Rousseau, Adam Smith, J. Stuart mill, Montesquieu and other liberal writers whose theories advocate private liberty, natural rights, Social justice, majority rule and

private property (Kwasau, 2012). Based on this premise, basic features of liberal democratic theory are: acceptance of capitalism; free, fair and periodic elections based on universal franchise; emphasis on civil liberties or individual rights such as freedom of speech, assembly, press, right to life, freedom of Association, right to own property and religion; competitive party system as oppose to one party system; pressure groups and free press; rule of law; separation of powers and checks and balances; impartial judiciary and abhorrence of revolutionary approach to change the government.

The central idea of liberal theory of democracy is how to design a political system which encourages individual participation and enhances moral development of citizens. Liberal democracies usually have universal suffrage, granting all adult, citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender or property ownership. Powel (1992) described a liberal democratic system as one with the following characteristics; the legitimacy of the government rest on a chain to represent the desire of the citizens; the organised arrangement that regulates this bargain of legitimacy is the competitive political election that leaders are recruited at regular intervals and voters can make their choice among alternative candidates.

2.2.1 Justification and Implication of Theory to the Study

This theory is relevant in this research work for the fact that, the basic assumption of the classical liberal theory of democracy is that, election is a process by which the general masses are given an opportunity to participate in the political system and election results reflects the exact choice of the electorate. The will of the people is expressed through the vote and right to vote as well as the conduct of free and fair elections makes the people responsible and saves them from frustration. The right to vote is not merely mechanical device to elect the government. It is also a condition for all round development of human personality. Free, fair and periodic elections in Nigeria, particularly in Kaduna State is necessary for the security of

all the members against irresponsible government. This theory emphasizes the active participation of the people and their association in the electoral processes. The right to vote coordinates the interest of the governors and governed. The government can be made responsible to the people through elections.

Added to this, the theory interested in the utility of processes, procedures, rules and method (elections), human rights-factors which are necessary for democratization and its operation in Kaduna state, Nigeria. It also described a liberal democratic system as one which has the following characteristics, citizen have the desires to take part in competitive political election that leaders are recruited at regular intervals and voters can make their choice among alternative candidates. Thus, this theory relates to study for the fact that, the JSS students are potential electorate who would participate in democratic process both as voters and as candidates for important political offices.

2.3.1 Concept of Social Studies Education

Social Studies is an issue-based discipline with man as its central focus. It deals with man holistically and seeks to examine and understand communities, from the local to the global, their various heritages, physical systems and the nature of citizenship among them. Students acquire knowledge of key Social Studies concepts, including change, culture, environment, power, and the dynamics of the market place.

Added to this, Okam (2016), submit that, Social Studies is not, like the Social Sciences concerned with the propagation of knowledge as such, its primary purpose is the Social utilization of knowledge. The aim is to improve the process by which citizens use knowledge from the Social Sciences and other disciplines in making decisions concerning their individual behaviours and concerning questions which bear on public policy. While, Balarabe and Muhammad (2015), opined that Social Studies Education can be defines as an organised

study of man as he lives in the environment, by inculcating in him the values and skills that can help him in solving the problem he may encounter in life for the betterment of his living in the society.

National Open University of Nigeria [NOUN] (2010), described Social Studies as a Study of how man influences and in turn is influenced by his physical, Social, political, religious, economic, psychological, scientific and technological environments. Ololobou (2010), perceived Social Studies as an organised integrated study of man and his environments, both physical and social emphasizing on cognition, functional skills, and desirable attitudes and actions for the purpose of producing an effective citizenry. Livingstone (2012) says Social Studies is an important instrument for instilling democratic norms in the minds of the Learners in our various school system.”

Abubakar (2012) Social Studies is a tool for Social change and democratic attitudes, values and skills. Social Studies aimed at conquering diseases and making environment a better place for living (Bayero & Lawal, 2010). Bayero (2012) also, submits that, Social Studies Education is concerned with the study of man and how his problems could be solved. According to the National Council for Social Studies (2009), Social Studies is an integrated study of the social science and humanities to promote civic competence. Tikumah (2009) conceives Social studies as the type of learning that aims at creating a free society of responsible and responsive citizens by imbuing them with desirable attitudes and values as well as appropriate mental and physical skills and abilities for meaningful living and interaction. Ogundare (2015), conceives social studies as the subject matter of the academic disciplines somehow “simplified” “Adapted, modified,” or selected for school instruction.

From the above definition a conclusion will be made that, Social Studies Education is a subject designed to make individual become socially, morally competent and efficiently for a

purpose of peaceful living in the society and contribute his/her quota for national development, in other hand it is the subject designed to teaching and learning of attitudes, values, norms, culture, knowledge, and skills within the immediate environment which he live in. conclusively, Social Studies aimed at inculcating national consciousness and national unity, imbuing the right types of values and attitudes for self and national survival, the acquisition of necessary skills, ability and competencies which individual needs to be able to contribute to national development.

2.3.2 Objectives of Social Studies Education

Social Studies objectives are derived from the national Educational aims and objective which are:

- i. The inculcation of national consciousness and national unity
- ii. The inculcation of right type of values and attitudes
- iii. The training of the mind in the understanding of the world around.
- iv. The acquisition of appropriate skills, abilities and competence necessary for the development of society.

Abubakar (2016) opined that Social Studies objectives are also derived from the Nigerian national Goals which are:

- i. A free and democratic Society
- ii. A just and egalitarian Society
- iii. A united strong and self-reliant nation
- iv. A great and dynamic economy
- v. A land of full bright and equal opportunities for all citizens.

And Social Studies objectives which are mirror of the national goals are:

- i. it is meant to create awareness in the learners about their surroundings, the students are expected to be exposed to their immediate and outside world.
- ii. the development of specific fundamental attitudes, values, and norms of the society. This is to enable them to do those things which the society approves and discard those things which the society rejects; hence positive attitudes are necessary for the growth of a nation.
- iii. the appreciation of the rules and regulations that guide behaviour, for mutual respect which is very important regardless of our differences and the creation of awareness, that disciplines essential for an orderly society.
- iv. the promotion of effective and active citizenship
- v. the creation of understanding of their roles in the society on how to discharge their duties efficiently.
- vi. to create awareness of Social problems of their locality and trying to find possible solutions to them.
- vii. to develop in the citizen the right attitudes toward leaders in Authority.
- viii. to develop the ability to think effectively and come out with independent conclusions. The intention is to train or produce individuals who can think scientifically, and arrive at decisions that are very important and beneficial to the individual and the society in general.

Thus, Social Studies Education aimed at producing citizens with skills, competence and moral values and reasoned judgement to effectively live, interact, interrelate contribute positively to the economic socio-political, and cultural development of the Nigeria Society and the world in general. (Abubakar, 2016). Okam (2016) asserted that, the ultimate objective of Social Studies programme is the development and improvement of living generally, not

merely in the classroom, but in the community, country and in the world as a whole; such a programme has to be seen in terms of a development of intelligent, responsible and self-directing citizens.

It is hoped that the discipline will help fight against the major problems areas of modern Nigeria notably; election rigging, political crises, ethnicity, tribalism, poverty, hunger, unemployment and class differentiation through giving realistic Education to those who will help to lead the society in the future.

2.3.3 History and Justification for Introducing of Social Studies Education in Nigeria

There is no consensus among the Social Studies experts and professionals in the field Social Studies Education about the exactly time and place on which the Social Studies Education first appear in the world and also the exact time it's appears in Nigerian's school system there were a lot of contradictions. Some were the opinion that the concept of Social Studies was first used in United State of America while some were the opinion of Britain. Mezieobi (2013), American profession of Social Studies Education attests that "the foundation of Social Studies Education has its beginnings in Great Britain after 1820s and quickly spread to the United State and then other parts of the worlds."Consequently, having seen that, the foundation of Social Studies Education in world let us come back to our major concerned which is the African countries and Nigeria in particular.

However, among the Social Studies expert have the following viewed on the introduction of Social Studies: According to Mezieobi (2013) ascribe the emergence of Social Studies in Nigeria and her school to the early 1960s, Osakwe and itedjer (1993) say it is as the 'mid 60s' while Obabe (1982) puts that the "late 60s" to Adeyoyin (1982) Social Studies made its debut in Nigeria during the colonial era, particularly when schools were introduced in 1942. In addition, the assertion of Dubey and Barth (1980) to the effect that "Social Studies has

recently come to Nigeria ...” is indicating of the fact that they think Social Studies appeared in Nigerian School in Post Colonial Nigeria. There were uncertainty about the exactly the historical foundation of Social Studies in Nigeria. This is opined by the Mezieobi (2013:11) that debunked the 1960s and the colonial period, Social Studies in Nigeria schools appearance when he stated that:

Social Studies has been there right from the inception of Nigeria, in the pre-colonial days or rather in Nigeria’s indigenous times with goals, content, methodology and evaluative practice that met the aspiration of the then Nigerians-what is new is the concept Social Studies which was really borrowed...”

However, the development of Social Studies in Nigeria came earlier than those of other countries in Africa. This was because as early as 1958, the Ohio State University in the United States of America had Sponsored Some Nigerians for training programmes in Social Studies. The arrival of the recipients of such training programmes greatly influenced their thoughts about Social Studies. For instance they perceived the social ills that accompanied Nigeria’s transition from colonial era to independence. They discovered the right rate of acculturation among Nigerians and the rate at which the nation’s cultural traditions were breaking down. They therefore, felt that the only way to rescue the country was to train the young ones in a manner that would provide them with opportunities to catch up with the new problem of change (NOUN, 2010).

The development of Social Studies will also complement the effort of introducing the subject on an experimental basis in the Northern Nigeria Teacher Training Institutions as a Formal School Subject. Nevertheless, between 1964 and 1965, Social Studies had been introduced in to Nigeria through the northern Education project and the Ayeitoro comprehensive High School project of western Nigeria. Within the same period, the then western Nigerian ministry of Education which now comprises (Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Osun, Ekiti and Lagos State)

began preparation for the propagation of the subject by convening a conference and agreeing to an outline of the Social Studies syllabus for secondary schools classes I and II. This was later assigned to the Department of Social Studies in Ayetoro comprehensive High School with the assistance of the Ford Foundation Aid and the comparative Education Study and Adaptation Centre (CESAC). The experimental teaching of Social Studies did not experience a total success in the Eastern Nigeria due to the civil war. The Northern States' Education Committee of the interim common Services Agency (ICSA). Which a hostel was named after it at Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, called ICSA Ramat Hall. (After the creation of six states from the existing Northern States, a decision that Social Studies should be introduced in to schools and colleges in the northern states.

By 1969, Social Studies Department was firmly established in the institute of education, Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria. In the same year, a national curriculum conference was held in Lagos and this gave a better national recognition to the subject as a means of achieving national objectives of education. In the year 1970 Social Studies witnessed another tremendous change in the materials produced for primary and Teacher's Colleges in the northern States were out and the CESAC's book were modified and refined. More states such as Lagos, Kwara, and Kaduna began to introduce the subject in 1971. The social studies Association of Nigeria (SOSAN) now Social Studies and Civic Association of Nigeria (SOSCEAN) which was formed in January 1969 and renamed on 2011. Mezieobi (2013) by the pioneering Teachers of Social Studies with Professor Babatunde Fafunwa as its first president play a greater role in developing of the discipline.

Based on the necessity for Training of pre –service Social Teachers in primary schools, the Nigerian Education Research Council (NERC) produced syllabus for teachers college in 1972 and the institute of Education ABU Zaria introduced the subject in to its Post Graduate

Diploma in Education (PGDE) programme. In the same year, a degree course in Social Studies in ABU Zaria and Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE) programme in Advanced Teachers College Sokoto was Introduced in 1973, 1974 and 1975 witnessed another development at Institute of Education, University of Lagos, where the subject was introduced at Associates-ship and NCE levels. Universal Free primary Education was Launched in 1976 throughout the country, and the teaching of Social Studies in the primary schools replaced separate subjects of the Social Sciences. It became compulsory in Teacher's Colleges. In 1978, two-year Bachelor of Education (B. Ed) degree programmes in Social Studies was also introduced at ABU, Zaria. By 1980, the discipline of Social Studies was offered at all levels of our Educational system and the national policy on Education made it a core subject in primary and junior secondary schools.

In 1981, the NERC now Nigerian Education Research and Development Council (NERDC), thought it wise to review the national Primary Social Studies Curriculum Guide which was produced in 1971. The revised guide was published by the Federal Ministry of Education in 1983, 1981 and 1984 witnessed another rapid development because many more Universities Started post-graduate degree programmes in Social Studies. Some of the institution included: Ife, Ibadan, Ilorin, Lagos, Nsukka and Jos. The joint Consultative Committee (JCC) also approved the junior secondary School Social Studies Syllabus. Noun (2010). The National Teacher's Institute did not only produce the Grade II Social Studies Syllabus and texts, and went ahead to write course books on Social Studies for NCE for Distance Learning System, the distribution of course books started in January 1990. Almost all Colleges of Education now offer Social Studies in their current programmes. Degree and post-graduate M.Ed/Phd Programme in Social Studies are now being offered in more than ten Universities in Nigeria. The Uncertainty on the nature, scope and philosophy of Social Studies has been over to some

extent. It is now a compulsory subject in the first nine (9) years of Nigerian child's Education based on the new 9-year Basic Education Curriculum Launched in 2007, and reviewed it in 2013. It also gains recognition in the National Board for Arabic and Islamic studies (NBAIS) syllabus at senior level of Institute of Education ABU Zaria.

The reason for introduction of Social Studies among countries varies; each country has its own reason for introducing the subject. For instance, it has been used as a partial solution for social problem in many countries of the worlds. If you take Germany, it was initiated after the Second World War, as a means of developing a new political order. In British, Social Studies was used to legitimize the teaching of Social Sciences particularly sociology, while preparing students for their role in the society. In United States of America (USA), Social Studies has continued its primary function of preparing students for effective citizenship in democratic society and instilling patriotic ideals in the young ones (Noun 2010).

Among the African nations too, Social Studies was introduces with different reason and factors, Social Studies have been used to improve the self-image of people in the Society after a colonial rule and heritage. In sierra –Leone it was used to learn ways of improving the economy. In Ghana, it was aimed at transforming the society, especially political culture. In Ethiopia, it came to inculcate the concepts of nationalism, Unity and inter-dependency among citizenry of a new nation with diverse population.

The Rationale for introducing Social Studies in Nigeria we need to flash back at the philosophy behind its instruction and what really intended to achieve.in Nigeria it aimed at helping to build a foundation for a democratic society. In spite of many conferences, seminars, and workshops for social studies, the subject did not receive the blessing of so many schools in Nigeria Immediately. Some were scarced because of its Newness, or lack of

understanding of its nature, scope and dynamism, other saw the development as a great challenge to their discipline more especially those in Social Sciences (Political Science, Sociology, Economic, and History etc) and therefore campaigned against it. This necessitated the formation of Social Studies Association of Nigeria (SOSAN) Now Social Studies and Civic Educators Association of Nigeria (SOSCEAN). Several other organisations have since been formed to further promote effective teaching of the subject in Nigerian Schools. These organisations include National Association of Social Studies Educationists (NASSE) and Social Studies Teachers Association of Nigeria (SOSTAN).

Social Studies is introduced into the Nigerian School System decades ago, with the goal of breaking down regional ethnic, and religious allegiances, in order to promote National Unity. In 1960, immediately after independence, the elites started 'fighting' amongst themselves at regional and national levels over their share of the 'National Cake' conflicts and wars, which broke out at the time, were hinged on religion and ethnicity. Eventually, in 1966, Nigeria experienced its first coup d'état. Within a decade of independence, Nigeria was involved in a civil war. A lot of lives were lost and properties were destroyed, and it was against this background that Nigeria introduced Social Studies into the school system immediately after the war. According to the report of the 1969 national curriculum conference, Social Studies was one of the subjects that would contribute to the attainment of the Nigerian Educational goals including self realisation, better human relationships, self and national economic efficiency, effective citizenship, national consciousness, National Unity, Social and political progress, scientific and technological progress and national reconstruction.

According to Saba (2015), asserts that "Social Studies were introduced into Nigeria as an answer to specific national problems". After independence, Most Educationists in Nigeria agreed that the school must be Nigeria in outlook rather than emphasizing foreign ideas,

because the then Education Systems was design in such a way that would serve the interest of the colonial masters. Thus, Saba (2015), asserted that “instead of the Educational System to develop positive attitude and values in the Society in African child lives, it alienate him from his cultural environment”.

Also, Ololobou (2010) stated the following underlying motives of introducing Social Studies in Nigeria were as follows: The need to make education more relevant to the needs of the individual and the society; The need to use education for national integration and socio-economic development; The need to develop the right social values; and The need to make an individual responsive to the society in which he lives. Tikumah (2009) rightly argued, if no one can dispute the fact that the Nigerian child needs to know more about the history and geography of his own country than the history and geography of Europe, then no one can question the need for Social Studies in the Nigerian School System. Social Studies seek to reverse the colonial order of Education that made the Nigerian child Learn More about Europeans than about himself. Tikumah (2009) put it further by submit that, Social Studies in Nigeria aimed at breaking the ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural barriers that keep apart the various groups that constitute the Nigerian society, so that nation building can be facilitated by the concerted efforts of those divergent peoples of the Nigerian polity.

In summary, the respect and paramount importance Nigerian Educational thinkers and policy makers have come to attach to Social Studies Education in the country which among is a major development associated with the Nigerian national Policy on Education (2004) is the pride of place it has given to the Social Studies Curriculum. The policy regards this curriculum package as a compulsory core subject area which all students in the secondary schools cannot dispense with in their learning activities. Very importantly, the policy endorses that the learning of the Social Studies Curriculum in our Secondary Schools must be

seen as one of those avenues of establishing strong bases for the production of effective citizens and of forging a cohesive society that will support a notion of nation building.

However, other reasons for introducing Social Studies in the school system which include:

- i. To minimize the influence of colonial type of education on children. Before the social studies curriculum was in placed, children in primary and Secondary Schools were made to study history, which it cultural orientation was mainly the inculcation of foreign values and culture. For that it became important to introduce a new subject that would help children to understand their traditional values and culture of their country, which resulting in introduction of Social Studies.
- ii. The African conference in Mombassa, Kenya. In 1968 play a greater role, this conference was organised whereby important issues pertaining to Education and African development were discussed. A call was made for educational evolutionary reforms in Africa, which bring about the Nigerian curriculum Conference Organised in 1969. At this conference, participants emphasized the need for Social Studies as a tool for national Unity and citizenship Education.

The last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty –first have seen a marginalisation of Social Studies curriculum, instruction, and assessment at all grade levels. In many state houses, in departments of Education and in School districts across this great nation Education for citizenship has taken a back seat to Education for career and college.

Eventually, Social Studies were introduced to the school system as a panacea to specific national problems. It was believed that when young people were expose to the subject, it would still in them a love for their country and a sense of loyalty to the Nigerian government. It was also believed that if the subject create awareness or exposed them to the problems in

our society, they become better equipped through the acquisition of necessary skills needed for survival. Therefore, it can be said that social studies was introduced to serve two closely related purposes;

- i. To guide learners towards understanding people from different social backgrounds and the methods they use for coping with their problems and conditions.
- ii. To guide learners in developing skills for good interacting with people, reacting to situations and conditions in order to –ensure their survival and growth as well as that of their society.

Conclusively, ‘social studies is the most (if not the only) appropriate subject for addressing Nigeria’s societal problems educationally and comprehensively, out of all the subjects studied in the Nigerian school system (Okam, 2016).

2.3.4 Nature and Scope of Social Studies Education

The nature of Social Studies Education is concerned with the basic characteristics of the subject in terms of focus and content. This characteristic of the subject and it’s major components which the subject Social Studies consist of facts, concept and generalizations from Social Science discipline. Social Studies is made up of integrated concepts, problem solving strategies, citizenship education and decision making process. Social studies Education is of prime relevance in the inculcation of citizenship and Societal values. Olugbuyi and Adediran (2015) for instance, they have identified three ways by which Social Sciences form the foundation of Social Studies. These are:

- i. The Social Sciences are primary sources of the content of the Social Studies; the concepts, principles, generalizations etc.

- ii. The social foundations of curriculum planning in Social Studies draw data from the Social Sciences in relation to societal values, problems, changing circumstances, and democratic heritage.
- iii. The psychological foundation of curriculum planning in Social Studies draw data from social sciences regard social processes, learning, child development, and other psychological aspects of instruction.

Ololobou (2010) state that, the nature of Social Studies can be summarized thus as a study that seeks to promote:

- i. Cognition: That is knowledge, comprehension or understanding, application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation as relevant to physical and socio-cultural environmental constituents which include earth materials, relief features, atmospheric processes, water bodies, the vegetal cover, the lower animals; and mans' material and non-material cultures, respectively.
- ii. Functional Skills: The acquisition of which make the client more productive and effective in managing the self and relating with the physical, social, economic and political environments. We may recognise communication, intellectual, manipulative, study and group-work skills, among other
- iii. Desirable Attitudes and Action: Such attitude and actions are supportive of the development process. They include patriotism honesty, probity, truthfulness, production punctuality, peaceful co-existence, creativity, functional interdependence, wide sue of scarce resources etc. thus Social Studies seek to make the individual or client a well-rounded, efficient and effective citizen.

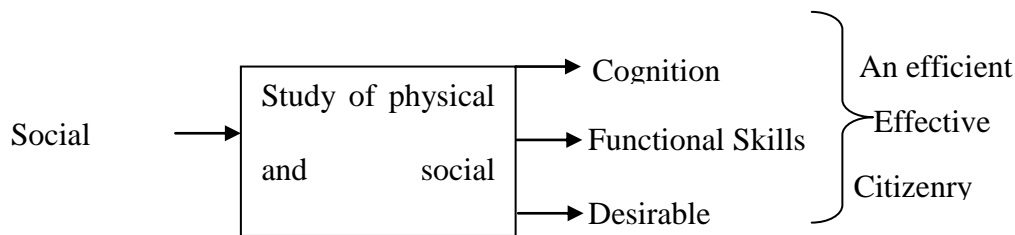


Fig.1: Nature of social studies Education

In addition, Social Studies uses concepts, facts and generations from the Social Sciences. Social studies starts where the Social Sciences end. Broad knowledge is needed for individuals to function well in a complex society. This holistic approach to curriculum organisation in social studies make it possible for vital issues such as population, environment, race, intolerance, drugs, family life, refugees, etc to be accommodated.

The broad nature of Social Studies enables it to cover a wider ground. Social Studies, as already pointed out, investigates the totality of man’s activities, generating understanding, developing needed skills and encouraging desirable attitudes. Mezieobi (2008] opined that scope in Social Studies refers to the content or subject matter, skills, values, attitudes and belief that have been or can be included in the Social Studies programme. The scope of Social Studies is enormous. This is because it is seen as a body of knowledge that prepares learners to function as effective citizens that have the ability to solve the problems of their society. Its ‘ability’ to extract from other subjects, concepts that enable it to study man as an entity also makes it a unique subject.

For instance, Social Studies include issues around how people live in a community (sociology), how to decide the allocation of resources (political science), information about what people produce, how they produce and distribute their products (Economics) people’s way of life (anthropology) etc. This further justifies by Lawtons statement that, “Social Studies is a Unified integrated subject which draws appropriate knowledge and experiences

from the Social Sciences and other discipline, about man and the environment for the purpose of citizenship Education (Noun 2010).

The scope of Social Studies is concerned with the breath, coverage, content, quality and quantity of the subject based on the concept, items, themes drawn from history, sociology, geography, economics, civic, political and physical sciences. Social Studies seek to integrate the theories of these Social Science subjects in order to gain wider understanding and perspective of man and his problems of living. Therefore, since, the broad nature of Social Studies enables it to cover a wider ground, investigates the totality of man's activities, generating understanding, developing needed skills and encouraging desirable attitudes. Thus, investigating man's activities involves the study of man in various contexts, which must be broad, and rich in concepts, facts and generalizations from the Social Sciences so that it does not only help to raise academically versatile individuals but also responsible and responsible citizens.

2.3 Social Studies in Nigerian's Educational System

One of the developments associated with the Nigerian National Policy on Education (2008) is the pride of place it has given to social studies. The Policy regards social studies as a core subject area which all pupils in the primary and junior secondary schools cannot dispense with in their learning activities. It is, perhaps, are cognition of the potentialities of social studies for inculcating the right type of skills and virtues through a unified, integrated and interdisciplinary studies of man, that the planners of the Policy gave it a pre-eminent place within the schools' curricular of basic education in Nigeria (2004).

The theoretical framework that forms the basis of this exposition derives from the design that Nigerian educators have accepted the basic goal of social studies instruction as that of preparing the pupil for full responsible citizenship (Mezieobi, 2012; Okam, 2013). They

essence of social studies programme in schools is to contribute its own quota in the social education of children. It is geared towards playing an important role in children's social growth by providing them with insights into the use of various knowledge structures and processes that have relevance in modern civilization (Okam, 2016).

It is concerned with fostering better understanding of the movements, events and personalities that have influenced the history of Nigeria. It is concerned with important national issues such as the Nigerian economic system and the Nigerian environment including the influence that these exert on the lives of the Nigerian polity. It is not only concerned with the controls imposed on our lives by political institutions but also the fostering and improvement of human relations through a better understanding of others both at home and abroad. It is also devoted to the basic social institutions and the relationships of the Nigerian polity to those organised bodies that shape our behaviour in so many ways. The ultimate objective of social studies programme is the development and improvement of living generally, not merely in the classroom, but in the community, country, and in the world as a whole; such a programme has to be seen in terms of a development of intelligent, responsible and self-directing citizens (Banks, 2005; Mezieobi, 2012; Okam, 2016).

The content of modern social studies programme is drawn from a wide variety of sources, especially from the social science disciplines. The organisation and methods of social studies are usually in harmony with what we know about learners and the learning process. The content of the subject is expected to deal with human relationships at the level of childhood. Social studies is not primarily concerned with the expansion of the boundaries of knowledge of social relationships; however, it deals with the wide dissemination of information, the development of social and inquiry skills, and the improvements of social attitudes and behaviour. Although it draws materials from the various social sciences, social studies

programmes also use materials from the local community, current affairs and world problems that cannot be properly classified as belonging exclusively to any particular discipline. Modern social studies programmes do not place major emphasis on the mastery of logically organised bodies of subject matter. Rather, they emphasise the functional use of subject matter from many sources to increase social literacy and to develop socially desirable behaviours that evolve from sound attitudes and appreciation about others (Banks, 2005; Mezieobi, 2012; Okam, 2016).

Social Studies as an integrated discipline can contribute immensely to the goals of Nigerian education. The diverse spheres of Social Studies enable its learners to acquire wide knowledge, values and attitude necessary to face challenges of life. Some of the areas where Social Studies can contribute to the sustenance of education and national development are in the field of cultural harmonization and integration, perfection of individual excellence, community integration, political and economic efficiency etc. Social Studies must assist in the harmonization and integration of different culture value of many ethnic groups in Nigeria (Ibrahim, 2018).

Through the knowledge of Nigerian different cultures that it provides, the skills that it impart, its learners are able to adapt and tolerate with distinction, the cultural values of Nigerian people to enable its learners appreciate their cultural values in comparative basis. The discipline equally provides to individual the attitudes and values necessary to attain individual excellence in life. Its study deals with patriotism, loyalty, self-sacrifice, sympathy for others, sense of harmony, judicious use of public utility (Ibrahim, 2018).

On political efficiency, Social Studies equips its learners with knowledge of modern government and the need for building egalitarian society through self sacrifice, loyalty and obedience to the ruling government. To this end, Social Studies deals with such political

matters as the principles of democracy, political use of power, political parties, and other activities of various government organs. It has been argued that successful development of political and judiciary system in any country depends on democratizing these systems, and ensuring that the largest possible members of the population participate. When students are lacking in the knowledge of the political and judiciary process of the country, it becomes an impediment in the process of national development (Ibrahim, 2018).

Therefore for successful development of a politically equitable and just system, we are obliged to consider seriously in our Social Studies programme the need to develop communication skills and knowledge of Nigeria constitution among Social Studies Students. Social Studies help in attaining economic efficiency in the country. Since economic efficiency entails proficiency in maximum utilization and management of scarce resources, Social Studies equip its learners with intellectual endowment necessary to achieve such goals (Yinusa, 2002).

It extensively deals with human and natural resources, their means of management and proper utilization as well as efficient means of exporting those resources. It should be noted that genuine national unity depends on the mutual respect which members of our linguistic groups have for one another, the promotion of multicultural art-forms and values within the context of Social Studies is the most obvious way. If we want a great member of our population to respect, appreciate and take part in our culture, then a multilingual approach to the teaching of Social Studies is a prerequisite for attainment of intellectual and educational development.

2.5 JSS Social Studies Curriculum and Awareness creation on Political Violence/ Election Rigging

The National Policy on Education (FRN, 2013) prescribes the teaching of Social Studies as a core subject in the primary and junior secondary schools and as an elective at the senior

secondary school. The implication of this is that Social Studies education is recognized as a subject capable of assisting in the realization of the national objectives of education, which in themselves are a reflection of the national philosophy.

The choice of Social Studies by the Nigerian Education Research and Development Council (NERDC) as a core curriculum instrument for the classroom pedagogy of a variety of issues and problems of human development within the framework of our primary schools largely derives from the view that its curriculum design is not only systematic in its procedures, but is guided by a philosophy tailored at making the various components of this design meaningful to the young learner. Thus, the NERDC project aims at the production of effective citizens and of foregoing a cohesive society that supports a nation of nation-building within the context of Nigeria as a democracy (Okam, 2016).

In view of the foregoing, Godabe (2016) visualizes Social Studies as a curriculum vehicle designed for a fostering and improvement of human relations amongst learners through a better understanding of others. Whether on a local, national or international setting, she endorses the view that the ultimate goal of any Social Studies is the development and improvement of living generally, not merely in the classroom, but also in the community, country and the world. Okam (2002) emphasizes that the teaching of Social Studies, unlike the traditional Social Science disciplines, is not merely to emphasize either a propagation of knowledge, not an acquisition of information for its own sake as such.

On the other hand, according to Okam (2002), the pedagogical asset of Social Studies is expected to aim at assisting an individual or learner in an acquisition and development of certain social skills and desirable attitudes and values which are germane for nation-building, human development and national integration which are considered within the framework of

Nigeria as a young and thriving democracy. The curriculum content of Junior Secondary One Syllabus is:

- i. Social environment
- ii. Physical environment
- iii. Co-operation and conflict
- iv. Institutions
- v. Civil rights and responsibilities (political socialization, election and voters education)
- vi. Culture and identity
- vii. Nigerian cultural patterns
- viii. Common heritage and national symbols.

In the syllabus, it is shown that there are different ethnic groups in Nigeria and the Syllabus tries to teach the cultural similarities in the different ethnic groups. The syllabus tries to show that as a nation, Nigeria must emphasize the need for civic right and responsibilities for effective democratic development in the country. All the themes are taken from some of the social science subjects namely geography, political science, sociology and anthropology. Economics, psychology and History are not featured (Jekayinfa, 2011).

Also, there are also eight themes in the year two syllabus. Under each theme, themes are topics / themes listed. The themes are:

- i. Physical environment;
- ii. Educational institutions;
- iii. Leadership and followership (Democracy, political socialization, election and voter education);
- iv. Development and growth;
- v. Social changes over time (between 1861 and 1960);

- vi. Science and technology;
- vii. National economic life; and
- viii. Culture and identity.

In this syllabus, aspects of geography, history, economics, political science, natural science and technology are brought together. All the subjects brought together are believed to be able to provide useful knowledge which a person requires to become an informed citizen who political socialized and have knowledge on negative effects of political violence and election rigging. The year two syllabus is broader than the year one work, because it covers the economic, cultural, political development and historical aspects of Nigerian life (Jekayinfa, 2011; Godabe, 2016).

Finally, the Junior Secondary three syllabus has eight themes as for years one and two. These themes are:

- i. Origin of man
- ii. Society and community
- iii. Institutions
- iv. Socialization – political, social and economic socialization
- v. Lack of co-operation and its effects- political violence, election rigging and crisis, corruption among others
- vi. National economic life
- vii. The world and its peoples and
- viii. World transport and communications

Most themes which appear in the years one and two syllabuses are listed again for greater depth of treatment. Examples of these themes are institutions (legal, political, economic, social institutions, role of the individual in social institutions and patterns of group behavior)

co-operation and national economic life. New themes like the origin of man and socialization are added. World transport and communications and the world and its people are also added to represent global themes. Both the national and global themes are taken from science, history, economics and anthropology.

The themes are concepts or concept clusters. Some of the concepts are expressed in single words like institutions and development. Others are stated in the form of concept clusters such as co-operation and conflict, culture and identity. Some of the concepts or concept clusters are repeated yearly to enable them to be treated at wider and deeper dimensions. The over-riding goal of the JSS syllabus appears to be the provision of knowledge to produce informed citizens who will translate knowledge and attitudes into desirable socio-civic behavior.

2.6 History of Election Rigging /Political Crises in Nigeria

Between independence in 1960 and 1999, Nigeria produced only two elected governments – both later over thrown in military coups. Nigeria’s military ruled the country for nearly 30 of its first 40 years of independence. However, in 1999, Nigeria made a transition to civilian rule which brought the retired general Olusegun Obasanjo to power. Though, the carter centre concluded that “it is not possible for us to make an accurate judgement about the outcome of the presidential election” (Human Right Watch, 2017)

Federal and state elections in 2003 were again marred by rigging as well as serious incidents of violence /crises that left at least 100 people dead and many others, Injured. Human Rights watch found that members and supporters of ruling party were responsible for the majority of abuses, though opposition parties also engaged in election crises. Most deaths occurred when opposing bands of armed gangs fought each other in an effort to control an era and displace

supporters of the opposition party. Human rights watch documented how ruling politicians in the oil-rich Niger-Delta mobilized and funded armed groups to help rig elections. That led to a sustained increase in violence and criminality in the region. (Human Right Watch, 2017)

Despite the abysmal record of the 1999 and 2003 elections, the government did not correct the problems in the next elections. Observers from European union described the 2007 elections, which brought Umaru Musa Yar'adua, a Muslim from Northern Nigeria, to power, as among the worst they had witnessed anywhere in the world. Human Rights Watch estimates that at least 300 people were killed in crises/violence Linked to the 2007 elections. (Human Right Watch, 2017)

Corrupt politicians, in many cases backed by Mafia –Like “godfathers”, openly mobilized gangs of thugs to terrorize ordinary citizens and political opponents and stuff or steal ballot boxes. The police were often present during such incidents but frequently turned a blind eye or at times, participated in abuses. In other locations elections simply did not take place, yet the electoral commission reported ruling-party victories with highest voter turnout. Following Yar'adua's death in May 2010 from natural causes, Goodluck Jonathan, his vice president was sworn in as a president. An internal zoning agreement within the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) provides that a Northern should have held the presidency following the eight year administration of Obasanjo, a Christian from south-west Nigeria. (Human Right Watch, 2017)

Despite Opposition by some of the Northern leaders, Jonathan managed to secure the ruling party's ticket in the party primary in January 2011 and went on to sweep the predominately Christian South during the 2011 April elections. His main opponent, Muhammadu Buhari, the candidate from the congress for progressive change, won majority of votes in the largely

Muslim north. The election left the country deeply divided on religious and ethnic lines. (Human Right Watch, 2017)

The day after the presidential elections held on April 16, Buhari's supporters launched demonstrations in the street of Northern Nigeria. The protests turned violent in 12 northern states as mobs burned the homes, vehicles, and properties of the ruling party stalwarts, most of whom were Muslim, and traditional leaders who were seen to have backed the ruling party. The rioters also began targeting and killing Christians and members of southern Nigeria ethnic groups, who were seen as supporting the ruling party, and burning churches across the North. As the riots spread, mobs of Christians in predominately Christian communities in Kaduna state retaliated by killing Muslims and burning their mosques and properties (Human Right Watch, 2017)

Kaduna state, which is divided along religious and ethnic lines, suffered the highest death toll during the three days of rioting. The Hausa –Fulani ethnic group, most of whom are Muslim, make up the majority in Northern Kaduna State, while southern Kaduna State is dominated by Christian ethnic groups. In the city of Kaduna, the capital, the river that inter sect the city, serves as a symbolic divider for the largely segregated city, state and nation. (Human Right Watch, 2017). The following are some of the incidents of post-election crises recorded in Kaduna State:

- i. A lecturer at Nuhu Bamalli polytechnic, a college on the outskirts of the city of Zaria, described to Human Rights Watch how a mob of youth chanting pro-Buhar Slogons cornered four (4) Christian students and a Christian lecturer in the staff quarters of the campus and beat them to death with sticks and machetes on April 17.

- ii. In the city of Kaduna, Christians and Muslims who found themselves on wrong side of the river during the riots were bludgeoned to death by marauding mobs.
- iii. Churches and mosques were torched in the city. Civil society leaders said that Christian travellers were dragged out of their vehicles by mobs of Muslims and Killed on the main road leading north of the city. Mobs of Christians also torched vehicles on the express way leading through the city's southern neighbourhoods, killing Muslim motorists.
- iv. A human Rights Watch researcher visited the town of Maraban- Rido on the outskirts of the city of Kaduna. Dozens of Houses and shops were razed to the ground, and the main Mosques was torched, with anti –Islamic graphic and the inscription “Jesus is Lord” inscribed on the burned –out walls of the Mosque. According to one of the Muslim leaders, 28 Muslims were killed, while hundreds of other fled the era and as a result were unable to vote in the gubernatorial elections.
- v. A Human Rights Watch researcher returned to a polling stations near the burnt out homes and mosque in Maraban Rido for the April 28 gubernatorial elections, after the violence /crises. The posted results showed the ruling party candidate for governor, a Christian received 441 votes while the Muslim candidate for Buhari's congress for progressive change failed to score a single vote. Similarly skewed results were found by a human rights Watch Researcher in the town of Zonkwa where many Muslims were killed or fled.
- vi. Men from the predominately Christian Bajju ethnic group in the town of Zonkwa burned six of the town's mosques, as well as the homes, shops, and vehicles of Muslim residents. Witnesses said that the crises began late in the afternoon of April 18

continued throughout the night. By mid-morning on the following day, the Bajju men had killed or displaced nearly the entire town's Hausa –Fulani residents. One of the district heads acknowledged to Human Right Watch; “the boys here made it total. They would not relent”.

According to one of the Muslim leaders in Zonkwa who have participated in the burial of the victims, showed Human Rights Watch photo documentation of the mass burial of corps, 311 Muslims, nearly all of them men, were buried in a mass grave in Zonkwa later that week, while the remains of 24 others many of their corpses charred beyond recognition, were buried in one of the town's wells. Christian leaders in Zonkwa told Human Rights Watch that 10 Christians had also been killed in the town and surrounding communities. No churches were destroyed. In the neighbouring town of Kafanchan, classes between Muslim and Christian youth continued unabated throughout the night of April 18. Christian and Muslims leaders told Human Rights Watch that by the next morning at least 20 Christians and 34 Muslims had been killed. (Human Right Watch, 2017)

The mobs torched hundreds of homes shops and vehicles and razed to the ground in the central market. Twenty six (26) mosques and four (4) churches were burned or destroyed. One of the leaders from the Igbo ethnic group, the vast majority Christians from south-eastern Nigeria, told Human Rights Watch that Igbo residents were killed in Kafanchan, while 224 of their houses and 837 shops, many of them in the central market were burned. (Human Right Watch, 2017)

More than 15,700 people have been killed in inter communal, political and sectarian crises/ violence since Nigeria returned to civilian rule in 1999. In Kaduna State, at least 2,000 people were killed in sectarian clashes in 2000 sparked by Christian protest against the proposed

introduction of Shariah law in the state. Two years later, sectarian crises/violence sparked by Muslim protests linked to the miss world beauty contest left some 250 people dead. Human Right watch estimates in 2011 post-election crises in northern Kaduna State, at least 180 people, and positively more were killed in the cities of Kaduna, Zaria and their surrounding suburbs, places brunt including Zonkwa, Matsirga and Kafanchan (Human right Watch 2017).

2.7.1 Concept of Election and Election Rigging

In the current edition of the encyclopaedia of Social Science Vol. 5 page 502, election is seen as one procedure of aggregating preference of a particular kind. According to this definition, procedure means a special way of doing something while preferences connote the choosing between alternatives. Therefore, it is the act of choosing a group of people or one person to represent member's interest in an organisation or Government. Election is a process of choosing a person or group of people for a position especially a political position by voting.

Abdullahi (2014), defines election as the process of selecting one person or more for an office, public or private from a wider field of candidates. Therefore, election as one of the basic pillars of democracy is refers to the system whereby the citizenry (organised as electorate) consciously choose people into civic roles through a competitive selection process. Free fair and credible elections are the cornerstone of every democracy and primary Mechanism for exercising the principle of sovereignty of the people. Through such elections, citizens participate in the governance of their country by choosing who govern in the quest for development. Under democracy, election simply means majority carry the seat or sometimes in agreed forms of representation, therefore election is a process through which leaders and representatives are obtained through voting such leaders and representative are expected to occupy specific offices or position. It is the candidates with the highest number of

votes in an election that is expected to be declared as a winner (Anthony 2015) as a democratic practice is seen as the procedure of aggregating preference of a particular kind. Kwasau (2013) asserted that election should be organised and administered by independent, impartial and trained officials within a national election commission or other competent institutions.

Nigerian politicians in their effort to secure political offices are using different techniques aimed at manoeuvring the election result in their favour. Therefore, election rigging is the acts of influencing the result of election illegally in order to get a desired result. Election rigging is any acts that divert people's vote to any other direction. Anthony (2015) viewed election rigging in Nigeria as any act done by an individual or group of people, agency to make elections not free and fair. Kwasau (2013) sees election rigging or malpractices as improper, illegal deceitful or immoral behaviours and conducts which vitiates free and fair election. Election rigging can be defined as a situation or condition in which an election results has be dishonestly arranged or concluded before the election occurred. In other words, there was no voting or if there was voting, it is just a mere formality.

The elite competition perspective explains electoral fraud as an outcome of the intense nature of the competition for power in a state (Lehoucq & Molina, 2002). This perspective oversimplifies electoral fraud by failing to take into account the factors that drive the intensity of the struggle for power among the elite in a state. Besides, the theory only perceives the perpetration of electoral fraud as an act of members of the political elite, without taking into consideration other members of society, including state officials and general members of the electorate. The sociological explanation – which examines electoral fraud from the perspective of socio-economic inequality (Ziblatt 2009) – fails to account for the character of the state, its potential to shape electoral behaviour and the reason why

political actors perpetrate electoral fraud. The institutional perspective only argues that the nature of the electoral system, especially the voting system and the electoral body, can explain the incidence of electoral fraud in a state (Lehoucq & Molina 2002; Hicken 2007; Birch 2007, 2008). Clearly, the institutional explanation does not consider other important state institutions such as the judiciary, which also have a relationship with the electoral process. As its objective has been clearly stated, this study has the potential to address some of the limitations in the existing literature on electoral fraud. In this regard it will demonstrate that other state institutions – the judiciary in this instance – and non-political elites are also important to the explanation of electoral fraud

The legal definition seeks to make sense of election rigging within the context of the existing electoral laws in a given state (Lehoucq 2003; Birch 2007; Minnite 2007; Nwabueze 2008). For example, Minnite (2007) notes that election rigging is the conduct that corrupts the process by which ballots are obtained, marked or tabulated; the process by which election results are canvassed and certified; or the process by which voters are registered’.

Similarly, Nwabueze (2008) defines the concept as palpable illegalities committed with a corrupt, fraudulent or sinister intention to influence an election in favour of a candidate(s) by means such as illegal voting, bribery, treating, and undue influence, intimidation and other acts of coercion exerted on voters, falsification of results, fraudulent announcement of results, [and] fraudulent announcement of a losing candidate. In addition, Nwabueze (2008) suggests that election rigging ‘is the subversion of the Constitution and of the democratic form of government instituted by the Constitution’.

Although legal definitions may appear more useful with regard to measuring and easily detecting election rigging or electoral fraud, there are problems with generalisations, as

different states have different legal systems. Birch (2007) also notes the conclusion of the United Nations that: there is no single political system or election method that is equally suited to all nations and their people and that the efforts of the international community to enhance the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections should not call into question each state's sovereign right.

2.7.2 Gender and Election Rigging

Election rigging is not new in Nigerian politics. It has been present in Nigeria before political independence. Starting from the 1959 elections to those elections after political independence in 1960, the level of election rigging has increased overtime (Awopeju, 2011) Election rigging is the deliberate manipulation of the process of an election through direct or indirect means to influence a particular result. The commission of election rigging is most often illustrated through overt methods such as improper vote counting, ballot stuffing, and bribery. However, much more subtle methods of election rigging include gerrymandering and disenfranchisement of certain demographics. Election rigging is considered one of the more serious types of fraud because of its effects on the political process, and, though they vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, penalties are typically very severe. The prototypical example of election rigging is that of ballot stuffing, the inclusion of fraudulent ballots that embody a vote for the candidate for whom the rigging is meant to benefit. This is less of a problem in developed nations than undeveloped nations because simple oversight measures can be used to prevent such rigging. The same is true of improper vote counting as simply employing multiple parties to count the individual votes and register a count is usually enough to ensure an accurate result (Onwe, David & Ogbu, 2015).

Many studies have analysed usefully the types and processes of electoral rigging in Nigeria (Adejumobi 2000; Agbaje & Adejumobi 2006; Ibrahim 2006; 2007). Of these, Ibrahim's

study (2006), which identifies the pre-election rigging, polling-day rigging and post-election rigging methods as forms and stages of electoral fraud in the country, appears outstanding. The study shows that the common forms of electoral fraud include multiple and false registration, vote-buying, underage voting, multiple voting, voter intimidation, ballot stuffing and snatching, false declaration of winners and others, at different stages of the electoral process – before, during and after elections.

Also, Collier and Vicente (2012) experiments look at elections in low-income countries such as Nigeria. For instance, Singh (2017) quoted Wantchekon study which shows that information about policy and public debates in town hall meetings can overcome clientelism and election rigging. In India, Banerjee, Kumar, Pande and Su (2010) show that informed male and female voters make better choices and reduce likelihood of vote-buying and election rigging. Pande (2011) summarises evidence on if informed voters enforce better governance. Among quasi experimental studies, in Chile, Baland and Robinson (2008) provide evidence that landowners buy the support of their workers for higher wages and this result to election rigging and malpractice among men and women. In India, Anderson, Francois and Kotwal (2015) show that evidence of ingrained clientelist vote-trading structures maintained through extra-political means in rural Maharashtra undermine policies that redistribute income toward the majority poor. Fujiwara and Wantchekon (2013), explore clientelist policies as well. Singh (2017) show that women village leaders invest more in infrastructure relevant to the needs of women and this establish the extent of election rigging in such areas. Also, Beaman et al (2009) show that prior exposure to women in leadership positions is associated with electoral gains for women. They provide evidence that exposure to females in leadership positions weakens the stereotype about gender roles in public spheres and level of election rigging.

In addition, Beaman et al. (2009) find direct evidence that local female leaders in India raise the aspirations and educational attainment of girls (and their parents' aspirations for them), most likely through a role model effect and this affect election rigging intend of most women. Iyer et al. (2012) find that an increase in female representation in local government induces a large and significant rise in documented crimes and election rigging against women in India. The authors interpret this as good news, driven primarily by greater reporting rather than greater incidence of such crimes. However, in developed country context, Brookman (2014) finds no evidence of female office holding on women's turnout and election rigging in US.

2.7.3 Location and Election Rigging

Irregularities such as underage voting and snatching of ballot boxes were reported to have take place in rural areas than urban centres. Ayoade (2011) notes that, rigging in Nigeria often occurs not at polling stations where there is strong international oversight, but during the collation process where monitors are absent most especially in the rural areas. Illegal thumb-printing-whereby vote counters mark blank ballot papers with their own thumb prints- is common and in some cases in both urban and rural areas, voters' turnout figures have been known to be higher than the number of people registered to vote in both urban and rural areas (Ayoade, 2011).

Indeed, deficiency and lack of structural coordination in urban transportation system in Nigeria, like most African countries result either in slowing down or even in complete breakdown of election management in urban centres and rural areas. Electorates and electoral officers find it difficult to arrive at the polling station to vote or distribute electoral materials to facilitate the voting process respectively. Therefore, the late arrival and in some cases the non-availability of electoral materials such as voters cards, electoral registers, ballot boxes

and even personnel grossly affect the voting process resulting in voters staying on the queues for longer hours and such give room for election rigging (Muhammed, 2011). Those that could not endure the stress, often out of frustration abandon the voting process, leading to disenfranchisement of many voters. Such structural defects and disenfranchisement brings about doubts, acrimony and even instigate racial conflicts that make democracy lose its values and relevance in the urban centres and rural areas (Muhammed, 2011).

Also, the urban and rural dwellers apprehensive of the fact that electoral materials and officers always arrive late, develop a social behavior of lateness to the polling stations, thereby making electoral officers to extend the voting hours to dusk which then gives room for electoral rigging and malpractices and the election of candidates who are ever suspicious of political opponents and fear circumstances that could lead to their loss of political power. Such elected representatives speak of political rights, but they are careful not to elaborate a specific notion of rights in any detail for fear of setting in motion calls for liberalization and true democracy (Vivas, 2009; Özden & Enwere,2012).

Therefore, such regime which came to power through electorate malpractice can be dangerous to the institutions of government, the people they rule and at the same time expose the urban dwellers to the threats of political violence, terrorism and sudden death as the case of Boko-haram in Nigeria reveals. Tension builds in the urban centres and rural areas and good will is destroyed. Under this circumstance, political leaders begin to identify political enemies and issues threats. As groups and interests collide, these difficulties result in calls for military coups as was seen in Mali and Guinea Bissau or intense political crises and revolution as was also seen in Libya, Tunisia and Egypt. Because of the destructive instincts and authoritarian nature of such governments, political opponents and urban-rural elite dwellers begin to demand replacement of the corrupt regimes without opting for democracy

and without any grassroots support for democracy as an alternative choice of government among the urban or even the rural dwellers. The people opt for political bargaining and negotiation; in such cases democracy does not even emerge as an option as calls for a just, moral and benevolent regime is renewed which will bring the greatest good to the people (Özden & Enwere, 2012).

Similarly, due to the rapid increase in rural-urban migration in Nigeria new classes of rural uneducated class move to the urban centres in search of employment and other means of livelihood. Most of those uneducated class are ignorant of the values, processes and structures of democracy as well as the provisions of the electoral acts. With such migration of the rural dwellers to the cities, there emerge a new class struggle between the educated elites who are politically active and use state power to control the wealth of the state and the new class of uneducated people who are active in promoting tribal and religious sentiments and hegemony. Such struggle breeds incompatible interests, racial differences and violence and rigging in democratic elections in the urban centres and most a times in the rural area (Özden & Enwere, 2012).

As observed by Özden and Enwere (2012) most Nigeria elections studies affirm that Nigeria voters tend to make their electoral choices as communities or racial groups rather than on individual merit or competence. Thus, these new classes of uneducated persons see elections in the urban centres and even rural areas as a contest between ethnic groups for political hegemony and control of state resources. They see ethnic support and sectional interest as more important than party loyalty, ideologies and values. Each indigenous ethnic group would always prefer their own candidates to win elections which sometimes result into violent ethnic conflicts and insurgency as was the case in Jos crisis of 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 elections (Macionis, 2009).

Similarly in Borno state especially in Maiduguri, the racial division in 1979 between the Kanuri and Hausa racial groups culminated in the violent political struggle and thuggery between the Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP) and the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). Also, due to the rapid increase in urban population as well as economic, political and social opportunities existing in urban centres and rural area, election management and democratic transitions are faced with great challenges in Nigeria. The urban centres and rural areas are structurally unplanned which stimulates inefficiency and rigging in the management of elections (Özden & Enwere, 2012). Despite these challenges, urban centres and rural areas provide the functional frameworks for the desirability of democracy as an instrument of political development which serves as prerequisite to economic and industrial development of Nigeria.

2.7.4 Dimensions of Election Rigging in Nigeria

Our politicians in their effort to secure political offices are using different techniques aimed at manoeuvring the election result in their favour. Anthony (2015) posits that election rigging in Nigeria witnessed various dimensions. This rigging was done in the following dimensions:

- i. **Compilation of fictitious Name:** Politicians do morally collaborate with INEC officials to produce illegal voters registration cards for them so that they can use it to manipulate election result. This found was noticed in Kaduna, Zaria, Ibadan to mention but few despite the use of machine
- ii. **Purchase of voters Cards:** Political parties, and politicians usually collide with INEC officials to purchase voters and distribute to their supporters to vote for them in the election. This was experience during local government chairmen election in Kaduna State.

- iii. **Illegal printing of voters Card:** To rig an election, most of the political party(s) normally use illegal voters cards and distribute to their supporters to vote for them during election.
- iv. **Illegal possession of voter's card:** To ring an election, most of the political party (s) normally use illegal voter's cards and distribute to their supporters to vote for them during election.
- v. **Illegal possession of Ballot Boxes:** Most of the politicians and political parties create fake ballot boxes and papers to use them during election to manoeuvre people's choice. This incident was alleged in Yobe, Kaduna, Kastina, and Ondo State.

Other dimensions of election rigging as found from the ideas of people include stealing of ballot boxes, deliberate refusal of supplying election materials, stuffing of ballot boxes, thumb printing of papers, underage voting, breaking of ballot boxes, alteration of election results, falsification of election results among others then dimension of political crises in Nigeria. There are various agents of Election Rigging in Nigeria aimed at manoeuvring the election results thus, Anthony (2015) examine the following to be the agents of election rigging in Nigeria:

- i. **Law enforcement agency(s):** law enforcement agencies include police and soldiers who are used to intimidate electorates and opponents to rig election result. The police are said to aid the rigging of elections in Nigeria. Indeed, they were said to have directly involved in rigging some election in Nigeria by media report. A photograph of a policeman stuffing a ballot box is said to exist.
- ii. **Political Parties:** In most cases political parties serves as an important agent that contribute to election rigging in Nigeria. They do this through illegal production of ballot

boxes and ballot papers, use of money to bribe the electorates and so also they do collaborate with INEC officials to rig election or change the election result.

- iii. Traditional Rulers: Politicians to aids election rigging in favour of their candidates use some times traditional rulers. For example, in Zamfara and Kebbi States people Democratic Party (PDP), have alleged the involvement of some traditional rulers in influencing the result of some elections to favour their candidates. In senatorial elections in zone one of Kaduna State, the youth out of anger & dissatisfaction, burut tyres before the Emir of Zazau palace in Zaria city. These youth said that the Emir of Zazzau has hand in rigging of the election in favour of Dr. Dalhath Sarki Tafida.
- iv. Tribal and Religions Bodies: Most of the time the tribal and Religious bodies are used to serve as an agent for election rigging in Nigeria. Tribal organisations like Ododuwa People Congress (OPC) Indi Igbo are also served as an institution of election rigging in Nigeria.
- v. Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC): The INEC officials usually compromise with political party(s) members so that they can rig elections.

In Nigeria, politicians in their effort to secure political offices are using different techniques aimed at manoeuvring the election result in their favour. However, Political parties are seen by Jere (2010) as a group of persons who believe in the same political ideology and who make group efforts to win and control the government of their country for the furtherance of that ideology. People Democratic Party (PDP), All Progressive Congress (APC), and Alliance for Democracy (AD) are the dominant political parties. These political parties contested for different positions in 2010, 2011 and 2015 elections and they are in one way or the other

influencing election rigging in Nigeria. Jere (2010) categorically summarized the influence of political parties in election rigging process:

- i. Pre-election Methods: This is the most fundamental of election rigging which include purchasing of voters cards, bribing Inec officials among others. Most parties engage in these before the conducting election.
- ii. Registration of voters: Again this is one of the most fundamental stages of pre-election rigging, politicians and political parties know that a large extend the volume of voters card possessed that directly proportional to the electoral influence that can be veered when the chips are down.
- iii. Printing of Election materials: Despite politicians eager to win election, sometimes. Undertake a criminal act of printing electoral materials like ballot papers or result sheets after sighting the specimen model copies from the electoral body. This is syndicate of other electoral crook. Such politicians or political parties crook up fingers or engage in other forms of electoral malpractices and with such a crooked instrument in place, aided by network of accomplices.
- iv. Parties Primaries: This is the first layer of election rigging. It entails manipulating existing or perceived Loopholes to ensure that a particular candidate emerges as the party flag bearer. This was experienced in the People Democratic Party (PDP) primaries elections in 2011 in State like Kaduna, Kastina, Bauchi, Nasarawa to mention a few.
- v. Conscripting Election Officials: This is another important step through which political parties engage in to influencing the election by beseeching the desire of cooperation of appointed electoral officer's right from the level of electoral officers at the polling

booths, to the resident electoral commissioner. In some cases “deal” are made between the politicians and such insincere electoral officers in such a way that the modality of operation is mapped out neatly much a head of the pools.

Other ways through which political parties influence election rigging include thuggery, intimidation, rigging method during election, multiple voting, underage voting, deliberate counting errors, technical rigging and many more that are too numerous to be mentioned. In a nutshell, it is clear that political parties influenced election rigging through the electoral officials, are the heart and soul of almost all the election rigging methods and plots, except in cases where they are forcibly hijacked or compelled to do the bidding of their violent assailants.

2.8.1 Gender and Political Violence

Political violence and conflict are deeply gendered phenomena. Quantitative studies demonstrate a positive correlation between gender inequality and militarized conflict between and within states. Countries in which women are excluded from social, political and economic structures tend to reproduce insecurities, thus making sustainable peace difficult to achieve (Drumond, 2015). Entrenched social attitudes and stereotypes affect the way men and women participate in, experience and respond to political violence and insecurity. Gendered hierarchies reinforce masculine agency and entail the institutionalization of female inferiority, thus naturalizing and reproducing different forms of structural and physical insecurities (Hudson, 2010 & Drumond, 2015). Not all women are inherent peacemakers, some do engage in perpetuating political violence but both men and women can play a strategic role in advancing support on the ground and a stabilizing role in the management of local tensions (Anderlini, 2007).

Particularly, when women are included in negotiations, gendered logics may change the dynamics around the table and increase the likelihood of conflict resolution. While male negotiators tend to behave more competitively, women usually display a more cooperative, flexible, and creative behavior at the bargaining table (Eckel et al. 2008; Boyer et al. 2009). Moreover, gender stereotyping influences the outcome of the negotiation. An experiment conducted with students imitating Palestinian and Israeli peace negotiations demonstrated that proposals made by female negotiators tended to be regarded as more trustworthy than those offered by their male counterparts (Maoz, 2009). The importance of advancing gender-sensitive analysis in political contexts thus goes far beyond a narrow approach of inclusivity and participation. It can provide a promising tool for understanding and responding to the differential gendered impacts of electoral/ political violence, and to advancing mechanisms for conflict prevention and resolution (Drumond, 2015).

As briefly mentioned above, studies on electoral and political violence have shown that high rates of (male) youth unemployment can increase the risk of insecurity during electoral periods and political rallies (IPI, 2012; Markussen & Mbuvi, 2011). This is not only a result of the potential economic rewards attached to electoral/political violence, but also of unfulfilled gendered roles and expectations. Men who are not able to match social expectations concerning their role as family breadwinners can experience extreme frustration, feelings of marginalization and ‘emasculatation’ that can lead to violent behavior (Freedman & Jacobson, 2012).

Accordingly, “failure to live up to perceived expectations of masculinity is thus compensated for through an exaggeration of other forms of perceived ‘masculine’ behavior...” (Freedman & Jacobson, 2012). Greedy politicians are able to capitalize on this situation by recruiting, training, and inciting radicalism among large contingents of unemployed male youth. There

are, however, other gendered dimensions to political violence. First, political/election-related violence is an obstacle for women's political participation as voters and candidates. Over time, women's increasing politicization has challenged masculine structures in politics and the persisting cultural stereotypes of women as domestic/apolitical beings. This has produced a backlash to women's security in electoral contexts, making them more susceptible to physical and psychological violence that draws on traditional gender stereotypes (Bardall, 2013).

Hence, "the evolution of women's roles in democratic political processes has diversified the ways in which women become victims of electoral violence than men" (Bardall 2013: 9). In Guinea, for instance, more than 100 women were raped by security forces for participating in a political demonstration (UN Women 2012). According to Bardall (2013), female voters are four times more vulnerable to electoral/political violence than men. By using data collected from 2006-2010 in six countries, Bardall found that during elections/ political rallies women participate less in political violence compare to men. Also, women are especially targeted by intimidation, verbal harassment, arbitrary arrest and physical harm, such as sexualized violence (Bardall 2013 & Drumond, 2015). Women are also frequently subjected to sexist rhetoric "designed to inhibit and intimidate female candidates, voters and activists."(Bardall, 2013). For not fitting into traditional social standards, female candidates and voters are more frequently victims of moral harassment, being regularly offended as prostitutes, lesbians and social/sexually deviant (Bardall 2013 & Drumond, 2015).

Women than men is more vulnerable to electoral and political violence in their own households. The most common forms of election-related domestic violence are physical and psychological abuse and intimidation, such as battering by male relatives for voting for a certain candidate, impediments to leaving home to vote or to express opinions in public, as

well as domestic pressure to coerce electoral choices (Bardall 2011). These various forms of violence against women during elections and political rallies serve to perpetuate existing gender gaps in women's political participation and leadership. Women are not only less likely to vote and be elected than men, they are also less likely to participate and work in political campaigns, and to contact politicians in order to voice their opinions and concerns (Kittilson & Schwindt-Bayer, 2012).

Political and election violence can be a recurrent phenomenon, and is especially likely in new democracies and during presidential elections (Bekoe 2012: 5; Straus & Taylor 2012). More specifically on the African continent, the introduction or reestablishment of multiparty systems is regarded as a source for electoral tensions and disputes (EISA 2010 & Bekoe 2012). The African Electoral Violence Dataset (AEVD), which comprises all electoral processes on the continent from 1990 to 2008, shows that political/ electoral violence occurred in 20 percent of all electoral contests and negatively affects both male and female citizens (Straus & Taylor, 2012). In 2011 alone, 60 percent of the African countries undergoing electoral campaigns experienced some degree of violence during elections (Bekoe, 2012).

Electoral/ political violence can endanger democracy itself as well as peace and stability for both objective and subjective reasons. It can affect the direct participation of the constituency and candidates in the campaigns, and it can interfere with their behavior towards and perception of democracy. Voters mostly especially women might feel insecure to support a certain candidate; candidates, on the other hand, might feel threatened to run for office. Subjectively, "citizens who experience repeated or intense electoral violence may view democratization in a less favourable light ((Bekoe, 2012), which can create an environment of discontentment with democracy. Therefore, effective mechanisms to prevent and mitigate

electoral violence are a fundamental step towards the consolidation of sustainable democratic regimes.

Moreover, in post-conflict states, women are rarely included in peace negotiations and, as a result, prevented from contributing to decision-making in the reorganization of their societies. But women's political disempowerment contradicts the principles of equality and non-discrimination and thus the establishment of sustainable democracy. It also an obstacle to achieving peace and stability, a prerequisite for promoting political awareness and achieving sustainable development in Nigeria. Therefore, rather than simply focusing on the monitoring of electoral outputs, election-related policies and programs should seek to increase the quality of processes of democratic participation and awareness on political violence (Drumond, 2015). This requires a close commitment to inclusiveness, equality, and consequently to women's active political engagement in all stages of the electoral cycle and educational activities in schools. The extent to which Social Studies education perform this role is yet to be established and as such, this study sought to fill this gap.

2.8.2 Location and Political Violence

The fervour felt for democracy in the urban centres and rural areas in Nigeria, after the gruesome experiences of military regimes is more than a love for civil rights. Democracy embodies a faith that more moral, prosperous and dignified way of living exists than being ruled by dictators. Democracy represents liberty and responsibility, the pursuit of happiness and civic duty (Özden & Enwere, 2012). Many keep the promise of democracy alive. Courageous democrats continue to forge ahead in urban centres where democracy is still a distant hope and its benefits still a mirage. But while the promise of democracy remains alive, the practice of democracy in urban centres and rural areas in Nigeria has become moribund.

Urban centres are rapidly expanding to cover areas that were hitherto forests therefore, identifying houses and streets in these new areas constitute a problem to operation of representative democracy. Such problems could include accessibility to polling centres as well as difficulty in identifying the polling station, thereby creating contradictions in the conduct of elections and voting patterns which result to political violence. For example, the new urban areas in the suburbs of Abuja in Nigeria, namely Mararaba, Karu, Jikwoyi, Nyanya, Lugbe, Zuba and Madala, the streets are not named nor clearly numbered or marked. Thus, it is difficult to locate registration centres and polling booths in these areas during elections. Hence, most of the low income earners that live in these suburbs or rural areas are de-enfranchised and the results of the elections most often do not reflect the wishes and expectations of the electorates leading to political protests and violence (Özden & Enwere, 2012).

Also, the distribution of the population density within urban centres and rural areas constitute great challenges to election management in Nigeria, especially in the creation of new wards, polling centres as well as voters registration centres. The denser the population of a zone, the more constituencies, polling units and electoral wards are created, necessary for proper collection of votes during elections. Those zones that are clearly planned and numbered produce less stress for electoral officers than in densely populated low level areas that are characterized by slums, crime, violence and poverty. These slums record high level political violence during election giving room to malpractices, intimidation and rigging; missing the essential elements that explains deeper and more sophisticated reasons why countries in Africa democratize and why citizens in the urban centres lose faith in democracy and institutions of government (Özden & Enwere, 2012).

2.8.3 Dimension of Political Crises in Nigeria

The research have said fairly enough of the history of political crises in Nigeria and how it plays a role in the democratic development and progress of the nation in a negative way, which really need to be property addressed for us to develop and progress as united and integrated nation. From the history we have seen how our successive government fail to provide good governance, discipline and critical service including rigging which always lead to such political crises that always erupts the Nation. Muhammad (2015) has identified four major dimensions of political crises in Nigeria, which include:

- i. State Directed Political Crises and Political Assassination: The deployment of violence as a means of attaining political objectives has remained not only pervasive throughout the nation, it appears to be actively encouraged and financed by the state (federal, state and local govts). Even where politicians outside formal state structure are involved. It is this that political crises and assassinations such as the Kaduna riots (2000-2002), the Boko haram massacre in Maiduguri (Borno State) since July 2009 and may other to mention but few.
- ii. The second Dimension is the existence of various forms of vigilance groups and ethnic militias across the country that mete crises on people with the ostensible objective for maintaining Law and order (Bakasi Boys) or for the protection of ethnic interests (opc) has in a number of cases used crises (violence), including summary executions (shagamu and Lagos). At the same time, it is engaged by local communities in crime control in most of the south west, in addition to dabbling in leadership struggles for chieftaincy. At varying degrees and to varying levels of organisation, are similar groups operating in many place in the country intimidating political opponents under the cover the “Youth wing” of political parties or vigilance groups.

- iii. A third dimension of political crises in Nigeria was the competition of political power between the elite and the various alignments and realignments that this involves. Some of the most intense conflicts in some states are largely of this type. Where major political financiers and mentors fall out with their erstwhile “boys”, the stage may be set for an intense struggle for control over the political party machinery or even of the states or local governments. Examples of such sour relationship is between Senators Ahmad Sani Former Zamfara State governor and Mahmud Aliyu Shinkafi also former Zamfara State governor, which force the latter to decamped to PDP in 2009 which at the end led to his defeat at general election by his former political party candidate. it happen in Kwara State between former state governor late Mohammad Lawal and his former mentor chief Olusola Saraki which led to the death of Kwara State PDP Chairman referred to earlier. These are conflicts involving legislators at the federal level with their local State machineries.
- iv. The fourth, dimension crises from the conflict of citizenship and indigeneity involving so called “indigene” and “Settlers”, of which the apparently intractable in Plateau, Benue, Taraba, and Nasarawa are typical examples. A situation in which people lived together for decades and yet are not accorded the same rights and privileges is a serious indictment of the democratic government. Such conflicts crises cross ethnicity and religion and available evidence suggests the involvement of the state and some prominent elite, as in the case of Plateau state. This must however, be urgently addressed through making a constitutional provision that can give equal rights and opportunity to all people living together. For a long time even if they were not originated there. There are other dimension of political crises which include the conflicts over the control of resources at all levels of government, but more particular in

the Niger-Delta (MEND) and non-violent organisation in the region are agitating for resources control, political thuggery to me is another dimension of political crises were supporters of different political parties are always fighting each in other to achieved their political goal, which always resulted in loss of lives and properties.

2.9 Causes and Effects of Election Rigging and Political Violence in Nigeria

Various instance occurred in our institutionalized infant democracy that led to Election Rigging and Political crises in Nigeria. For example, Anthony (2015) viewed 2011 elections conducted by independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) as not free and fair. And he therefore, summarises the major causes of election rigging in Nigeria:

- i. **Self –Perpetuation:** Just as stated in the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, an individual is allowed to run political office for a 2nd term. This condition therefore, makes Governors, Senators and House of representative members to actualize their dream of 2nd term by using all crook and through massive election rigging. For instance, most of the governors in Nigeria used their incumbency factors of ideology to influence both gubernatorial and presidential election as against the will of masses.
- ii. **Religious Sentiment:** Religious as another, significant factor for election rigging where most of the political parties use their places of worship to manipulate the election result, in this case therefore, the electorate lost their votes on a religion line.
- iii. **Ethnicity:** Ethnicity is this view, most of the masses, regional politicians, ethnic association, in most cases use their ethnic association in voting exercise such as Oduduwa People Congress (OPC), Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) Ohazee Indi Igbo (OII), were strongly assisted the election rigging in favour of their ethnic group.

iv. Poverty: Most to the electorate in Nigeria are poor, therefore, politicians capitalize on the level of poverty of the electorate to bribe them so that they can rig election through thugs, stealing of ballot box, and ballot papers, double voting or multiple voting among others.

Other factors that causes are unfree and fair elections, as narrated by Abdullahi (2014) are: Lack of independence of INEC in terms of appointment of staff, funding, and mode of operation; High degree of illiteracy and ignorance on the part of the electorates, which will present them performing on of the civil responsibilities of voting in the elections; Absence of a free and fair press that can enlighten the electorates and also expose election atrocities; and The current monster in Nigeria polities called godfatherism.

On the other hand, different authorities in this field had advanced or give their opinion on the causes of political crises in Nigeria, Tunde (2010), Babatunde (2011), Mohammed (2015), all believed that intolerance in the part of our politicians is such a terrible disease that the person that possesses same cannot accommodate contrary opinion or views. This is probably the first thing that is lacking in most politicians. In Nigeria and they therefore find it intolerable to challenge even though on rational grounds. Looking back at the history of political development in Nigeria from independence to date one will believe that the culture we operate our government or democracy is from military and civilian regimes is violence in nature. Muniruzzaman (2009) affirms this, he say political violence emerges from a deep rooted political rises in Bangladesh.

However, Mohammad (2015) asserts that, the average Nigerian politician believes that the institution saddled with the responsibility of conducting elections are capable of being bought over. Since, this is the mind-set of most politicians, it endangers a lack of faith in the

electoral bodies. This explains why a loser at any election in Nigeria never believes that he has lost fairly, he just believes that he has been outbided.

Unemployment as idles of able-bodied young men and women makes ready materials for political crises available, this position was supported by Abonu Ogunlade and Yunusa (2013) which they says the outbreak of violence may be due to a sense of relative deprivation where group in a less advantageous position than others as regards education jobs, status, wealth, political influence etc. no longer accept. The status quo but believes it is unjust and wish for change". In her explanation she had mentioned jobs which are employment that is distributed in equal in Nigeria between the children of those who have money and those who don't have things or don't know everybody, this resulted in violent act with for change in the mind of the young men and women.

Another cause of political crises to Tunde (2010) is the sad complicity and partisanship of security agents. If a political hoodlum knows that he will not be treated with kid gloves if caught in the act of political crises, he never dares to be part of such political activities. That is why Mohammed (2015) says that, it is common to hear them remark this: "Musai Muyanka mutum mu kwana lafiya" (we will kill any one and remain free). It is true that in Nigeria, security agents are openly partaking in partisan politics by supporting the candidates of the ruling party, I can testify that, because during the 2007 and 2011 general elections which I both serve as presiding officer, police and other security agents take part in rigging the election by scaring voters from opposition parties, ballot stuffing and given way for rigging by those working for ruling party or candidates of their choice, like in the case of 2011 election, where security agents openly support the party and candidates of their choice without fear or favour, and this I believed fuel the violence that erupted after the elections.

Abdukarim, Abubakar and Khan (2012) says there were reports on security partisanship throughout the period of the elections (i.e 2011 elections).

Mohammed (2015) adds that election rigging which implies the determination of a political actor of party to capture power by all means. They all believes that election rigging has been one important factor that hinders free and fair election and produced grave consequences that claims Lives and properties of Nigerian in different occasions from 1964, 1983, 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections which were alleged to be rigged. He added that Lack of well-defined political ideology and politics of ethnicity contributes to political crises in Nigeria. He also said “pre and past independence of political parties, (including the currently registered political parties) have no coherent political ideology. In view of this, many politicians are fond cross carpeting from one party to another.

Moreover, the close alliance individual parties with the major ethnic groups of the country increased, the level of political crises and made it difficult for any party to attack voters outside its major region. Example, political parties that participated 2011 elections are ACN and OPC who only secure more votes from South –Western and North-Western geo-political Zones respectively and this I believe help in eruption of post-election crises in Northern Nigeria were Youth mostly CPC supporters feels they were denied their choice candidates and show their dissatisfaction in a violence means. Anthony (2010) confirmed this as he says “the hydra headed disease of tribalism and nepotism promote at least in some indirect ways reports to political violence in Nigeria”. However, one most say that the reasons for political crises in Nigeria are as many as the numbers of such incidence. I have only tried to explain what the fundamental causes of the political crises that need a prompt action in order to save our nation from disintegration, disunity, and underdevelopment since no nation can develop in a crises or violent situation.

Election rigging and political crises has negative consequences to Nigeria's politics. The following are effects of election rigging in Nigeria as endorsed by Anthony (2015).

- i. Establishment of Unpopular Leaders: The negative effect of election rigging in Nigeria is that of unpopular leaders. This is as a result of the political parties influence the figure of election, the result will turn the other way round.
- ii. Violence: The Negative effect of election rigging is that opponents of political parties will fight against the party that rigged the election and hence pace ways of killing of life and destroying of properties. Example in 1965 western election, the opponents created the avenue for violence, which ushered in the military in to Nigerian politics. Post-election rises in 2011 general election is another example
- iii. Falsification of Figures: As a election rigging, the political parties who want the result in their favour will use all necessary machinery to falsify the figures of the election result, such as witnessed during the 2003 general election.
- iv. Intimidation of voters: For an election to have been rigged success fully, most of the voters will have to be faced by intimidation by the aggrieved political parties.
- v. Political Victimization: As a result of election rigging. The political victimization of opponents is bound to occur, when the ruling party maltreats those political opponents that stand to oppose their administration.

Other effects of election rigging include military intervention in Nigeria politics through coup detach as experienced in 1966, 1983. Therefore, election rigging has negative consequences to Nigeria politics. Destroying political opponents properties, assassinations of opponents, unnecessary emotional discomfort, distrust between parties concerned featured predominantly in the last political violence in Nigeria. The consequences of political crises in

Nigeria are too many as mentioned by Maitama (2003) in Mohammad (2015) in his speech as special guest of Honour in opening ceremony of the conference strategies for curbing Election – Related Political Violence in Nigeria in Northwest Zone” Organised by Bayero University Kano, Centre for Democratic Research and Training, Mambayya House that:

Our youth, our future leaders, unfortunately, being recruited into gangs and are being harmed by Reckless and senseless politicians. Many have been marred or killed, and many more have been turned into jobless and senseless drug addicts. Properties have been damaged and destroyed, and notable politicians are now being systematically assaulted and some even eliminated by assassination... the implications and consequences of all these are grave for prosperity and development of our people, as well as for the survival of our country. We can neither hope to consolidate our nascent democracy nor be able to satisfy the needs and aspirations of our people if this destructive trend is allowed to continue.

Therefore, the first causality of political crises is humanity itself. Sacred Lives are taken with impunity. Thus, the Losses from political assassination have been enormous both to the victims (including those who depend on him /her) and the society. Families are deprived of their breadwinners while society suffers in it’s moral fibre and in the loss of the contribution of the felled victim to nation building. Nasa’i (2007) says “prominent individuals were killed who can be useful in nation building and national development, because no matter how little contribution they can give will be of importance”. From 1999 to date the able bodies men that were killed through political assassination include chief Bola Ige, the former Allorney General of the Federation, chief Ogbonanya Uche, Engr. Funsho Williams. Mr. theodre Agwatu, Alhaji Isiya Mohammanad, Dr. Ayodele Daramola, among many others whom I believed if they are alive can give their own contributions towards national development and progress.

Another consequence of political crises according to Muhammad (2015) is unnecessary traumatization and emotional discomfort which affects the citizenry psyche. In many cases, breadwinners are shot in the presence of their wives and children. On other occasions, peace-loving citizens are forced by circumstances to witness these dastardly acts. The psychological effects of these happenings on the moral and mental wellbeing of these innocent witnesses to terror are better imagined. Nasa'I (2007) also says "political violence will make capable individuals who have the ability to contribute their quota to national development to have fear of participating into active politics which will help in building a great nation".

A closely related consequence of political crises is the mystification of force and promotion of lawlessness. Those who did not engage in these acts of violence are made to feel hopeless, and intimidated by the sheer use of unnecessary force and this leads to loss of self-confidence and sense of inadequacy. This is all the more so, if the perpetrators of these ungodly acts are neither apprehended nor brought to book (Babatunde, 2010). One of the accepted ways of generating wealth in a nation is the infusion and inflow of foreign capital into the economy. But no investor, either locally or foreign will invest his money in a country where political crises is the rule rather than the exception. Abubakar (2015) also said "political violence can crippled the economic and social activities of a society. It will loss expected revenue and concludes that it can lead to economic stagnation. That could make unemployment and poverty to get a place to stay.

It is also believed that uncontrolled political crises have the potential of truncating democratic practices in the land. Because, the will of the electorates can be sabotage, since majority of them will not go near the electoral process because of fear of their lives and this will lead to situation where leaders that emerge are elected by minority. Political crises always resulted in distrust between parties concerned, which this we believe can really pose a problem to our

national and democratic development. It can also result in institutionalization of crises or violence as a legitimate means of political expression and socialization of violence –politics for the generation of party’s loyalist. The above mentioned and explained consequences of Political crises in Nigeria are just a few among the negative consequences that it poses in our society and our democratic development, we all believed that, if this continued in Nigeria the way they are going today, we will be in political instability, economic stagnation, fear suspicion, underdevelopment, lack of trust and understanding among people that leave in the same place many year among other consequences of political crises.

Beside the constitutional functions of the INEC identified above, the new Nigerian newspaper, Thursday and Tuesday May, 25 and 30 2014 respectively revealed the following as a step taken by the INEC to ensure Free and Fair Election in Nigeria: Ascertained of the current demographic figure which a view to considering changes; The commission (INEC) has to introduced the use of card readers (IVAS) enhance the accreditation of voters, (inec voters Authentication system); Only Nigeria resident in Nigeria are allowed to vote (legally); Campaign of calumny either against the commission (INEC) or any party may not secure success in the election for any party; INEC would make no room for candidate to win election without the support and votes of eligible voters; INEC has zero tolerance for electoral violence via the usage of the police and or military where necessary; No creation of special polling unit to take care of any personality in any locality; Compilation and the use of a credible voters registers; Proper identification of voters on election day; The use of secret ballot system; Non-participation of unregistered parties who may present candidates; Encouragement of women to join politics; Collation and announcement of election results at the polling units or boot before sending them to INEC offices nationwide; Persons with revalidated voting particulars would vote which will include physical teachers like fingers

print; and The commission (INEC) has to embark on the computation of data base adhoc staff nationwide.

The management of political crises is critical to the survival of democracy in any country. This can only be achieved through effective use of political and development institutions and other agencies of the state to check the menace. The states institution to use in managing the political crises in Nigeria according to Mohammad (2015) :

- i. The Nigerian Constitution: The constitution is a symbol of Federation whereby a strong democratic set of rules and expectations with regards to election of leaders, governance and the responsibilities of the citizenry toward the nation is clearly stated. It has been described as a document for the building of acceptable nationhood, it contained all the rules that can make the nation to be in peace and harmony, but it has many loopholes which tend to emphasis its weaknesses rather than it strength. The constitution provide general powers for government at the federal and state levels, executive, legislature and judiciary if these rules as stipulated in the constitution would be followed as said and allowed all the arms of government to do their actions according to it's portions, the problems of political crises will be solved in Nigeria.
- ii. The Executive: The executive arm of government is that arm which vested with the administrative powers by the constitution, with the responsibility of carrying out judicial and legislative decisions. In managing political crises, the executive cannot act in isolation of the other arms of government. Most commission of inquiry set up have had both the functions of the executive and legislature overlapping and this is also demonstrated in the membership of the panels. Panels of administration or judicial commissions of inquiry are set up by the executive as measures toward resolving conflicts

e.g the recent commission of inquiry into the remote causes of 2011 post –election crises in Northern Nigeria under the leadership of sheik Ahmed lemu. There terms of reference span the identification of immediate remote causes, the actors of the crises and recommendations of appropriate measures to be taken.

On the contrary, the reports of these inquiries, never gets published, the recommendations never get implemented. And so nothing is done. No key actors get prosecuted. It has been generally observed that governments in Nigeria lacks political will to take any action, more so, if it self-government is indicated. The result of this is that is that some individual begin to feel and behave as if they are above the law, which we are witnessing today. Therefore rather than seek redress using the legal process and constitutional means people resort to violence whenever they feel aggrieved. That is why the need arise for executive arm of government to put a strong political will in ensuring the full implementation of any reports that it sponsor on any crisis which we believed can help in managing political related crises in Nigeria.

iii. The Legislature: The major function of the legislature as one of the organs of government is law making. It is also the centre of discussion about policies, programmes and ideas and the place were important decisions are made The legislative arm of governments is the body Saddled with the responsibility of fashioning out laws that would lead to an orderly society. Ngaji (2003) argues that for the legislatures to perform its functions, “it must be truly reprehensive in character, knowledge and mature in judgement, selfless, responsive, competent and effective in the discharge of it’s functions, discreet in the judicious exercises of its power and high in it’s integrity”.

Contrary to the above, the legislative in Nigeria Since 1999 has been embroiled in intra –legislative or executive induced problem or the other. For instance, the problem in

2010 between Hon. Dino Melaye group and those supporting the former speaker Dimeji Bankole in the House of Representative which resulted in a serious fight among the legislatures in the House. Also, the executive interference instability within the legislative ranks at both national and state levels. For example, the choice of Hon. Aminu Wazir Tambuwal as the speaker, was really opposed by the executive arm of government who prepared the then majority leader Hon. Malikat Akande as their choice. For legislature to help in managing political crises in Nigeria, there is need for them to add values to democracy through more learning and experience. It could be achieved through enforcing ideals that would facilitate and enhance a cordial relationship within the legislature and between the legislature and the executive. A constructive relationship exudes strength, integrity and positions itself not only for its personal growth and development, but also for the nation.

iv. The Judiciary: The Judiciary constitutes the arm of government that interprets the law of the state and applies the existing law to individual cases. In any modern state, liberty of individuate depends upon the fairness of the courts in providing protection against the tyranny of overzealous member of the government. According to Ngaji (2003) “The judiciary is that arm of government which holds the balance (of power) between the executive and the legislature, on the other hand; and on the other; between those two arms of government and the ordinary citizen’. In the light of Nigeria’s political experience (taking into account past administrations both civilian and military) one cannot be wrong to say that the judicial system operation in the country has fallen below the expectation of the people.

Civilian administrations, as well as their military counterparts have demonstrated that a lot of pressure could be brought to bear on the judiciary and judges have been threatened

/blackmailed into granting frivolous and dubious court injunctions. Ngaji (2003:18) quoting justice Oyemade in a murder trial of an opposition party supporter charged for murder of a government supporter who said:

“I will not allow myself to be intimidated into sending innocent persons to jail. Even if this means losing my job--- the only thing we have now in the country is judiciary. We have seen politicians changing from one policy to another, and one party to another, but only protection the ordinary people have against all these inconsistencies is a fearless upright judiciary”.

It is generally feared that justice administered in the courts are influenced by extra-legal considerations such as political and sectional interest. The spate of courts injections has been too frequent and seriously abused in the way they are used. Politicians have turned it in to weapon used to settle political scores or even selfish ends. In its role in managing political crises in Nigeria according to Ngaji (2003) “judiciary as an independent and autonomous arm of government should be gendered to put its houses in order, partly by the provision of adequate resources for it, and partly by examination of its code of conduct such that responsibility and the value of justice can be restored”.

v. Political Parties: Political parties play a vital role in a democracy. They are the hob of democracy without which there would be no electoral process. The question is, how have they fared in managing political crises in Nigeria? The experiences in Nigeria shows that political parties are the incubation points of political crises. Thuggery, ethnic militia, assassination etc are all offshoots of intra-party or inter-party differences. Before 2011 general election there are many parts of the country which people are always blaming the political parties for not taking serious measures to stop the highly incidences that always resulted in loss of live and properties. In managing political crises in Nigeria there is an

Urgent and stringent measures to put in place by the political parties and the stakeholders in politics before the situation is completely out of hand.

vi. Security Agencies: The security agencies therefore have the onerous task of implementing the social control measures that have been put in place to keep the peace, maintain law and order and control crime. In carrying out these task, the security agencies are supposed to respect and protect human rights and submit to certain rules of conduct; obey lawful orders, be incompatible, meticulous, neat, acquire and demonstrate a thorough understanding and knowledge of laws, impartiality, truthfulness in strictest senses. But what obtain is clearly at variance with the constitutional provisions and ethnics of the law enforcement agencies. Because, security agents have been accused of being partisan and taking side with sections of the society. Thus, the operation of social control and law enforcement mechanism are stifled and corrupted by such social, political, and economic situations. Security agents have to follow the constitutional provisions in discharging their duties /responsibilities and partisanship in any issue of the national interest that will jeopardised the nation's development.

vii. The Media: Politics remains an important issue of media coverage. Democracies recognise the media as important institution that plays significant roles as the fourth estate of the realm. As the fourth estate, they are expected to play a watch dog role over the executive, legislature and the judiciary. (Ngaji, 2003). In his opinion says, we cannot talk about the role of the media in managing political crises without emphasizing on the need for a free and responsible media. Media can make or mar the stability of the nation by utilizing various mechanisms of reporting. The Nigerian constitution guarantees freedom of opinion and expression with a provision that the federal or sfate government or any other person authorized by the president may own and operate a television or wireless

broadcasting station. To this end, several private media organisations (both print electronic) have been established to complement those owned by government.

However, the genuineness of the media is sometimes difficult to imagine when especially government owned media tend to cover up government but built support for government programmes by ensuring that the citizens are enlightened on the key government programmes that have immediate relevance to him. But a situation where media helps government to hide things is unacceptable and is in itself capable of igniting violent conflict or deepening sentiment. From the foregoing, the media have both positive and negative uses, when positively used they can mould, build, reorient or even disorient for sustainably development. On the contrary when submersible manipulated, the media can warp minds, inebriate the brains or human psyches, and stimulate sensate and insensate perception of reality towards anarchic ends. It is through these, among other avenues that media can optimally execute its role in making or promoting political crises.

2. 10 Social Studies Education and Creation of Awareness on Election Rigging

There is a developing trend in Social Studies that for it to meet the challenges of democracy in the ever changing world through fostering civic responsibility and engagement. The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS, 2013) believes that the primary goal of social studies is to prepare students to be engaged and effective democratic citizens.

Furthermore, Social Studies education could be a veritable tool for citizenship training towards democratic and national development. It is designed for functional citizenship training (Tijani, Abdulgaffar & Musa, 2013). It is expected that Social Studies inculcate in Nigerian citizens the respect for democratic values. According to Ikem and Oghenemiderhi (2013) Social Studies education would help give in moral re-armament and rejuvenation of the society where there will be fairness, equality, and unity for democratic development. The

researchers add that Social Studies education could enhance citizenship education through inculcation of spirit of patriotism, respect for rule of law and dedication to duty as elements of good governance for national transformation. Okam in Lawal (2014) reiterates that the main goal of Social Studies education is to generate and develop intelligent, responsible and self-directing citizens who are expected to explore opportunities to develop their potentials and as well contribute their own quota to the improvement of group living within a social milieu.

Also, Ezegbe, Eskay, Anyanwu and Abiogu (2014) buttresses the above role of Social Studies education by stressing that, the philosophy of the Social Studies education hinges in part on the idea that Nigerian schools should not only train individual to be just and competent individuals, but to function as contributing and participatory members of a free constitutional democratic nation. This implies that students must rely on the knowledge, skills and awareness of the rights of minority and majority groups to co-exist and worship freely; respect for law and order; and respect for public and private property of Nigerians and non-Nigerians. This includes the awareness of the rights and obligations of citizens to government and society and reciprocal government responsibility to citizens.

Social Studies education helps in preparing Nigerian citizens to be creative, productive and responsive to democratic development or programmes of the government. On the other hand, it could prepare future leaders and followers that will have interest of the masses and the nation at heart in their local and global pursuits. Social Studies education helps in instilling democratic values on the citizens. Accordingly, Mike (2011) opines that Social Studies has the aim of promoting civic competence of the citizens. Supporting this view, Mbaba and Omabe (2012) opine that, Social Studies is a vehicle through which desired culture, values and norms of the society are being inculcated to its young ones.

Hence, Social Studies as an agent of citizenship training could help impact on the youth democratic values like one man one vote, non violation of election rules, recognizing opposition, voting rationally, defending the nation, participating in election and above all respect to the rule of law and constituted authorities, these when practiced could lead to national development. More still, Social Studies education enhances citizens' knowledge of their fundamental human rights and the need to respect the rights of others. The study of Social Studies education enables the citizens to internalize the fundamental human rights and respect same towards a better society. The knowledge of rights, duties and obligations among the students (citizens) may help in producing functional and democratic citizens that may contribute to national development (Ezegbe, Eskay, Anyanwu, & Abiogu, 2014).

Added to this, Okam (2011) asserted that, the main goal of Social Studies education is to generate and develop intelligent responsible and self - directing citizens who are expected to explore opportunities to develop their potential as well contribute their own quota to the improvement of group living within a social milieu. The above goal of social studies as explain by Okam will offer students opportunity to participate in political activities of their society. Social Studies is a wide and pluralistic term but it focuses on topics related to democracy, citizenship, human rights, socialization, marginalization and societal changes and challenges.

Social Studies education helps individuals to acquire the knowledge on democracy, political system of their society, it also offer them with the political or democratic values and ideology that will help them to participate fully in the political process of their society. Garba (2014) said that Social Studies education is saddle with the responsibility of inculcating political socialization, appropriate forms of political behaviour in the citizens and ensure corruption free nation through the creation political awareness in Nigeria.

Nonetheless, social studies education helps in social reconstruction of the citizens for national development. The dynamic nature of social studies lies fundamentally in its utilitarian values for social reconstruction (Tijani, Abdulgaffar & Musa, 2013). According to Ezegbe, Eskay, Anyanwu and Abiogu (2014) Social Studies education inculcates good values to the citizens. The researcher continues that one of the most important trends in Social Studies education is the teaching and learning of values. Patriotism is a concept in Social Studies Education and as well one of the values that Nigerians advocate. Citizens' love for their country is an important part of citizenship training which Social Studies education transmits on the young ones. This very patriotism made Nigerian patriots like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Awolowo, Sarduna of Sokoto (Ahmadu Bello), Herbert Macaulay among others to fight for Nigerian independence. Social studies education could help reduce the incidence of corruption and corrupt practices to the barest minimum. Social Studies education influences the attitudes of the young (citizens) through early inculcation of good value system in them early in life to enhance spirit of nation building (Onifade in Ezegbe, Eskay, Anyanwu, & Abiogu, 2014). Implied in this is that when the citizens are exposed early to social studies education, they would imbibe positive values that would reduce corruption tendencies in their manifestations. Moreover, value restoration and building are roles of Social Studies education. Umar in Okam (2011) recounted the main values to be promoted as follows: honesty, accountability, cooperation, discipline, industry, self confidence, moral courage and respect for the rule of law and dignity of labour. On the contrary, in Nigeria today there appears to be value degeneracy among the citizens. On equal footing, Osakwe (2012) regrets that several social vices and malaise that are pulling down the hand of development in Nigeria are corruption, indiscipline, dishonesty, prostitution, armed robbery, pen robbery, child trafficking and electoral frauds among others.

Social Studies as a means of citizenship training could address the above social malaise when well implemented in the classroom. Currently, Social Studies education, in our schools' system, has failed to inculcate right forms of values like tolerance, co-operation, patriotism, honesty, justice among others on the citizens. Probably, the poor value system of Nigerian citizens retards Nigerian national development. Against this background, it is lack of national consciousness that manifests in the prevailing attitude of most Nigerians to exploit others for personal aggrandisement (Ezegbe, Eskay, Anyanwu, & Abiogu, 2014). To this end, Okam in Ezegbe, Eskay, Anyanwu, & Abiogu (2014) maintains that Nigerian society needs massive re-organisation, redirection, national rebirth, reconstruction and repositioning through effective implementation of social studies in all levels of the education system. The development of democracy in most of the developing countries has brought increase attention to teaching for democratic citizenship. In view of this, citizenship education or civic education was adopted in order to teach young people to participate fully as democratic citizens.

Also, Godabe (2016) observed that "to a large extent, lack of the required citizenship traits in the life of the Nigerian citizens has directly or indirectly been responsible for some to think disintegration, disunity, and conflict in the country". In order to remedy this situation civic training or citizenship education was introduced so as to develop in the learner those values and skills that will make them responsible citizens and eliminate all their differences. The primary goal of citizenship education is to enhance political literacy among the Nigeria people , and in sharing this view, Pontes, Henn and Griffiths (2017) observed that " it is the primary means by which citizens acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to participate in their democracies in an informed and engaged fashion".

The above discussion revealed that there is the relationship or similarities between social studies and civic education and in the views of Kenneth and Daniel, (2012) said that “social studies education is about the grooming of good citizens, the objectives is to reposition the young people so that they possess the knowledge, skills and values necessary for active participation in societal activities.” In the views of O’sullivan (2014) said that “the purpose of social studies instructions in particular is to promote civic competence”. While Boikhutso, Dinamal and Kgotlaetsile (2013) is of the view that, for all the arguments ,convention speeches and journal articles it seems clear that the term citizenship education lies at the heart of social studies. This discussion show that civic education or citizenship education are related to social studies because they are aimed at providing students with the knowledge of their society for solving societal problems.

2.11 Social Studies Education and Creation of Awareness on Political Violence

Nigeria is plagued by multidimensional problems, problems which are antithetical to peace, problem of socio-economic imbalance, problems of instability and inequality. Other challenges include religious bigotry, ethnicity, education imbalance, class feeling and competition, Okam (2011) asserted that one of the major challenges confronting Nigeria as a young democracy relates to the issue of achieving greater measure of peace unity and stability among the various national groups that constitute her society. These challenges were instrumental for the introduction and teaching of social studies education in all Nigeria school teacher training and universities in the late 1970.

Nigeria today has become intolerably tense and so charge with hatred so filled with misfortune and despair that most people have lost their power to balanced judgment which is needed for getting away from the slough in which her populace is staggering Okam (2011) this is a very good description of Nigeria situation which do not allow the young democracy

to develop. Therefore there is the need for something to be done urgently to arrest the situation. In addition to these numerous fundamental challenges facing Nigeria democracy: there are electoral processes which Nigeria disobeyed with impunity, these include post election violence, deprivation of right and privileges of citizens and a host of others. These give rise to political crisis, assassination of political opponents and kidnapping to insecurely of life.

Social Studies educators also want students to become decision making who are able to argue, who don't take information absolute true. This is the essence of being an active and critical participant, rather than a passive participant, in a democracy. Social Studies educators help to promote students ability and willingness to think autonomously and critically analyze ideas, decisions, and actions as well as to think of the outcomes. This is a critical aspect of teaching for democracy, and such thinking can only evolve from careful consideration of the impact of one's thinking on others (Jacobowitz & Sudol, 2010).

Social Studies is very effective in inculcating values that will help in sustaining our democracy. This will provides students with the ability to understand the democratic values associated with being a good citizen. Thus in the task of contributing to the personal and social growth and development of individual and social groups within a geopolitical frame work, democracy must necessarily be explored and tailored at enabling individual focus on a host of concepts such as coordination, liberty, autonomy, collaboration, integration, welfare measure, bargaining power, conflict management, authority, conflicts resolution, freedom, function empathy, needs and interest, honesty, sympathy, tolerance, responsibility, rationality, respect for persons, decision making, unity and unions, morality, cooperation, obedience, adaptation, loyalty, patriotism, values, critical thinking and progress for a purpose of advancing a course for nation building and national development within the frame work of

any socio-political entity or region (Uko & Okebe, 2011). Social Studies education is a vital component of any society, but especially of a democracy. The aim of Social Studies education is to produce independent, questioning, analytical and critical citizens through teaching the principles and practices of democracy, encouraging them to challenge conventional thinking with careful reading and research findings.

2.12 Review of related Empirical Studies

This section of review focused on review of empirical studies that are similar to the current study though varies in many perspectives. Below are some of these studies:

Jere (2010) conducted study on “Democracy and electoral violence in Africa: a case study of 2007 general election”. The study was conducted using three objectives, three hypotheses and four research questions, the instruments use for the data collection were questionnaires and interview, 5660 population was used, using the sample of 200. Mean, standard deviation and bar chart were used for descriptive analysis and chi-square was used for inferential analysis. The research findings of the study revealed that: electoral violence affects democracy in Africa with particular reference to Nigeria 2007 election.

The current work has bearing with the former because, both of them, concerned with political crises, whereas, the former work differs in the sense that, the current work is going to assess the impact of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among JSS students in Kaduna State while the former work concerned only with political crises. The location is also differs while the current one is in Kaduna State, the former was in the country as a whole.

Tunde (2010) conducted his research “post-election violence and sustainable democracy in Nigeria: A cases study of Ekiti State April/May 2009 re-run election for governorship

supplementary election. The study revealed that there is close connection between violence and declaration of electoral outcome as in the case of 2011 presidential in Nigeria. The research shows that the violence is associated with disputes over election results, the violence includes killing of political opponents and even innocent people, bringing down private and public property. Also, Tunde, believed that violence tends to truncate sustainable democracy in Nigeria. Allusions were made to the experience of the first and second experience of the first and second republics were the crisis that arouse out of the western regional election of 1965 and 1983 general elections led to the collapsed of democracy in those era. According to the findings of Tunde (2010) the factors responsible for political violence in Nigeria includes greed, election rigging and corruption of electoral practices or process, thuggery and abuse of power, tendency of the rulers to perpetuate themselves in office and tendency of those outside government to seek to come to the saddle “at all cost”.

The findings revealed by Tunde’s work /research are significantly relevance with the current work since, both the works were concerned with the political crises in Nigeria, thus, the two studies have difference the former study concerned only with post –election crises while, the current concerned with the relevance of Social Studies Education in Creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among JSS students in Kaduna State. Also, the former study was carried out in Ekiti State while the current is being carried –out in Kaduna State.

Mohammed (2011) Undertook research work title “Independence of INEC and Election Management in Nigeria: A case study of 2007 gubernatorial election in Kogi State”. the study examines the roles of INEC in 2007 Governorship election in Kogi State which fell short of expectations given the high expectations desired by many people before and during election. The research employed the policy implementation theory as an analytical tool. The study raised five objectives, five research questions and five hypotheses. The study employed both

primary and secondary sources of data collection through multi-stage sampling technique. The primary data involves the use of questionnaire and interview while secondary data involves the use of textbooks journals, published articles, and newspaper among other through the method of content analysis. The study revealed that the way and the manner INEC manages the election affected the voters turnout which impacted largely on the electoral outcome. Moreover, it was discovered that equal opportunities were not giving to the candidates. It was equally discovered that most electoral violence in this period were as a result of rigging and INEC's inability to conduct a transparent, credible, free, and fair elections. Also, it was established that the polling personnel and security agents were not helpful as they were unable to perform their role during election. From the findings too, it was discovered that the election was not held on schedule and that INEC was central to the electoral malpractices in the period under review.

The present study is significantly relevance with the findings of Mohammed's work because; one of the aims of the present study is to create awareness on election rigging and political crises which has been a stumbling block to the Nigerian democracy. Therefore, the present study has discrepancy with the former study. The former study evaluate the independence of INEC and election management in Nigeria while the current study assess the relevance of social studies education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among JSS students in Kaduna State. Also, the current study is carrying out in Kaduna State, while the former study was carried out in Kogi State.

Abdulkareem, Abubakar and Khan (2012) conducted a research titled "Democracy and challenges of 2011 election in Nigeria". The paper examined the concept of democracy, the challenges of 2011 Elections in Nigeria and the way forward towards the conduct of free, fair and credible Elections in the country. The study find out the major challenges of 2011

Election in Nigeria: late arrival of election materials, cancelation and postponement of election have been a continuous and common features of democratic process in Africa and Nigeria in particular, use of money to rig elections by “money bags”, lack of Independent of Independent of INEC from the national government, underage registration/voting, casting vote more than one, wrongly casted ballot papers, kidnapping of INEC officials, illegal substitution of Aspirants by the political parties, misuse of law enforcement agencies, thuggery, rigging which led to political violence, death of many people and destruction of public and private properties across the country. They, also, recommended that the conduct of free, fair and transparent elections in Nigeria insisted on the government and it’s relevant agencies, and all other stake holders of democracy the country to have the will and courage to respect all the laws and procedures governing the conduct of proper elections as enshrined in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Therefore, to have credible elections in the country, call for active collective responsibility of all stakeholders of elections in Nigeria, so that together we can move the country forward towards self –reliance development.

The findings revealed by Abdulkareem, Abubakar & Khan’s (2012) research are significantly relevance with the current study, because both the works were concerned with challenges of election in Nigeria thus, the two studies have difference, the former study concerned only with Democracy and challenges of 2011 Elections in Nigeria while, he current concerned with the impact of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among JSS students in Kaduna State.

Kwasau (2013), conducted a study titled “free and fair election in nigeria: A case study of 2011 general election in Taraba”. The study used four objectives, four research questions and four hypotheses, the researcher used the multi-state sampling technique to get the population

of 392 eligible voters. Designed questionnaire was used and simple percentage statistical method was also used in the study. The study find out the major factors the prevents the conduct of free and fair election in Taraba State, these includes: The bias and partisanship of the members ruling party, traditional rulers and the institution charged with the conduct of elections, (lack of independence of INEC), poverty, the impact of illiteracy and unemployment.

In the light of the findings, the present study concentrated on the impact of social studies education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among JSS students. The present study has relevance with the former in the areas of addressing the factors that hinder the conduct of free and fair election. While it differs with the former one in terms of location, the current study is carrying –out in Kaduna State while the former was carried out in Taraba State.

Abdullahi (2014), conducted research on “Election and democratic consolidation in Nigeria: A case study of 2007 and 2011 general elections in North-West geopolitical zone”. The study raises four objectives, four research question and four hypotheses. A total of six hundred questionnaires were distributed across the selected areas. Similarly a total of twelve (12) respondents were interviewed across the study areas. Both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis are adopted descriptive statistical tools of tables and data percentages are used and secondary qualitative analysis was also used. The major findings of the study were: Most voters are induced with money by politicians both those in power and those seeking to be in power to influence voter. “Choice of candidate or political party in order to retain or capture political power during elections, the 2007 and 2011 general elections were to a large extent fraudulent as they did not largely reflected voters “choice due to inflation of election results figures, multiple voting, falsification of election results, delay

in commencement of voting, result manipulation and buying of voter's card. Also, the challenges of conducting free and fair elections were due to partisanship, partiality and incompetence of the independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). In addition there was high incidence of violence during and after elections as well as intimidation of voters by massive deployment of police and armed forces which frightened and threatened voters.

The present study is significantly relevance with the findings of Abdullahi's work because, one of the aim of the present study is to find out the impact of social studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among JSS students in Kaduna State, Likewise, the former study investigated into the challenges of conducting free and fair election such as prevalence of electoral rigging, violence and other forms of malpractices which tend to erode established electoral standards and defy the prospects of free, fair and credible elections in the country, it has discrepancy with the present study. The presents study assessed the impact of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among JSS students in Kaduna State. While the former Evaluate the election and democratic consolidation in Nigeria: A case study of 2007 & and 2011 general elections in north –west political zone.

Muhammad (2015) conducted research on “views of undergraduates Social Studies Students on the potency of Social Studies Education in minimising political violence in North-west geo-political zone”. The study raised three objectives, three research questions and three research hypotheses, with the sample size of 228 students whom were randomly selected. The data obtained was analysed using inferential statistics while hypotheses I and II were tested using two sample t-test and hypothesis III was tested with one way analysis of variance (ANOVA). The research design adopted was survey design. The study revealed that if given the right atmosphere in schools with good political backing Social Studies Education can

minimized or even eradicate the occurrence of political violence in Nigeria, it also revealed that political violence has negatively affected education in Northern Nigeria through destruction and burning of schools, killing of Educational elite including many renewed teachers who can contribute meaningfully toward educational development in Nigeria. The researcher recommended that Social Studies teachers should embark upon some form of sensitization in conjunction with the respective school authorities on the need for political harmony in the society. Equally, the study revealed that Social Studies help in minimising the incidences of political violence in our nation which we believe can pave away for democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

The former study has relevance with the current study in the sense that, the main aim of the former study was to assess the potency of Social Studies Education in minimising political violence. Likewise, the current study try to assess the impact of social studies education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among JSS students in Kaduna. Whereas, it differs in terms of respondents, the former study was concerned with tertiary institution, while the current study concerned with junior Secondary School levels. Also, the location differs. The former study was conducted in North-West geopolitical zone' of Nigeria, while the current study is being carried –out in Kaduna State.

From the analysis above, the literature gathered really give account of election malpractices and violence politics in Nigeria and beyond. But none of this research could attempt to narrow its discussion to social studies education except one. Furthermore, findings, generalization, argument and insinuations were not empirical as no experimental approach was given priority in carrying out the research because of this reasons, the research discovered that all related literature reviewed none of them give the impact of social studies

education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crisis among JSS students in Kaduna State.

Summary

This chapter has generally reviewed a number of relevant source of knowledge and information which drive from the works and studies of Educationists and political scientists in the western world, Africa and Nigeria in particular. The areas are introduction, theoretical framework, concept of Social studies Education, objectives of Social Studies Education, History and justification for introducing Social Studies Education, concept of Democracy and electoral system, concept of election and election rigging, Dimensions of election Rigging and political crises in Nigeria, political parties and election rigging, Agents of election rigging, causes of election rigging and political crises in Nigeria, consequences of election rigging and political crises, ways to solve the problems of election rigging, Role of INEC in ensuring free and fair election in Nigeria, management of political crises in Nigeria, review of related empirical studies which bear relevance on the current study have also been cited and summary were all discussed in this chapter. The literature relatively revealed that issues discussed are vital in realising free, fair and credible elections, democratic consolidation, democratic values and political participation in Nigeria, through Social Studies Education.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study focused on assessing the relevance of social studies education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises in Kaduna State. This chapter presents methodology, that is, the operational blueprint, which the researcher employed in accomplishing the states objectives. These include:

- ✓ Research design;
- ✓ Population of the study;
- ✓ Sample and sampling techniques;
- ✓ Instrumentation;
- ✓ Validity of the instrument;
- ✓ Reliability of the instrument;
- ✓ Procedure for data collection; and
- ✓ Procedure for data analysis

3.2 Research Design

The descriptive survey research method was utilized in this study in order to enable the researcher to find out the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among JSS students in Kaduna, Nigeria. This is in line with Afolabi (2009) that survey research method involves gathering data about the target population from an analysis of the sample to the entire population. Survey Research design was used because, it enables the study to be carried out in separate locations, identifies present conditions and points to present needs, it also allow large amount of data to be generated from many separate respondents in a uniform comparatively, economic, systematic and potentially quantitative form.

3.3 Population of the Study

The population of the study covered all the JSSII and III students in Giwa Educational Zone of Kaduna State, which consist Giwa, Kudan and S/Gari local government areas. The study covered only the public schools in the area. The schools had the population of 5616 male students and 4479 female students bringing it to the total population of 10,095 students. The population of the study is represented on the table one (1) below:

Table 1: Population Distributions of Schools and Students in Giwa Education Zone

S/N	Name of Schools	JSS II Students		JSS III Students		Total
		M	F	M	F	
1	GGSS Dr. School (Jnr)	-	115	-	105	210
2	GSS Giwa	120	100	90	80	390
3	GSS Gangara (Jnr)	120	100	105	75	400
4	GSS Yakawada (Jnr)	108	46	62	70	286
5	GSS Fatika (Jnr)	150	80	90	65	385
6	GSS Jama'a (Jnr)	105	65	108	98	376
7	GSS Sakadadi (nr)	82	59	70	45	256
8	GSS Doka (Jnr)	170	110	121	59	460
9	GSS K/Wali (Jnr)	110	65	100	40	315
10	GSS Kaya	150	100	95	75	410
11	GJSS M/Guga	160	75	95	65	395
12	GJSS Shika	150	80	110	75	415
13	GGJSS, Samaru	-	420	-	300	720
14	GJSS Kwangila	155	100	100	95	460
15	GJSS Kudan	240	180	200	110	730
16	GJSS Hunkuyi	204	140	200	112	656
17	GJSS Basawa	250	115	123	90	578
18	GJ SS T/Sani	100	40	70	45	255
19	GJSS Bomo	300	160	200	105	765
20	GJSS Danmahawayi	100	72	70	69	311
21	GJSS Kidandan	102	60	72	48	282
22	GJSS Galadimawa	65	40	43	30	178
23	GJSS Iyatawa	90	45	70	35	240
24	GJSS Wazata	98	42	46	24	210
25	GJSS Yan Sarki	90	40	80	28	183
26	GJSS Kakangi	60	45	50	28	183
	Sub- total	3249	2494	2367	1985	
	Grand Total		5743		4352	10,095

Source: Kaduna State, Ministry of Education, Science & Technology, Education Zone Giwa (2017)

3.4 Sample and Sampling Techniques

The sample was selected by using proportionate random sampling to select nine (9) junior secondary schools for the study. A proportionate sampling method was used to select one hundred and Ninety Eight (198) JSS2 and also Two hundred and seventeen (217) JSSII students. Total sample students that was used for the study is four hundred and fifteen (415) out of 10,095 students. The selection was based on criteria for research Advisor (2006) in determining the sample size for research activities. The sample size is represented on the table 2.

Table 2: Population Distribution of Sample Schools, Students and Location

S/N	Name of School	Location	JSSII		JSS III		Total	Urban total	Rural total
			M	F	M	F			
1	G.J.S.S Kudan	Urban	11	11	13	12	47	47	-
2	GJSS Kwagila	Urban	11	11	12	12	46	46	-
3	G.J.S.S M/Guga	Rural	11	11	12	12	46	-	46
4	G.J.S.S Shika	Urban	11	11	12	12	46	46	-
5	G.J.S.S Doka	Rural	11	11	12	12	46	-	46
6	G.J.S.S Samaru	Urban	11	11	12	12	46	46	-
7	G.J.S.S Yarsarki	Rural	11	11	12	12	46	-	46
8	G.J.S.S Jama'a	Urban	11	11	12	12	46	46	-
9	G.J.S.S Bomo	Rural	11	11	12	12	46	-	46
	Sub-total		99	99	109	108	-	-	-
	Grand total		JSSII 198		JSSIII 217		415	231	184

Source: Field Work Research 2017

3.5 Instrumentation

The study used questionnaire titled “Creating Awareness on Election-Rigging and Political Crises through Social Studies (CREPOCSOS)”. Due to the nature of this study, structured questionnaires otherwise known “closed ended” questionnaire was use, in which alternative responses are provided for the respondents. The questionnaire was structured in a short straight forward and precise manner in order to facilitate prompt responses because long questionnaires often discourage respondents. The questionnaire was opinion seeking on

creating awareness on election rigging and political crisis through social studies education among JSS students in Kaduna State.

The format of the questionnaire was based on modified four point Likert scales of strongly agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD). The questionnaire consist of two sections; A and B. section "A" is biographical information of the respondents. Section "B" is concerned with question items that were opinion seeking and it contain 42 items, 21 in positive form and also 21 in negative form.

3.5.1 Validity of the Instrument

In order to ascertain the extent to which the instruments used clearly measured what the researcher intended to measure, the questionnaire items were adequately studied, modified and corrected. This was initially done with the help of my supervisors (who made some suggestions and contributions) in Faculty of Education ABU Zaria in particular. The face and content validation of the questionnaire items (instrument) was done by the research supervisors, language experts, statistician and curriculum experts. Initially, the questionnaire items were 48, which was modified to 42 items after merging some and weeded out some. Six (6) items were removed. A more refined set of questionnaires were personally administered in a trial testing during pilot study.

3.5.2 Reliability of the Instrument

The instrument was piloted on 30 students outside of sampled subjects that is , GJSS Makarfi and Meyere, who were not part of the target sample for the study. Olaofe (2010) stated that, pilot tests are conducted with a small sample size of respondents similar but not the same as the ones that was used in the main study. The Cronbach Alpha statistics, was use to measure the internal consistency of the instrument. As can be seen from Table 3, it is clear that the

coefficient from the Cronbach's alpha measurement is high enough, which was an indication that there was internal consistency of the entire variable scale and that the variables exhibited strong internal reliability. The results, therefore, confirmed that the instrument used for this study had satisfactory construct validity as presented in table 3 below.

Table 3: Summary of Pilot Study Results

Scale	Number of Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Election Rigging	22	.897
Political Crisies	20	.747

Source: Pilot study survey (2018)

It was clear from the result of the pilot study for this research work as presented in the table 4 that all the constructs investigated had reliability index of 0.897 and 0.747 which were high level for Cronbach's alpha values within the highly accepted region of 0.70 and above. This is in line with the view of Olayiwola (2007) who stated that a reliable test will have a high reliability coefficient close to positive one (1). The implication of the result was that all the items measured are reliable.

3.6 Procedure for Data Collection

Data collection is very vital aspect in the research process because, the conclusions of a study are based on what the data revealed. The researcher obtained a letter of introduction from the department of Arts and Social Science Education, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria. This enabled the researcher to obtained official data needed for the study from Kaduna State ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Giwa Educational office which was forwarded to the schools under study. This was aimed at introducing the researcher and the study motives, and also as a means of soliciting for official permission and cooperation to utilize students for the study. The researcher and two research assistance who were qualified Social Studies teachers administered the questionnaires to the respondents. This took the

researcher five working days to go round the schools to administer questionnaires. The questionnaire was retrieved by the researcher and the research assistants.

3.7 Procedure for Data Analysis

The researcher employed both descriptive and inferential statistics that is, simple percentage; frequency; statistical mean standard deviation and independent sample t-test. Simple percentage and frequency table was used to analyse the demographic or biographical information while statistical mean and deviation was used to answer the research questions raised in the study and independent sample t-test was used to test hypotheses 1-4 at 0.05 level of significance. The researcher used t-test for the reason that, it is the apt statistical tool for testing significant difference between two (2) independent variables in a study of this nature (Siegel & Castellan, 2008).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This study assessed the relevance of Social Studies in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among Junior Secondary School students in Kaduna state, Nigeria and main objective of this chapter was to provide the results of the research, which include data presentation, analysis and discussion of the outcome of the study. The data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 21. The bio-data of the respondents was analysed using frequencies and percentages, while the research questions were analysed using mean and standard deviation. Also, all the six null hypotheses were analysed using the independent t-test statistics at $p \leq 0.05$.

4.2 Preliminary Analysis

Preliminary analysis includes: detecting missing data, data screening, demographic data of respondents and descriptive statistics.

4.2.1 Analysis of Missing Data

On receiving the completed questionnaires, copies submitted were checked to ensure that all the questions were answered. Where any exception was discovered, the attention of the respondents was drawn to answer them appropriately. This assisted in reducing the number of questions that were left unanswered in the survey. After the collection stage, the data were keyed into SPSS software. Preliminary descriptive statistics were run to confirm whether or not any missing data existed. Hair, Black, Babin and Anderson (2014) suggested that any case with not more than 15% missing data observed should be deleted as long as the sample is adequate. This suggestion is in line with Tabachnick and Fidell (2013) in that a case of missing data should be simply dropped. At this stage, 8 questionnaires were dropped as missing data.

4.2.2 Analysis of Outliers

The assessment of outliers is another important activity in data screening. The scores found to be at the 2 extreme sides of the scale that might have a significant effect on the results – either too high, too low – or a unique combination of values across several variables was deleted (Hair et al., 2014). Therefore, using multivariate analysis necessitates identification and treatment of outliers accordingly. There are several approaches to detect outliers. In this study, the case wise diagnostic subcommand in SPSS was carried out. Any cases of standardized residuals greater than 3 or lower -3 were eliminated. Hence, 8 cases (respondents) from this study were deleted from further analysis.

4.2.3 Response Rate by Questionnaire

The data for this study was collected from Junior Secondary students in Giwa Educational Zone of Kaduna State, which consist Giwa, Kudan and Sabon Gari local government areas..

The response rate is presented in table 4.

Table 4: Response Rate of the Questionnaires

	Responses
Response No. of distributed questionnaires	415
Returned questionnaires	401
Returned and usable questionnaires	393
Returned and excluded questionnaires	8
Questionnaires not returned	14
Response rate	96.6%
Usable response rate	98%

Table 4 indicated that out of the 415 questionnaires that were distributed in the course of data collection, 401 were returned. This represented 96.6% of the total questionnaires administered. A careful study of the questionnaires returned revealed that 8 of them were not properly filled in. This was checked in the process of data cleaning and screening. Errors were checked by analysing the mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum scores for

the entire 401 cases on all the variables. At the end of data screening and analysis, 393 questionnaires were available for further analysis, which represented 96.6%. This was considered adequate, because it was more than the required minimum sample size of three hundred and seventy (370) needed for the purpose of this study.

4.2.4. Demographic Variables of Respondents

This section presented the demographic information of the respondents based on gender, level and location. Number and percent of respondents by gender was presented in Table 4.

Table 5: Respondents Rate by Gender

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	202	51.4
Female	191	48.6
Total	393	100.0

From Table 5 it could be depicted that there were 202 (51.4%) male and 191 (48.6%) female students whose data was used for the final analysis. That is, there were more male than female students who participated in the study.

Table 6: Respondents Rate by Level

Class	Frequency	Percent
JSS II	174	44.3
JSS III	219	55.7
Total	393	100.0

Table 6 showed that there were 174 (44.3 %) JSS II and 219 (55.7%) JSS III students whose data was used for the final analysis. That is, there was more JSS III than JSS II students who participated in the study.

Table 7: Respondents Rate by Location

Location	Frequency	Percent
Urban	207	52.7
Rural	186	47.3
Total	393	100.0

From Table 7, it could be observed that there were 207 (52.7 %) from urban schools and 186 (47.3%) rural junior secondary schools whose data was used for the final analysis. That is, there were more urban than rural students who participated in the study.

4.3 Answering the Research Questions

In this section, the research questions were answered based on the data collected and the independent variables of gender, level and location. The descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviations were used to answer the research questions.

Research Question One: What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crisis among JSS students? The descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviations were used to answer this research questions. The summary of the computation was presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Responses of relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging among JSS students

S/N	Item Statement	Mean	S.D	Decision
1.	Social Studies Education makes me aware that election rigging can hinder national development in Nigeria.	3.68	.48	Agreed
2.	Social Studies Education preaches against money politics and godfatherism that stain Nigerian politics.	3.57	.50	Agreed
3.	Social Studies Education makes me aware that, imposition of candidates by party and godfathers promote election rigging.	3.61	.50	Agreed
4.	Social Studies Education helps students in acquiring desirable attitudes, values and information towards participation in politics.	3.56	.51	Agreed
5.	Social Studies objectives create awareness on students in finding solution to their political problems, thus, making them to think rationally before taking any decision making.	3.54	.57	Agreed
6.	Students are involving themselves in snatching ballot boxes because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies.	1.93	.82	Disagreed
7.	Students are involving themselves in casting vote more than one because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies.	1.80	.84	Disagreed
8.	Social Studies Education makes me aware that police are used by the politicians to aid election rigging.	3.49	.72	Agreed
9.	Social Studies Education makes me aware that, independent of (INEC) can solve the problem of election rigging in Nigeria.	3.52	.53	Agreed
10	The Moral contents Social Studies Education is enough to create awareness on election rigging in the learners.	3.57	.54	Agreed
11.	Social Studies Education Contents makes me aware that, in Nigeria, all persons who are 18 years and above are qualified to vote.	3.43	.66	Agreed
12	Social Studies Education does not makes me aware that, election rigging can hinder national development in Nigeria	1.93	.87	Disagreed
13	Social Studies Education does not preaches against money politics and godfatherism that stain Nigerian politics	1.78	.89	Disagreed
14	Social Studies Education does not makes me aware that imposition of candidates by party and godfathers promote rigging	1.79	.76	Disagreed
15	Social Studies Education does not helps students in acquiring desirable attitudes, values and information towards participation in politics	1.60	.60	Disagreed
16	Social studies objectives does not create awareness on students in finding solution to their political problems, thus, making them to think rationally before taking any decision making.	1.69	.70	Disagreed
17	Students are not involving themselves in snatching ballot boxes because of the knowledge they acquired in social Studies.	3.33	.93	Agreed
18	Students are not involving themselves in casting vote more than one because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies	3.12	.86	Agreed
19	Social Studies Education does not makes me aware that, police are used by the politicians to aid rigging.	1.73	.64	Disagreed
20	Social Studies Education does not make me aware that independent of (INEC) can solve the problems of election rigging in Nigeria.	1.57	.53	Disagreed
21	The moral content of Social Studies is not enough to create awareness on election rigging in the learners.	1.67	.63	Disagreed
22	Social Studies does not makes me aware that, citizens who are 18 years and above are qualified to vote.	1.51	.52	Disagreed
Cumulative Mean		2.61		

The data presented in Table 8 showed the respondents agreed with item 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17 and 18, while disagree with item 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21 and 22. Hence, the study revealed that, Social Studies is relevant in creating awareness among junior secondary school students by educating them on the negative effect of election rigging on national development, teaching against money politics and godfatherism as well as imposition of candidates by party and godfathers to promote election rigging. Also, Social Studies inculcate in students desirable attitudes, values and information towards participation in politics, create awareness among students on how to find solution to their political problems, thus, making them to think rationally before taking any decision making and also the independent of (INEC) can solve the problem of election rigging. Added to this, Social Studies education creates awareness among students on age for participation in voter and other election matters. The cumulative mean was 2.61 which is greater than the decision mean 2.50. This implied that, majority of the respondents had similar view on the item presented in Table 8.

Table 9: Responses of relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis among JSS students

SN	Item Statement	Mean	S.D	Decision
23.	Social Studies Education inculcates right types of political attitudes and values of cooperation in the learners.	3.71	.46	Agreed
24.	Citizenship Education as an aspect of Social Studies creates awareness in building patriotic feeling in the minds of the students.	3.45	.53	Agreed
25.	Social Studies Education objectives foster cooperation, unity and tolerance among citizens.	3.56	.54	Agreed
26.	Social Studies teachings inculcate discipline as value in the student, thus, encouraging politics of free violence.	3.39	.62	Agreed
27.	Students are involving themselves in thuggery and intimidation of political opponents because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies.	1.82	.71	Disagreed
28.	Social Studies Education makes me aware that falsifying election result always leads to political crises.	3.52	.64	Agreed
29.	Social Studies Education is a tool for creating awareness on Social change and democratic attitudes, values and skills in the learners.	3.41	.66	Agreed
30.	Social Studies Education encourages killings, arson and kidnapping candidates during elections.	1.81	.77	Disagreed
31.	Social Studies Contents encourages self-reliance and rationale thinking.	3.56	.57	Agreed
32.	Social Studies Education makes me aware that, many youth have been turned in to jobless and senseless drug addicts.	3.39	.65	Agreed
33.	Social Studies does not inculcates right types of political attitudes and values of cooperation in the learners.	1.73	.61	Disagreed
34.	Citizenship education aspect of Social Studies does not create awareness in building patriotic feeling in the minds of the learners.	1.59	.59	Disagreed
35.	Social Studies Education objectives does not foster cooperation, unity and tolerance among citizens	1.66	.64	Disagreed
36.	Social Studies inculcates discipline as a value among students, thus encouraging politics of free violence.	1.66	.67	Disagreed
37.	Students are not involving themselves in thuggery and intimidation of political opponents because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies.	3.48	.74	Agreed
38.	Social Studies Education does not makes me aware that, falsifying election result always leads to political crises.	1.69	.61	Disagreed
39.	Social Studies Education is not a tool for creating awareness on social change and democratic attitudes, values and skills in the learners.	1.55	.61	Disagreed
40.	Social Studies Education does not encourages killings, arson and kidnapping candidates during elections	3.46	.76	Agreed
41.	Social Studies Education Contents discourages self-reliance and rational thinking.	1.72	.59	Disagreed
42.	Social Studies Education Contents does not makes me aware that, many youth haven been turned in to jobless and senseless drug addicts.	1.50	.56	Disagreed
Cumulative Mean		2.58		

The data presented in Table 9 depicts that the respondents agreed with item 23, 24, 25, 28,29, 31,32, 37 and 40, while disagree with item27, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41 and 42. This

implies that, Social Studies inculcates right types of political attitudes and values of cooperation in the learners, builds patriotic feeling in the minds of the students, foster cooperation, unity and tolerance among citizens, educate the students on the negative effect of election result falsification. Thus, Social Studies education is viewed as a curriculum instrument for creating awareness on social change and democratic attitudes, values and skills in the learners. The cumulative mean was 2.58 which is greater than the decision mean 2.50. This implied that, majority of the respondents had similar view on the item presented in Table 9.

Research Question Two: What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging among JSS II and JSS III students? The descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviations were used to answer this research questions. The summary of the computation was presented in Table 10.

Table 10: Mean Responses Scores of JSS II and III Students on relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging

Level	N	Mean	SD	Std. Error Mean	Mean Difference
JSS II	174	57.60	4.18	.32	
JSS III	219	57.29	4.10	.28	.31
Total	393				

Table 10 x-rayed the responses of JSS II and JSS III students on relevance of Social Studies education in creating awareness on election rigging. The mean responses scores of JSS II (M=57.60, SD=4.18) was greater than that of JSS III students (M=57.29, SD=4.10). The mean scores difference between JSS II and JSS III students were 0.31 in favour of JSS II students.

Research Question Three: What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis among JSS II and JSS III students? The descriptive statistics of

mean and standard deviations were used to answer this research questions. The summary of the computation was presented in Table 11.

Table 11: Mean Responses Scores of JSS II and III Students on relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis

Level	N	Mean	SD	Std. Error Mean	Mean Difference
JSS II	174	51.68	3.55	.27	
JSS III	219	51.83	5.07	.34	-.15
Total	393				

Table 11 demonstrated the responses of JSS II and JSS III students on relevance of Social Studies education in creating awareness on political crises. The mean responses scores of JSS II (M=51.68, SD=3.55) was less than that of JSS III students (M=51.83, SD=5.07). The mean scores difference between JSS II and JSS III students were -0.15 in favour of JSS III students. This inferred implied that, Social Studies curriculum contents and learning experiences at upper basic level helps to create awareness among JSS students on political crises.

Research Question Four: What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging among urban and rural JSS students? The descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviations were used to answer this research questions. The summary of the computation was presented in Table 12.

Table 12: Mean Responses Scores of JSS Students by Location on relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on Election Rigging

Location	N	Mean	SD	Std. Error Mean	Mean Difference
Urban	207	57.15	4.27	.296	
Rural	186	57.74	3.98	.292	-.59
Total	393				

Table 12 showed the responses of urban and rural upper basic students on the impact of Social Studies education in creating awareness on election rigging. The mean responses scores of urban JSS (M=57.15, SD=4.27) was lesser than that of rural JSS students

(M=57.74, SD=3.98). The mean scores difference between urban and rural JSS students were -0.59 in favour of junior secondary students in rural schools. This implies that, Social Studies curriculum contents and learning experiences at upper basic level help to create awareness among students on election rigging irrespective of school location.

Research Question Five: What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis among urban and rural JSS students? The descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviations were used to answer this research questions. The summary of the computation was presented in Table 13.

Table 13: Mean Responses Scores of JSS Students by Location on relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crises

Location	N	Mean	SD	Std. Error Mean	Mean Difference
Urban	207	51.84	4.06	.28	
Rural	186	51.69	4.87	.36	.15
Total	393				

Table 13 demonstrated the responses of urban and rural upper basic students on the impact of Social Studies education in creating awareness on political crisis. The mean responses scores of urban JSS (M=51.84, SD=51.84) was greater than that of rural JSS students (M=51.69, SD=4.87). The mean scores difference between urban and rural JSS students were 0.15 in favour of junior secondary students in urban schools. This finding established that, junior secondary students in urban schools that were taught Social Studies developed greater level of awareness on political crises than those in rural schools.

4. 4 Testing the Null Hypotheses

Summary of hypotheses tested in this study was presented as follows:

Null Hypothesis One: There is no significant difference between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging.

Independent sample t-test was used to test this null hypothesis. The summary of the computation was presented in Table 14.

Table 14: Analysis of independent sample t-test by level of study on relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging

Variable	N	\bar{x}	SD	α	Df	t-cal	P value	Decision
JSS II	174	57.60	4.18	. .	391	.740	.498	Retained
JSS III	219	57.29	4.10	.				

(t-crit= 1.960)

It is observed from Table 15 that, JSS II respondents recorded higher mean response scores of 57.60 (S.D=4.18) which is greater than the mean scores 57.29 (S.D= 4.10) of JSS III respondents. However, the difference in those mean scores was not statistically significant at $p=0.498>0.05$, for the fact that, the calculated $t(346) = (.740)$ was less than the critical value (1.960). Therefore, the null hypothesis that stated, no significant difference between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging was retained.

Null Hypothesis Two: There is no significant difference between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis.

Independent sample t-test was used to test this null hypothesis. The summary of the computation was presented in Table 15.

Table 15: Analysis of independent sample t-test by level of students on relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crises

Variable	N	$\bar{\chi}$	SD	α	Df	t-cal	P value	Decision
JSS II	174	51.68	3.55	.05	391	-.325	.119	Retained
JSS III	219	51.83	5.07	.				

(t-crit= 1.960)

It is observed from Table 16 that, JSS II respondents recorded lower mean response scores of 51.68 (S.D=3.55) which is lesser than the mean scores 51.83 (S.D= 5.07) of JSS III respondents. However, the difference in those mean scores was not statistically significant at $p=0.119>0.05$, for the reason that the calculated $t(346) = (-.325)$ was less than the critical value (1.960). Therefore, the null hypothesis that stated, no significant difference between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis was retained.

Null Hypothesis Three: There is no significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging.

Independent sample t-test was used to test this null hypothesis. The summary of the computation was presented in Table 15.

Table 15: Analysis of independent sample t-test by students' location on relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging

Variable	N	$\bar{\chi}$	SD	α	Df	t-cal	P value	Decision
Urban	207	57.15	4.27	.05	391	-1.419	.681	Retained
Rural	186	57.74	3.98	.				

(t-crit= 1.960)

It is observed from Table 18 that, respondents in urban junior secondary schools recorded lower mean response scores of 57.15 (S.D=4.27) which is lesser than the mean scores 57.74 (S.D= 3.98) of respondents in rural schools. However, the difference in those mean scores was not statistically significant at $p=0.681>0.05$, for the reason that the calculated $t(346) = (-1.419)$ was less than the critical value (1.960). Therefore, the null hypothesis that declared no significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging was retained.

Null Hypothesis Four: There is no significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis.

Independent sample t-test was used to test this null hypothesis. The summary of the computation was presented in Table 17.

Table 16: Analysis of independent sample t-test by students' location on relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crises

Variable	N	\bar{x}	SD	α	Df	t-cal	P value	Decision
Urban	207	51.84	4.06	0.05	391	.328	.533	Retained
Rural	186	51.69	4.87					

(t-crit= 1.960)

It is observed from Table 16 that, respondents in urban junior secondary schools recorded higher mean response scores of 51.84 (S.D=4.06) which is greater than the mean scores 51.69 (S.D= 4.87) of respondents in rural schools. Though, the difference in those mean scores was not statistically significant at $p=0.533>0.05$, for the reason that the calculated $t(346) = (.328)$ was less than the critical value (1.960). Therefore, the null hypothesis that declared no significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on

the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis was retained.

4.5 Summary of Major Findings

Based the inferential and descriptive analyses from this study, the summary of major findings were as follows:

- i. The study found that Social Studies is relevant in creating awareness among junior secondary school students by educating them on the negative effects of election rigging on national development, it teaches against money politics and godfatherism as well as imposition of candidates by party and godfathers to promote election rigging. Also, Social Studies inculcate in students desirable attitudes, values and information towards participation in politics among students. Also, Social Studies inculcates right types of political attitudes and values of cooperation in the learners, builds patriotic feeling in the minds of the students, foster cooperation, unity and tolerance among citizens, educate the students on the negative effect of election result falsification.
- ii. Significant difference did not exist between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging in Kaduna State, Nigeria.
- iii. No significant difference was found between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis in Kaduna State, Nigeria.
- iv. There was no significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging in Kaduna State, Nigeria.

- v. Finally, there was no significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis in Kaduna State, Nigeria.

4.6 Discussion of Findings

This study assessed the relevance of Social Studies in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among Secondary School students in Kaduna state, Nigeria. Thus, five research questions answered and four hypotheses were tested.

The study found that Social Studies is relevant in creating awareness among junior secondary school students by educating them on the negative effects of election rigging on national development, it teaches against money politics and godfatherism as well as imposition of candidates by party and godfathers to promote election rigging. Also, Social Studies inculcate in students desirable attitudes, values and information towards participation in politics among students. Also, Social Studies inculcates right types of political attitudes and values of cooperation in the learners, builds patriotic feeling in the minds of the students, foster cooperation, unity and tolerance among citizens, educate the students on the negative effect of election result falsification. This finding agreed with the submission of Ajulo, (2009); The American School (2010); Harber (2011); Mike (2011); Ajayi and Afolabi (2012); Garba (2014); Ezegbe, Eskay, Anyanwu and Abiogu (2014) and Suleiman (2016) that, Social Studies education "is saddle with the responsibility of inculcating political socialization, appropriate forms of political behaviour in the citizens and ensure election rigging free nation through the creation of political awareness among students in Nigerian schools. Also, this finding concur with the studies of Anigwe (2014); Kauts and Kumar (2014) which found that formal school system is veritable avenue for political socialization as well as creating of awareness among students about cause and effects of political crises. on national

development and democratic sustains. However, disagreed with the result of Abonu (2013) which revealed that, there is poor level of political awareness among secondary school students.

The study found no significant difference between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging in Kaduna State, Nigeria. This finding correlates with the studies of Okoro and Nwafor (2013) which revealed that the students are politically influenced in school system. It was also found the main agents of students' political education are the curriculum, the students union and the teachers. On the other hand, the study disagreed with the findings of Boikhutso, Dinama and Kgotlaetsile (2013) revealed that, Botswana's social studies curriculum does not promote the acquisition of citizenship and democratic skills. There is a disconnection between what Social Studies teachers think they do and what actually happens on the ground. In fact, the mere teaching of citizenship and democratic skills does not automatically translate into equipping learners with the relevant of electoral knowledge.

It was established from the study that, no significant difference between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis in Kaduna State, Nigeria. This inferred implied that, Social Studies curriculum contents and learning experiences at upper basic level helped create awareness on political crises with regard to student's level of study in Giwa educational zone, Kaduna State. This finding is in line with Nwaubani and Azuh (2014) and Muhammad (2015) study which revealed that if given the right atmosphere in schools with good political backing Social Studies Education can minimize or even eradicate the occurrence of political violence and the goals of basic education social studies curricula are very relevant to civic training and political socialization of Nigerian students.

The study found significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging. This inferred that, Social Studies curriculum contents and learning experiences at upper basic level help to create awareness among students on election rigging irrespective of school location. This finding concurred with Jabeen (2007) study which found that the overall level of political awareness was much declining while the urban populace had slightly more political awareness as compared to rural populace. Also, Mbaba and Omabe (2012) submitted that Social Studies is a vehicle through which desired democratic values and norms of the society are being inculcated to its young ones. Hence, Social Studies as an agent of citizenship and democratic training could help impact on the youth electoral knowledge like one man one vote, non violation of election rules, recognizing opposition, voting rationally, defending the nation, participating in election and above all respect to the rule of law and constituted authorities.

Finally, the study finding demonstrated that, no significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis. In other words, junior secondary students in urban schools that were taught Social Studies developed greater level of awareness on political crises than those in rural schools. This is in line with Kuotsu (2016) finding which revealed that, urban populace have higher political awareness than the rural dwellers for all categories of political awareness, except for low level of political crises in which the rural voters outscored the urban dwellers. Similarly, Peter and Ebimobowei (2015) established that political activities and education at school level assist students to develop their abilities and strength of character that prepare them for higher responsibility in the near future, which

provides the leverage for the student community to strive into the socio-economic and political spheres of the institution and the larger society.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presented an overview of the entire research work. Basically this was discussed under: Summary; Conclusion; Contributions to Knowledge and Recommendations.

5.2 Summary

This study assessed the relevance of Social Studies in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among Secondary School students in Kaduna state, Nigeria. The study was guided by five (5) objectives that is to: find out the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crisis among JSS students; assess the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging among JSS II and JSS III students; find out the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis among JSS II and JSS III students; assess the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging among urban and rural JSS students; find out the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis among urban and rural JSS students.

Also, five (5) research questions were answered in the study these were: What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crisis among JSS students? What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging among JSS II and JSS III students? What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis among JSS II and JSS III students? What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging among urban and rural JSS students? and What is the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis among urban and rural JSS students?

In line with this, the following four hypotheses were tested: There is no significant difference between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging; There is no significant difference between the mean response score of JSSII and JSS III students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis; There is no significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging; and There is no significant difference between the mean response score of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis.

Chapter two reviewed literature on: Concept of Social Studies Education; Objectives of Social Studies Education; History and Justification for Introducing Social Studies Education in Nigeria; Nature and the Scope of Social Studies; Concept of Democracy and Electoral System; Concept of Election and Election Rigging; Dimension of Election Rigging and Political Crises in Nigeria; Political Parties and Election Rigging; Agents of Election Rigging; Causes of Election Rigging and Political Crises in Nigeria; Consequences of Election Rigging and Political Crises; ways to Solve the Problems of Election Rigging; Management of Political Crises in Nigeria.

The descriptive survey research method was employed and the population of the study was all JSS II and III students in Giwa Educational zone which stood at ten thousand and ninety-five (10,095) out which a sample of four hundred (400) was selected. The instrument titled “Creating Awareness on Election-Rigging and Political Crises through Social Studies (CREPOCSOS)” was used for the data collection. The validated by research supervisors, statistician and language experts, while the reliability was established using single distribution method and Cronbach Alpha method. Reliability index of 0.897 and 0.747 were

found. The research questions were answered using mean and deviation, while the null hypotheses were tested using t-test statistics. The study revealed that, no significant difference between the mean responses scores of JSS II and III Students on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises. Similarly, significant difference was not found between the mean response scores of urban and rural JSS students on the relevance of Social Studies education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises in Kaduna State, Nigeria.

5.3 Conclusion

Based on the findings of the study, it can be concluded that, Social Studies is relevant in creating awareness among junior secondary school students by educating them on the negative effects of election rigging on national development, it teaches against money politics and godfatherism as well as imposition of candidates by party and godfathers to promote election rigging. Also, Social Studies inculcate in students desirable attitudes, values and information towards participation in politics among students.

Also, Social Studies inculcates right types of political attitudes and values of cooperation in the learners, builds patriotic feeling in the minds of the students, foster cooperation, unity and tolerance among citizens, educate the students on the negative effect of election result falsification. Thus, Social studies education through its curriculum contents, learning activities and experiences impact on creating awareness among junior secondary school students on electoral rigging and political crises. Though the impact differ with respect to gender of the students, however level of creating awareness on electoral rigging and political crises through Social Studies do not differ as regards to level and location of schools in Giwa educational zone, Kaduna state, Nigeria.

5.4 Contributions to Knowledge

Based on the findings, the study established that:

- i. Level of study does not produce any difference among JSS students' responses on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging in Giwa Education zone, Kaduna state.
- ii. Location of school does not produce any difference among JSS students' responses on the relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on political crisis in Giwa Education zone, Kaduna state.

5.5 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following are recommended to improve the teaching and learning of Social Studies for effective awareness creation on election rigging and political crises in Kaduna state specifically and Nigeria in general:

- i. It is suggested that, content on the consequence of election rigging and political crises should be included in Social Studies curriculum at JSS level in order to inculcate positive democratic values and attitudes among students as well as save our electoral processes from violence.
- ii. Social Studies should be introduced at Senior Secondary school level in order to increase students' awareness on rigging in Kaduna state and the country at large.
- iii. Social Studies curriculum should be reviewed because there was no significant difference between JSS II and JSS III students' level of awareness on election rigging and political crisis. This will help to inculcate further the democratic values and attitudes needed to save the country electoral processes from violence.

- iv. Curriculum planners and developers should infused themes of democratic values into Social Studies curriculum at JSS level in order to strengthen our democracy in both urban and rural areas for national integration.
- v. Government should provide learning resources for Social Studies teachers in both urban and rural schools in order to effectively teach contents of the curriculum that have to do with democratic and political participation. This will go a long way in strengthening our democratic processes in Kaduna state and Nigeria at large.

5.6 Suggestions for Further Studies

- i. The research of same kind should be conducted in other state of the federation so that, students responses can be assess.
- ii. Research on Teachers and students opinion on the relevance of Social Studies education curriculum in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises among NCE Students in Kaduna state-Nigeria should be conducted.
- iii. Assessment of suitability of Social Studies Education Curriculum in promoting democratic attitudes and political participation among others levels of education should be conducted to further assess students' awareness of election rigging and political crisis in Nigeria.

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APPENDIX A: Questionnaire

Creating Awareness on Election-Rigging and Political Crises through Social Studies (CREPOCSOS)

Department of Arts and Social Science
Faculty of Education,
Ahmadu Bello University,
Zaria.
Date.....

Dear Respondent,

The researcher is a postgraduate student (M.Ed) of the above mentioned university, carrying out a research work on “Assessment of relevance of Social Studies in Creating Awareness on Election Rigging and Political Crises among JSS Students in Kaduna State, Nigeria”.

The purpose of this study is to help in assessing the relevance of Social Studies Education in Creating Awareness on Election Rigging and Political Crises among JSS Students in Kaduna Nigeria. The questionnaire items are designed to elicit the right type of response. The reliability of the study depends on your sincerity and solemn judgement. You are therefore, kindly requested to honestly provide the required information to the best of your ability.

Signed

Musa Saidu
P15EDAS8111

Section A: Bio-Data

Please tick (✓), supply or indicates as appropriately

1. Gender: (a) Male [] (b) Female []
2. School location (a) Urban [] (b) Rural []
3. Class: (a) JSSII [] (b) JSSIII []

Section “B” Students views on the Relevance of Social Studies Education in creating awareness on election rigging and political crises in Kaduna State.

Please read the statement in section “B” carefully and state to what extent you have agree with the following statement by ticking any of the affirmative as relevant to your case.

Using the following modified four point scale namely: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (d), Strongly disagree (SD).

S/N	ELECTION RIGGING	SA	A	D	SD
1	Social Studies Education makes me aware that election rigging can hinder national development in Nigeria				
2	Social Studies Education Contents preaches against money politics and godfatherism that stain Nigerian politics.				
3	Social Studies Education Contents makes me aware that, imposition of candidates by party and godfathers promote election rigging				
4	Social Studies Education Contents helps students in acquiring desirable attitudes, values and information towards participation in politics				
5	Social Studies objectives create awareness on students in finding solution to their political problems, thus, making them to think rationally before taking any decision making.				
6	Students are involving themselves in snatching ballot boxes because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies				
7	Students are involving themselves in casting vote more than one because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies.				
8	Social Studies Education Contents makes me aware that police are used by the politicians to aid election rigging.				
9	Social Studies Education makes me aware that, independent of (INEC) can solve the problem of election rigging in Nigeria.				
10	The Moral contents Social Studies Education is enough to create awareness on election rigging in the learners.				
11	Social Studies Education Contents makes me aware that, in Nigeria, all persons who are 18 years and above are qualified to vote.				
12	Social Studies Education Contents does not makes me aware that, election rigging can hinder national development in Nigeria				
13	Social Studies Education Contents does not preaches against money politics and godfatherism that stain Nigerian politics				
14	Social Studies Education Contents does not makes me aware that imposition of candidates by party and godfathers				

	promote rigging				
15	Social Studies Education Contents does not helps students in acquiring desirable attitudes, values and information towards participation in politics				
16	Social studies objectives does not create awareness on students in finding solution to their political problems, thus, making them to think rationally before taking any decision making.				
17	Students are not involving themselves in snatching ballot boxes because of the knowledge they acquired in social Studies.				
18	Students are not involving themselves in casting vote more than one because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies				
19	Social Studies Education Contents does not makes me aware that, police are used by the politicians to aid rigging.				
20	Social Studies Education does not makes me aware that, independent of (INEC) can solve the problems of election rigging in Nigeria.				
21	The moral contents of Social Studies is not enough to create awareness on election rigging in the learners.				
22	Social Studies Contents does not makes me aware that, citizens who are 18 years and above are qualified to vote.				
	POLITICAL CRISES				
23	Social Studies Education inculcates right types of political attitudes and values of cooperation in the learners.				
24	Citizenship Education aspect of Social Studies Create awareness in building patriotic feeling in the minds of the students.				
25	Social Studies Education objectives foster cooperation unity and tolerance among citizens.				
26	Social Studies Contents are explaining the concept of discipline that encourages playing politics of free violence.				
27	Students are involving themselves in thuggery and intimidation of political opponents because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies				
28	Social Studies Education makes me aware that falsifying election result always leads to political crises.				
29	Social Studies Education is a tool for creating awareness on Social change and democratic attitudes, values and skills in the learners.				
30	Content of Social Studies Education encourages killings, arson and kidnapping candidates during elections.				
31	Social Studies Contents encourages self-reliance and rationale thinking.				
32	Social Studies Education makes me aware that, many youth have been turned in to jobless and senseless drug addicts.				

33	Social Studies Contents does not inculcates right types of political attitudes and values of cooperation in the learners.				
34	Citizenship education aspect of Social Studies does not create awareness in building patriotic feeling in the minds of the learners.				
35	Social Studies Education objectives does not foster cooperation, unity and tolerance among citizens				
36	Social Studies Contents are not explaining the concept of discipline that encourages playing politics of free violence.				
37	Students are not involving themselves in thuggery and intimidation of political opponents because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies.				
38	Social Studies Education does not makes me aware that, falsifying election result always leads to political crises.				
39	Social Studies Education is not a tool for creating awareness on social change and democratic attitudes, values and skills in the learners.				
40	Contents of Social Studies Education does not encourages killings, arson and kidnapping candidates during elections				
41	Social Studies Education Contents discourages self-reliance and rational thinking.				
42	Social Studies Education Contents does not makes me aware that, many youth haven been turned in to jobless and senseless drug addicts.				

APPENDIX B: Sample Distribution Table

[From: The Research Advisors](#)

Confidence = 95.0% Population Size	Degree of Accuracy/Margin of Error					Confidence = 99.0% Degree of Accuracy/Margin of			
	0.05	0.035	0.025	0.01		0.05	0.035	0.025	0.01
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
20	19	20	20	20	19	20	20	20	20
30	28	29	29	30	29	29	30	30	30
50	44	47	48	50	47	48	49	50	50
75	63	69	72	74	67	71	73	75	75
100	80	89	94	99	87	93	96	99	99
150	108	126	137	148	122	135	142	149	149
200	132	160	177	196	154	174	186	198	198
250	152	190	215	244	182	211	229	246	246
300	169	217	251	291	207	246	270	295	295
400	196	265	318	384	250	309	348	391	391
500	217	306	377	475	285	365	421	485	485
600	234	340	432	565	315	416	490	579	579
700	248	370	481	653	341	462	554	672	672
800	260	396	526	739	363	503	615	763	763
900	269	419	568	823	382	541	672	854	854
1,000	278	440	606	906	399	575	727	943	943
1,200	291	474	674	1067	427	636	827	1119	1119
1,500	306	515	759	1297	460	712	959	1376	1376
2,000	322	563	869	1655	498	808	1141	1785	1785
2,500	333	597	952	1984	524	879	1288	2173	2173
3,500	346	641	1068	2565	558	977	1510	2890	2890
5,000	357	678	1176	3288	586	1066	1734	3842	3842
7,500	365	710	1275	4211	610	1147	1960	5165	5165
10,000	370	727	1332	4899	622	1193	2098	6239	6239
25,000	378	760	1448	6939	646	1285	2399	9972	9972
50,000	381	772	1491	8056	655	1318	2520	12455	12455
75,000	382	776	1506	8514	658	1330	2563	13583	13583
100,000	383	778	1513	8762	659	1336	2585	14227	14227
250,000	384	782	1527	9248	662	1347	2626	15555	15555
500,000	384	783	1532	9423	663	1350	2640	16055	16055
100,000	383	778	1513	8762	659	1336	2585	14227	14227
2,500,000	384	784	1536	9567	663	1353	2651	16478	16478
10,000,000	384	784	1536	9594	663	1354	2653	16560	16560
100,000,000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16584	16584
264,000,000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16586	16586

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APPENDIX C: Summary Pilot Study Result

Scale A : Reliability for Election Rigging

```

RELIABILITY
/VARIABLES=QER1 QER2 QER3 QER4 QER5 QER6 QER7 QER8 QER9 QER10 QER11 QER12 QER13 QER14 QER15 QER16 QER17
QER18 QER19 QER20 QER21 QER22 election rigging
/SCALE('ALL VARIABLES') ALL
/MODEL=ALPHA
/STATISTICS=SCALE.
[DataSet1] C:\Users\user\Desktop\MUSA SAIDU pilot study.sav
    
```

Scale: ALL VARIABLES

Case Processing Summary			
		N	%
Cases	Valid	30	100.0
	Excluded	0	.0
	Total	30	100.0

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.897	22

Scale Statistics			
Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
81.53	23.637	4.862	22

Scale B: Reliability Test for Political Crises

```

RELIABILITY
/VARIABLES=QPC23QPC24 QPC25 QPC26 QPC27 QPC28 QPC29 QPC30 QPC31 QPC32 QPC33 QPC34 QPC35 QPC36 QPC37 QPC38
QPC39 QPC40 QPC41 QPC42 political crises
/SCALE('ALL VARIABLES') ALL
/MODEL=ALPHA
/STATISTICS=SCALE.
[DataSet1] C:\Users\user\Desktop\MUSA SAIDU pilot study.sav
    
```

Scale: ALL VARIABLES

Case Processing Summary			
		N	%
Cases	Valid	30	100.0
	Excluded	0	.0
	Total	30	100.0

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.747	20

Scale Statistics			
Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
160.33	201.402	14.192	20

Appendix D: Descriptive Analysis Results

DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES=QER1 QER2 QER3 QER4 QER5 QER6 QER7 QER8 QER9 QER10 QER11 QER12 QER13 QER14
QER15 QER16 QER17 QER18 QER19 QER20 QER21 QER22

/SAVE

/STATISTICS=MEAN STDDEV.

Descriptives

[DataSet1] C:\Users\user\Desktop\MUSA\SAIDUMUSA\musasaidu\MUSA SAIDU ANALYSIS_3.sav

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Social Studies Education makes me aware that election rigging can hinder national development in Nigeria	393	3.68	.482
Social Studies Education Contents preaches against money politics and godfatherism that stain Nigerian politics.	393	3.57	.501
Social Studies Education Contents makes me aware that, imposition of candidates by party and godfathers promote election rigging	393	3.61	.504
Social Studies Education Contents helps students in acquiring desirable attitudes, values and information towards participation in politics	393	3.56	.512
Social Studies objectives create awareness on students in finding solution to their political problems, thus, making them to think rationally before taking any decision making.	393	3.54	.571
Students are involving themselves in snatching ballot boxes because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies	393	1.93	.829
Students are involving themselves in casting vote more than one because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies.	393	1.80	.845
Social Studies Education Contents makes me aware that police are used by the politicians to aid election rigging.	393	3.49	.729
Social Studies Education makes me aware that, independent of (INEC) can solve the problem of election rigging in Nigeria.	393	3.52	.530
The Moral contents Social Studies Education is enough to create awareness on election rigging in the learners.	393	3.57	.545
Social Studies Education Contents makes me aware that, in Nigeria, all persons who are 18 years and above are qualified to vote.	393	3.43	.667
Social Studies Education Contents does not makes me aware that, election rigging can hinder national development in Nigeria	393	1.93	.873
Social Studies Education Contents does not preaches against money politics and godfatherism that stain Nigerian politics	393	1.78	.891
Social Studies Education Contents does not makes me aware that imposition of candidates by party and godfathers promote rigging	393	1.79	.761
Social Studies Education Contents does not helps students in acquiring desirable attitudes, values and information towards participation in politics	393	1.60	.608
Social studies objectives does not create awareness on students in finding solution to their political problems, thus, making them to think rationally before taking any decision making.	393	1.69	.702
Students are not involving themselves in snatching ballot boxes because of the knowledge they acquired in social Studies.	393	3.33	.934
Students are not involving themselves in casting vote more than one because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies	393	3.12	.862
Social Studies Education Contents does not makes me aware that, police are used by the politicians to aid rigging.	393	1.73	.645
Social Studies Education does not makes me aware that, independent of (INEC) can solve the problems of election rigging in Nigeria.	393	1.57	.535
The moral contents of Social Studies is not enough to create awareness on election rigging in the learners.	393	1.67	.632
Social Studies Contents does not makes me aware that, citizens who are 18 years and above are qualified to vote.	393	1.51	.521
Valid N (listwise)	393		

DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES=QPC23 QPC24 QPC25 QPC26 QPC27 QPC28 QPC29 QPC30 QPC31 QPC32 QPC33 QPC34 QPC35
 QPC36 QPC37 QPC38 QPC39 QPC40 QPC41 QPC42

/SAVE

/STATISTICS=MEAN STDDEV.

Descriptives

[DataSet1] C:\Users\user\Desktop\SAIDU\MUSA SAIDU\musa saidu\MUSA SAIDU ANALYSIS_3.sav

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Social Studies Education inculcates right types of political attitudes and values of cooperation in the learners.	393	3.71	.465
Citizenship Education aspect of Social Studies Create awareness in building patriotic feeling in the minds of the students.	393	3.45	.533
Social Studies Education objectives foster cooperation unity and tolerance among citizens.	393	3.56	.546
Social Studies Contents are explaining the concept of discipline that encourages playing politics of free violence.	393	3.39	.622
Students are involving themselves in thuggery and intimidation of political opponents because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies	393	1.82	.717
Social Studies Education makes me aware that falsifying election result always leads to political crises.	393	3.52	.647
Social Studies Education is a tool for creating awareness on Social change and democratic attitudes, values and skills in the learners.	393	3.41	.665
Contents of Social Studies Education encourages killings, arson and kidnapping candidates during elections.	393	1.81	.770
Social Studies Contents encourages self-reliance and rationale thinking.	393	3.56	.573
Social Studies Education makes me aware that, many youth have been turned in to jobless and senseless drug addicts.	393	3.39	.654
Social Studies Contents does not inculcates right types of political attitudes and values of cooperation in the learners.	393	1.73	.614
Citizenship education aspect of Social Studies does not create awareness in building patriotic feeling in the minds of the learners.	393	1.59	.592
Social Studies Education objectives does not foster cooperation, unity and tolerance among citizens	393	1.66	.644
Social Studies Contents are not explaining the concept of discipline that encourages playing politics of free violence.	393	1.66	.677
Students are not involving themselves in thuggery and intimidation of political opponents because of the knowledge they acquired in Social Studies.	393	3.48	.749
Social Studies Education does not makes me aware that, falsifying election result always leads to political crises.	393	1.69	.617
Social Studies Education is not a tool for creating awareness on social change and democratic attitudes, values and skills in the learners.	393	1.55	.613
Contents of Social Studies Education does not encourages killings, arson and kidnapping candidates during elections	393	3.46	.766
Social Studies Education Contents discourages self-reliance and rational thinking.	393	1.72	.592
Social Studies Education Contents does not makes me aware that, many youth haven been turned in to jobless and senseless drug addicts.	393	1.50	.567
Valid N (listwise)	393		

Appendix E: Summary of Tested Hypotheses Results

T-TEST GROUPS=CLASS(1 2)
 /MISSING=ANALYSIS
 /VARIABLES=electionrig
 /CRITERIA=CI(.95).

T-Test

[DataSet1] C:\Users\user\Desktop\MUSA SAIDU ANALYSIS_3.sav

Group Statistics					
	Class	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
ELE. RIGGING	JSS II	174	57.60	4.181	.317
	JSS III	219	57.29	4.106	.277

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				t-test for Equality of Means				
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
ELE. RIGGING	Equal variances assumed	.459	.498	.740	391	.460	.311	.420	-515	1.138
	Equal variances not assumed			.739	368.175	.460	.311	.421	-517	1.140

T-TEST GROUPS=CLASS(1 2)
 /MISSING=ANALYSIS
 /VARIABLES=polcrises
 /CRITERIA=CI(.95).

T-Test

[DataSet1] C:\Users\user\Desktop\MUSA SAIDU ANALYSIS_3.sav

Group Statistics					
	Class	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
POL. CRISES	JSS II	174	51.68	3.549	.269
	JSS III	219	51.83	5.067	.342

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				t-test for Equality of Means				
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
POL. CRISES	Equal variances assumed	2.442	.119	-.325	391	.745	-.147	.453	-1.038	.743
	Equal variances not assumed			-.338	385.259	.736	-.147	.435	-1.003	.709

T-TEST GROUPS=SCHOOL(1 2)
 /MISSING=ANALYSIS
 /VARIABLES=electionrig
 /CRITERIA=CI(.95).

T-Test

[DataSet1] C:\Users\user\Desktop\MUSA SAIDU ANALYSIS_3.sav

Group Statistics					
	School location	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
ELE. RIGGING	Urban	207	57.15	4.266	.296
	Rural	186	57.74	3.977	.292

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				t-test for Equality of Means				

			F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
										Lower	Upper
ELE.	Equal variances assumed		.169	.681	-1.419	391	.157	-.592	.417	-1.413	.228
RIGGING	Equal variances not assumed				-1.424	390.462	.155	-.592	.416	-1.410	.225

T-TEST GROUPS=SCHOOL(1 2)
 /MISSING=ANALYSIS
 /VARIABLES=polcrises
 /CRITERIA=CI(.95).

T-Test

[DataSet1] C:\Users\user\Desktop\MUSA SAIDU ANALYSIS_3.sav

Group Statistics					
School location		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
POL. CRISES	Urban	207	51.84	4.058	.282
	Rural	186	51.69	4.868	.357

Independent Samples Test											
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		
									Lower	Upper	
POL. CRISES	Equal variances assumed	.390	.533	.328	391	.743	.148	.451	-0.738	1.033	
	Equal variances not assumed			.324	361.568	.746	.148	.455	-0.747	1.042	

T-TEST GROUPS=SCHOOL(1 2)
 /MISSING=ANALYSIS
 /VARIABLES=electionrig
 /CRITERIA=CI(.95).

T-Test

[DataSet1] C:\Users\user\Desktop\MUSA SAIDU ANALYSIS_3.sav

Group Statistics					
School location		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
ELE. RIGGING	Urban	207	57.15	4.266	.296
	Rural	186	57.74	3.977	.292

Independent Samples Test											
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		
									Lower	Upper	
ELE. RIGGING	Equal variances assumed	.169	.681	-1.419	391	.157	-.592	.417	-1.413	.228	
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.424	390.462	.155	-.592	.416	-1.410	.225	

APPENDIX E: Introductory Letter



AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

Our Ref: DASSE/S/1

Date: _____

Dear Sir,

STUDENTS' FIELD RESEARCH

The Department of Arts and Social Science Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria requires each student working for a Degree to complete a research Thesis/Project. Our students entering the final year of their studies will be collecting data during the year.

Most of them will need to be allowed access to certain relevant documents and some valuable information which you may have.

Please give assistance as much as possible.

TOPIC OF RESEARCH:

RELEVANCE OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION
IN CREATING AWARENESS ON ELECTION
RIGGING AND POLITICAL CRISES AMONG
JSS STUDENTS IN KENEDY STATE, NIGERIA



Thank you for your continuing cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. F. D. Abubakar
Research Adviser *AM 15/3/2017*

APPENDED F: Introduction Letter from Giwa Educational Zone

**KADUNA STATE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
ZONAL OFFICE GIWA**

P.M.B 103, GIWA



Our Ref: _____

Your Ref: _____

Date: 22nd March, 2017

The Principal

RE-STUDENTS' FIELD RESEARCH

The bearer Musa Sai'du is a student of the Department of Arts and Social Science Education of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria undertaking a research project on the topic:

RELEVANCE OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CREATING AWARENESS ON ELECTION RIGGING AND POLITICAL CRISES AMONG JUNIOR SECONDARY STUDENTS (JSS) IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA.

Based on that I am directed to write and request you to give him all the necessary assistant to make his research a success.

Thanks.

Muhtari Mohammed Kaya
AD/ES
For Director