

**Electoral Violence and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria,  
A Case study of Sokoto State, 2009 - 2011 Election**

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## **CERTIFICATION**

This research has been read and approved by undersigned as meeting the requirement for the award of bachelor in science in the department of Political Science, Faculty of social sciences, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.

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## **DEDICATION**

This research work is dedicated to my beloved parents Alhaji Umar Yelwa and Hajiya Fatima Sani Nass who laid the foundation to my education.

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In the name of Allah the beneficent, the most merciful. The most forgiving, the most compassionate, the giver of knowledge, he is the only deity worthy of worship; hence I worship and glorify Him. He alone gave me the strength and opportunity to undertake a degree programme. May His peace, blessing, salutation and benedictions be upon the seal of all prophets Muahmmad (S.A.W).

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## ABSTRACT

*Nigeria has earned an appellation for herself as a show case of Africa's democracy for several score of years. Ironically, every journey towards such democratic process/experience had been laden with electoral violence even since the colonial days. With the rebirth of African liberalism and the wave of democratic consolidation process that swept across the globe/world in the 1990's, electoral violence returned in a more frightening dimension in most African states. It is, therefore, against this background that this study examined the challenges of electoral violence in Nigeria with a particular focus on Sokoto state 2009 to 2011. Methodologically, the study employed quantitative method through the use of both primary and secondary sources of data. Thus questionnaire was used as a tool of data collection while data collected from the documentary (secondary source such as newspapers, official document and journal) were analyzed. Theoretically, the elite theory was adopted in this study. The framework seems to link the political elite and how they gain power and maintains it in the society. Also the theory shows how elite perpetuate electoral violence for their own selfish interest. The relevance of the framework is underscored by the fact that in most African countries, the various conflict that usually develop during democratic process are mostly of the elite kinds, which in Nigeria are essentially organized around competing materialistic interests of various sections in the society that soon after, the political environment was hostile to development and internal struggle for power was the absolute focus that led to electoral violence. The study therefore revealed that cross materialism, weakness of economic foundation of democracy and the value placed on politics by the political elites are very significant in explaining the occurrence of this violence. also the strategy of violence in the bid to achieve selfish ends, mostly through engaging unemployed youths and thugs. in this respect, the study conducted revealed that the electoral violence has continued to threaten the democratic experience in Sokoto state and Nigeria at large. This has resulted in serious loss of lives and properties and brought about political apathy in the democratic process thereby engendering legitimacy crises as well as hampering the ability of government to delivers on its promises of democracy can neither be sustained nor consolidated.*

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Backgrounds to the Study

Democracy has been the most accepted system of government and has been adopted by most countries in the world. This is due to the fact that democracy as a system of government carries both the ruler and the ruled in decision making process. This is evident due to the fact of the growing and complexities of societies which made it impossible for direct participation which is said to be a thing of the past as practiced in the ancient Greece and this system has been replaced with representative democracy i.e. a situation whereby people are elected to represent the interest of their citizens in decision making process or in the process of government.

In the contemporary world today, elections have become the most accepted means of changing the government in an attempt at enhancing democracy and democratic processes in Nigeria. For elections to be accepted, it must be free, fair and periodic as provided in the 1999 constitution.

Therefore election is a democratic process which allows the citizens to actively participate in selecting their leaders and it is a means of communications between the leaders and their immediate environment. The quest to organize free, fair and periodic elections has been a major problem of democratic practice in Nigeria and the world In general. Although history has shown that it is usually difficult to hold elections that are free and fair in Nigeria or the world in general. The 2011 elections in Nigeria was accompanied by lots of rigging, ballot stuffing and electoral violence which resulted to loss of lives and properties and several litigations in several courts and tribunals across the nation.

Democratic consolidation therefore is a process by which new democracy matures in a way that means it is unlikely to revert to authoritarianism without an external shock. Democratic consolidation in Nigeria has remained the topic of discourse among scholars and even among casual observers. It is almost 55 years since the inception of Nigeria's First Republic, yet a lot of Nigerians seem not satisfied with the policies and programs of the government central to the concerns of ordinary Nigerians as regards to consolidation of democracy includes the unprecedented rise in political violence ranging from increased armed robbery, political assassination, intra-ethnic crisis, harsh and punitive nature of the economy, the collapse of social services to mention but a few.

The above scenario became replicated in most states of the federation in Nigeria. In Sokoto State for instance, since the 1999 elections, the electoral and political landscape has fallen from par to below and has moved from violence to greater violence. The level and magnitude of the electoral violence in Sokoto State has risen and the political elites have converted poverty ridden unemployed youths in the state into ready made machinery for the perpetration of electoral violence. It is therefore against this background that is electoral violence and democratic consolidation with a particular focus on Sokoto State 2011 elections.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

Electoral violence in Nigeria has become a major hindrance to democratic consolidation in the country. As a result of this problem, effort has been made by scholars within the field of social sciences and beyond to provide solution to the problem of electoral violence and possible ways of consolidating Nigeria's democracy.

Elections in Nigeria has been faced with so many complains of electoral malpractices, ranging from ballot stuffing substitution of election results and so many malpractices and also the country have been faced with. The negative effects of this problems ranging from the loss of lives and properties, unaccountability of government to the people, political apathy on the part of so many Nigerians.

This negatively affects to a large extent the country's democratization process. It is against this background that the research tends to study the electoral violence and democratic consolidation in Sokoto State.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

This study examines the implications of electoral violence on democratic consolidation in Sokoto State. In view of the above, the study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the factors that trigger election violence in Sokoto State?
2. What is the nature of electoral violence in Sokoto State?
3. How does electoral violence affect democratic consolidation in Sokoto State between 2009 to 2011?

### **1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The aim of this study is to investigate the implication of the electoral violence on democratic consolidation in Sokoto State. Specifically, the study has the following objectives:

1. Examine the factors that triggered electoral violence in Sokoto State
2. To discuss the nature of electoral violence in Sokoto state.

3. To explain the degree to which electoral violence affect democratic consolidation in Sokoto State.

### **1.5 Significance and Justification of the Study**

This research work will be of paramount importance to our present day democratic rule by identifying issues of electoral violence and electoral malpractice and how to solve the problems.

The study will also serve as literature to other scholars or students willing to conduct research in any area related to electoral violence and democratic consolidation in Sokoto State in particular and Nigeria in general.

Henceforth, this research will be helpful to policy makers and politicians in areas of curtailing electoral violence and ensure the consolidation of democracy in Sokoto State in particular and Nigeria in general.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

All research conducted must have target areas to be looked and therefore this research covers the period of 2009 to 2011 focusing on one of the major elections that took place on Nigeria. This research work is centered on electoral violence and democratic consolidation in Sokoto State within the period under study.

However, there is no research/study that has not suffered from one constraint or the other. This study is not an exception obtaining sufficient data (such as names of political elites involved in the violence, number of lives and properties lost, etc.) that may be classified as highly confidential among government circle is cumbersome as most public offices holders are

unwilling to make such disclosures. In fact, a great deal of data hoarding takes place in government departments all in the name of maintaining confidentiality. But efforts must be made by the researcher to over-come these limitations so as far the study not to be jeopardized in any form.

## **1.7 Methodology**

Broadly, two major approaches/methods to data collection and analysis exist in the social sciences. These are quantitative and qualitative approaches. The qualitative research is mainly concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena (Hancock, 2002). On the other hand, quantitative research is mainly concerned with investigating things which we can observe and measure through numerical and statistical methods. Such observations and measurements can be made objectively and repeatedly. Therefore, this study employed the quantitative approach in the collection and analysis of data.

And also the bulk of data used in this research shall be derived mainly from primary and secondary sources.

**Primary Data:-** The primary data is the first hand information which the study gathered of this primary data is questionnaire distributed to some selected areas of Sokoto state. This is done in order to avoid delay and problem of accessibility. The questionnaire is designed in a simple form in which respondent choose among alternative suggestions (Moti, 2005)

**Secondary Data:-** Secondary data is second hand information collected mostly from documented source which include published books, journals, magazines and newspapers (Moti, 2005).This has gone beyond expectations in helping the researcher in terms of loss and time.

## **1.8 Population/Sample Size**

The target population of this research should cover the entire people within the metropolis of Sokoto state. This is because the research topic is specifically on electoral violence and democratic consolidation in Sokoto state of Nigeria 2009-2011 election. A sample size of fifty (50) respondents will be purposely sampled for this research. The total number of the population for this study would be the number of the people aged 18years and above. This number would be representing the entire people of Sokoto state. Since it is a difficult task to administer the questionnaire to everyone, the researcher intends to use some percentage in order to represent our sample size. This will order our sample more representative and easier to generalize.

## **1.9 Sampling Method**

Sample is a group of units selected from a large group (the population). By studying the sample, it is hoped to valid conclusions about the largest group. A sample is generally selected for study because the population is too large to study entirely. The sample should be representative of the general population (Dejo, Ilufoye S.O, SYB Kura; 2013). However, according to the writers, sampling is a process used in statistical analysis in which a predetermined number of observations will be taken from a larger population to draw conclusions. It is also a process of selecting units (e.g. people or organizations) from a population of interest so that by studying the sample we may fairly generalize our result back to the population which they were chosen.

There are two major types of sampling, there is probability sampling method or technique which consists of simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sample, cluster sample and also non-probability sampling techniques: accidental or conveniences sampling, purposive or judgmental sampling, snowball sample and quota sample.

Therefore the sampling method in this research is ‘Simple Random Sampling’. The simple random sample is the basic sampling method used in this study by employing the random selection of elements of a population. The researcher forecloses any possibility of allowing their bias or personal sense of judgment to operate in the process. To collect a simple random sample, each of the target population is assumed a number.

### **1.10 Instrument of Data Collection**

Questionnaires are the most popular ways to gather primary data. It has been estimated that questionnaires are used in 85% or more of all quantitative research project. Questionnaires can be used to gather information about large number of respondents (population) or small group (samples) (David E. 2009). Therefore, for this study, i.e. electoral violence and democratic consolidation in Nigeria, a case study of Sokoto State metropolis, the questionnaire will be issued to respondents who were victims of the post-election violence.

### **1.11 Definition of Key Terms**

**1.11.1 Democracy:** The concept democracy originated from Greek, which means ‘demos’ implies common people, the masses, and ‘kratos’ which means ‘power’. Democracy can be seen as political system which enables the self rule of a country’s population in which the will of the majority of the people is the law of the land in every regard.

There are three basic principles of democracy which includes universal participation, political equation and majority rule. Janda et al (1999) this three (3) principles are widely recognized as necessary in democratic decision making.

**1.11.2 Democratic Consolidation:** Francis (1999) defined democratic consolidation as an ongoing process and lead in struggles to consolidate and extend the realization of democratic principles.

The word consolidation means to make a position of power stronger. In other words, democratic consolidation can be seen as a process of strengthening democratic system in a country.

**1.11.3 Election:** Election as a concept within the fields of social sciences does not have a generally accepted definition; rather scholars within this field have given their views and definitions concerning this concept.

An election is a formal decision making process by which population chooses an individual to hold public office, that is to say election has been the usual mechanism by which modern representative democracy have been operated.

The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria section 131(b) defined election as the process of choosing popular votes in democratic system of government.

**1.11.4 Electoral Violence:** The term electoral violence means any act of violence perpetuated in the course of political activities including pre, during and post-election periods and may include any of the following acts; thuggery, one of force to destroy political meetings, weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process or to any person connected with electoral process (Encyclopedia Americana).

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1 Introduction:

This chapter contains the review of related literature. The review will be focused on the objective of the research providing an assessment on previous related literature on the concepts of election, electoral violence, democracy, democratic consolidation. a theoretical framework would be presented in the last part of the chapter to support the study objective.

#### 2.2 The concept of Election

Ginmin and Norton (1992) argued that election is the process of choosing a person for public office or accepting or registering a political proposition by voting. They argued further that an election is one of the means by which a society may organize itself and make specified formal decisions adding that where voting is free, it acts simultaneously as a system for making certain decisions regarding the power relations in a society and as a method for seeking political obedience with minimum of sacrifice of the individual's freedom. The essence of democratic elections is freedom of choice.

Elections offer opportunities for the masses to engage in the electoral process by choosing persons who should represent them in government through the ballot box. The electoral process serves as an evaluative mechanism where the legitimacy and credibility enjoyed by a government or public office holder is tested. Invariably, elections are the litmus test for governance and by extension any democratic system (Omosho, 2008; Ibrahim, 2007).

Nwolise (2007:157) asserts that elections are purposely geared towards producing legitimate government, accountable and responsible for the plight of its citizenry but may result in

legitimacy crises if not properly conducted and managed. The democratic system though consists of other parts that make for its functioning are synonymous with elections because elections are germane to the consolidation of democracy in modern societies. Simply put, election is a core manifestation of democracy, it provides an avenue for the masses to aggregate and articulate their opinions concerning issues of governance and it is a means of social conflict management (Hoglund, 2008; Sisk, 2008). More importantly, elections allow for the orderly transfer of power and facilitate communication between the politicians and citizens (Rapport and Weinberg, 2001).

According to Ezeani (2005:414), elections is about making choices agree to by a group of persons, which infers that elections are intrinsically linked with choice, because in actual sense elections are about choices either between issues or personalities. Elections have been conceptualized in the technical and social sense. In the technical sense, elections are processes by which a position is assigned to persons willingly involving the simultaneous aggregation of many peoples' views. On the other hand, in the social sense, elections generate the notion of societies being governed by consent of the majority (Sisk, 2008).

According to Political Bureau- PBR (1987) gave a lucid clarification and interpretation of elections and electoral processes. It states that four basic conditions are necessary for the holding and conduct of free and fair elections. These include:

- (a)** A honest, competent, non-partisan administration to run election
- (b)** Enabling rules and regulations – electoral laws;
- (c)** A developed system of political parties;
- (d)** An independent judiciary to interpret election laws.

The PBR underscores the importance of free and fair elections as a prerequisite and precursor for peace, stability and progress in the polity. From the array of literature reviewed on the concepts of ‘democracy’ and ‘election’, Nigerian democratic and electoral process have always accommodated, provided and projected the basic principles, tenets and features of democracy and election, yet the incidence of electoral violence has continued to emerge through the electioneering years. We shall now take a cursory look at the relationship between electoral violence and democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

### **2.3 Violence**

Violence is a phenomenon that pervades all societies in virtually all stages and epoch of their existence and has been used as a tactics or strategy of political action or change (Arnold, 1964; Anifowose, 2006). Danzinger (1998) observes that violence involves the use of physical force purposely to injure or damage the object of violence which can take several forms from the subtle to the most extreme act of violence like killing and assassinations. This is distinct from force which is defined to mean legitimate use of violence by constituted authority for and on behalf of the State; while violence is illegal acts carried out by non-governmental individuals and groups. The state use of violence is seen as justifiable as an ‘order maintenance activity’ (Alanamu, 2005; Bienen, 1968). Nevertheless, the definition of violence as illegitimate force and the state force as legitimate bring to the fore the question; at what point does the state force move from being legitimate to illegitimate and violence by non-government actors becomes legitimate especially when the use of it is justified? (Anifowose, 2006; Tilly, 1978).

In his conceptualization, Corsini (1999) sees violence as the articulation of hostility through physical force targeted at persons or property. This is quite not different from earlier

conceptualization. However, violence does not just imply physical force but involves emotional or psychological potentials targeted at harming persons or groups and as well aimed at threatening or actual execution of the threat (Ball-Rokeach, 1972). Invariable, assaults, defamation of character and the likes are also acts of violence. Galtung (1991) aside recognizing the fact that violence can be physical and psychological postulates a third categorization of violence as being structural which is usually evasive but may actually be destructive and severe than physical and psychological violence. It includes such acts as economic marginalization, political repression, muzzling on the freedom of the press or citizens consequently, violence cannot be perceived as solely physical attacks as is usually the case but instead there are other dimensions of violence to be considered for a holistic view of violence which of course will include the psychological and structural dimensions of violence.

## **2.4 Electoral Violence**

The existing scholarly literature does not offer much guidance in thinking about elections and violence particularly in Africa. Only a few books and articles aim to understand electoral violence as a specific phenomenon (Laakso, 2007, Fischer 2002; UNDP, 2009). What it is and when it occurs will likely remain a source of debate as more scholars begin to focus on it. But some researchers and institutions have begun to join around the notion that electoral violence is a subset of political violence distinguished by its timing, perpetrators and victims, objectives and methods (Hoglund, 2009; Fischer 2002, Sisk, 2008). These are important criteria because they help to separate electoral violence from other types of violence that may happen to occur around election time, that is, that an act of violence occurs during the election period does not make electoral violence.

Electoral violence has been defined as an act of violence perpetrated in the course of election, before, during and after elections. As a concept, electoral violence include all acts or threats; physical, psychological or structural violence purposively to intimidate, harm, blackmail a political actor and effect a change in the electoral process (Albert, 2007). According to Olayinka (2009), electoral violence refers to disorderly conducts targeted at frustrating, eliminating and humiliating political machineries and opponents to get rid of the unwanted others. He further identified some popular modes of perpetrating political violence in Nigeria which include arson, assassination, riot, confusion, inducement and manipulation of votes, ballot box stuffing, threatening, blood-letting, assaults, hooliganism, vandalism and many others.

From the above, it could be discerned that electoral violence is a major tool and process through which democratic procedures are subverted that is why electoral violence which is a sub-category of political violence becomes imperative in this study. However, some writers have chosen to use both political violence and electoral violence interchangeably (see Weinberg 2006; Obadore, 1999; Sisk, 2008; Omotola, 2008 and Olayinka, 2009). Political violence can be as the use of threat or physical force against individuals or properties with the intention of causing injury, death, or damage notably with political significance and overall consequences of the political system. This definition points to the fact that political violence is normally undertaken in the struggle for the acquisition of power. It is sometimes aimed at modifying the political behaviors of individuals and groups within a political system for some desired results.

Electoral violence itself has been severally conceived. According to Swain (2007), electoral violence refers to a type of violent conflict behavior that is directed against targets specifically related to the electoral process. Sisk (2008), on the other hand, sees electoral violence as a sub-type of political violence in which actors employ coercion in an instrumental

way to advance their interests. At least, this definition gives us an insight as to why actors engage in political violence in which case their selfish interest is paramount.

A more general definition was advanced by Fischer (2002). For him, electoral violence is any random or organized act that seeks to determine, delay or otherwise influence an electoral process through threat, verbal intimidation, hate speech, disinformation, physical assault, blackmail, destruction of property or assassination. We can therefore submit that electoral violence is a particular type of political violence and it occurs within the context of the overall process of democracy and democratic consolidation. We may also suggest that competitive election, from the campaign process through the casting of ballots on election day to the tabulation of results at which winners and losers are determined is susceptible to violence.

## **2.5 Patterns and Perspectives on Electoral Violence**

Electoral violence is characterized by its timing and targets. It occurs during, before and after elections; clearly, electoral violence is targeted at four categories of phenomenon; electoral stakeholders (such as voters, candidates, election workers, media and election monitor), electoral information (such as voter registration, vote results, ballots, campaign materials), electoral facilities (such as polling and counting stations) and electoral events (such as campaign rallies, travelling to polling stations, party primaries and convention (Fischer, 2002; Hogund, 2008).

## **2.6 The Concept of Democracy**

The history of democracy was traced to the city-states of ancient Greece in which the whole citizens were constituted into the legislature. This system was possible because the city-state's population rarely exceeded 10,000 persons. Also, women and slaves enjoyed political rights. Greek democracy was said to have a brief historical episode that had little direct influence on the

practice of modern democracy as there was no separation of powers. Gwin and Peter (1992) reveals that modern democratic ideas were shaped by ideas and institutions of medieval Europe, notably, the concept of divine, natural and customary law as a restraint on the exercise of power adding that democratic practices grew out of European kings' practice of seeking approval of their policies including the right to levy taxes by consulting the different 'Estates' or group interests in the realm. That gathering of representatives of this interest were the origin of modern parliaments and legislative assemblies coupled with the emergence of concepts of natural rights and political equality during the enlightenment and the American and French revolutions. Thus, representative parliaments were noted to have finally emerged from the universal franchise of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

There is no universally accepted definition of the concept of democracy. It is a concept that means different things, different people, a method, a process, a system, an ideology, a platform for power contestation and not the least a class struggle. The conceptualization of democracy as the government of the people, by the people and for the people has evolved into gradual irrelevance as the realities of the modern states no longer suggest the idealist mode of participation. In fact, this definition has been described by Entwistle (1971), cited in Iwilade (2008:106), as a pedestrian definition of democracy which requires direct participation of citizens in government: a kind of participation only applicable in relatively small city states without the complex intricacies of modern statehood.

In an attempt to avoid the problems associated with lexical use of concept, political and social scientists have offered a number of definitions and explanations for various concepts. For instance, Agbaje (1999) maintained that democracy is a term that is used to describe an idea, process (series of events leading to change or a course of action) or system of government. It

entrenches and expands the right, ability and capacity of the people in any community to take control of their lives through participation in discussion and decision on issues and events that affect them and their community. The concept can be described as a way of life, or an attitude and is essentially a method of organizing society politically.

Nzongola-Ntala (2004:14), succinctly explains democracy as a continuous process of promoting equal access to fundamental rights. According to him, democracy cannot be negotiated as a new bargain to developing nations; rather, it has to be richer than the liberal model, and should be capable of leading to development strategy that is home-grown, people-centered and oriented towards eradicating poverty. In the same vein, Aki (2000) argued that the real democratic culture that brings about real development in Africa is the one sustained by economic and political development based on the decentralization of power, and economic reliance on indigenous communities to provide some refuge from the centralized state. Baker (1995) is of the view that democracy is a political system that operates on the basis of popularly elected or appointed representatives to run the affairs of the state. Phillips (1991) notes that democracy is premised on effective representation and participation, adding that while the specificity of democracy differs cross-culturally, there are still basic underlying features that are common and germane to all democratic processes.

For Oddih (1996), democracy is a form of government as well as a way of life, goal, ideal and philosophy which guarantees freedom of the majority and rights of the minority. Democracy has certain tenets which include: free elections, majority rule, and participation of political parties, unimpeachable judiciary and parliament. Thus, writing on consociation democracy, Lyphart (1977), on his part believes that a prerequisite for durable and stable democracy rests on the ability of elites in plural societies to co-operate and achieve social homogeneity and political

consensus. By so doing, according to him, the centrifugal tendencies inherent in plural societies are mitigated and countered. For this reason, Ezioku (2004) in line with the political Bureau Report, PBR (1987) highlights some basic constituents and elements for sustaining democracy in Nigeria. These, according to him include:

1. The institutions and processes of effective electoral agencies, political parties and their formation, administration and funding;
2. Conduct of free and fair periodic elections and electoral processes;
3. Broad based participation by the electorate;
4. Observance of rule of law;
5. Protection of fundamental human rights;
6. A free and unfettered press;
7. A healthy civil society and;
8. Government based on the consent of the people.

## **2.7 Democratic Consolidation**

The concept of democracy is very central to the understanding of consolidation of democracy. Despite its long history and wide spread usage, there is still no universally accepted definition. Democratic consolidation as a concept within the field of social sciences has several definitions by different scholars; therefore it does not have a universally accepted definition.

Democratic consolidation is a process by which a new democracy matures in a way that means it is unlikely to revert to authoritarianism without an external shock (Online Wikipedia). According to Diamond (quoted in Zayyan, 2002:210) consolidation is the process of achieving broad and deep legitimization such that all significant political actors at both elite and mass level

believed that the democratic system is better for their society than any other realistic alternative they can imagine from a different but somewhat related perspective, Linz and Stephen (quoted in Zayyan, 2002:210) provide a tridimensional perspective to the question if democratic consolidation; they include the behavioral, attitudinal, and the constitutional perspectives. Let us quote them in existence “Behavioral democracy becomes the only game in town when no significant political opposition seriously attempt to overthrow the democratic regime or to promote domestic and international violence in order to secede from the State. Attitudinally, democracy becomes the only game in town when the face of severe political and economic crisis, the overwhelming majority of people believe that any further change must emerge within the parameters of democratic procedures. Constitutionally, democracy becomes the only game in town when all the factors in the polity becomes habituated to the fact that political conflict within the state will be resolved according to established norms are likely to be both ineffective and costly.

They concluded that democratic consolidation becomes regularized in social, institutional and even psychological life as well as in political calculations for achieving goals. This suggest that democracy must “make sense” to the generality of the people, and on the other hand, it suggests that the non-existence of delegitimizing challenges e.g. endemic and persistent socio-political crisis. Scheldler (1998) in a related argument describe democratic consolidation as the challenge of making new democracies secure for extending their life experience of making them immune against the eventual reverse waves.

## 2.8 Theoretical Framework

The importance of theory in political discourse cannot be overemphasized as it proffers empirically based general explanatory laws that are scientific in nature through synthesizing and integrating of empirical data for maximum clarification and unification

The elite theory was developed and popularized by Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), and Robert Mitchels (1876-1936) among others (Verma 1975). Gaetano Mosca for instance states that:

In all societies... two classes of people appears a class that rules and a class that is that is ruled. The first class always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages it brings whereas the second, the more numerous class is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is more or less legal, none more or arbitrary or violent (international encyclopedia of the social sciences vol. 9:524-525).

This is typical of the Nigerian democratic system where a few persons at the top of the society dominated the process of making a choice in electoral contest. The elites involve a triumvirate of political, military, and business men/women who form overlapping cliques (Mazi-Mbah 2006).

The elite theory therefore underscore the basis of Nigerian electoral violence and democratic consolidation given that, the elites determine who qualifies to view for any elective positions, political participation is therefore a restricted activity of the elite of different roles, especially the incumbent and of the citizenry during election. Political power like other social values in Nigeria is distributed unequally (Mazi-Mba 2006). Worse still, the political playing field is skewed in favor of those in power use this opportunity to manipulate elections and win

them at all costs (Biegeon 2009). The ruling faction of the political elites uses the state power to accumulate wealth in order to strengthen their economic base and render the state power attractive (Ake 2000). Under this circumstances violence become endemic as political actors struggle to acquire power by all means.

This research will be guided by the elite theory, as it is the best theory in understanding the phenomenon of electoral violence in political process. Therefore this theory can be adopted in order to make an empirical investigation on electoral violence and democratic consolidation in Sokoto state.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ELECTORAL VIOLENCE AND DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter traces the historical development of electoral violence in Nigeria focusing on Sokoto State as the case study of the research; the chapter will present a historical account of relevant subject of the study.

#### **3.2 Electoral Violence in Nigeria**

Electoral violence is a major dimension of political violence that has be set Nigeria democratization process issues that ordinarily should be resolved through administrative dialogue, legislative or legal process ends in violence. Universally, election is regarded as the heart of representative democracy. A credible election not only refers to the sustenance of democratic order. The existence of a viable electoral system is crucial to the survival of any democracy.

However, consolidating Nigeria's democracy through the conduct of credible elections has remained an albatross. The history of Nigeria's democratic experiment in this chapter demonstrated that elections and electoral politics have generated so much animosity which has, in some cases threatened the corporate existence of the country (such as what happened after annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election) and in the other cases, it instigated military incursion into political government, most notably in 1966 and 1983. Since the 1964 general election, the first to be conducted by the post colonial Nigeria government, elections in Nigeria have consistently been characterized by the contestation of results and organized violence.

Perhaps that is why Yaqub (1999) cited in Ogundiya and Baba (2000) avers that various experiences with competitive electoral politics in Nigeria have brought the worst in political thugry and brigandage, unmediated and unrestrained violence characterized by Waton destruction of lives and properties while Ogundiya and Baba (2007) maintained that the fear of election is the beginning of political wisdom in Nigeria.

The problem of electoral violence in Nigeria cannot be fully understood without situating it within the political history of the country. The Nigerian state offers a useful point of entry. For, it was under it that some form of electoral politics was introduced especially with the introduction of elective principles in 1922. Although the electoral politics during this period was to a very large extent, non-violent, the democratic substance of elective principle was two limited with income and residential qualification and therefore be a potential basis for violence. Possibly, as a result of its narrow political base, political discourses about democratic and good governance were essentially elite driven, while the people occupied a very marginal space (Ake, 2000; 33-36).

It was, therefore hardly surprising that electoral violence came up shortly after the attainment of political independence in the 1960's. This partly because the promised independent as extravagantly articulated by the nationalist did not show any sign of affective take off, let alone being consolidated rather than transform the colonial state, including its narrow democratic base to accommodate popular nationalists aspiration for the new state, the new elite of power opted to inherit the colonial state into the independent state (Ake, 2000; 33).

As the state began assuming a more central position over the power and other resources, forces of identity, like ethnicity and religion, became appealing. These factors

became the main drivers of politics in Nigeria as they were employed by the political elites to manipulate their ascension to power and secure economic base for themselves. The Nigerian experience has been very illustrative of this tenderness. Beginning from the 1964-1965 general election violence has been the major feature of electoral politics in the country (Omotola, 2008)

According to Dudley(1978; 80-82), the decline into violence and increasing anarchy and the intervention by the military can perhaps be described by the series of phases. Accordingly, attempts by political elites to use coercive methods to maintain support could only mean increased violence. He noted the situation in Nigeria, where electoral corruption increased from one election to the other just as much as the incidence of violence, culminating in what came very close to anarchy during and immediately after the western Nigeria regional election in October 1965. The violence itself was a carryover from the federal election of 1964/65, ending in the military coup of January 1966(Dudley, 1973; 47-48). The violence was so pronounced in the western region that there was no insecurity across the whole region. Arson, looting, killing and all forms of lawlessness were embarked upon.

As document by Anifowase(1982), election based violence imperiled Nigeria's first democratic experiment with the violence in Tiv and Yoruba land as the two significant cases. According to Anifowase, the violence in Tiv land was a reaction to perceived political intimidation and harassment of the opposition politicians by the ruling Northern people congress (NPC). On the other hand, the violence in Yoruba land was in reaction to massive irregularities that characterized both the 1964 federal elections and 1965 western region elections. The consequences of this crisis largely contributed to the rude termination of Nigeria's first republic through a bloody military coup in January, 1966 (Animashaun, 2010).

### 3.3 Electoral Violence in the Second Republic

The second election of Nigeria's second Republic under the Shehu Shagari, civilian administration was also welcomed by violence in the South west states of Oyo and Ondo. The violence was organized in protest against perceived manipulation of the governorship polls in the two states, acclaimed as electoral strongholds of the unity party of Nigeria (UPN) in favor of the candidate of the ruling national party of Nigeria (NPN), In addition to the heavy human and material losses suffered by political opponents, the headquarters of the election management body, Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) In Oyo and Ondo states were torched (Egwu, 2007). In Ondo state, where the carnage reached levels of public mayhem similar to those in 1964-1965 entire families of politicians were wiped out, and hundreds of houses were set on fire. The situation was particularly devastating. As observed by Kolawole (1986) cited in Agagu (2007), the crises started to build up even before the announcement of the August 1983 gubernatorial elections were announced. According to him, on August 13<sup>th</sup>, 1983, while the gubernatorial election was still being held, Violence erupted in Ondo town, which led to the burning of vehicles and human beings. The trend continued till August 15,1983 while the official result was being awaited when Chief Micheal Ajasin made a Radio\Television broadcast to the people of the state declaring himself as the winner and requesting them too be alert and resist any rigging. As soon as the result was announced by the Federal Electoral Commission FEDECO declaring, his opponent, Omoboriowo the winner, demonstrators trooped out in their thousands blocking almost all access roads in Akure i.e. the state capital. This was followed by killing and burning of houses and properties of those who were identified with NPN. The electoral violence in Ondo state is just one out of many experience of second republic. In fact stiff competition, intolerance, and violence were really common. As Umar (2007:5) maintained,

several incidence of violence and threat to order and stability were recorded in many part of the country. Some of this was clashes involving rival supporters of the UNP and NPN in Ogun and Oyo states. The UNPP and NPN in Borno state, the NPN and NPP in Niger, the PRP factions in Kaduna, the GNPP factions in Gongola, and NPN gubernatorial nomination in Sokoto, Kaduna and Kano states. In these many similar episodes lives and properties were lost and destroyed. Indeed the announcement of the presidential elections results set the stage for the orgy of violence that engulfed the federation in 1983 beside various petitions at the elections tribunals and courts, Nigeria resorted to violence and disorder in different parts of the country.

With the collapse of second republic in December 1983, four years after inauguration, Nigeria was sentenced too prolonged years of military rule. Democratic rule was restored in 1999 following the conclusion of the 1998/1999 transition elections. Though the transition enjoyed a smooth ride with few hitches, the same cannot be said of the 2003 general elections. In fact the period preceding the 2003 polls was marked by organized violence, as well as by attempted and actual assassinations of political opponents and rivals. Several reports by international and domestic observers confirmed that the run-up to the country's 2003 general election was bloody with about 100 people killed during the two months of april and may (Ugho, 2004). Sample cases of politically motivated murders and electoral violence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2007 are shown in the table below:

**Table 3.1: Some of the Pre and Post Electoral Violence in Nigeria 1999 to 2007**

S/N	Names of victims(s)	Date killed/Attacked	State	Remarks
1.	Mr. Sunday Ugwu	September 9 <sup>th</sup> 1999	Enugu	A case of mistaken identity. The victims was an elder brother of Honourable Nwabuze. The target who is a member of Enugu state house of assembly.
2.	James Ibori	February 4 <sup>th</sup> 2001	Delta	Attack on the governor of Delta state by hired assassins.
3.	Momoh Lawal	March 5 <sup>th</sup> , 2001	Kogi	Kogi inter party conflict between ANPP and PDP.
4.	Lambert Dagago	April 26 <sup>th</sup> , 2001	Rivers	The victim died in a fighting that broke out between ANPP and PDP supporter in Ogubolo local government.
5.	Odunayo Olagbaju	December 21 <sup>th</sup> 2001	Osun	The victim was a member of Osun state house of assembly. His death was 'unofficially linked' to the political intra party crises in the state.
6.	Chief Bola Ige	December 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2001	Osun	The victim was the late minister of justice. His assassination was also associated with the intra party crisis in Osun state.
7.	Janet Olapade	August 13 <sup>th</sup> 2002	N/A	A prominent PDP leader stabbed to death by assailant. Mainly youth for preventing them from pasting posters of a chairmanship candidate on her house. This was presumably an inter-party conflict.
8.	Ahmed Pategi	August 15 <sup>th</sup> 2002	Kwara	Kwara state PDP chairman murdered along with his orderly when his car was accosted on his

				way to Abuja. Possibly intra party conflict.
9.	Victor Nwankwo	August 20 <sup>th</sup> 2002	N/A	The victim was a younger brother of Arthur Nwanlwo, a highly profile politician and founder of eastern union mandate (EUM).
10.	Barrister Barnabas Igwe and Blessing Igwe	September 1 <sup>st</sup> 2002	Anambra	Chairman, Nigerian Bar Association Onitsha branch. Butchered by Bakassi boys along Oraifite street, Awada, Anambra state.
11.	Twenty houses burnt to ashes.	March 12 <sup>th</sup> , 2003	Kebbi	It was as a result of fracas between PDP supporters.

Source: adopted and updated in Ogundiya, I. S and, Baba T. K. (2007) “Electoral violence and prospect of democratic consolidation in Nigeria”. In Jega, A and Ibeanu O. (eds). *Election and the future of democracy in Nigeria*.

Also during these periods, intra group relations became so bad that the ensuing conflict took an ethnic dimension mostly resulting in monumental loss of lives and properties. Umar (2007) mentioned some of these crises to include OPC – Hausa traders at Shagamu, Ogun state in 1999, Ajeungle crisis in 1999, involving Yoruba and Ijaw faction of the lagos port dock workers, the mile 12-Ketu market in 1999 involving the Yorubas and Hausas over control of cattle market, the Mushin riot in 1999/2000. This heightened state of insecurity was further reinforced by activities of groups, including the Odua people’s congress (OPC), the Niger Delta people’s volunteer force (NDPVF), the movement for the actualization of the sovereign state of Biafra (MASSOB), the Egbesu boys, among others (Umar 2007).

### **3.4 Electoral violence in the 2011 election**

For several years and irrespective of what happened in the past, Nigerians had for long developed a deeper love for democracy. Thus, in spite of its ills that followed the 1999, 2003,

and 2007 elections, Nigeria still showed willingness to elect their leaders in the 2011 elections. The phenomenon of the electoral violence still dotted the landscape of the 2011 elections. In March 2011, 63 political parties signed a code of conduct undertaking not to among others, hijack ballot boxes, use thugs or weapons, use inflammatory language in their campaigns take provocative actions or make images or manifestation that ilicite violence (Boingbose, 2012). It was also agreed that INEC would monitor all rallies.

These frantic commitments came on the heels of several events that preceded the 2011 elections. Hundreds of people have been killed prior to 2011 elections. Hundreds of people have been killed prior to 2011 elections in Nigeria since 1999. Among other things, there was been an atmosphere of intimidation and threats, assassination, arsons, bombing, random shooting and latched battles between opposing bands of thugs using sundry weapons. Amnesty international (2010) argued that hundreds of people had already been killed in what it calls politically motivated communal and sectarian violence across Nigeria ahead of presidential and parliamentary polls. For instance, since November 2010, more than 70 people were killed in violence linked to 2011 polls. Violence tied to the 2011 elections has included clashes between party supporters and several assassinations. Elections related security concerns were further heightened by a spate of bombings during political rallies (Plotch, 2011)

As the 2011 elections approached, the threat of violence became high I certain hotspots like Bauchi, Barno and Yobe states in the North, Plateau state in central Nigeria and Abia, Bayelsa, Delta, River state in the south , among others. In the southern Niger-Delta region, a spokesman for the militant group –MEND threatened attacks and indeed several bombings at political rallies were attributed to the group political killings in Barno state have included the assassinations of a gubernatorial candidate, Modu Fannami Gubio and six of his supporters in January 2011 by

AK47 rifle wielding young man on motorcycle. The deputy chairman of gubio's party (ANPP) had been gunned down by unknown assassination a few weeks earlier (Plotch, 2011).

The militant Islamist group Boko Haram claimed responsibility, raising concerns that the group seeks a influence the polls, and many suggested the killing were politically motivated (Plotch, 2011) on March 3<sup>rd</sup> 2010 unidentified people drove by a huge campaign rally of the ruling PDP in Suleja in Niger state and lobbed bombs at it killing 13 people and wounding scores more just before the end of 2010, three similar bombs attacks happened across the country, leaving dozens dead and many more mutilated; in the capital Abuja just as the country celebrated its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of independence; In the perennially blood stained Jos (driven by communal low-intensity warfare), in which 80 people were killed; and Bayelsa.

Such assassinations caused political killings and bombings have clearly become common various places in Nigeria. To arrest the situation in view of the disastrous consequences, the government in January 2011 announced the establishment of a new army division (called 82 division)), which was deployed across the county solely to tackle election related violence. The government also announced that all of the county's, 370,000 strong police force will be deployed on elections day across the country (Plotch, 2001) to prevent or curb violence.

In spite of this seeming preparedness for the 2011 elections, electoral violence swept through most of the Nigeria's states. This is illustrated in the table below:

**Table 3.2 some cases of electoral violence in the 2011 general elections in Nigeria.**

S/N	Description of crisis	State	Number of victim (dead, injured)	Property lost or damaged
1.	Clash between supporters of the people's democratic party (PDP) and ruling labour party (LP)	Ondo	3 people were shot dead and 4 people injured	NA
2.	Clash between the supporters of PDP and the ruling action congress AC)	Ekiti	2 people were killed by assassins	NA
3.	Clash between the supporters of governorship candidate of the LP and commercial motorcyclists.	Ogun	More than 2 people were killed	NA
4.	Alleged arson and political violence caused by action congress of Nigeria (ACN) during the National assembly election.	Osun	NA	Destruction of properties worth thousands of Naira

5.	Destructive dimension of political campaign between the supporters of the PDP and CAN	Akwa ibo	Many people were reported dead and several wounded	Properties worth millions of Naira were lost leg campaign officers, 125 Peugeot cars, 307 salon cars etc.
6.	Protest against how the primary elections were conducted	Edo	NA	NA
7.	Invasion of some PDP aspirants homes by suspected political thugs	Imo	NA	NA
8.	Clash between supporters of PDP an CAN	Benue	Many people were injured and wounded	NA
9.	Protest at mutun-biyu head	Taraba	Several people	4 cars burnt,

	quarters of Gassol government council and protest on presidential election results.		were shot dead	houses sent ablaze etc.
10.	Throwing of hand-held explosives into the venue of the Niger east senatorial campaign flag-off by unidentified persons and protesting of elections results by angry youth.	Niger	50 corps members were killed and many people were injured	Properties worth of millions of naira were lost.
11.	Protests against president Goodluck Jonathan's victory at the polls.	Kaduna	Several people were killed and injured	Properties worth of billions of naira were destroyed (including churches and mosques)
12.	Cases of disagreements over the primaries elections	Kano	Many people were injured	Properties worth hundreds of

				millions of naira were destroyed.
13.	Destruction of PDP chieftain and governor shema campaign officer.	Katsina	NA	Scores of cars and at least 5 churches were destroyed.
14.	Post presidential poll violence	Gombe	17 people were killed and 300 injured	Properties worth millions of naira were destroyed.
15.	Unleashed crisis n the residents of supporters of the congress for progressive change (CPC)	Bauchi	13 people killed and over 4,500 people were displaced.	Destruction of properties worth thousands of naira was damaged (e.g. 500 INEC laptops, cars etc)

Source: Adopted from Bamgbose, J.A.(2012) “Electoral violence and Nigeria’s 2011 General Elections” Review of social science and humanities Vol.4.No.1.pg.212.216.

It was in order to investigate and nip these disturbances in the bud that the federal government constituted a 22-man investigation panel chaired by Sheikh Ahmad Lemu while FF Ogunshakin was to serve as the secretary. The terms of reference of the panel are [...] to investigate the immediate and remote causes of the pre-election violence in Akwa-Ibom state as well as the tide of unrest in some states of the federation following the presidential election and make appropriate recommendation on how to prevent future occurrence; to ascertain the number of persons who lost their lives or sustained injuries during the violence; to identify the spread and extent of damage to means of livelihood and assess the cost of damage to personnel and public property and places of worship and appropriate recommendations; to investigate the sources of weapons used in the unrest and recommend how to stem the tide of illegal flow of such weapons to the country; and to examine any other matter incidental or relevant to the unrest and advise government as appropriate (Bamgbose, 2012: 116).

The panel submitted its findings to the president on October 10, 2011. Like other reports being submitted to the president, the report of the panel still begged for implementation. Among several discoveries and recommendations of the probe panel are: the failure on the part of the previous successive regime since the military handover committees, commissions and panel that had been set up. The committee highlighted previous reports that were ignored by government to include; Babalakin Judicial commission of inquiring into Bauchi state civil disturbances; Karibi whyte judicial commission of inquiry into Plateau state disturbances; justice snakey judicial commission of inquiry into Wase and Langtang disturbances; justice Disu judicial commission of inquiry into Plateau state disturbances; and professor Tamuno panel inquiry on national security (Vanguard, October 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011)

### **3.5 Historical background of Sokoto state**

Sokoto state is located in the extreme North-west of Nigeria near the confluence of the Sokoto River and Rima basin. It has a population of more than 4.2 million people (Sokoto Diary, 2008). Sokoto city is the modern day capital of Sokoto state and its predecessor, North-western state. Being the seat of the former Sokoto caliphate, the city is predominantly occupied by Muslims. It also serves as an important seat of Islamic learning. The present Sokoto state was the home of many emirate of the pre-colonial western Sudan. These include Gobir kingdoms as well as the renowned Sokoto caliphate whose which is the spiritual and political headquarters of the state.

Following the conquest of the caliphate by the British in 1903, its various components were made autonomous and joined into the northern Nigeria (last, 1977). The northern region was thus made up of mainly parts of Sokoto caliphate and Kenem-Barno Empire. In January 1967, the government of General Yakubu Gowon created states to replace regional government. Sokoto, therefore, became the head quarters of the North-western state. With the creation of Niger out of north western state, Sokoto state emerged with its headquarters in Sokoto; Kebbi and Zamfara states were later carved out of Sokoto state in 1991 and 1996 respectively. Sokoto metropolis has thus been the capital of various governments, since its establishment by caliphate Muhammadu Bello in 1809 (Sokoto diary, 2008). The famous Hausa plain of northern Nigeria dominates the topography of the state. The vast Fadama land of the Sokoto river system dissects the plain providers of the rich alleviate soil fit for variety of crops cultivation in the state. The people of this area are mostly agrarian. Over eighty percent (80%) of the inhabitant of Sokoto state practice one form o agriculture or the other. Local crafts such as blacksmithing, weaving and dying, carving and leather works also play an important role in the economic life of the people

(Mamman, 2002). Likewise, a large number of people along the River Basin engage in fishing as well.

Sokoto state is equally endowed with natural resources. Agro-allied industries is in cotton, groundnuts, sorghum, gum, maize, rice, wheat, sugarcane, Cassava, gum Arabic and tobacco farming can also be practiced in the state and Kwakwazo lakes among others (Sokoto Diary, 2008)

Minerals such as kaolin, gypsum, lime stone, latrine, red mills, and phosphate e.t.c. are available in the state in commercial quantities. Mineral based industries using these raw materials can be established in the state and this party informed situating of the cement company of the northern Nigeria in Sokoto state. The tsetse fly free open grassland has made animal husbandry a very lucrative venture in the state. There are all kinds of animals both wild and domestic in the state. Sokoto ranks second in livestock production in the country's animal population of over eight (8) million (Focus on Sokoto state, 2004).

The availability of these economic potentials provides good investments opportunity particularly in agro allied industries. Likewise, it has provides opportunity for the people of the state to engage in commercial activities especially trading in most of these primary products with people of other states in the country as well as outside Nigeria. However, it is significant to note that efforts by successive government in the state to modernize the economy appear not to have significantly addressed the problem of poverty and unemployment.

Politically, from 1967, Sokoto state has had sixteen governors both civilians and military. The present civilian governor, Alhaji Aminu Waziri Tambuwal the sixth democratically elected in the state. There are 23 local government areas (LGAs) in the state: Binji, Bodinga, Dange Shuni,

Gada, Goronyo, Gudu, Gwadabawa, Illela, Isa, Kebbe, Kware, Rabah, Sabon Birni, Shagari, Silame, Sokoto North, Sokoto south, Tambuwal, Tangaza, Tureta, Wamakko, Wurno, and Yabo . These LGAs are grouped under three senatorial districts namely; Sokoto North, Sokoto East and Sokoto South (Sokoto Diary, 2008).

### **3.6 Democratic consolidation process in Nigeria: Sokoto in focus**

The challenges in the Nigerian democratic politics are numerous and complex. Whereas, competition is a driving force in any democratic elections, Nigerians have mastered the ways and manners to manipulate and jettison it to their advantage. These more often than not, generate into a specters of controversies and conflicts lading to political acrimony, rancor and inevitability of violence, before, during and after any election. Democratic politics guarantee inter and intra-party democracy and provides for the selection of the candidates for all the elective positions, this however, provides for standards and some measurement of fairness to engage gauge the consistency and reliability of the elective principle.

Elections have historically, been avenues which offer opportunities to citizens in democracies to exercise choice of candidates and policies to govern their politics and satisfy their needs and aspirations. However, how elections are conducted and how citizens manage to utilize them to exercise real substantive choices to qualitatively influence politics and governance to a large extent determine the phase, tempo and direction of democratic consolidation and democratic stability, or lack of it (Jega, 2011). If conducted properly and managed well with greater enlightened participation by citizens and good conduct by all ranges of state holders, especially the politicians/contestants, elections catalyze good governance and facilitate democratic development and consolidation. However, if election are poorly managed, fraudulently

conducted and characterized by intense conflicts and violence, they become mere procedural democratic rituals of no consequence in so far as good governance and democratic stability are concern.

An important features of the democratic process in the electoral process s the political party campaigns. This is a process expected to articulate party manifestoes and market candidates to voters. During campaign processes, electorate should assess parties programs of actions and of course ideologies. Normally all these are expected to be conducted at peaceful rallies.

However, political party campaigns in the state have been marked with unfair practices which lead to violence before, during and after elections. Thus, the use of physical violence intimidation and coercion to influence the outcome of election is perhaps the most blatant perversion of the electoral process (Abass, 2010) which has remained the feature of all party campaigns/rallies in Sokoto state.

Consequently, the rule of the political and democratic game within the given character of the Nigeria environment dictates that in order to counteract such pervasive violence, it is necessary for victims in the opposition within and outside the ruling party to design their strategies and protect themselves through the use of thugs and by arming them with weapons and funds. This development brings about the eruption of violence through the conduct of election all in the name of democratic politics.

The norm in the election period in Sokoto has therefore become a situation whereby a candidate must have a gang of “Area boys” whom he/she pays to support him and attack his opponent. He must, therefore demonstrate the superiority and monopoly of violence to scare the opponents gangs and at the same time terrorize all persons during the electioneering campaign/period and

on election days, Agents stationed during the counting of votes are all part of the candidates thugs who are to display any form of physical violence in order to make their candidates be declared the winner by hook or crook. Thus non adherence to the rule of the game for competitive democratic elections further escalated electoral violence in the state through inflammatory remarks, actions and other unorthodox democratic practices. Instead of electioneering campaigns and elections results to solve political and democratic problems in Sokoto state, they have exacerbated the existing problems without solving old ones.

Jega (2007:249) has captured this scenario during the 2003 elections in Nigeria, thus;

Elections in Nigeria have historically been conflict ridden. The campaign preceding elections are invariably marked by pettiness, intolerance and violent, conflict including abductions and assassinations. And the elections and their outcome have often been neither free nor fair, characterized by violations of the process (both inachlertent and willful) corrupt conduct by officials, rigging of result and so on. Again reports indicate that incidences of these nature were pervasive during the party primaries and that some candidate are busy scheming to ensure a favorable outcome for themselves by hook or crook in the coming elections.

The above statement view is almost the same everywhere in Nigeria and it becomes more glaring as we now explore the governorship tussles in the democratic consolidation process of Sokoto state, which revolves around the interests and personalities of the political class in the ensuing elections.

### **3.7 Governorship Tussles and Electoral Violence in Sokoto State between 1999 and 2009**

The politics of Sokoto state like other states in Nigeria revolve around individuals rather than ideologies and political parties. Hence, fight for influence is a regular feature in electoral contestation. The return to civil rule in 1999 saw the All Peoples Party (APP), which later became All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP). In 2002 the party was led by Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa, winning the gubernatorial elections. The gubernatorial election of January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1999 that ushered in Bafarawa's administration were largely non-violent as the APP candidate scored 249205 votes against Alhaji Muhammad Modi Yabo of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) who pulled 182655 votes (see Dasuki, 1999 and the path newspaper, April 21<sup>st</sup>, 1999). Bafarawa served for eight (8) years term and by 2007 when he completed his tenures, the ANPP had been weakened by infightings and internal divisions.

The dispute was largely between Bafarawa and his then deputy, Aliyu Magatakarda Wamakko over who should succeed him. Bafarawa had preferred the then secretary to Sokoto state government (SSG) Muhammad Maigari Dingyadi to Wamakko. Interestingly, the factitious battle eventually led to both of them leaving ANPP to further their political ambitions elsewhere. Bafarawa left to form Democratic People's Party (DPP), when it became clear that he stood no chance of the ANPP's head of state and the party's flag bearer in 2003 presidential election (Nigerian Tribune, February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2012). Wamakko, on his part left to join forces with the PDP then a struggling party in the state though in control of federal government and was presented as the gubernatorial candidate of the party in the April 2007 elections.

There were several reasons advanced as the feud between Bafarawa and Wamakko, but most paramount was the political ambition of Wamakko to succeed Bafarawa as the state governor which pitched him against his Boss. Wamakko was said to have several humiliations in the hand of Bafarawa owing to his ambition to succeed him. These ranged from having his office subvention, entitlement and vehicles withdrawn. There was also an alleged sponsored move to impeach him from office which made him to resign his appointment as the deputy governor of Sokoto state in 2006. When Bafarawa's administration upgraded the local government department into a full-fledged ministry and removed it from under the control of his deputy, the relationship between the two former friends worsened (The sun, February 15<sup>th</sup>, 2012).

While the fight for 2007 election lasted, the Bafarawa and Wamakko camps did not spare any weapons in trying to gain advantage including recruiting armed young people notoriously called "area boys" in the fight showing the seed to discord and violence in the politics of Sokoto state.

There was therefore a pervasive presence and use of area boys to break the rallies of opponents and attack their supporters. The area boys moved around the 23 LGAs of the state in full glare of security agencies, smoking Indian hemp and freely brandishing dangerous weapons, axes, swords and at times guns.

The table below represents a graphic picture of some incidences/ cases of electoral violence in Sokoto State.

**Table 3.3.1: Some cases of electoral violence in Sokoto state between 2007 and 2011.**

S/N	Year	Description of crisis	Properties lost or damaged
1.	2007	Clash involving rival of DPP and PDP factions in the state	Campaign officers of the parties were torched and vehicles were smashed.
2.	2008	Rerun polls between the parties (PDP and DPP) resulted in violent attacks and counter attacks by political thugs	More than 27 vehicles and motorcycles of the parties were smashed and some burnt. 2 persons killed.
3.	2008	Clash between thugs during PDP campaigns at Illela local government area. Some thugs were arrested and brought to police state command.	Properties (Houses, shops) were burnt and 2 cars were smashed.
4.	2008	Clash between party thugs and supporters of DPP at umarumma town when returning from Wurno local government campaign tour.	Properties (houses, shops) were burnt and 2 cars were smashed.

5.	2010	Supporters of member representing Wurno/Rabah constituency engaged in violent clashes during a political rally.	The left wrist of 15year old boy was cut off during the clash.
6.	2010	Supporters of member representing Sabon Birni/Isa constituency had a clash with those of senatorial aspirant for Sokoto East.	Destruction of vehicles, shops and building belonging to the two masters.
7.	2010	Clash between rival thugs PDP and ANPP at Gidan Kaya in Wamakko local government	About 12 people were injured.
8.	2010	Clash between thugs at Tambuwal local government area.	N/A
9.	2011	Clashes between thugs loyal to Bafarawa (former governor) and PDP supporters at flyover near Bado in Sokoto state.	One person killed, 10 vehicles smashed and more than 20 people were injured.
10.	2011	Intra party violence prior to the party	Campaign office of Yusuf

		<p>primaries of PDP between the supporters of Wamakko and those of senator Abubakar Umar Gada and Yusuf Suleiman.</p>	<p>Suleiman touched. Destruction of billboard and posters of aspirant.</p>
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Source: See leadership, 2012; Sunday trust, 2011; The sun, 2007.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter present the analysis of the study, however, out of the 50 questionnaires distributed, only 46 were retrieved, out of which 2 were not properly answered and 2 were not returned. The information in this chapter is therefore premised on the above Percentage %. The chapter will present the data on tables and percentage %, the discussion of the findings will also be presented at the last part of the chapter.

#### 4.2 Data Presentation

**Table 4.2.1: Sex distribution of the respondent**

Sex	Frequency	Percentage %
Male	27	58.7
Female	19	41.3
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.2.1 above shows the sex distribution of the respondent, the table shows that 27 respondent representing 58.7% were males while 19 of the respondent representing 41.3% were females. These inclines that most of the respondent sampled were males.

**Table 4.2.2: Marital status of the respondent**

Marital status	Frequency	Percentage %
Single	23	50.0
Married	23	50.0
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.2.2 above shows the marital status of the respondent, the findings shows that 23 respondent representing 50% were single while a number of 23 of the respondent representing 50% were married.

**Table 4.2.3: Age distribution of the respondent**

Age categories	Frequency	Percentage %
18-28 years	26	56.5
29-39 years	14	30.4
40-50 years	6	13.0
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.2.3 above shows that 26 of the respondent representing 56.5% belong to age category between 18-28 years, 14 of the respondent representing 30.4% belong to age category of 29-39 years of age, while 6 respondent representing 13% belong to age category of 40-50 years respectively. The finding shows that most respondent sampled belong to age category of 18-28 years and are mostly youth.

**Table 4.2.4: Educational qualification of the respondent**

Educational qualification	Frequency	Percentage %
Junior school leaving certificate	1	2.2
Secondary school certificate	11	23.9
Tertiary	27	58.7
Other	7	15.2
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.2.4 above shows that 1 respondent representing 2.2% has obtained or belong to junior school level of education, 11 of the respondent representing 23.9% has secondary school qualification, 27 respondent has tertiary level educational qualification while 7 respondent representing 15.2% has other qualification outlisted in the questionnaire. The finding shows that most of the respondent has tertiary qualifications that are adult and are knowledgeable about electoral violence of the 2011 general election.

**Table 4.2.5: Level of income**

Income	Frequency	Percentage %
N10,000-N20,000	19	41.3
N21,000-N30,000	8	17.4
N31,000-N40,000	6	13.0
N41,000-Above	13	28.3
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.2.5 above shows that 19 respondent representing 41.3% earn an average income of N10,000-N20,000, 8 respondent representing 17.4% earn an average income of N21,000-

N30,000, 6 respondent representing 13% earn an average income of N31,000-N40,000 while 13 respondent representing 28.3% earn an average income of N41,000 and above.

**Table 4.2.6: Was there electoral violence in Sokoto state during the 2011 general election**

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
YES	41	89.1
NO	5	10.9
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.2.6 above shows responses of the respondent, 41 respondent representing 89.1% responded yes that there was electoral violence in the 2011 election while only 5 respondent representing 10.9% responded No to the question. The finding shows that more than 2/3 of the respondent believes that there was violence during and after the election.

**Table 4.2.7: what is the nature of the violence?**

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Very intense	13	28.3
Intense	19	41.3
Low intense	14	30.4
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.2.7 shows the nature of the violence, 13 respondents representing 28.3% perceived the violence to be very intense, 19 respondent representing 41.3% responded that the violence was just intense, while 14 respondent representing 30.4% perceived the violence to be low intense. The finding shows that most of the respondents believe that the violence was intense and others

argued that it was very intense. Therefore it can be said that electoral violence in Sokoto state was intense especially considering the nature and the magnitude of the violence. For instance the clash between rival thugs of PDP and ANPP at Gidan Kaya in Wamakko local government in 2010 result injury to a number of 12 individuals and also the rerun polls between the parties (PDP and DPP) resulted in violent attacks and counter attacks by political thugs in which more than 27 vehicles and motorcycles of the parties were smashed and some burnt. 2 persons were also killed.

**Table 4.2.8: Perpetuate of the violence**

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Elites	20	43.5
Educated youths	18	39.1
Thugs	8	17.4
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.2.8 above shows that 20 respondent representing 43.5% believed that the elites were the major sponsors of electoral violence in Sokoto state during the 2011 general election, 18 respondent representing 39.1% responded that the educated youths were the major actors of the violence of the 2011 general election while 8 respondent representing 17.4% perceived that the thugs were the major sponsors of the violence. The finding shows that majority of the violence was believed to be perpetuated by the elites mostly referred to as the area boys in the area.

**Table 4.2.9: what kind of instrument was used in electoral violence in Sokoto state?**

Instrument	Frequency	Percentage %
Sophisticated weapons	2	4.3
Light weapons	44	95.7
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.2.9 above shows that 2 respondent representing 4.3% responded that the instrument used in the violence was sophisticated weaponry items that can cause great harm to many individuals, this items may include guns, bombs, highly intoxicated acids etc. 44 respondent representing 95.7% responded that light weapons were used in the violence, such weapons include cutlass, knife, petrol that may likely cause minimum harm to the public. The finding shows that majority of the respondent responded that light weapons were used in the violence.

**Table 4.2.10 What are the factors that generate electoral violence**

Factors	Frequency	Percentage %
Economic factor	7	15.2
Political factor	20	43.5
Socio cultural factor	4	8.7
All of the above	15	32.6
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.2.10 above shows that 7 respondent representing 15.2% argued that the major factors that generated electoral violence was economic, 20 respondent representing 43.5% responded that the major factor that generate electoral violence in the 2011 general election was political, 4 respondent representing 8.7% believed that the major factor that generate the violence was Socio

Cultural in nature while 15 respondent representing 32.6% believed the major factor can be attributed to all the factors outlined in the questionnaire. The finding shows that majority of the respondent believed that the major factor that generate electoral violence in the 2011 election was political. Considering the nature of the violence, the clash is mostly an attempt to cause harm to the opposition party, for example the clash between thugs during PDP campaigns at Illela local government area in 2008 in which properties (Houses, shops) were burnt and 2 cars were smashed, also the fight for 2007 election between Bafarawa and Wamakko in which the supporters of both opposition became enemies against themselves.

**Table 4.2.11: whether electoral violence affects democratic consolidation**

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
YES	35	76.1
NO	11	23.9
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.2.11 above shows that 35 respondents representing 76.1% responded YES and also hold the believed that electoral violence may likely affect democratic consolidation in Sokoto state while 11 respondent representing 23.9% argued that electoral violence did not affect democratic consolidation in Sokoto. Therefore from the above result, it can be argued that electoral violence do affect democratic consolidation.

#### **4.2.12: Respondent responses on how electoral violence affects democratic consolidation**

Respondent 1: People may not likely participate fully in the election process.

Respondent 2: The violence lead to destruction of properties including election materials their by creating a weak election process.

Respondent 3: It disrupts the unity of citizen thereby create hatred among them.

Respondent 4: The atmosphere becomes unfit for any democratic process.

Respondent 5: The violence delays democratic consolidation and democratic Process because it results to postponement of election in some areas.

#### **4.1.13: Respondent responses on the way electoral violence have no effect on the democratic consolidation;**

Respondent1: Because despite the crises, it did not stop the election from taking place.

Respondent 2: Police were able to control the situation.

Respondent3: The crises did not affect every segment of the state, inspite the nature of the violence, election was peaceful in some polling units. For e.g. some polling unit at Sama road, lowcost, Bado among others has no reported cases of such violence.

However most of the respondent could not outline how the violence affects or did not affect electoral consolidation in Sokoto state.

#### 4.1.14: whether there is relationship between lack of political education and electoral violence

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
YES	41	89.1
NO	5	10.9
Total	46	100.0

Table 4.1.14 above shows that 41 respondent representing 89.1% responded yes that there is relationship between lack of political education and electoral violence while 5 respondent representing 10.9% responded that there is no relationship. The finding shows that most respondent believed that there is relationship.

#### 4.3 Discussion of findings

Democratic consolidation is the challenge of making new democracies secure for extending their life experience of making them immune against the eventual reverse waves. Scheldler (1998).

It could be discerned that electoral violence is a major tool and process through which democratic procedures are subverted The findings of the study shows that there was high degree of violence in sokoto state, 41(89.1) constituting the majority believed that there was violence in various areas of the state.

The finding also shows that 13(28.3) and 19(41.3%) respondent believe the violence cases were very intense and intense respectively and was mostly perpetuated by the elites with 20(43.5) of the respondent believes that the violence was perpetuated by elite, this in line The elite theory developed and popularized by Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) the theory argues that the ruling faction of the political elites uses the state power to accumulate wealth in order to strengthen

their economic base and render the state power attractive (Ake 2000). . Furthermore, 44(95.7) of the respondent believed that light weapons were said to be used in the violence, such weapons include cutlass, knife, petrol that may likely cause minimum harm to the public.

The finding also shows that 7(15.2%) of the respondent believed that economic factor generate violence in the state while the majority of the respondent constituting 20(43.5%) of the respondent believed that political factor is the major factor that contribute to electoral violence in the area.

This is in line with the argument of Weinberg 2006; Obadore, 1999; Sisk, 2008; Omotola, 2008 and Olayinka, 2009 who believed that electoral violence is a sub-category of political violence. To them Political violence can be seen as the use of threat or physical force against individuals or properties with the intention of causing injury, death, or damage notably with political significance and overall consequences of the political system. It is said by the Amnesty international (2010) they argued that hundreds of people had already been killed in what it calls politically motivated communal and sectarian violence across Nigeria ahead of presidential and parliamentary polls. The finding also shows that 35(76.1%) believed that electoral violence affect democratic consolidation in the area

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This is the final chapter of the work. It focuses on the summary, of the study. Some reflection on the major findings of work and the conclusion drawn from the findings of the study are also presented.

#### **5.2 Summary**

The research work is divided into five chapters. Chapter one comprises of general introduction on the topic under study, which is electoral violence and democratic consolidation in Nigeria, a case study of Sokoto State part of Nigeria, 2009-11. Under the general introduction, the meaning of election and electoral violence is given in order to give head way to the conduct of the research. Chapter one also stated the research objective, significant of the study, statement of problem, research questions.

Chapter two comprises of literatures and theoretical frame work. The literature reviewed for the purpose of this work covered a wide range of issues relating to political elites, democracy, democratic consolidation, election and electoral violence in Nigeria. The chapter, equally discussed the theoretical framework adopted for the study, which is elite theory and the theory shows how elite manipulate youth and thugs to perpetuate violence in the state of their selfish interest frame work in this work adopted the elite theory were it shows how elite perpetuate and triggers electoral violence.

Chapter three contains the historical development of electoral violence and Democracy in Nigeria in general and Sokoto State in particular. Issues relating to democratic consolidation were also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter four deals with data collected on the field in relation to the research topic and it was presented, interpreted and analyzed. The chapter also contains the results of major findings with regards to the study vis-a-vo and chapter five is initially the concluding chapter. In this chapter, the whole summary, conclusion and recommendation of the previews chapters was done.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

A major conclusion is the fact that although several factors accounted for the occurrence and subsequent rise in electoral violence, the selfish interest of the political class is very vital in understanding the unending nature of this violence in Nigeria. most of these factors whether institutional or procedural cannot exist independent of the inordinate ambitions for power and crass materialism among the political elites in the country with the high value placed on politics in the country with devastating effects for the democratic project.

The conduct of this research also understood that the nature of electoral violence in Sokoto state is intense as considering the magnitude of some violence. and also it is concluded that electoral violence leads to disrupts of unity of citizens thereby creating hatred among them and it also affect democratic consolidation because the violence lead to destruction of properties which also include electoral materials thus creating a weak electoral process.

It is also understood that the lack of sincerity of purpose by politicians in contesting in an election which involves the sponsoring of thugs to unleash their elicited activities against their

political opponent is also responsible for electoral violence in which the violence need democratic consolidation.

#### **5.4 Recommendation**

Consequently, there is the need to put in place certain measures aimed at curtailing these tendencies. In the first place, there is the need to reduce the attractiveness of political offices. If the package of political offices are reduced and made less attractive, it will perhaps bring about changes in the manner politicians play the political game. Importantly, there is the need for attitudinal and behavioral changes both among politicians and the citizens at large. Political education is of essence in realizing this goal. And the Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's) and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) can be very instrumental in this regards and on a sustained basis by championing the course of political education and enlightenment of the people.

Again, the issue of the weakness of the economic foundation of democracy itself needs to be addressed. The socio-economic and welfare needs of the people which include employment and health, shelter, education and other means of economic well being must be adequately taken care of Nigeria is blessed with abundant resources (both human and material resources) that can be optimized to achieved this goal and overturn the economy. But good governance and effective leadership is lacking in Nigeria which is essential to the strengthening the institutional capacities of the various agencies connected with the administration of election in Nigeria. The Electoral Act 2010 has spelt out the role of both security forces and INEC in the various provisions governing the conclude of elections, what remains is the political will to implement them.

From the study, cases for further research are established. In the first place there is a need for more comparative analysis of electoral violence across national boundaries. For instance how and why factors such as poverty/unemployment aid the proliferation of electoral violence in some countries while in others the situation is different. For example, Niger Republic is a poor country compared to Nigeria yet the levels of electoral violence in that country is very insignificant compared to a country like Nigeria and Ghana or even Ivory Coast in the West African sub regions.

Therefore more research could be focused on the political economy of electoral violence, including its democratic play off over and above compliance with the electoral laws. This may help to unravel the historical, political and economic undercurrents of electoral violence as it affects democratic stability in Nigeria.

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