VIOLENCE AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF THE 2007 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN PLATEAU STATE

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the Thesis Titled "Violence and the Electoral Process in Nigeria: A case Study of the 2007 Gubernatorial Election in Plateau State", was embarked upon by me under the supervision of Professor R. A Dunmoye and Dr. Kayode Omojuwa.

It should also be noted that works consulted were duely acknowledged and referenced. I also declare that no part of this research was lifted else where for the award of this degree.

CERTIFICATION

This Thesis titled "Violence and the Electoral Process in Nigeria: A Case study of the 2007 Gubernatorial Elections in Plateau State", by all standards meets the regulations governing the Award of Degree of Master of Science of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and intellectual development.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated of God Almighty who granted me favour throughout this work.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page - - - - - - - - - -i
Declaration - - - - - - - - - -ii
Certification - - - - - - - - - -iii
Dedication - - - - - - - - - -iv
Acknowledgment - - - - - - - - -v
Table of Contents - - - - - - - - -vi
List of Abbreviation - - - - - - - - -vii
List of Tables - - - - - - - - - -viii
Abstract - - - - - - - - - -ix

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study - - - - - - - 5

1.2 Statement of Research Problem - - - - - - 6

1.3 Research Questions - - - - - - - - 6

1.4 Aims and Objectives of study - - - - - - - 7

1.5 Research Assumptions - - - - - - - - 7

1.6 Research Methodology - - - - - - - 8

1.7 Scope and Limitations - - - - - - - - 10

1.8 Theoretical Framework- - - - - - - - 11

1.9 Outline of Chapters - - - - - - - - 15

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Violence - - - - - - - - - 16

2.1 Electoral Violence - - - - - - - - 17

2.1.2 Root causes of Electoral Violence - - - - 21

2.1.3 Electoral Violence in Africa: an overview - - - 23

2.1.4 Electoral Systems - - - - - - - - 26

2.1.5 Electoral System in Nigeria - - - - - 35

CHAPTER THREE: NIGERIAN ELECTORAL PROCESS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Election in the Pre-Independence years - - - - - 44

3.2 Elections during the First Republic - - - - - 45

3.3 The 1946 – 1965 General Election- - - - - - 48

3.4 The 1979 Elections - - - - - - - - 52

3.5 The 1983 Elections - - - - - - - - 54

3.6 The 1989 to 1993 General Elections - - - - - 55

3.7 The 1999 General Elections - - - - - - 56

3.8 The 2003 Elections - - - - - - - - 57

3.9 The 2007 General Elections - - - - - - 59

3.10 Electoral Violence in Nigeria: A Retrospective survey - - - 61

CHAPTER FOUR: ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN PLATEAU STATE

4.1 Evolution and Development of Plateau State - - - - 66

4.1.2 Brief History of Violence in Plateau State- - - - - 68

4.1.3 Electoral Violence and 2007 elections in Plateau State - - - 84

4.2 Data Presentation and Analysis - - - - - - 90

4.2.1 Analysis of Politicians Opinion - - - - - - - 91

4.2.2 Analysis of Electorates Views - - - - - - - 95

4.2.3 Oral Interview for Politicians - - - - - - 104

4.2.4 Overview of Findings - - - - - - - - 108

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings - - - - - - - 110

5.2 Conclusion - - - - - - - - - 112

References - - - - - - - - - 114

Appendix 1: Questionnaire - - - - - - - 118

Appendix 2: Structured Questionnaire (Interview Questions) - - 120

Appendix 3: Electoral Violence during the 2007 in Plateau State - - 122

Appendix 4: List of Interviewees - - - - - - 123

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACRONYMS	MEANING
AC:-	Action Congress
ANPP:-	All Nigerian Peoples Party
APGA:-	All Progressive Grand Alliance
AD:-	Alliance for Democracy
AG:-	Action Group
AU:-	African Union
CNPP:-	Conference of Nigerian Political Parties
CSOs:-	Civil Society Organizations
ECOWAS:-	Economic Community of West African State
ERC:-	Electoral Reform Committee
EU:-	European Union
FPTP:-	First Past The Polls
INEC:-	Independent National Electoral Commission
IRI:-	International Republican Institute
IIDEA:-	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
LA:-	Labor Party
NCNC:-	National Council of Nigeria Citizens
NNDP:-	Nigerian National Democratic Development
NCP:-	National Conscience Party
NCNC:-	National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NGF:-	Northern Governors Forum

NNDP:-	Nigerian National Democratic Development
NPC:-	Northern Peoples Congress
NPN:-	National Party of Nigerian
NRC:-	National Republican Convention
NWC:-	National Working Committee
NYM:-	Nigerian Youth Movement
NECON:-	National Electoral Commission of Nigeria
NEPU:-	Northern Elements Progressive Union
OPC:-	Odua Peoples Congress
PDP:-	Peoples Democratic Party
PPA:-	Progressive Peoples Alliance
PR:-	Proportional Representation
REC:-	Resident Electoral Commissioner
TMG:-	Transition Monitoring Group
UMBC:-	United Middle Belt Congress

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Place and Origin of respondents - - - - - - 79

Table 2: Duration of Residents of Respondents - - - - - 79

Table 3: Sex of the Respondents - - - - - - 79

Table 4: Age of Respondents - - - - - - 84

Table 5: Educational Qualifications of Respondents - -- - 84

Table 6: Status of Respondents - - - - - - - 84

Table 7: Electioneering Experience of Respondents - - - 85

Table 8: Respondents Opinion of Electoral Violence - - - 86

Table 9: Respondents Opinion of ethno-Religious Crises - - - 89.

ABSTRACT

The history of human existence is replete with one form of violence or another. Violence is therefore not a recent development. It has occurred and may occur whenever and wherever there is a clash of interest between individuals and or groups. Violence is also used as a weapon by some people to realize or achieve certain ends. This implies that violence manifests in different forms and dimensions. The phenomenon that is associated with the Nigerian electoral process is violence in Nigeria is characterized by thuggery, intimidation, molestation and assassination. Against the prevalence of electoral violence, this research examined the factors responsible for the outbreak of violence in the 2007 Gubernatorial Elections in Plateau State. Specifically, the work examined why for the first time politicians in Plateau State resorted to assassination of an aspirant in the quest for political power. The researcher used the group theory as its theoretical framework because of group and individual interest used in achieving their political ambitions. Data for the research were collected from primary and secondary sources. Relevant information gathered from primary sources involved the use of structured questionnaire and oral interviews were conducted among the politicians. The data from primary and oral interviews were analyzed using frequency tables and percentages. The analysis of the result shows that; ethno-religious consideration, lack of political will by government in implementing committee recommendations have impacted negatively on the electoral process in the 2007 Gubernatorial elections in Plateau State. Based on these findings it is recommended that there should be more enlightenment campaigns to sensitize Nigerians on the dangers of electoral violence.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Violence is an ubiquitous phenomenon in every society and every sphere of social life. It is not restricted to the political sphere alone. It cuts across every aspect of human existence. This means that political violence is just a subset of violence. It takes many forms including kidnapping, assassination, arson, thuggery etc. This shows that we are in a violent world and the tendency to be violent increases by the day. Violence has no territorial boundary. It is as universal as it predates modernity. For instance, Ekiran (2006:286) notes that both the Biblical and Quaranic accounts of creation and the events that followed in the Garden of Eden particularly Adam and Eve's refusal to obey God's simple instruction, amounts to violence of a sort.

Rejection of a superior's injunction is tantamount to violent behavior; because the word violence has its roots from violation or infringement (Ninalowo, 2004; 18). So when one violates or infringes on a laid down principle, it amounts to violence. Therefore violence can be described as an unruly behavior perpetrated to express anger and dissatisfaction over some social issues which the perpetrators felt have affected or likely to affect them in one way or another (Ekiran, 2006:285). It is an aggressive behavior which more often than not involves physical combat which could inflict bodily injuries on both perpetrators and innocent people. It is an ill wind that blows no one any good.

With some degree of accuracy or certainty one could say that one type of violence or another is to be found in every human society. In other words, even the

advanced countries and developing countries alike are not immune to violence. In Nigeria, violence is commonly used as a political tool to achieve the perpetrators' selfish ends. This usually occurs during elections when one government is about to hand over power to another. The use of violence during elections has become a common feature of the Nigerian electoral process.

Elections are regarded as the hallmark of democratic governance in every democratic society. This is because elections are one of the ways through which people engage in political participation. Elections have become the most acceptable method by which citizens of an ever increasing number of political systems choose their leaders. The appeal of elections lies principally in the opportunity that it provides for an entire electorate to participate in choosing those that should govern them in a simple and peaceful exercise (Momoh, 2005;31).

Elections also provide the people with the opportunity to indicate their preference among the policies and programmes presented to them by the rival leadership elements contesting for political power (Ayeni – Akeke, 2008:27). Elections may also enable the people to remove unpopular leaders or force elected officials to listen to their grievances, particularly between elections. Most elected public officers are always conscious of when their terms are over, they would need to fall back to the people to renew their mandate. Therefore, the fear that they might be rejected if they fail to heed to the complaints of the people in non-election years, makes them to pay attention to the views and aspirations of the electorate.

Of all the functions that elections perform, it is the opportunity that it provides for the people to choose their leader that is most emphasized. Yet the extent to which it

provides this opportunity varies from one political system to another. For example, in totalitarian political systems, election is the means by which the leadership seeks to confer legitimacy on the regime and government as well as the contestants nominated to face the electorate for approval (Lipjhart, 1994:48). It also serves as one of the means by which the government socializes the masses and mobilizes them to support its policies. In contrast, democratic political systems that permit open competition use elections to provide the people with the chance to choose between alternative leadership candidates and policies. This does not however mean that it is in all open and competitive political systems that election performs this function effectively and to some extent the effectiveness of elections as a vehicle of choice for the ordinary citizen is influenced by various factors e.g. whether the political parties provide distinct alternative leadership materials and programs etc. (Lipjhart, 1994:48).

The foregoing indicates that elections are a complex set of activities with different variables that act and feed one another. It involves the participation of the people in the act of choosing their leaders and their own participation in governance (T.M.G., 2003:11). Elections are not necessarily about Election Day activities although it forms an important component. It encompasses activities before, during and after elections. It involves the legal and constitutional framework of elections which are the registration of political parties, party campaigns, the activities of electronic and print media in terms of access; it includes campaign financing, the activities of security agencies and the government in power. It includes the authenticity and genuineness of voters register; the independence or lack of it of electoral agencies and organs. It

includes the liberalism or otherwise of the political process in the country and the independence of adjudicating bodies of elections (T.M.G., 2003:11).

During the last fifty four years, General Elections have been conducted eleven times in Nigeria at irregular intervals: 1951, 1954, 1959, 1964, 1979, 1983, 1991/1993, 1997, 1998/99, 2003 (Kurfi, 2005;:xi) and 2007. The first four were conducted under the parliamentary system while the rest were held under the Presidential system of government. It is also important to state here that elections in Nigeria have always been characterized by several irregularities, which have always been politically motivated and these have led to violence which has taken an appalling toll on human lives and property. There have always been widespread administrative failings, procedural irregularities, and intentional efforts to carry out ballot fraud etc. The result of these is that the general public's faith and confidence in the fairness of the country's electoral process suffers (TMG, 2003:12).

The General Elections of 2007 were of monumental importance as it marked the first time in the history of elections in the country when civilian to civilian transition has ever taken place .It was a situation that the former President, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, described as a 'do or die affair'. The whole electoral processes were that of State Houses of Assembly, National Assembly, Gubernatorial and Presidential Offices.. Even though the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) meticulously and zealously planned for these elections, the election days witnessed confusion and all manner of electoral mal-practices such that INEC's preparedness was brought to question. Results from the entire exercise Were probably the most contentious and most lingering (Yaqub, 2007: 19). Long after the events, there were still litigations after litigations. The

elections were annulled in certain states of the federation while in others, results remain controversial. This was so because those who emerged victorious did so through irregular activities. i.e rigging and violence. The elections conducted in Plateau State cannot be said to have occurred without electoral violence. The events which trailed the Gubernatorial Elections in Plateau State form the focus of this research.

1.2 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

Elections are the central processess of democratic representative government because in any democracy the authority of government derives solely from the consent of the governed. The principal mechanism for translating the consent into governmental authority ideally is by holding free and fair elections. In Nigeria, elections have become an avenue for legitimization of bad governance. This assertion hinges on the fact that incumbent government holds on to power at all cost while opposition parties in a bid to capture state power, resort to all manner of irregularities. The result of this is usually violence of one sort or the other.

Events which unfolded in Plateau State during the last election show that the most contentious issues about the election have to do with electoral violence which hitherto, is unheard of in Plateau State politics. The political atmosphere in the state became unusually tensed while many interest groups emerged with the intent to capture power. The result of these was a bitter warfare that ensued between these factions, leading to allegations, killings, kidnappings, etc that were politically motivated, In fact a gubernatorial candidate, Jesse Aruku, of the Action Congress was assassinated on July 2nd 2006. This was the first in the history of Plateau State politics when a gubernatorial

aspirant was killed; the incident also typifies the increasing rate of electoral violence in the state.

Presently the problem in Plateau State seems to have assumed a different dimension. For instance, one group of politicians have continued to accuse the other on various issues. One of such issues is about the legitimacy of the present crop of leadership. Presently, the ruling party in the state has two factions referred to as 'PDP ONE' or state PDP while the second is called 'PDP TWO' or Abuja PDP. One group blames the other for lack of transparency in the electoral process as their reason for emergence.

The overall consequence of these developments is that the political atmosphere in Plateau State remains tense. Politically, Plateau State is like a ticking time bomb and a political catastrophe waiting to be unleashed.

This work therefore sets out to examine the factors responsible for the outbreak of violence in Plateau State politics. Furthermore, this work also examines the challenges which these developments pose for Nigeria's electoral process and democracy.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions are follows:

I what are the factors that generated violence during the 2007 Gubernatorial Elections in Plateau state?

ii Did Ethnic and Religious considerations influence the electoral process in Plateau state?

iii What are the ways of reducing electoral violence in Plateau State?

The researcher intends to answer these questions using the aims and Objectives stated below

1.4 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

The specific objectives are as follows:

i. To examine factors responsible for the outbreak of violence in the 2007 elections in Plateau state.

ii. To identify and discuss the reasons why politicians in Plateau State resorted to Violence in the quest for the governorship seat

iii To appraise the 2007 Gubernatorial Elections in Plateau State with a view to identifying its challenges to Nigeria's electoral process.

iv To proffer workable recommendations on ways of improving the electoral process in Plateau State and Nigeria in general.

1.5 RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

The following propositions are hereby put forward:

i) Ethno- Religious considerations contributed to the spate of violence in the 2007 Governorship Elections in Plateau State.

ii) Lack of political will by government in implementing committee recommendations have affected the electoral process in Plateau State.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is primarily undertaken to appraise the 2007 Gubernatorial Elections in Plateau state. To do so, this section presents the research design, data collection procedure, research instruments, population, sample size, and sampling technique, analytical procedure and validation of research instruments.

1.6.1 Data collection procedure

The data needed for this research were collected from identified primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected from electoral districts, offices and individuals in the three senatorial districts of plateau state, and INEC officials. Oral interview was conducted with respondents (politicians) drawn from the three senatorial zones in Plateau State; structured questionnaires were administered to respondents in order to illicit responses aimed at the assessment of elections and compilation of results. Secondary sources i.e textbooks, newspapers, conference/seminar papers etc, were also consulted and relevant information extracted.

1.6.2 Research method

The Method adopted for primary data collection are interviews and questionnaires.

(a) Interviews

This is the usual method of collecting data in a social survey. Interviews are conversations carried out with the definite aim of obtaining certain information. It is designed to gather valid and reliable information through valid responses of the interviewee to planned sequence of questions (Maceby and Maccabby;1984). The

interview can either be structured or unstructured depending on the extent to which the context and procedure involved are prescribed and standardized.

(b) Questionnaires

This constitutes the first attempt at true scaling. They are particularly advantageous whenever the sample size is large enough to make it uneconomical for reasons of time or funds to observe or interview every subject (Maccoby and Macccoby, 1986;31).

In administering the questionnaire, the major target were politicians, INEC officials, and security men who were coviniently selected, including voters from three Local Governments Areas representing each of the three constituencies in Plateau State. Interview were carried out in areas not covered by the questionnaires.

(c) Population

The target population, as noted earlier, was made up of INEC officials, Political party agents, and the electorate in three Local Governments Areas in Plateau state i.e Jos North representing Plateau North Constituency, with a population of 437,217, Mangu representing Plateau Central with a population of 300,520 and Shendam Local Government Area representing Plateau South Constituency with a population of 205,119 (NPC Census Report, 2006)

(d) Sample size and Sampling Techniques

The target population of this study is made up of two sets of respondents' i.e politicians, drawn from the three senatorial zones, INEC officials and members of the Electorate . The Total number of respondents in this study was made up of three hundred and thirty members of the electorate (330) i.e the distribution is as follows: Electorate, INEC officials , i.e one hundred (100) from each local government while the remaining people are politicians(30) i.e. ten each from the Three Local Governments areas.

The number was arrived at by using the convenience sampling method, this method is known as the grab, opportunity or accidental method .with this method the researcher used subjects that are easy to reach. However the thesis relied on Qualitative Analysis for discussion of its findings.

(e) Analytical Procedure

The information gathered was analyzed descriptively by means of tabulation, known in statistics as simple percentage analysis.

. 1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

It has been observed that violence is a common feature/occurrence in the conduct of elections in Nigeria. This has, often times, imparted negatively on the credibility of the Nigerian electoral process. The scope of this study therefore covers the Gubernatorial Elections held in 2007 in Plateau State.

Major problems encountered were time constraints, bureaucracy and reliability of the sources or materials. Notwithstanding, the researcher came up with findings that would be worth making reference to in future.

Problem Encountered in The field

During the field Work, the problems encountered in the study include the following:

i, Politicians were very reluctant in completing the questionnaires from Mangu and Shendam , this was even manifested more in Shendam when we were invited by the divisional Police Officer who questioned our activities.

ii. There was also the problem of finances as the researcher hired research assistants. It was a financial burden.

iii. Some respondents collected the questionnaires and failed to return them. At the time we left they were nowhere to be found.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation of the research rests on the Group theory. As a tool for political analysis, this theory shows a great deal of interest in the internal organization and processes of various groups and discusses questions relating to their boundaries, size, territoriality and other forms of integration. Under this theory, society is taken as a mosaic of groups living in interaction with one another, and the government is described as a forum within which the group struggle can proceed in the presence of certain overreaching boundaries and limits. According to the group theorists, the government can be distinguished from other groups in terms of the mechanics and processes of adjustment they provide for the purpose of handling the ongoing struggle for political interest group. The government thus 'comprises of groups representing within its framework broader social processes, as well as interest and claims, thus

making available to outside groups a number of points of access, at which it is open to influence'(Varma,1975).

Against this backdrop, it becomes pertinent to explain the term 'group'. It simply means a collection of individuals. However, in terms of group theory, it connotes a different thing. According to Bently, the author of group theory, a group means a certain portion of the men of a society, taken however not as a physical mass cut off from other masses of men, but as a mass of activity, which does not preclude the men who participate in many other group activities.(Bently,1952).

A group has an interest of its own and it represents a pattern of process rather than a static form. As such a group can emerge only when the interactions among members are relatively frequent and sufficiently patterned to produce directional activity. It should be noted that groups are different from each other as regular and coincidental or categorical and the fact that the same individuals may belong to various groups and they also do so, makes it clear that the activity particular to the group is more important than its structural composition.

What binds the individuals of a group is the interest, a shared attitude concerning a claim or claims to be made by one group upon certain other groups in the social system. it is because of this very element that one can imagine a large number of interest that have not found expression in any other group and for this reason , they remain unprecedented until they find such expression.

The group theory thus leads logically to particular concept of the social system and political behaviour and it is through the social system the various groups seek to realize or maximize their interest. The society 'is a single universe of groups which

combine, break, and federate and form coalitions and constellations of power and in a flux of restless alterations is and it is kept going by the push and resistance between groups.

Furthermore, according to the theory, society is made up groups and the government is represented by them as playing the role of mediator in the struggle among groups and the source of rules and restraints. The government functions to establish and maintain a measure of order in the relationships among groups.(Johari, 1972) Action according to the proponents of the group theory is always invariably a group process, never found in one man himself, it cannot be stated by adding men to men . it must be taken as it comes to in many men together by men in groups , society, nation, government, legislation, politics, administration, all are comprised of groups of men, each cutting across many others moreover, these groups are in a state of perpetual interaction with each other, and politics consist in the shunting by some men of other men's conduct along changed lines, the getting of forces to overcome resistance to such alterations or the dispersal by one grouping or forces by other grouping or forces by other grouping (Varma 1975).

The group theorist find a great establishing force in the operation of several social groups. The competing groups that make the society are seen as participating in an unconscious balancing process. The vast mass of groups involved in the process of interaction and competition and the existence of divergent lines of conflict guarantee that all individual groups will be kept in check by simultaneous activities of other groups. Another stabilizing force also stems from the phenomena of overlapping or cross cutting memberships. The individuals belong to various groups and they are at the

expense of their association with all other groups. Above all, the balance within a society is powerfully supported by what the group theorist call the rules of the game. These are seen as unorganised through widely accepted interest that set up certain criteria of acceptability for the conduct of inter group conflict and that are capable of active organization in the events that these criteria are widely violated (Johari 1975).

The group theory as presented above leaves certain loopholes. One of such may be taken as partially correct. All the decisions of government are not taken under the pressure of groups. While some decisions are definitely made on the account of pressure of the interest of the groups, others are not. Other factors like consideration of the good of the people, ideas of the people, the general interest of the society, or character and temperament of the nation may not be entirely discarded.

Another loophole of the theory is that it lacks the quality of a good orientation. It simply tries to study things as they are without telling us what should be the goals of our social life. It also tells us how changes take place in the social and political system.

In spite of the foregoing and other criticisms leveled against the group theorist, it remains relevant in this study as it examines the groups or factions that have emerged on intra and inter party basis in Plateau state; also, it tries to find out if the assassination, humiliation, molestation, rigging recorded during the 2007 elections were deliberately carried out by any of the groups to pursue their interest. Therefore the group theory is a veritable tool for the analysis of electoral process in 2007 governorship elections in plateau state

1.9 Outline of Chapters

This research is structured into five chapters. Chapter One, introduces the work, it comprises of the statement of the problem, aims and objectives, research assumptions and scope and limitation. Chapter Two comprises of a review of relevant literature and theoretical framework. Chapter three examines Nigeria's electoral process from 1960 to 2007, while chapter four presents a historical background to Plateau State and analyses of data collected from the field on Plateau State 2007 General Elections. Chapter five discusses the findings, conclusions of the study; it also presents relevant and emergent recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.1 VIOLENCE

The word "violence" defies any precise, commonly, accepted definition. The concept often serves as a catch all for every variety of protest, militancy, coercion, destruction, or muscles flexing which a given observer happens to fear or condemn. (Anifowose 2006:1). Violence therefore is a universal phenomenon which has been viewed differently by scholars; it is, however, seen as an act of causing pain to one's self or others. Violence has been pursued in the defense of order by the privileged, in the name of justice by the oppressed, and in fear of displacement by the threatened (Anifowose 2006:1).

Gatlung (2004:2) identifies three types of violence, as physical, psychological and structural. He states that physical violence involves a situation of physical assault whether mild or hard. To him psychological violence is the kind that places a person in a state of perpetual fear of what could happen to him as a result of his participation in an activity of being a member of a community. While structural violence is an indirect and embedded in structures of the society but could be worse than physical and psychological violence. It takes place when people are politically repressed, causing them to live miserably because they are politically repressed, economically exploited, deprived of the freedom to be close to those with whom they identify or forced to be close to those they do not like.

Violence manifests itself in various forms according to the society by which it is perpetuated. For instance, in Nigeria the most common forms through which it manifests is

ethnic, domestic, religious, political or electoral patterns (Ugboaja:6). This thesis focuses on electoral violence.

2.1.1 Electoral Violence

Electoral violence can be defined as any random or organized act of threat to intimidate, physically harm, blackmail, or abuse a political stakeholder in seeking to determine, delay, or to otherwise influence an electoral process (IFES 2002:3).

Ugboaja (2007:5) sees electoral violence as one form of organized act or threat which is physical, psychological and structural aimed at intimidating, harming, blackmailing political opponents before, during and after election geared towards influencing the electoral process to one's selfish desire.

Electoral violence can be categorized into three types namely; Pre-election violence, Election Day violence and post election violence. These three categories of violence can manifest in different forms such as torture, extra judicial executions, arbitrary detention, and abduction and kidnapping, arrest without warrant, beating, personal humiliation, killing, shooting, death threat, burning of houses, chasing of voters from polling station/unit and malicious damage of property.

The pre-election violence is usually caused by powerful individuals within the party and they use various ways through achieving their goals. For instance, they select their own candidates to run for elections using all the machinery of the party. The selection process usually causes friction within the party, and sometime leads to factions within the party. Loyalist of such powerful individuals tends to humiliate, intimidate their political opponents.

The Election Day violence is the most occurred and documented electoral violence in Nigeria. It includes deliberate use of security or thugs to hijack electoral materials molest and intimidate electoral officers. Powerful politicians use youths, unemployed to cause electoral violence in order to achieve their selfish political objectives. During election, thugs are used to

prevent voters perceived to be in support of their opponents from voting. Opponents are sometimes kidnapped or eventually killed on election day.

Post election violence takes place immediately the result of election is announced or even counting of votes starts. This violence includes killing of opponents, burning of their properties etc. conversely thugs of the losing party demonstrate and attack electoral personnel, publish offensive articles and use of inciting statements on the opponents. Post election violence also includes petition and rejection of results by party or opponents that loose election.

According to Ekiran (2006:284) violence of any type whether political or otherwise has more negative than positive results on the society. To him, in the first instance, it does not project a good image of the country outside it borders. It implies that the country is still politically immature and democracy is still a mirage. He argued further that violence usually scares away foreign investors from any nation. Before any foreign investor can invest his hard earned money in any society there must be guaranteed safety of life and property.

Ekiran noted further that violence is no respecter of nationality, creed, religion or race. Perpetrators of political violence and their god fathers do not put into consideration the safety of innocent people particularly of children and women. Ekiran further argued that by implication, political violence is one of the bane of development. For any nation to develop, foreign investment cannot be dispensed with. Any nation that is an island to itself risks stagnation and even retrogression. People flock to developed countries particularly United States and Western Europe because of relative peace and security of life and property.

In a similar position Jega (2008:31) pointed out that political violence or any other type of violence usually leads to loss of innocent life's and destruction of property.

It is an uphill task to give an adequate statistics of lives that have been lost as a result of violence in the conduct of politics since Nigeria's independence in 1960. Jega further noted that violence more often than not makes people internally displaced particularly violence that involves arson. It is always a forced displacement which is a process, status and consequence of being involuntarily compelled to leave one's place of domicile or habitual abode.

For Fagbemi and Nwankwo (2002:164-165), a painful consequence of electoral violence with special reference to Nigerian experience is military intervention in the social and political administration of the nation. Without any contradiction of truism the first military coup d'etat in the country on January 15, 1966 was orchestrated by electoral violence which was as a result of election malpractices in the 1964/1965 polls. Although there were remote and other causes of the military take over, the fact remains that the immediate cause of the coup d'etat was the protracted and uncollable political violence in many parts of the country.

Fagbemi and Nwankwo noted further that armed troops, police and other security operatives were sent to quell the violence, the attempt failed to sustain the unpopular regime in the defunct Western region. This motivated some military officers to intervene and seize power at the centre which led to the collapse of the first republic. They noted that the death of many notable and highly placed Nigerians could not be unconnected with electoral violence in Nigeria.

Fagbemi and Nwankwo further argued that the military coup of December 1985, was not unconnected with electoral violence which was on wider territorial spread

across the nation than the 1965 political uprising which had main base in the then Western region.

Popoola (2004:187) remarked thus:

> *The violence that attended the conduct of the 1983 election was therefore one of the identified reasons for the military takeover of government again in December 31, 1983; thus ending the second republic attempt at civil rule. The successful execution of the coup d'etat ushered in one of the perceived harshest military regime in the history of the country*.

Popoola argued further that as usual, the nation's Constitution was one of the first victims as it was suspended and replaced by decrees which are more or less draconian rules. To Popoola, democracy suffered a setback and dictatorship was enthroned and enforced. Politicians found themselves running from pillar to pole under the mercy of the military. Popoola insisted that all these were the consequences of electoral violence.

Ajagbe (2006:109) went on to posit that electoral violence undermines the political process, threatens political stability and negatively affecting transition to consolidate democracy. To him, it imposes enormous cost on the political system ranging from loss of lives, destruction of property and erosion of confidence of the voters as well as undermining the legitimacy of governments. In his view, the aftermath of the annulment of the 1993 general election validates this assertion. Following the annulment of the election, there was a tensed political atmosphere. It was a period of uncertainty, insecurity of life and property and indeed a state of anarchy. Ajagbe

lamented that electoral violence thus amounted to a situation in which the planned transition to civilian rule was derailed.

2.1.2 Root Causes of Electoral Violence

A common adage says "there is no smoke without fire", events and things do not just happen. People make things happen. History is a by product of human behaviour. So electoral violence does not just fall from the sky, there are some underpinning antecedents. From observation and research, electoral violence is rooted in the following among others:

i. **Natural Tendency:**

Research and experience show that some individuals are naturally prone to violent behaviour due to their upbringing. There is no doubt that individuals who have been exposed to violence from infancy will most likely perfect the culture of violence at a latter stage of life. Researchers of human behaviour assert that people who have been exposed to violence will more likely than those who have not been exposed to violence to employ violent strategies to manage conflict either on the micro or macro level.Ugoh(2004;)

ii. **Cultural Trait:**

Some cultures are said to be prone to and committed to the use of violence to maintain or achieve a desired goal. In a similar vein the pattern of child rearing in some

societies endorse violence. Most children in such a culture have at one time or another been slapped by either or both parents at least in a minor way. Such action meets the approval of the society and it is not even thought of as violence against the child since it is by the parents (Anderson and Sabatellli, 1999:45). Children with this type of upbringing are a ready tool in the hands of violent god fathers at a later stage of life particularly for political ends.

iii. **Political Intolerance:**

Most political parties in power are intolerant of opposition. They put all necessary and all possible machinery to frustrate opposing parties or even to eliminate them. Ugoh (2004:164) maintains that this is the order of the day in many African countries. To him, the result is one party system. Here in Nigeria, the opposition parties are only vocal without any effectiveness. The ruling party usually intimidates and silence them. For instance Ugoh recalled that when Chief Obafemi Awolowo went to the Northern region to campaign for his party candidates, he was attacked and an attempt was made to set his helicopter ablaze.

iv. **Unpopular Politicians:**

Violence is also caused by unpopular politicians who usually employed political violence through paid thugs to turn the table in their favour. These are individuals who cannot win election but want to win by all means. Furthermore, election results are changed in favor of a particular political party at the detriment of other parties. This is usually the case when incumbent governments want to retain power by all means. For instance no incumbent federal government has ever been defeated in any election in

Nigeria. The declared results of federal elections of 1964, 1983 and 2003 are cases to point. More often than not, supporters of some political parties are denied the exercise of their voting rights by the powers that be at the polling booths. All of the above always lead to electoral violence in Nigeria.

2.1.3 ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW

Political crisis, conflict tension and electoral violence is rampant in sub- Saharan Africa and this had generated equal passion among development practitioners, professional conflict management and peace building experts and political scientist. Elections were held in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Kenya Zimbabwe, Ghana, Lesotho all were characterized by pre and post election violence. Studies indicate that violence in African elections affects between 19 and 25 % of elections (Dorina 2009:2). These crisis and electoral violence consequently lead to an unfavorable democratization in most African countries. Violence is so infused in political processes of African countries that almost all elections are characterized by crisis and violence. These can be seen in the Nigerian elections held in 2004, 2007, Lesotho in 1998 and 2007, Zimbabwe 2008.Specifically in the case of Nigeria, during the 2007 International observers said thus: “the electoral violence left more than 100 people killed and many injured” many politicians took advantage of the rampant poverty and unemployment to recruit young men, who intimidate and even kill their opponents . Many politically motivated killings and attacks occurred in many other areas. In central and northern states, some politicians used religion and ethnicity to galvanize political support and opposition. For instance In kwara state (2002) the leading gubernatorial candidates were in conflict with each other

and during that period the party chairman was assassinated in addition to a bombing of the news paper office, all these were believed to be politically motivated.

In 1998 elections in Lesotho lead to post elections conflict bringing the country to the brink of a civil war. This situation was contained by the diplomatic and military intervention of South Africa and Botswana. The 2008, Zimbabwean elections were marked by violence against opposition forcing the opposition presidential candidate (Morgan Tsauingarai) to pull out of the run off election. It is believed that electoral violence, rigging, molestation and killing in African countries is greatly carried out by youths and teenagers. Youths are frequently seen in the scene of political, electoral and religious violence leading to death or injuries by youths.

Giddado (2009:9) stated that "the nature and extent of youth involvement in electoral violence and magnitude associated with electoral rigging in Nigeria is posing a threat to the national quest for stable democratic transition as attainment of consolidated democracy" the political and democratic transition has constituted a threat to a fulfilled democratic transition and youths are channels through which political and electoral violence can be stopped.

African countries elections have often ended up in electoral violence which tends to uphold the Long held afro- pessimist notion that African soil is not conducive for democracy, in 2007, Kenya was thrown into post election violence which, in a space of two months, claimed more than 1,200 lives and displaced an estimated 350,000 thousand people: This Kenya post election violence was fuelled by deep ethnic division and economic frustration. Nathan (2008) observed that "where underdevelopment is coupled with inequality violence may occur as expression of anger frustration and fear".

Violence is likely to erupt where the state fails to meet the popular demands, leaving the masses in grinding poverty. Election violence may be erupted by a disputed election but its root causes may lie in historical marginalization and exclusion. Sisk (2006) stated that "When parties are quite certain of loss or exclusion in an electoral contest, especially when they expect to be permanent minorities (to lose not just once, but again and again), the certainty of outcomes is also a strong casual driver of violence". He observed that the stakes of winning and losing valued political post is in many situations, especially in condition of high scarcity and underdevelopment incredibly high" in light of this is a state with a week political, economic, and social systems is more prone to plunge into electoral violence.

Kambudzi (2005:67) asserts "election tension and explosion into violence are event grown out of period of gestation" Thus, the outbreak of violence during elections or in reaction to an announced outcome should be seen as symptoms of deep rooted centrifugal factors ingrained in the society. It is a result of long neglected or very important issues. The serious election violence in the south- south region of Nigeria can be traced to the issue of marginalization and neglect of the oil producing states. During the April election in Rivers state there were open intimidation, molestation and serious assault of INEC staff and voters by electoral thugs which could be traced to unresolved differences in the south.

In many instances of electoral violence, humiliation and killing, the perpetuators are not charged, the victims receive little or no redress and the cause of the violence remain unexamined. Some recent actions taken by the government and the civil society may offer insights into the trend of reversing violence.

Conclusively, it can be said that the reoccurrence of electoral violence is an indication of wild spread grievances and tension. Tension from land rights, lack of employment, ethnic marginalization etc and for any meaningful progress to be made in these areas these issues must be addressed.

2.1.4 Electoral Systems

According to Duverger (1964:117-118), elections are the central institution of democratic representative government. In his view, this is so because in a democratic setting the authority of the government derives solely from the consent of the governed and that the principal mechanism for translating the consent into governmental authority is the holding of free and fair elections. Duverger further asserted that all modern democracies hold elections but that not all elections are democratic. He maintained that democratic elections are not merely symbolic, but that they are competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive elections in which the chief decision makers of a government i.e. the public representatives are selected by citizens.

Duverger maintained that free and fair elections held at regular intervals are fundamental in democratic transitions. In his position, elections provide an opportunity for examining how a range of institutions is functioning in a transitional setting and whether fundamental rights are being promoted and protected. Duverger insisted that for democracy to flourish, elections must reflect the will of the people. In order for election to fairly reflect the will of the people, the citizens must perceive that they are free to exercise their rights, adequately informed to do so, and have confidence that the electoral process will accurately reflect their choice.

He therefore concluded that elections are essential to democracy and development. To him, meaningful elections can only be realized in an environment conducive to clean, free and honest elections. Such an effort, to him, is premised on a well educated citizenry, vigilantly assertive of their right to a free, fair, clean and meaningful electoral exercise.

Duverger's opinion as reviewed above clearly presents the importance of elections to democratic governance all over the world. His opinion above may however be said to speak for what transpires in the advanced countries of the world and not what obtains in the third world where Nigeria conveniently falls. Since elections are not what they ought to be in the third world, Duverger's opinion rather sounds utopian.

Andrew (2005:127-129) posited that in a market electoral democracy, the vote is not only supreme, it is sacred; to him the vote is to politics what money is to the market. In his opinion, in societies or democratic environments, people are first and foremost commodity bearers even if the only commodity they bear is their labour power and market norms such as individualism, profit motive, competition, formal freedom and equality.

Being socially atomized, formally free, equal and self interested proprietors, Andrew noted that these commodity bearers evolve a political architecture that is akin to the market. To him the most critical aspects of this political architecture are elections and the rule of law. While the market finds political expression in elections, market forces are incarnated politically in the rule of law. To him this explains why the laws of market societies generally provide for the freedom of individuals to vote and be voted for, the equality of votes and freedom to choose between political platforms.

Furthermore, Andrew argued that just as money is the medium of exchange in the economic market, the ballot (vote) is the medium of exchange in the political/electoral market. To him, respect for the rules guiding elections, particularly as contained in the constitution and electoral law, expresses the collective subjugation of all candidates, electors and regulatory bodies to the rule of law. He posited that these rules of the *game* define the conditions on which candidates are to be supplied (the party list) and demanded (willingness of the electorate to support the platform of a candidate or party), as well as the prices (investment the electorate are willing to make in the candidate or party measured in votes). Consequently, he maintained, the regulatory regime, like the forces of demand and supply, are seemingly dissociated from the interest of one party or the other and all are equally liable to the rules of the game.

Andrew (2005:127-129) linked the process to a market situation equating the vote of the individual with money used as a medium of exchange, but Andrew fails to point out problems that can be created which tempers with the right to vote i.e that even in the market there are saboteurs these could be referred to as the electoral fraudstars who go to any length to win elections, he fails to link his analysis with the situation in most third world countries

According to Grazia (1962:65-67) the administration of elections in most jurisdictions of the world is a technical operation, publicly operated and directed with no relationship to the political parties. In the advanced countries like the United States, according to him, the administration of elections is partly in public hands and partly in party hands. To him, three criteria are commonly used to determine the efficiency of elections administration. The efficient system allows the voters to participate with a

minimum of personal inconvenience by providing them with convenient polling places, easy registration and identification procedures and in some case a legal holiday from work to cast their votes.

To Grazia, efficient systems prevent frauds. He cited an example with the US which operates on the principle that by using officials of the major parties to conduct the polling, each will watch the other and fraud will be prevented. He added that the English systems have non-partisan state employees doing the work.

Furthermore, Grazia maintained that electoral systems are also efficient if they get the job of balloting done in the shortest possible time with the least expenditure of money. To him, using untrained personnel as in many American jurisdictions also means greater expense.

Grazias work present an ideal situation in the developed world whereby party representatives are seen as watch dogs over other parties, he fails to point out that flaws are recorded in all elections , that it is not the absence of fraud that makes an election perfect but the degree to which fraud was reduced or treated justly is what makes a good election, he tries to give the impression that America has a perfect electoral system but events that led to the reelection of George Bush in 2004 shows that even in the advanced electoral systems there could be fraud, this contradicts Grazias Analysis.

For Nettles (1977:88), elections have generally come to play a central role in the structuring of the political process in western societies today i.e. they are a crucial component in any analysis of function in the political subsystem. He likened elections as possessing the quality of volcanoes i.e. they bring to the surface, knowledge about wishes and attitudes both primary (the result of electing someone) and secondary (the

deeper analysis and the attempt where made, to disentangle confusion between views held and votes cast). He noted that elections are occasional through reliable and at least regular means of geological enlightenment.

To Nettles, it is noticeable that there is in most countries with democratic elections a containing and unresolved debate as to whether elections ratify existing or proffered policies and the people that go with the policies or whether they provide clues which future policies and people must take into account.

Nettles analysis did not consider situations were electoral rigging or manipulation is the order of the day, in a situation where citizens are mostly illiterates or citizens are intimidated enlightenment cannot take place effctively, He lays less emphasis on election credibility and conduct of a free and fair elections.

According to Banks and Textor (1988:59), many of African states that exhibited competitive or partially competitive electoral systems shortly after independence have been moving at varying rates, toward the adoption of one party or fissional single list systems. To him practices vary all the way from the arresting of particular opposition leaders to the wholesome banning of opposition parties. They argued that only few African polities do there seem to be much doubt that this process will go on.

Banks and Textor argued further that virtually any restraint on political activity by opposition or potential opposition groups is likely to be justified by the government concerned as being in the "national interest". This argument, by these scholars indicates one point i.e. that there is a clear distinction between the electoral systems of the western nations and those of the third world, Africa in particular. While there is a general regard for electoral laws and procedures in the advanced countries in Africa particularly these

laws usually suffer disregard and manipulation to suit the elites selfish political ambitions.

The analysis of Banks and Textor made comparison between Western countries electoral system and Third World countries bringing out Africa as a total failure in its electoral process. The failure to bring out instances such as countries that practice monarchial systems or some countries in Africa who have shown some high level of credibility in Africa

According to Katz (1980:78) elections are properly regarded as the central institution of democratic government. This argument, to him, is because in a democracy, the authority of the government derives solely from the consent of the governed. He maintained further that the primary mechanism for obtaining and translating that consent into governmental authority is the holding of genuinely democratic elections. All modern democracies hold elections but not all elections are democratic, he added.

Katz further specified that a democratic election would characteristically be competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive and free and fair. However, he noted that achieving this is not an easy task nonetheless. To him, to bring this about, an independent electoral process is a necessary precondition and a cardinal requirement of such a process that those charged with the responsibility of conducting and supervising the process must be independent of the players in the system. This to him means a body/commission that will not surrender to the whims and machinations of those in power at the expense of their opponents and the people themselves. Such a body in his operation must be independent in order to be able, at all cost, maintain the sanctity of the electoral process.

From the analysis of Katz he mentioned the functions of elections in a democratic environment, but he did not explain vividly what to him is genuine democratic election, this argument fails to capture the position of electorates i.e there could be situation were the electorates would frustrate the electoral process even if the electoral commission was truly an independent commission, the citizens must also have a high level of political awareness for the electoral process to be smooth.

Yaqub (2007:13) posited that the crucial nature of elections in democracy is underscored by the requirement that the following minimum features must accompany their conduct. To him, in the first place there must be in existence an independent electoral body. This body must be a legal entity that can sue and be sued especially in relation to the conduct of the elections. Secondly, the elections must be seen as free and fair i.e. that the electoral body must create a level playing ground for the parties and the candidates involved in the electoral process.

Thirdly, in Yaqub's analysis the electoral body must issue guidelines that are clear, unambiguous and objective. Such guidelines to him must also be seen to have been applied fairly and equally. As an umpire, the electoral body must not be seen to be partisan in favor of any party in contest. Fourthly and lastly, as elections are likely to create some controversies either in their conduct or the results, Yaqub argued that there must be opportunities for the courts to arbitrate the expected legislations, should they ultimately occur.

Yaqub maintained that the essence of election to democracy should also be seen in the civic education role it performs. To him, indeed during elections, it is not just the party's manifestoes that are explained to the electorate, but also in the general education

in respect of the role of the parties in democratic polities, the knowledge of the candidates given the exposure as well as the pressure that they have to go through. He added that actually, the electorate would get to know how and whether or not the candidates would act in a particular way at crucial moments of decision while in office. Yaqub gave analysis of the roles and responsibilities of the electoral commissions in the conduct of a free and fair elections, however like katz, yaqub fails to capture the roles and functions of the electorates in the conduct of a free and fair elections.

According to Ugulu (2003:175), in many electoral systems, world and the electoral management bodies operate on the assumption that people are expected to be honest and to behave honestly and objectively, To him, elections in such countries are run manually with pencils, paper and good organisation using honest and socially mature individuals. He admitted that however, some activities of the electoral process can be abused by dishonest and biased individuals. He suggested that the application of appropriate technology to these activities by these systems thus reduce if not eliminate the impact of malpractices. Again, he asserted that relying on human beings alone, a lot of time is needed to achieve tasks that would otherwise take a few minutes, a few hours or a few days to accomplish. Expectations for speed, accuracy and efficiency of the process make it imperative to use not only machines to aid human effort, but to also automate many aspects of the process. It is at this point that Ugulu brought in the issue of technology in elections. He argued that the use of appropriate technology in elections is not only for the purpose of enhancing the integrity of the electoral process but is also supported by economic arguments and factors of state security.

This argument advocates for the application of technology in achieving free and fair elections but fails to look at the situation in third world countries especially in Nigeria where people, to a large extent, are not exposed to the usage of technology i.e computers to vote.

According to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IIDEA) (2002), electoral systems translate the votes cast in a general election into seats won by parties and the candidates. The key variables in its view are the electoral formula (whether the system is majoritarian or proportional, and what mathematical formula is used to calculate the seat allocation) and the district magnitude (not how many voters live in a district, but how many member of the parliament that district elects).

The Institute further noted that electoral system design also affects other areas of electoral laws, the choice of electoral system has an influence on the way in which district boundaries are drawn, how voters are registered, the design of ballot papers, how votes are controlled, along with numerous other aspects of the electoral process.

Furthermore it added that the type of electoral system a country adopts would ultimately depend on the depth of the divisions in the political community, the prevailing political culture as well as its political history. One thing therefore comes to light at this juncture i.e. that electoral process of the advanced countries are nothing but orderly and all embracing. The electoral systems of these countries operate like a system with each playing its statutorily stipulated function. This is not to imply however that these systems are perfect.

Having pointed these facts, the institute however did not consider the role of political parties in power (incumbency) in manipulating elections through hoarding of ballot papers, delaying electoral materials to favor them, control of electoral officers.

2.1.5 ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN NIGERIA

According to Kurfi (2009:95-97) though democracy has generally been accepted the world over as the best form of government, like all good things, it has its own conditions, rules and procedures. To him democracy can strive and flourish only under certain conditions, one of which is general elections in which the people are given the opportunity to freely choose their own leaders through secret ballot. He added that this vital exercise is usually carried out from time to time through the process of adult suffrage.

After this analysis of the desirability of elections, Kurfi came down to Nigeria and lamented the various vices which marred Nigeria's electoral process. In his opinion, electoral malpractice are many and varied in many countries including some of the very advanced democracies, however the case of Nigeria is said to be peculiar because of the fact that things seem to be getting worse rather than better as the nation moves ahead. In Kurfi's opinion, this is a serious phenomenon which does not augerr well for the future of democracy in Nigeria.

Kurfi went further to note that even though there are various problems militating against Nigeria's electoral process, chief among them are bribery and corruption which grow and flourish under the debilitating influence of poverty and ignorance. To him, no amount of effort that ignores these evils can effectively deal with the situation. There is

no doubt that virtually all the elections conducted in Nigeria from independence to date have been characterized by one form of electoral fraud or the other. It is therefore not out of place to state that Kurfi's summation clearly describes the Nigerian electoral system. Kurfi succeeded in examining the various problems inherent in the Nigeria's electoral process, but he fails to make recommendations as to what should be the guiding principles for a free and fair elections, he failed to mention the fact that in some states no matter how government intends to manipulate elections, citizens do not allow that to happen, for instance kano 2003, lagos 2003 is an example.

In his opinion, Chukwu (2007:7-9) lamented that despite strident attempts at electoral reforms, experience of electoral commissions in Nigeria has shown that they are not really independent. To him they rather operate like parastatals of the executive and party in power, being frequently influenced, controlled and directed by them in the exercise of their powers and performance of their functions. He asserted that the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) characteristically typifies a body fethered or tied to the strings of the executive and the ruling party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP). Consequently he lamented, the Nigerian electoral process has been subjected to gross abuses and its sanctity violated.

Chukwu contended further that the constitutional provisions for the independence of INEC are grossly defective. Consequently, the requisite independent status of the commission is not properly safeguarded. Again he argued that the defect reflects the lack of a clear and universal political will to protect the integrity of the electoral process in Nigeria. The analysis makes a critical analysis of the of INEC, it points out how the

electoral commission has been used by the ruling party to clinch to power, the analysis however did not proffer solutions as to how best it feels INEC can be independent.

In a similar vein, Okorie (2003:93-95) argued that the Nigerian experience as concerns elections teaches that the electoral process is not fully democratic and free. The engine wire of the process, the INEC is not independent as one would tend to believe given its name. He maintained that the constitutional provisions on the commission, beginning with the locus of authority for its establishment and composition of its membership, down to its enabling powers and responsibilities etc, are quite defective.

Furthermore, Okorie argued that given the nature of those provisions, INEC can best be regarded as quasi autonomous commission like a parastatal, dependent on the presidency and the ruling party for its existence, direction and control. He thus lamented that such a situation has robbed INEC of its essence and quality of being an impartial umpire in the electoral process. Therefore the future and survival of democracy and the electoral process itself is not assured under controlled operational environment.

In Okorie's opinion, the independence of INEC cannot be achieved by mere wishful thinking or changing its name from time to time and prefixing "independence" to it. To him there is need for positive actions to be taken towards the constitutional reform. He recommended that in order to guarantee and protect the independence of INEC, the relevant sections of the constitution pertaining to establishment and appointment of members of the commission as well as its independence, have to be amended.

Okorie's analysis makes a good dissection of INEC, i.e comparing it to a parastatal under the government, but he fails to explain what he means by INEC

working in an 'operational environment' listing what constitutes an operational environment would go a long way in making the reader understand what he feels is an operational environment.

According to the International Republic Institute (IRI) on the 2003 elections in Nigeria, the electoral process in Nigeria as shown by the conduct of the 2003 elections leaves substantial room for improvement. They noted serious lapses at critical levels of the election administration structure. They noted that on election days, the vast majority of polling stations failed to open on time because essential materials such as ballot boxes and ballots were delivered well after time. They also noted that many polling centers did not open until early in the afternoon or in some cases, the end of the day. They observed that as a result, a substantial number of citizens were either discouraged from voting or denied the opportunity to vote.

The institute further observed that shortages of ballot and permanent voter cards in several areas had the same effect as did problems with ballot design and insufficient voter education. The result of these they maintained was the relatively high percentage of invalidated ballots being reported at several polling stations visited by their observers. The institute further added that badly over subscribed and poorly arranged voting stations slowed the balloting process and rendered it less than orderly. Many voters were said to be forced to spend very long time at the polling stations, resulting in frustration with the delay.

They also observed a general lack of observance of the prescribed procedure for securing ballot boxes or for providing voters with a private space to record their vote. Irregularities were most dramatic and also of greatest concern in the vote tabulation and

collation processes. These and many other irregularities were recorded by the IRI even though these were occurrences during the 2003 elections, yet they conveniently describe or depict how the Nigerian electoral system looks like.

This analysis fails to give reasons for the late arrival of the electoral materials; it fails to identify which groups are involved in the delay of these materials, and what reasons are responsible for this apparent sabotage.

For Iwu (2007), elections are made to be conducted in systems where order prevails. To him, this is the marked difference between competition for power in civilized setting and that within Thomas Hobbes' state of nature where the only recognized interest is self interest and the struggle for power that does not make room for restraint and respect for constituted authority is bound, sooner or later, to do damage either to the self or to the system. He lamented that as it turns out unfortunately in the case of Nigeria, the system rather than the individuals has been bearing the brunt of the unbridled pursuit for power. In his view, in such environment of individual and group excesses, in which the mechanism for state control is weak or compromised, expectation of an ideal electoral contest is often unrealistic.

Iwu added that the pressure on the Nigerian political system was compounded by the emergence of a class of super rich citizens under the prolonged reign of military dictatorship. To him, this category of the new rich obviously has no regard for such apparently belittling doctrine as equality of citizens, nor do they have patience for such measured processes as democracy carries along. With a combination of stupendous wealth, limitless access to authority and influence which literally placed them above the law, Iwu lamented that Nigeria's latter day politicians are at once a threat to such

fundamental ingredient of democracy as electoral contests. To him, within this context, it is not difficult to see the root of electoral problems in contemporary Nigeria.

Iwu's analysis explains what is inherent in the Nigeria electoral process, however Iwu fails to explain why the mechanism for state control is weak, is it because it is the same group of individuals that control power? Or this group has a grip on the government in power? Iwu fails to proffer solutions to the problem of electoral violence, malpractice, is it that the situation is hopeless?

For Nnanna (2003:19), the general elections so far held in Nigeria have made it clear that even in the matter of elections, the federal government in Nigeria determines who wins, where and how. To him, election in Nigerian democracy at this moment is not yet a game of the electorate, but a game of the government and the federal government. He argued that power resides with the government and not the people and that once government gives power to whom it wishes, it rolls out the instruments and agents of state coercion to crush anyone who might wish to protest the rape of democracy. For this reason, Nnanna maintained that it follows that whenever the federal government makes any serious breakthrough, the ripple effect reaches every corner of the country.

Nnanna went on to state that most of the reports from local and international observer groups on the general elections in Nigeria, have always raised concerns about serious irregularities perpetrated by the Nigerian ruling class in their bid to steal the mandate of the people. He lamented that the reactions from government and INEC spokes persons and some media practitioners to these reports tended to be generally that of criticism of the accusations as unfounded or at best as lacking in objectivity. Nnanna deplored this situation and pointed out that no patriotic Nigerians would object to the

view that we need to ensure that the country's march towards democratic rule is jealously guarded against any factor that may return the nation to the woeful years of military misrule.

In his position, Jinadu (2003:23) noted that competitive elections designed and administered in such a way that the outcome are uncertain in the sense of the possibility of today's losers, tomorrow's winners, under conditions of competitive party politics, are at the heart of liberal democratic practice and culture. He maintained further that the future of democratic politics therefore is inextricably bound up with the conduct of free and fair elections and a responsible party system.

To him, although the recognition and registration of more political parties constitute a welcome to the further opening of the competitive party political space, Nigeria needs to consider the consequences of its past. The electoral system and the zero sum, winner takes all approach to competitive electoral politics it engenders, for the viability and survival of small parties. All in all, in his view, Nigeria's experience in recent times with regard to elections generally and party politics must be a cause for concern. He added that while there may be some points in Nigeria's self congratulatory effusion about having successfully effected transition from one democratic civilian administration to another, perhaps for the first time in our independent exercise, sober reflection and assessment shakily leads us to the realization that our electoral process is fundamentally flawed and that something profound must be done to set it right.

For Onu (2004:28), we live in one of the most violent nations on earth. The reason for his assertion is that elections are now held in the homes of private citizens. Election fraud and malpractices, have been elevated to a new art where fairness and

justice are sacrificed at the alter of expedience to satisfy the greed of those who want to control political power at all cost. To him, Nigerians now know that they have to cheat in order to get anything.

He noted that Nigeria's experience in the recent past has shown that the way we conduct elections has grown worse. It has been stripped of any transparency in addition to being associated with all forms of fraud, malpractice and irregularities. To him, the way elections are conducted can best be described by the comments of Justice Anthony Aniagolu, whose comments were reported in many newspapers. He said that elections in Nigeria are a fraud, consequent upon which:

> *"We therefore have no governments, No legitimate government. The government should be the government of the people, by the people and for the people. But because there is no proper election… but by force… the product of their illegal thing (election) obviously will not be government with mandate (of the people). I really don't know how to start. Is it the last general election that was total madness. I did not vote, not because I did not want to but because there was shooting, intimidation, snatching of ballot boxes…All I can tell is that I feel ashamed, totally ashamed. I did not know that I will live to see what is happening in Nigeria today. I did not know that Nigeria we loved so much would turn to be what it is today. It is a tragedy. It is a tragedy of monumental proportions ... Nigeria has become an oppressed country. (Guardian 2004:23)*

The foregoing review highlighted electoral processes across the world and Nigeria in particular. The centrality of elections to democratic governance cannot be overemphasized, nether can it be ignored. It is recognized that not all electoral systems of the globe are flawless; however, it is the extent or gravity that matters. What obtains

in Nigeria has already been commented upon in the review hence there is no need to over flog the issue. Much of the review done emphasized on the process of elections and election procedures, problems methods, electoral malpractices etc.

This Research work reviewed the works of various writers on the subject violence, Electoral violence, and Electoral process; .however, these authors failed to capture the uniqueness of the situation in Plateau State, it is the intention of this work to fill in the gaps by capturing the uniqueness of the situation in Plateau State.

CHAPTER THREE

NIGERIAN ELECTORAL PROCESS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1 ELECTIONS IN THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE YEARS

Before the attainment of political independence, Nigeria which existed as an amalgamation of northern and Southern protectorates since 1914, had witnessed three general elections i.e. 1923, 1946 and 1951/1954, all under the colonial governments. (Crowther,1962:24).

Electoral politics is almost as old as Nigeria. Not quite long after the amalgamation 1914, by the 1922 Clifford Constitution, Nigeria and certain sections of Nigerians (those who lived in Lagos and Calabar) were introduced to electoral politics, after they might have met the conditions for participation. While it could be said that the Clifford Constitution did not give much space for democratic politics (only four people were to be elected from these two cities and at the same time the number of elected versus official members of the legislative council was skewed against the former), subsequent colonial constitutions tried to remedy the anomaly. All the same and until adult suffrage was introduced in the East and in the West in the early fifties and in the North in 1959 (women were still excluded in this region until 1979), democratic space was still very much scrambled (Yaqub, 2007:16).

It is correct to argue that it is not only the limited number that could participate in electoral politics in Nigeria at the beginning that was much the matter or problem, but that from one election to another during and after colonialism the country's electoral politics has always deviated from the norm. The norm of elections, particularly in the advanced liberal democratic systems is characterized by the following: issues based on

electioneering campaign; elections devoid of substantial rigging and violence such as killings, maiming and the destruction of property; respect for the sanctity of the votes; impartial conduct of the elections by the electoral body; and the quick release of results (Beetham, 1993). Because this is often the norm, the results are more often than not accepted and both the victor and the defeated tend to exhibit much respect for one another.

3.2 ELECTIONS DURING THE FIRST REPUBLIC

Nigeria's political independence was ushered in by the December 12, 1959 general elections into local councils, regional and federal legislatures (Beetham, 1993). Before the elections and based on the federal department of statistics projection of Nigeria's population to be 31,559,026, the political parties all agreed that there should be approximately one seat in the House of Representatives to every 100,000 persons in Nigeria. (Omotosho, 1988).

Elections were therefore held in 312 single member constituencies nationwide; but with the vacant seats allocated regionally thus:

Northern Nigeria: 174

Western Nigeria: 62

Eastern Nigeria: 73

Lagos Federal Territory: 3

(Source: kurfi, 2005).

Voting was by secret ballot and all registered adults in Western and Eastern Nigeria were eligible to vote. In Northern Nigeria only registered adult males were

however eligible to vote. Twenty six political parties were registered to contest the elections. Yet a tri-regional party system had begun to emerge by common consent among the parties albeit reflecting the dominant ethnic group in each region. These parties were: Northern People's Congress (NPC) representing Northern Nigeria, Action Group (AG) representing Western Nigeria and National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) representing Eastern Nigeria. Other political parties included, Northern Elements Progress Union (NEPU), United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), Borno Youth Movement (BYM) and United National Independence Party (UNIP) (Omotosho 1988).

The political leaders who led the campaigns on behalf of the three dominant region and ethnic based political parties were Sir Ahmadu Bello of the NPC, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe of the NCNC and chief Obafemi Awolowo for the AG. They campaigned vigorously across the length and breadth of Nigeria. The parties traded charges of hooliganism at each other. Issues hardly formed the messages of the campaigns rather; abusive language, ethno-religious (tribal) slurs and violence featured prominently. Chief Awolowo added the helicopter offensive to the drama and excitement of the election; penetrating the remote villages where other major political leaders had never been.

At the close of nominations, a total of 953 candidates stood elections in the 312 constituencies. In the North, 581 nominees contested for the 174 seats, in the East, 186 nominees contested for the 173 available seats, in the West, 178 people contested for the 62 available seats while in Lagos 3 people contested for the 2 available seats (Kurfi, 2005:16-17).

Beyond the symbols and messages, ethnicity and religion were to play dominant roles in the results of the 1959 general elections. A little over seven million Nigerians 7,185,555 turned out to vote at the general elections that ushered in the new government at independence in 1960. The NPC and NCNC had to go into a coalition to form the federal government on 20 December 1959 in a ratio of 10NPC ministers of 7 NCNC Cabinet members the AG led by Awolowo formed the opposition in the parliamentary (West minister) system of government (Kurfi 2005:23).

At the compilation of the voters register, eligible voters employed the secret ballot system to cast votes (using ballot papers and ballot boxes) for election into the 312 Federal House of representatives. Results of the election reflected ethno-religious sentiments of the dominant political party in a region.

In the regional elections which followed early in 1960, the dominant political party and by extension, the largest ethnic group in each region, reflected in the voting pattern. The winning party readily swallowed up the smaller minority parties within its region. So that NPC was dominant in the North despite the existence of NEPU, UMBC and BYM in the region. AG was dominant in the west despite the existence of NDC and other smaller parties. NCNC was the leading party in the East overshadowing the DPNC and UNIP (crowther, op cit).

Leadership and influence still resided largely in the leading political figures. Ahmadu Bello (NPC), Nnamdi Azikwe (NCNC) and Obafemi Awolowo (AG) held sway in the regions but had to cede some power to their deputies when it was expedient to do so. Thus, Dr. Michael Okpara took charge as president of the NCNC even as he had assumed the premiership of the Eastern Region in Enugu after Azikwe became the

Governor-General of the federation. Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola took over as premier of the Western region in Ibadan when Awolowo became the leader of the opposition in the federal House of Representatives. Ahmadu Bello the Sardauna of Sokoto, remained in Kaduna as premier of the Northern Region; while Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was the Prime Minister of the federation in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria.

3.3 THE 1964 – 1965 GENERAL ELECTION

The second general elections in Nigeria took place from December 1964 into 1965. The federal parliamentary election campaign in December 1964, the first since independence, was contested for by two giant political alliances: the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) and the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA).

The NNA was a conglomeration of the following hitherto disparate political tendencies:

- The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
- Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), led by Western Region Premier Samuel Ladoke Akintola, who had indeed earlier formed the United Peoples Party (UPP) in protest against perceived injustices in the AG.
- Midwest Democratic Front (MDF) which was an offshoot of the Midwest Peoples Congress and elements of the AG and UPP in the new Midwest region.
- Dynamic party which was led by Dr. Chike Obi
- Republican Party led by Dr. J. O. J Okezie
- Niger Delta Congress

- Lagos State United Front

On the other hand, the UPGA comprised of:

- The NCNC now known as National Convention of Nigerian Citizens led by Dr. Michael Okpara, Premier of Eastern Regions.
- Action Group (AG) now led by Alhaji Dada Adebgenro since Awolowo and others were serving certain jail terms.
- Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) led by Mallam Aminu Kano.
- United Middle Belt Congress led by Joseph Tarka, and
- Northern Progressive Front NPF (http://www.dawodo.com)

Not surprisingly, the NNA adopted a platform that reflected the views of the northern political elite and hence, was an attempt by the NPC to gain firmer control of federal politics through an alliance with the Western region. Its appeal to voters outside the North was based essentially on the advantages to be gained from associating with the party in favour. The NNA preyed on Yoruba fears of Igbo domination of the federal government.

The UPGA on the other hand was employed in an attempt by the NCNC to use the two regional governments that it controlled as a springboard to domination of the federal government. Strategically it offered a reformist programme, combining a planned economy that endorsed increased public spending while also encouraging private enterprise. UPGA proposed to divide the country into states that reflected ethnicity. Its proposal were intended to undermine the existing regional basis of political power by creating a sufficient number of states in each region so that none of the major ethnic groups, Hausa, Yoruba or Igbo, could dominate any region.

The UPGA presented itself as an alternative to northerners and more specifically, to Hausa-Fulani domination of the federal government. Convinced that it would win if the elections were conducted in an area free from interference by ruling parties in the Northern Region and the Western region, the UPGA spent most of its efforts exposing what it regarded as NNA intentions to rig the election in those regions. (Adamu and Ogunsanwo, 1982).

The tone was thus set for an election that appeared programmed to plunge the nation into crises, the seeds of which had been sown by events in the young nation which had barely a year earlier, become a sovereign republic. The crises generating issues were:

i. The jail terms given to Chief Obafemi Awolowo and his AG members on charges of sedition and treasonable felony in November, 1962.

ii. The 1963 census which put Nigeria's population at about 55.6 million but remained controversial because the Northern region was half the country's population, a development forcefully challenged by the NCNC and the AG. Thus the two grand alliances that emerged pitched the Northerners against the south in the election.

Chief Eyo Esua, Chairman of Federal Electoral Commission came out with the election guidelines to ensure free and fair and non-violent elections by the 22 million registered voters of Nigeria's 55.6 million. Ballot boxes were designed to bear the symbols of each party in the election slated for December 30, 1964 into the 312 seat-House of Representatives.

The election was postponed for several weeks because of discrepancies between the number of names on voting rolls and on census returns. Even then UPGA was not

satisfied and called on its supporters to boycott the election. The boycott was effective in the Eastern region where polling places did not open in fifty one constituencies that had more than one candidate running for office. In other constituencies in the region, UPGA candidates ran unopposed.

Nationwide only 4 million voters cast ballots, out of the eligible voters. The NNA elected 198 candidates, of whom 162 represented the NPC, from the 261 constituencies returning results. After an embarrassing delay, president Azikiwe agreed to ask Balewa to form a government with the NNA majority. The boycott had failed to stop the election and in March 1965 supplementary elections were held in those areas in the Eastern Region and in Lagos where the boycott had been honored. UPGA candidates were elected in all these constituencies, bringing the NCNC dominated coalition to a total of 108 seats in the House of Representatives. UPGA became the official opposition (Ojiako, 1982).

After this decisive defeat, the UPGA prepared for the November 1965 legislative election in the Western Region in an attempt to gain control of the three southern regions and the Federal Territory of Lagos. If successful, the NPC dominated NNA still would have controlled the House of Representatives, but it would have given the predominantly southern UPGA a majority in the senate, whose members were chosen by the regional legislatures.

Once more NCNC strategy failed and widespread charges of voting irregularities, Akintola's NNDP supported by its NPC ally, scored an impressive victory in November. There was extensive protest including considerable grumbling among senior army officials, at the apparent perversion of the democratic process. In the six months after the

election, an estimated 200 people died in the violence that erupted in the western region. In the face of the disorders, the beleaguered Balewa delegated extraordinary powers to the regional governments to deal with the situation,. By this time, Azikwe and the Prime Minister were scarcely on talking terms and there were suggestions that Nigeria's armed forces should restore order (Omotosho 1988).

3.4 THE 1979 ELECTIONS

After thirteen years in power, the military government finally lifted the ban on political activities in 1978. Before then, General Obasanjo who became Head of State on the assassination of General Murtala Mohammed, had inaugurated a Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) and the Constituent Assembly which later fashioned the Draft constitution which was signed into law by Decree No. 25.The Constitution which came into effect on October 1, 1979 stipulated conditions for the formation of political parties, principal among which was that a party must have a national spread i.e. it must not be limited to an ethnic group or its activities defined by purely ethnic considerations (constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979).

Five parties emerged to contest the 1979 general elections: The National Party of Nigeria (NPN) with Adisa Akinloye as chairman, Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) with Obafemi Awolowo as chairman, Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) with Aminu Kano as chairman, Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP) with Waziri Ibrahim as chairman and Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) with Adeniran Ogunsanya as National Chairman. Another political party, the Nigerian Advance Party (NAP) led by Tunji Breaithwaite was registered later to contest the 1983 elections (www.dawodu.com)

Symbols and slogans apart, it soon became obvious that the new parties were a reincarnation of the tri-regional parties of the first republic. The same actors, manifesting tendencies that threw up deep-rooted ethnic sentiments, were back on the political turf in a fierce struggle for the control of the reins of power in a federal republic; even though a 19 state structure had emerged in Nigeria.

The elections were conducted for positions in the local councils, state assemblies, governorship, the Federal House of Representatives, the Senate and the presidency. Another remarkable constitutional departure from the first republic was the existence of a senate into which elections would be conducted. Besides, the governor was the chief executive of the state assisted by a deputy and the president as the chief executive of the nation; the president also had an assistant as a vice-president.

Results of the elections in the states confirmed the ethnic coloration of the parties. The NPN was dominant largely in the North; the UPN controlled the Yoruba south west while the NPP was the leading party in the Igbo states. The PRP held on to its traditional NEPU stronghold of Kano and Kaduna while the GNPP made a statement in Borno and Gongola States in the North East more or less indicating Kanuri independence of Hausa –Fulani domination (Nnadozie, 2007).

The pattern of voting was finally reflected in the presidential election of the 47, 433, 757 registered voters, 16,846,633 Nigerians voted in the 11 August 1979 presidential elections. The NPN polled 5, 688, 857 votes, the UPN polled 4, 916,651 votes, the NPP polled 2, 822, 533; the GNPP polled 1,686,489 votes while the PRP polled 1,732,113 votes (Nnadozie, 2007).

Alhaji Shehu Shagari of the NPN was the eventual winner out of the elections on 26 September 1979 after a supreme court had interpreted the provisions of the constitution on what constitutes two- thirds of 19 states, critical requirement to ascertain overall winner. He was sworn in as Nigeria's first executive president on October 1, 1979 despite a legal challenge instituted by chief Awolowo of the UPN, on the FEDECO declaration of Shagari as president elect claiming that Shagari could not have won the elections because he did not get the 25% of votes cast in the 13 states of the federation.

3.5 THE 1983 ELECTIONS

During the 1983 general elections, the Nigerian Advance Party (NAP) of Tunji Braithwaite joined the existing five political parties to contest the elections. The NPN consolidated its hold on the polity, breaking into the traditional strongholds of the UPN and NPP. The gubernational election results provided the first indication that the NPN had transformed itself into a super power, as its new slogan indicated, albeit the other parties alleged that the process was massively rigged.

This time, the NPN controlled Anambra, Bauchi, Bendel, Benue, Borno, Cross River, Gongola, Kaduna, Niger, Oyo, Rivers, and Sokoto State. The UPN controlled Lagos, Ogun, Kwara and Ondo State. The GNPP this time was not in control of any state, the PRP controlled only Kano State while the NAP controlled no state (Kurfi op cit).

In the presidential elections, Shehu Shagari of the NPN again emerged winner defeating Awolowo of the UPN, Nnamdi Azikwe of the NPP Aminu Kano of the PRP, Waziri Ibraham of the GNPP and Tunde Braithwaite of the NPP

3.6 THE 1989 TO 1993 GENERAL ELECTIONS

After five years of another military government, the Babangida led administration promolgated the 1989 constitution into existence. Babangida went on to create two political parties and compelled the politicians to work with them. He called the politicians "equal founders and equal joiners" of the two political parties which were a little to the left and little to the right of the centre (Nnadozie op cit).

The influence of the federal military government was obvious in the design, membership, structures and infrastructures of the two grassroots parties. Government provided the funds, influenced the appointment of their leadership, and provided buildings and logistics for the parties.

The constitution would not come into effect during the life of the regime because handover date to a civilian president was frequently shifted from 1990 to 1992 and then to January 1993 and finally August 1993; this spate of postponements which appeared like an endless transition program. It is noteworthy that a civilian government had been installed at the local governments, States House of Assembly and the National Assembly. Civilian governors had also taken charge as chief executives in the 30 states of the federation. The states and their governors were under the authority of General Babangida who styled himself president.

The presidential elections of June 12 1993 pitched the Social Democratic party's Moshood Abiola against National Republican convention's Bashir Tofa. It was an election adjudged the freest and fairest in the annals of the National Political history. It was also an election that promised to erase the hosts of ethnicity and religious intolerance which had, for so long, heated the political landscape.

The results of the elections were inconclusive as the Babangida regime annulled the results which Abiola in was adjudged the winner, promising another presidential election before October 1993. Instead, by August 27 1993 an interim National Government headed by chief Ernest Shonekan was put in place.

3.7 THE 1999 GENERAL ELECTIONS

General Abdusalam Abubakar succeeded Late General Sani Abacha as Head of State on 9 June 1998 and he announced a transition that would end on May 29, 1999. Local Government Councils, State and National Assemblies, elected during Abacha's regime were dissolved, as well as the NECON which supervised the elections. A new Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was established to conduct and supervise series of elections preparatory to the military disengagement from governance. As in 1979, the military rulers were not interested in perpetuating themselves in office and were desirous of supervising the organisation of free and fair elections.

Three political parties; People's Democratic Party (PDP), All Peoples Party (APP), and Alliance for Democracy (AD) were registered by INEC and permitted to sponsor candidates for elections. The APP and AD decided to contest the presidential election on a joint ticket choosing Olu Falae of the AD pairing him with Umaru Shinkafi

of APP as running mate while the PDP sponsored Olusegun Obasanjo with Atiku Abubakar as running mate.

Although there were hitches, complaints, mishaps etc here and there, generally speaking, the elections were free and fair as attested by foreign observers and domestic election monitoring groups (TMG, 2003).

At the end of the elections, the power structure which emerged was as follows:

PDP: The Presidency, 21 state governors and control of 21 state Assemblies

APP: 9 states governors and control of 9 state Assemblies

AD: 6 states governors and control of 6 state Assemblies

In the senate, PDP had 67 members APP, 23 members and AD, 19 members. In the House of Representatives PDP had 214 members, APP 78 members and AD 67 members (Kurfi, op cit).

3.8 THE 2003 ELECTIONS

The Nigerian nation began preparations to usher in the fifth republic at the end of general elections billed for April, 2003. It was widely held that the elections were crucial to the survival of the Nigerian state. This was more so given the fact that the nation was yet to experience a successful civilian to civilian transition, in addition to the fear that elections conducted and supervised by civilian governments have often been fraught with fraud and irregularities. Others even wallowed in the belief that election years ending with the figure three in the nation's political history have always ended in turbulence. The general elections in 1963, the argument goes, the 1983 and 1993 had variously ruptured the political setting of the nation (TMG, op cit).

While 1963 was largely characterized by electoral malpractice, violence, declaration of a state of emergency in the western region, which may have set the stage for eventual military take over and a harrowing 30 month long civil war, the 1983 elections were no less different. Perceived electoral injustices and brazen manipulation of election results, again perhaps created the enabling environment for another military takeover. Then, in 1993, the presidential elections were officially declared inconclusive even when it was obvious to the majority of Nigerians that a winner had emerged in Chief Moshood Abiola.

During the 2003 election, the Nigerian people trooped out in large numbers to cast their votes, they demonstrated patriotism and resilience in some states, gun men tried to chase them away from polling stations. In other states, political thugs simply made away with the ballot boxes and or stuffed the ballot boxes with unlawful votes. Yet again in some states, ghost and under aged voters took the centre stage while in others, community leaders and other leaders of thought did the voting on behalf of their communities (The Guardian, April 27, 2003:18).

While the voters waited and persevered in the polling stations to cast their votes, the political class and the political parties had different ideas. The voters wanted their votes to determine the winner of the elections while the ruling class wanted to corrupt the process and rig their way into elective office.

The 2003 general elections were generally believed to have been massively rigged and were not considered to be free and fair as testified by both international and domestic election monitoring groups including Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), European Union, Catholic Church groups as well as a host of other civil society groups,

advocacy groups and NGOs. It was reported that only commonwealth election monitoring team had something good to say about the elections although partially. (Analysis Magazine, NOS, May 2000).

Twenty-nine of the registered political parties that either contested or did not contest the elections, variously rejected the results as announced by INEC declaring the results as fraudulent. Both the domestic and international election observers documented massive irregularities that characterized the elections and refused to endorse the elections as free and fair.

The National Assembly elections were generally peaceful in most parts of the country, though significantly marred by incidents of violence, intimidation and killing of voters in many states. For the presidential and general elections, there were substantial flaws in some of the critical stages leading up to the elections which tended to undermine the credibility of the process.

The foregoing issues can be considered as a fair assessment of what took place in Nigeria's political landscape during the elections which held on 12, 19 April and 3rd May, 2003, Obasanjo was re-elected as president for second term.

3.9 THE 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS

This was a culmination of a series of activities and events which included the passing of the electoral act that set the basis for the contest, the delimitation of electoral districts, the registration of voters as well as the political parties and finally the fixing of dates for the elections.

There were a few complaints here and there; especially people queued for long hours before they could be registered.Secondly there was an allegation that the registration exercise of Nigerian voters took place in the house of a chieftain of the ruling party, chief Adedibu.

Elections were held into the national assemblies and the state assemblies as at when due. There were also the elections conducted into gubernatorial as well as presidential offices. These were equally held as when due. However the election days witnessed confusion galore and it became a joke whether or not INEC was fully prepared for the exercise in the first place. The results released were highly contentions. One after the other, elections was now held in many states.

Having reviewed the Nigerian electoral process from 1960 to 2007, it becomes apparent that the conduct of elections in Nigeria has always been marred by various forms of violence and malpractices thereby undermining the validity and integrity of the process. The seeds of dialogue can be said to have been sown since the colonial era when electoral corruption was aided and abetted. Compounding this situation is the apparent absence of the political will by our politicians, to redress the problem. There is also the implication of the electoral system that we have been using in Nigeria. The First Past the Polls (FPTP) electoral system is also known as the winner takes all system, whereby the candidate with the highest number of votes could take the available seat, even if the totality of the opponents' votes may be higher than their own.

The only exceptions where there are only two candidates for the election; then the candidate with the higher votes would naturally win with simple majority. The same thing could be said about the political parties; except where there is a two party system

and a clear winner could emerge, a multiparty system can only throw up a winning party that may have been voted in with majority votes, as compared with those cast against it.

It is this situation of winner takes all that brings the ferocious and vigorous electoral contest in which every candidate thinks he/she can win. Because offices are often occupied not with the intention to serve but to enjoy the spoils of office, every contestant believes that if all manners of methods are not adopted to win; there will be no other elections to contest for thereafter. Such a presumption can only be borne out of frustration. This has become the staple of Nigerian politics. Put in other words, violence, chicanery, rigging etc, have all become the hallmarks of Nigeria's electoral politics and it appears that nobody or state agency is strong or determined enough to confront them.

3.10 ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA: A RETROSPECTIVE SURVEY

Electoral violence in Nigeria could be said to be obscene. In the words of Popoola (2004) the horrifying and distasteful scenario which has characterized the electioneering process in Nigeria since independence in 1960 is that of violence. In a similar assertion, Awonusi (2004) noted that by the dawn of independence, violence had emerged as one of the features of electoral campaigns. The above statements are justified by the fact that all elections in the country so far are marred by one type of violence or another.

Ugoh (2004) also opined that election malpractice and violence have been burning issues in both the developed and developing societies. Their trademark include riots, thuggery, looting, kidnapping, arson and political assassinations. In a retrospective analysis, Ugoh asserted that even the 1959 elections on the eve of the nation's independence had some reported cases of violent incidents before, during and after the

elections. Political parties employed or hired thugs to intimidate their political opponents.

Political violence was at its peak before, during and after that 1964 general election. The situation became uncontrollable after the 1965 Western regional election. The situation in the region which was christened "WETE" could be described as anarchy, a state of lawlessness. The situation came to a climax when the military came in to save the situation. Thus, political violence was one of the main reasons why the military terminated the first republic. The 1979 general election did not go scot free as many people lost their lives across the country before, during and after the exercise.

The 1983 general election witnessed one of the worst political violence in the history of the nation. According to Ugoh, the violence which greeted the election resulted in the loss of hundreds of lives and properties. He added that dissatisfaction with the results of the election reflected in the level of protest and violence from all over the country. Intra- ethnic clashes were reported Southeast in which many people lost their lives and property worth millions of naira destroyed. There was also inter ethnic violence between the Igbo and Kanuri tribes in Borno State when the presidential candidate of a political party was denied entry into the state. In a nutshell, the 1983 general elections were marred by irregularities and violence to the extent that both the local and foreign press criticized the conduct and outcome of the election.

Contributing, Olorode (1987) asserted that there was no doubt that law and order had virtually broken down well before the election of 1983. The situation, he continued, was similar to that of 1965 of Western region election. The situation at that time was

thought to be what one can describe to be a state of incipient civil war. That is, the 1983 ruling class was not significantly different from that of 1965.

The 1993 election which should have escaped the scourge of violence had the orgy of the hallmark of Nigerian elections following its annulment. According to Popoola (2004) the freest and fairest election in Nigeria took place in 1993, and yet it ended in serious violence when the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida annulled the election. Even in the 1999 election, as observed by Ugoh, the malpractices witnessed were a replica of the 1979/1983 elections. All the political parties were allegedly involved in massive rigging, hiring of thugs and conniving with security agents to perpetrate electoral malpractice, chaos and violence. There was also alleged use of thugs and security agents by the ruling party, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to harass opposition party members.

Furthermore, as the elections of 2003 approached, people became apprehensive and anxious because of the past experience. Before the election, replica of the past started to manifest. A number of violent incidents were reported in many parts of the country ranging from assassination to arson, to thuggery, killing of party supporters etc. For instance, Chief Bola Ige, the Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice was killed in cold blood on December 23, 2002. His sudden death was not unconnected with the political violence. Other pre- 2003 incident of this nature include, Chief Uche Ogbonnaya an ANPP senatorial candidate in Imo State. Chief Harry Marshal, an ANPP chieftain in Rivers State met his untimely death in his home at Abuja on March 6, 2003. Others include Alhaji Ahman Pategi, PDP chairman in Kwara State.

Mr. Dele Arojo a PDP governorship aspirant in Ogun State and Mr. Theodore Emeka Agwatu, principal secretary to the Imo State Government (Ekiran, 2006).

Many political rallies witnessed bloodshed, rioting, arson and chaos. For instance a political rally in Kwande Local Government Area of Benue State left seven people dead while dozens of others were seriously injured. As the election dates drew nearer, more bloodshed were reported across the country. The Punch Newspaper of 16, 2003 reported that there was a fresh outbreak of violence in Nembe, a coastal town in Bayelsa State in which twenty people lost their lives while many more were missing and others sustained serious injuries.

The same newspaper reported that in Ado Ekiti, Ekiti State, a woman leader of the Alliance for Democracy (AD) met her untimely death when she was bathed with acid substance while one Mr. Yomi Oni of the same town and state lost his life in his home. Tribune newspaper of April 8, 2003 also reported an attack on three AD supporters also in Ado Ekiti. In a similar vein, more than one hundred people were missing and some feared drowned after jumping into a river during violent clashes between supporters of PDP and ANPP in Gokona near Port- Harcourt, Rivers State.

In summary, below is a diary of election related violence related murders and assassinations since the inception of democratic governance in 1999.

- September 9, 1999 – Sunday Ugwu, elder brother of Nwabueze Ugwu, a member of the Enugu State House of assembly (Nkanu East) was killed. He was mistaken for the legislator.
- December 21, 2001 – Honorable Odunayo Olagbaju member of the Osun State House of Assembly was killed by unknown gunmen in Ile Ife.

- December 23, 2001 – Bola Ige was shot dead in his bedroom in Ibadan.
- August 15, 2002 – Ahmed Pategi, chairman of Kwara State chapter of the PDP and his police orderly, were murdered on a highway near the state capital, Ilorin.
- August 29, 2002 – Dr. Victor Nwankwo, younger brother of the leader of the People Mandate Party (PMP), chief Arthur Nwankwo, was killed in Enugu.
- February 10, 2003 – Chief Ogonnaya Uche, a senatorial candidate of the ANPP died a couple of days after he was attacked in Owerri.
- March, 3, 2003 – Mrs. Emily Omope, an AD member in Ekiti State died after an acid attack.
- March 5, 2003 – Chief Harry Marshall, national coordinator, South-South of the ANPP presidential campaign was murdered in Abuja.
- March 7, 2004 – chairman of the Kogi State INEC, chief Philip Olorunipa was shot dead in his home by assassins (The Guardian, June 29, 2004).

Latest addition to the above include but not limited to Chief Funso Williams, a front line politician and leading governorship aspirant of the PDP and Dr. Ayo Daramola a politician of high caliber and frontline governorship aspirant of the PDP in Ekiti State who met their untimely deaths on July 23 and August 14, 2006 respectively.

In conclusion this chapter looked closely at Nigerians elections since the first Republic and some of the reoccurring characteristic then features of the electoral process since independence in that it has been marred by one form of irregularity or the other; also, violence, it can said has been a major part of the process. In summary, many writers had a retrospective survey in which they all agreed that not only has violence manifested it self in all facets of Nigerian elections has become a culture of Nigerian politics

CHAPTER FOUR

ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN PLATEAU STATE

4.1 EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF PLATEAU STATE

The agitation for the creation of states has been one of the most persistent and popular in Nigeria from the colonial era to date, the yearning aspirations of the people for speedy and equitable development have dictated the demands for state creations. The principle of social justice, leading to social, economic and political advancement has always been a determining factor in the process of the creation of states.

Following the civil war in Nigeria, Benue-Plateau was one of the several large states which were further split up due to pressure on the Federal Government. The country was divided into Nineteen States in 1976 and Plateau State was created from Benue – Plateau State along area of the original Plateau province. (wikipedia.com/Plateau).Thus, on February 3, 1976 late Gen. Murtala Mohammed announced Government decision based on Justice Irikefe's panel report on the creation of states. The historic broadcast announced the spilt of the then Benue – Plateau into two with Benue having its new capital at Makurdi while Jos remained the capital of Plateau State. At its creation in 1976, Plateau State consisted of fourteen local governments areas which came on the heels of the Ibrahim Dasuki Report on the reform of the Local Government. They were Jos, Bassa, Barkin ladi, Mangu Pankshin, Langtang, Shendam, Akwanga, Nassarawa, Keffi, Lafia, Wase Kanam and Awe. However, new L.G.A.S were carved out of

large ones in 1989, 1991 and 1996, and on 1st October 1996 Plateau was further split into two with the creation of Nassarawa State by the administration of the late Gen. Sani Abacha. Presently Plateau State has the following Local Government Areas.

* Barkin ladi	* Kanan	* Mikang
* Bassa	* Kanke	* Pankshin
* Bokkos	* Langtang South	
* Jos East	* Langtang North	* Shendam
* Jos North	* Riyom	* Wase
* Jos South	* Mangu	

Plateau State has over forty ethno-linguistic groups. Some of the indigenous tribes in the state are

* Berom, *Afizere, *Amo, *Anaguta, *Atten, *Bogghom, *Buji, *Challa, *Chip, *Tier, *Gashish, *Goemai, *Irigwe, *Jarawa *Jukun, Kofyar (comprising Doemak, Kwalla, and Meryang) *Miango, Montol, *Mushere, *Mufun, *Mwaghavul, *Naraguta *Ngas, *Piapung, *Pyem, *Ronkulere, *Bache, *Talet, *Tarok, *Youm, *Hausa; *Fulani, *Kanuri,

These ethnic groups are predominantly farmers and have similar cultural and traditional ways of life. People from other parts of the country have come to settle in Plateau State; these are Igbo, Yoruba, Ijaw and Bini . These settlers came here mainly as a result of tin mining activities and the railway (Plateau State: 2001:68).

Geographically, Plateau State is the twelfth largest state of Nigeria and it is roughly located in the center of the country. It has an area of 26,899 square kilometers; the state has an estimated population of about 3,553,440 (census 2005) and it is located between latitude 80^0 24^1N and longitude $80^0$32 and $100^0$32 East. The state is named after the picturesquare Jos Plateau a mountanous area in the north of the state with captivating rock formations. Bore rocks are scattered across the grass lands, which cover the Plateau. The latitude ranges around 1,200 meters (about 400 feed) to a peak of 1,829 meters above sea level in the sherehills range near Jos. Tin mining have also left the area strewn with deep gorges and lakes.(www.wikipedia.com/Plateau;1)

4.1.2 BRIEF HISTORY OF VIOLENCE IN PLATEAU STATE

Plateau State used to be a true representation of its catch phrase "Home of Peace and Tourism" before the eruption of crises. The state was before now a home for all people who admired the amiable weather and serene environment. Regrettably, the home of peace and tourism has now become a "theatre of bloodshed and home of destruction" (Nankpah; 2010:1). The state has been the scenes of very serious inter – communal conflicts. These conflicts have come along side series of reprisal and retaliatory attacks, the major attacks or incidence of violence in Plateau are thus;

1. **The potato riot of 1945:** This Violence was the first major urban riot to be recorded in Northern Nigeria between Hausa and Igbo traders in Jos

market over space to sell their potatoes. Two people were believed to have lost their lives; the conflict had ethnic and Religious undertones.(Danfulani:2002;243-255)

2. **12 April 1994 Jos North Crises:** This was a violent demonstration in Jos, and it was a vivid expression of anger and accumulated grievances; The immediate reason was that the federal government constituted a Jos North local government management committee with a Hausa Fulani as chairman, an Igbo, a Yoruba, a Berom as members; the Jarawa and Anaguta were excluded, the indigenes interpreted this state action as opportune of the claims that Jos belongs to the settlers. After the announcements of the appointments the indigenes of Jos organized an open protest(which lasted for three days). The state government stopped the appointed chairman from assuming office. The Hausa – Fulani community responded to this change with an organized protest which later degenerated into spontaneous violence. (Albert et.al: 1994:49).

3. **September 2001 Crisis:** This was also another outbreak of violence in Jos and it was largely as a result of the indegenship/settler question in Jos North. Hundreds of innocent lives were lost and property destroyed worth millions. It was during the crisis that the popular Jos main market was destroyed. (Nankpah: 2010; 1).

4. **June – August 2002:** Communal violence broke out, pitching the Hausa – Fulani communities in Wase against the Tarok in which about 200 people were said to have been killed and over 50,000 people displaced.

5. **May – November 2002:** Violence broke out between Berom and Fulani settlements in Hiepang, Vom, Fan, Ropp and Chistak villages of Barkin, Ladi. Over 20 people were killed in these raids.

6. **20th March Crisis 2003:** Bandits said to be numbering about 3,000 and wielding slinked weapons, poisonous arrows and bows invaded Kadarko village, the largest Tarok settlement in Wase local government, about 52 people were reportedly killed in the attack.

7. **25th March 2003:** Invasion of the same village by bandits was recorded in which 30 people were reported dead including a policeman and several houses were razed.

8. **May 2nd and 3rd Yelwa Shendam Crises:(2004)** The crises occurred in southern plateau state which was between people of Shendam and Yelwa, it claimed more than seven hundred lives and displaced about forty five thousand persons; the crises over heated Nigeria's polity compelling the then president olusegun Obasanjo to declare a state of emergency in Plateau State.

4.1.3 Report of Commissions of Enquiry into the Crises in Plateau State

Government at both the state and Federal levels made spirited efforts to resolve the crisis through direct intervention and constitution of high powered investigation panels to proffer long and short term solutions, these were:

a. Commission or enquiry into civil disturbances of 1948/49 between Igbos/indigenes

b. Hon. Justice J. Abribiton Fiberesima (Rtd) commission of inquiry into the riots of 12 April, 1994 in Jos metropolis

c Justice Niki Tobi judicial commission of enquiry into Jos civil disturbances which submitted its report in September 2002.

d. Hon. Justice C. Okpene, Federal judicial commission of enquiry into communal conflicts in Benue, Nasarawa, Plateau and Taraba States, 2002

e. Rev. Dr. Pandang Yamsat High powered committee on peace and security in Plateau State submitted in 2002.

f. Presidential peace initiative committee on Plateau State headed by Alh. Shehu Idris, Emir of Zazzau, submitted in May, 2004.

g. Private peace initiative on southern senatorial zone of Plateau State headed by Alh. Shehu Idris, Emir of Zazzau

h. Judicial commission of enquiry into communal clashes in Wase local government Area headed by Justice Jummai Sankey submitted in May, 2001.

i. Judicial commission of enquiry into the crisis in Langtang North local government headed by Justice Jummai Sankey submitted in May, 2001.

j. Judicial commission of enquiry into the Shendam local government and headed by Justice Jummai Sankey, submitted in May, 2001.

k. Judicial commission of inquiry into the crisis in Quan – Pan Local government Area headed by Justice Jummai Sankey submitted in May 2001

l. Judicial commission of inquiry into the civil disturbances in Shendam, Langtang North, Langtang South and Wase Local Government and headed by Justice Felicia K. Dusu submitted in June 2003.

m. Report of Presidential Advisory Committee on January 17th – 19th 2010 headed by Chief Solomon Lar, Submitted on 30th September 2010.

It is important to note that not all the above stated reports have been released; those released are discussed.

The first commission of enquiry headed by Hon. Justice Abriton Fiberesima (Rtd) with six other members reviewed the 12th April 1994 civil disturbances and was headed by and had various terms of reference which included the following:

i. To establish the remote and immediate causes of Jos riot

ii. To identify the individuals, groups of persons and institutions directly or indirectly connected to the crisis

iii. Apportion of blames

iv. Recommend ways of avoiding further occurances.

The commission had four weeks to investigate the crises and come up with recommendations.

Although the commission discovered various reasons for the crisis, of note are claims made by various groups relating to the political dominance of Jos or

ownership of Jos politically. For instance in Memoranda 3.1.2 pg 20 of the 1994 enquiry ,the Jasawa claimed to have even before independence represented Jos politically, i.e. Alh Garba Baka Zuwa-jere was elected into Northern regional assembly, they further claimed that the 1991 Jos North Local Government elections produced not only the Executive Chairman but eight out of the fourteen elected councilors from among the Jasawa. All along Hausa-Fulani have provided leadership and that the first Berom man to have rulership over Jos politics was Da D.B. Zang who in 1950 was nominated into the Northern Regional Assembly to represent mining interest. The Natives also on the other hand claimed that it was not true that the political machinery of Jos was controlled by the Hausas.

Some of the recommendations of the Panel was that in making appointments, awards, and promotions, especially in sensitive government positions such as Commissioners, Director-Generals, Chairmen of Boards and Parastatals, Chairmen of Local Government Councils, etc. It should be guided and guarded by justice, fair play; objectivity, and equity, government should try and consult relevant concerns, so that no rights are seen to be threatened with usurpation. That will make for peace both for government and the governed.

ii. Report of Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Civil Disturbance in Jos and Its Environs of September 2001 Headed by justice Niki Tobi

The Commission of enquiry was headed by Justice Niki Tobi, and was inaugurated on Tuesday 18th October, 2001 by the former Governor of Plateau State Joshua Dariye. The terms of reference of this commission were as follows:

i. To investigate the immediate and remote causes of the crisis;

ii. To identify persons or group of persons responsible for the crisis;

iii. To establish the extent of damage to properties and loss of lives;

iv. To obtain any other relevant information or factors; and

v. To suggest or recommend ways to forestall future re-occurrence.

In its findings, the commission noted two major reasons for the commencement of the crisis;

i. The assault of Miss Rhoda on the 7th September as she attempted to pass during Juma'at prayers, at Congo-Russia a suburb area of Jos North (Article 2.12 pg 18, 2001 Official Report)

ii. The appointment of Alhaji Mukhtar Usman Mohammed as NAPEP Coordinator .This was deemed to be one of the causes because from the time the appointment was made on 20th June, 2001 until the crisis engulfed the city of Jos on 7th September, 2001 (a period of less than three months) the tension created by the appointment never simmered down or subsided. This was looking for a particular event to make it happen and the event of September 7 2001 "was the straw which broke the camel's back".

Of the various causes ascribed to the crisis, of note is Article 3.78 of 2001 White Paper pg 66 which was "Delimitation of Electoral Wards". Under this immediate cause, there were complaints of imbalance in the delimitation of electoral wards in Jos North Local Government; Exhibit X shows the ward structure of Jos North Local Government in relation to the voter population as at 1998 which remained valid until 2002.

S/No	Ward Name	No. of Units	Voters Population
1	Naraguta 'A'	28	21855
2	Naraguta 'B'	99	56415
3	Abba Nashehu	27	18677
4	Ali Kazaure	36	19650
5	Garba Daho	26	10802
6	Gagare	18	11252
7	Ibrahim Katsina	25	14398
8	Jenta Adamu	24	13332
9	Jenta Apata	34	19977
10	Jos Jarawa	34	30300
11	Sarkin Arab	17	11002
12	Tudunwada/Kabong	64	43185
13	Tafawa Balewa	11	5600
14	Vander Puye	11	5900
	Total	**354**	

Source: Government White Paper on September 7 2001 Civil Disturbances in Plateau State pg 69.

From Exhibit X the Commission noted that out of the 14 electoral wards six out of these known as Sarkin Arab, Abba Na Shehu, Ali Kazaure, Garba Daho, Gangare,

Ibrahim Katsina and Sarkin Arab ward inhabited by Hausa-Fulani had a combined voter population of 85,781 and the Native tribes had five wards of Naraguta A. Naraguta B., Jenta Adamu, Jos Jarawa, Tundun Wada/Kabong with a total population of 259,391. The other three wards of Jenta Apapa, Tafawa Balawa and Vaderpuye are inhabited by Igbos, Yorubas, and other tribes.

The Commission therefore, in Article 3.90 favored the reconstruction of Electoral Wards in Jos North Local government Areas to correct the imbalance.

Other causes where blockade of roads by both Christians and Muslims during worship; the Commission frowned at these.

The white paper made about 22 recommendations on the crises.

Peace Conference 2004 (18th August – 21 September 2004)

This conference was headed by the Sole Administrator of plateau state Major General M.C. Alli (rtd) after a State of Emergency was imposed in Plateau State as a direct response to the Yelwa-Shendam crisis of 2004 by the Former President Olusegun Obasanjo.

The Conference had the overall desire of:

i. Increasing desire of Plateau people to have peace and live in peace with each other, as evident from various interface sessions held before the Conference.

ii. Make Plateau people have the capacity to resolve their problems without recourse to any external sources of mediation.

Under 6.0 pg 12 of the report, various factors were captured as the remote and immediate causes of the crises, of which the following were itemized:

1. Land use/ownership
2. Indigenship, citizenship, settlership syndrome
3. Traditional matters
4. Social factors
5. Religious factors
6. Political factors
7. Security matters
8. Farmer grazer conflict
9. The role of media
10. Youth issues
11. Women issues
12. Non release of previous reports of commissions/panels, and white papers.

Of the above listed factors the one that is of interest to these to this study is under the particular mentioned factor,(point 6) The following;

* Political manipulation
* Political victimization
* Political marginalization
* Importation of voters from other states for the purpose of elections
* Delineation of electoral wards.
* Introduction of politics into the crisis
* Creation of Jos South L.G.C. without proper consultation
* Seat tight (Tazarce syndrome)
* Misuse of political positions to intimidate and molest opponents.

* Appointment of Alh. Muktar Usman as Federal Government National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) co-ordinator in Plateau State. In its resolutions the conference made recommendations on each of the causes of the violence.

Presidential Advisory Committee Report of January 17th – 19th 2010

This report stemmed out of the January 17th – 19th 2010 crisis in Jos and Bukuru. The committee was inaugurated by President Goodluck Jonathan, the committee was constituted of 15 members headed by Chief Solomon Lar and it had the following terms of reference.

a. recommend practical solutions to the recurring problems leading to the crisis
b. recommend peace building measures and practical steps that traditional rulers, media, religious leaders, ethnic associations, civic society groups and other groups are to take in order to avert the reoccurrence of similar crisis.
c. to classify and recommend the roles that the Federal, Plateau State and Local Governments on any relevant issue critical to averting the re-occurrence of similar crisis in Plateau State and ensure lasting peace, harmony solidarity and stability in the state.

The panel cameout with the following points as findings:

a. Controversy over ownership of Jos was the main cause of the crisis and therefore the committee recommended dialogue and mutual respect by various ethnic groups.
b. The committee found out that Indigeneship issue was one of the main causes of the crises and therefore recommended the federal government to expedite actions in solving the issue constitutionally.

c. The committee found out that the lack of neutrality and transparency on the state's Independent Electoral Commissions and the use of power of incumbency to rig elections were a national phenomenon. It further observed that the quest to win elections at all cost by politicians and resort to election violence contributed to the crisis. The committee however recommended that politicians must ensure that votes are counted in all elections, address election complaints through legal means against resorting to violence, while INEC should be empowered to conduct free and fair elections through use of modern technological equipments.

d. It discovered that religion was not the main cause of the Jan 17th 2010 crisis but was rather exploited by some individuals and groups to gain political popularity and support and recommended that religion and ethnicity should not be used as a campaign tool.

e. It discovered that the creation of Jos North is still a problem and a major cause of violence, and therefore recommended that Jos North should be further split to address the problem.

The committee found out that political parties often compromised their constitution in the emergence of candidates for elections and therefore recommended for zoning and rotational arrangement especially in Jos North Local Government.

Other reports were from Human Rights Watch and European Union. These two groups both described the crisis as politically motivated in which religion and ethnicity were the main vices used in perpetuating such violence; they both agreed that elections in Plateau State had become avenues for violence.

In summary, it is important to mention that all the reports reviewed had the following issues in common:

a. Ethno-Religious factors were used by political and religious leaders to gain political popularity and support.

b. Ethnic and religious considerations had affected the electoral process in that most elections in Plateau State are characterized along such lines.

c. That Governments inability to resolve the so called Indigene ship and settler issue in the Nigeria's constitution affected the situation negatively in Plateau State.

d. Of all the reports/reviews carried out, i.e. from 2001 – 2010, none of the recommendations have been implemented, most of them have not been released, the non-release have continued to encourage violence of all kinds in Plateau State including electoral violence.

4.1.4 Specific Manifestations on the Plateau:

Scholars and other observers concur that the discrimination by government on the basis of ethnicity and place of origin is a major contributor to the ethnic and ethno- religious violence all over the country. Millions of Nigerians who live outside the socio political space within which they affirm their indigieniety suffer exclusion and are exposed to all kinds of humiliation. While some have endured deprivations in passivity, others have contested their exclusion, leading to spate of communal conflicts (Best 2005.13). One of such is the is occurrences in Jos Plateau state, where the problem has emanated over years between the Hausa -Fulani's and Natives who have both claimed the ownership of Jos North Local government Area, the Afizere's , Anaguta;s and Beroms feel they have the exclusive ownership of Jos and there fore stopped the issuance of indigene forms. These ,however ,does not go down well with Hausa-fulani who

as well can trace their origin to Jos North, the problem has continued due to governments lack of will to face the problem.

Dunmoye 2008:133 asserts that

"*One of the major constraints of national unity and political integration in Nigeria is the exactitude of the constitutional provisions on citizenship. There are conflicting provisions that obfuscate the qualifications of a citizen over time, Nigeria's political leaders and analyst alike have been preoccupied with the debilitating problems of ethno-religious conflicts and perceived or imagined marginalization in the political and economic realms. However, one fundamental flaw in the analyses of conflicts in Nigeria and the numerous prognoses for their management has remained the often deliberate neglect of the issue of "partial" citizenship that are conferred on those often referred to as "settlers" or "non indigenes in the numerous theatres of conflicts in particular and social interactions in general"*

Thus Albert et al (1994:45-49) Classifies settlers in Plateau State as.

(A) The Igbo: This group is largely Christian and it is noted for commercial prowess, particularly, the importations of consumer and intermediate goods, estate ownership, small and large scale transport businesses and the service sector with other ethnic groups.

(B) The Hausa – Fulani: This group is predominantly Muslim, but with several fundamentalist sects. The Hausa – Fulani cater a broad spectrum

of social classes, there is a small peasant class involved in small – scale transport, a retail and speculative business class which controls the sales and prices of agricultural products, and an upper class which control high level speculative business such as large scale transport businesses, estate ownership and distribution of petroleum products.

(C) The Yoruba: The Yoruba in Jos are mainly Christians, however, a small percentage are Muslims. They are united as an ethnic group. They are engaged in commerce – wholesale and retail trade estate ownership industrial production in alliance to state and foreign capital.

(D) Other ethnic groups: The remaining ethnic groups in Plateau come mainly from northern and southern extraction of the state; the greater majority are Christians. They are petty traders, farmers, workers in private federal and state government institutions. The indigenous inhabitants of Jos are the Beroms, Anaguta and Afizere, they are mainly engaged in farming, blacksmithing, pottery, traditional medical services. They constitute a fairly large percentage of the lower cadre of work force at the local and state government levels.

The stratification of these groups has been accompanied by continued identity formation and a desperate search for ethnic security.

As Ayorinde, A (1983) observes"

Self or group preservation can take the form of sub – ordination or domination or fighting to preserve one's freedom and independence;

Teaming with others increase chances of survival

Today, the settler-indigene issue is largely responsible for the various conflicts mentioned earlier. The problem has revolved around political circles and specifically, using the ownership of Jos argument the Hausa Fulani elite feels they are also stakeholders in Jos which the indigenes feel bitter about believing that it is their original lands, in fact they feel that the creation of Jos North out of the present Jos local government in 1991 was a deliberate attempt to take their land from them, and these has been the subject of controversy for about 20 years. Now, various panels of enquiry and reconciliatory attempts have failed to yield fruitful results, as tension continue to dominate affairs on the Plateau.

As Albert et al (eds) (1994:50) points vividly "one interesting phenomenon is the method of mobilization and the character of violence is that Mobilization has always been along ethnic, religious and geo political-lines. The Hausa Fulani settlers organize their protest along ethnic and religious lines. The Jos indigenes on the other hand mobilize along geo – ethnic foundations (i.e. Berom Anaguta, Jarawa) and geopolitical lines, drawing support from former Jos division, and upper and lower Plateau. The settlers mobilize unemployed youths and school dropouts and some fundamentalist religious sects. The indigenes mobilize their youth and women, the men strategically stayed away. The reason for the women active participation in the protest is that the state security would be lenient with them. The violence in all was organized along ethnic and religious lines and targeted at the property of ethnic groups.

4.1.5 Electoral Violence and the 2007 Elections in Plateau State

The 2007 general elections were the third of such elections to be held since the transition from military to civilian rule in 1999 and were widely considered to be a crucial test of the commitment of the Nigerian authorities to the strengthening of her democracy.

Pre Election Violence in Plateau State (2007)

In Plateau State, political violence was a major issue of concern throughout the electoral process, while in some Local Government Areas peaceful campaign activities were observed, cases of violence were rampant in other areas Nankap (2007:3) mentioned volatile areas such as Shendam, Wase, Jos North, Mangu, Kanam, Jos-South. Despite appeals and strategies adopted to maintain security of lives and properties by security men, INEC, and political parties the situation worsened day by day (Nankap, 2007:3). During the campaigns, numerous violent activities were reported by various observer missions and civil societies.

Danjuma (2008:30) stated that prior to the 2007elections in Plateau State, voters were mobilized through religious/ethnic sentiments, pastors were preaching in churches that everyone should go and vote only Christian candidates and that they must not vote Muslims that Christians must fight against the Islamisation of Plateau. On the other side Muslims preachers declared that it was only infidels that should vote for a Christian or rather the People's Democratic Party in Plateau State, members of the Hausa/Fulani community were being sensitized in mosques to vote Muslims and to resist any attempt to rig elections by the ruling democratic party in Plateau State. Also, candidates

canvansed for votes in churches or mosques and promoted principally religious agenda first rather than developmental issues. Ostein (2009:35) stated that "one interesting issue about the mobilization was that campaigns were not issue based but were principally bared on promotion of religious programs.

Another issue that brought about crisis in the state prior to the 2007 elections in Plateau State was the factions in the ruling People's Democratic Party. Prior to the elections, precisely in 2006, the party was deeply divided. This was due to the reinstatement and subsequent expulsion of Chief Joshua Dariye from the Peoples Democratic Party. At this point in time, it was very clear that Dariye and his supporters were no longer needed in the political party (Tell, 2007:28). Dariye was widely believed to have defected to the Action Congress and was sponsoring candidates. (Daily Trust, 2007:12) with the incumbency factor. It dawned on the Peoples Democratic Party that Chief Joshua Dariye would deliver the state to the Action Congress if care was not taken. The culmination of these issues set the stage for violence, the bitter warfare that ensued between these factions led to allegations, killings, kidnapping, etc. On July 2nd ,2006, the people of Plateau State rose up to the shocking news of the gruesome murder of Hon. Jesse Aruku, a gubernatorial candidate under the Action Congress. Hon. Aruku a former Local Government Chairman of Bassa, a Local Government of Plateau State, was believed to be the "Anointed" of Governor Joshua Dariye and it was widely believed that Joshua Dariye would use the incumbency factor to ensure that Jesse Aruku would be next Governor of Plateau State.(Daily Trust,2007.12)

The polarization of the Peoples Democratic Party further led to two camps and these camps became "Mantu Faction" which had the former Deputy Senate President

Ibrahim Mantu as the leader of the faction. The political gladiators in these groups were Amb. Fidelis Fapgun, Sen. John Shagaya, Engr. Jimmy Cheto, Chief S.D. Lot, Prof. Dakun shawn, Chief Damishi Sango, Air Com Jonah Jang Rtd, as its arrow heads, while the other faction was loyal to Chief Joshua Dariye and referred to as the "Dariye" faction. Its gladiators were Chief Emmanuel Magni, Chief Alexander Molwos, Arch. Pam Gyang, Hon. Samuel Parah and others.

The activities of these groups clearly indicated that Plateau State was a ticking time bomb prior to the elections. The factions in the Peoples Democratic Party has continued with various allegations which ranged from imposition of candidates, relocation of party secretariat to the campaign headquarters of Jonah Jang, the suspension of some aspirants from the party, and the connivance of the party leadership to defeat Sen. Ibrahim Mantu in the re run-elections deepened the fragmentation of the party.

It could clearly be seen that the Ethnic and Religious differences came to its pick during the 2007 elections as earlier stated by (Ostein; 2009) campaigns were not issue based, it could also be deduced that the composition of the various ethnic groups did not help issues as every ethnic group wanted recognition this was a ticking time bomb.

Electoral Violence in Plateau state during the 2007 Elections

There were different reports by both local and international observers about the occurrence of violence and civil disturbances during the general elections in Plateau state. Seven registered observer groups were involved in monitoring of elections; these were Commonwealth, European Union (EU), Economic Community of West African

States (ECOWAS), Human Rights International, National Democratic Institute (NDI), and International Republican Institute (IRI) and National catholic Center.

One negative characteristic of the election was the prevalence of violence as observed by these organizations. The comments and observations in Plateau State are summarized as follows.

According to the European Union observers on the 21-22nd April-2007, the presiding officer allocated to Gyambawa Ward in Jos North local government area disappeared with the electoral materials on his way to the ward. The observers noted that, the disappearance led to violent protest which resulted in killing and burning of houses and properties. It reported that about 8 people were killed and many injured, many houses were burnt and destroyed (see appendix3 A(i)).

In Ali-Kazaure ward of Jos North Local government, Human Rights International, and Commonwealth observer groups reported that ballot papers and other election materials were missing. While the voters stood for hours without materials they moved to the 38 polling booths and found that it was the same thing in the ward. The youths in this ward and polling units resorted into demonstration, burning of tyres on the major roads, beating and molesting their political opponents as they moved to disrupt election process in other units. This group met resistance from opponents within other polling units. It was reported that 4 people were killed and over 37 wounded, the report also shows that about 8 houses were burnt down and properties destroyed (see appendix3 (Aii)).

The situation reported by Economic Community of West Africa observers (ECOWAS) stated that in the Nguwu and Angwan Rogo wards, ballot boxes (2) were

strongly held by ANPP loyalists. This act met with resistance from other party agents, resulting into a clash between the party agents. This escalated, and many other loyalists joined their party members to protests this electoral fraud. It brought about chaos which led to the destruction of electoral materials. It was reported that thugs were seen moving with weapons (guns and acid) to kill and bathe non-loyalists of their party. About 3 people were reported killed, 8 injured and properties destroyed. See Appendix 3A(ii).

Naraguta B experienced serious clashes during counting, agents protested against the counting of obviously pre-printed ballots papers favoring the PDP. It was noticed that the ballot papers were falsely signed and stamped. This allegation by ANPP party agents, as reported by United Nation observers, brought confusion between party agents of PDP and ANPP. Several people were wounded and properties destroyed. It was observed that at this polling unit the ballot box and other materials were taken away without recovery throughout the period of election. See appendix3 A IV as reported by European Union (EU) and United Nation observers.

In the Wildlife Park (PUZI)(Jos South local govt) human right observers and the International Republican Institute (IRI) observers reported that the violence experienced was as a result of the arrest of the presiding officer who did not bring the ballot papers and other materials. His arrest and subsequent detention by the police called for thugs to team up and break into the police station for his release. The police resisted their use of stones and other weapon which led to destruction of the station and many were wounded (see Appendix3 AV).

The situation in Kanam was reported by International Republican Institute (IRI) and the human rights observers. The report shows that violence erupted in the polling

unit due to lateness in voting and the perceived under age voters on the queue. The observers noted that these were arranged by a particular political party to rig elections. These inadequacy or abnormalities led to tension among party agents which resulted to supporters violence in which 36 people were injured and 28 killed (see 3App AVI as reported by observers).

At Mangu, Jos South/Jos East the press release of 21st April 2007 stated that the situation was tense. This was due to delay in arrival of ballot papers, missing of party logos on some ballot papers, inadequate electoral materials for party agents and uproar among party agents, resulting in several injuries and death of (2) two party agents.

The problem of Jos North L.G.A, Bassa and Wase Local Government were similar as reported by Commonwealth and European Union on 14th April,2007. It was noted that in these three (3) local government areas there was existence of approximately 15 percent of underage voters at the polling units. This, at first led to tension and side comments by party opponents who believed the underage were recruited for a particular party. The "aggrieved" party therefore tried to find a way of preventing these under aged voters which brought about party thugs shooting into the air. The second stage of the tension witnessed molestation and beating of the party agents. Many were wounded and 13 people lost their lives. (See appendix 3AVII as reported by European Union observers).

The situation in Shendam was reported by European Union observers, they noted that the crisis at the Shendam polling unit was due to the appearance of apparently underaged voters, hoarding of ballot papers by presiding officer of a specific party. Party agents tried to resist the beating and molestation by thugs which led to violence. An

attempt by the security officer to control the situation resulted into killing of 2 party agents and many were wounded. See appendix 3AVIII as reported by EU observers.

From these reports by both domestic and international observers, it can be concluded that the 2007 general election in Plateau State was characterized by killing, molestation, humiliation of party officers, electoral officers, burning of properties in Plateau State

4.2 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

A total of 232 administered questionnaires for electorates and 30 for politicians were retrieved and used for the analysis while 68 questionnaires were either invalidated or not returned for the electorates all questionnaires for politicians were however retrieved.

4.2.1 SECTION: Analysis of Politicians' Opinions

The respondents (politicians) were first asked to indicate if they are of Plateau State origin or not. Table 1 below provides their responses.

Table 1

S/N	Response Bracket	No:	Frequency	Percentage %
1	Yes	30	30	100%
2	No	Nil	Nil	-
Total		**30**	**30**	**100%**

Source: Field Work

The data above indicates that the politicians contacted are all indigenes of Plateau State i.e. there were no non indigenes.

As a follow up to the above they were asked to state their area of residence in Plateau State. Ten (10) of them stated that they are residents in Shendam Local Government, another ten (10) indicated that they are resident in Mangu Local Government, while the last ten (10) resident in Jos North Local Government.

Table 2: Duration of Residence

S/N	Duration Bracket	No.	Frequency	Percentage %
1	2 – 4 years	4	4	13.3%
2	5 – 7 years	Nil	Nil	0%
3	8 – 10 years	4	4	13.3%
4	Above 10 years	22	22	73%
Total		**30**	**30**	**100%**

Source: Field Work

The table above indicates that while 4 of the respondents indicated having been resident for a period of between 2 – 4 years, one of the respondents have resided in their

areas for a period of 5 – 7 years. Another 4 indicated having lived in their places of residence for a period of between 8 – 10 years. 22(73%) of them indicated having lived in their area of residence for a period of above 10 years.

The respondents (politicians) were then asked to assess the politics or political atmosphere of Plateau, in the first and second republics. Of the 30 politicians, 6(20%) of them were of the opinion that the elections were peaceful and free of rigging. 9(30%) of the respondents were of the position that the elections were free and fair. The other 15(50%) were of the view that the elections were dominated by rigging, molestation and humiliation. Among the 15(50%), were 2(6.6%) who also opined that the elections were characterized by killing of political aspirants and members of the electorate The opinion of this group if considered in comparison with the contrary, one comes to the conclusion that the elections in Plateau in the period under examination were marred by violence.

Furthermore, the respondents were asked to state their opinion on the 2007 gubernatorial election in Plateau State. 14(46.6%) of them were of the view that the 2007 gubernatorial election in Plateau State can be described as an ethno-religiously motivated election i.e. voting was done along ethnic and religious lines, 2 of these 14, also joined another 8 to indicate that the elections were dominated by rigging, 6(20%), of the respondents maintained that the elections were characterized by violence and crisis. Only 4(13.3%) of the respondents chose to indicate none of the above stance in their various local governments.

As a follow up to the above the politicians were requested to state the major reasons for the violence in the gubernatorial election of 2007. 16(53.3%) of the

respondents stated that the emergence of party factions accounts for the ugly trend. 13(13.3%) of them maintained that the ethno-religious differences in the state is a major cause of the violence. The remaining 1(3.3%) respondent was of the view that the electoral violence in the 2007 gubernatorial elections in Plateau State was motivated by political leaders and the party in power.

This indicates that most politicians agree on the fact that the elections in Plateau State were characterized by one form of violence.

The respondents were furthermore asked to identify the reasons for the assassination of governorship aspirants prior to the 2007 election in Plateau State. 2(6.6%) of the respondents choose not to comment on the issue, 5(16.6%) claimed that there was no case of assassination prior to the elections or that they were not aware of any case of assassination. The remaining 20(66.6%) had various issues to write on. Their opinion hinges on the role of the politicians whom they blamed for being doubtful of themselves and their capabilities with regards to the conduct of elections. These respondents noted that the ruling class is full of greed and lust for power, a desire which drives them into all manner of electoral malpractices. Politicians were accused of conducting themselves as if established procedures for political contest do not exist due to their selfish political ends. 3(10%) of the respondents were of the view that ethnic and religious extremism are factors to consider when explaining the assassinations in Plateau State prior to the 2007 gubernatorial election in the state.when Respondents were asked to mention other factors that caused electoral violence, analyses of the responses given on the questionnaire indicate that the 64.8 % of politicians stressed the

fact that lack of political will by government in implementing committees report and recommendations have affected the electoral process in Plateau State.

The respondents were then asked to proffer solutions to avoid recurrence of electoral violence in future elections. It was suggested by 3(10%) of the respondents that there should be electoral reforms in Nigeria in general as a sure way to address electoral violence. 9(30%) of them maintained that subsequent elections in plateau state should be made as free and fair as possible, 1(3.3%) of them was of the view that the electoral body the INEC should be granted more autonomy or independence so that it can effectively carry out electoral activities in Nigeria.

4(13.3%) of the respondents suggested that awareness campaigns should be initiated to help members of the electorate in Plateau State to learn to shun religious extremism and ethnic chauvinism and be peaceful citizens of the country. Another 3(10%) maintained that politicians in plateau state need to realize that the imposition of candidates on the people has political consequences and so should be transparent in selecting candidates. Politicians were also called upon to steer clear of parochial interests. Another 4(13.3%) of them called on government to do something about youth unemployment because it is the unemployed youth are always the ones used by selfish politicians in plateau state to foment trouble and mar the electoral process. The remaining 6(20%) respondents maintained that Nigerians in general need to start seeing themselves as one and also learn to coexist and respect each other. They indicated that with this the problem of violence will be largely addressed in the state and Nigeria at large.

4.2.2 Section B: Analysis of views of the electorate

Table 3: Sex of Respondents

S/N	Sex Bracket	No	Frequency	Percentage %
1	Male	149	149	64.2
2	Female	83	83	35.8
Total		**232**	**232**	**100%**

Source: Field Work

Table 3 above shows us that respondents under the section can be grouped under 1149(64.2) males and 83(35.8) females. This implies apparently that males have more representation than females.

Table 4: Age of Respondents

S/N	Age Bracket	No	Frequency	Percentage%
1	20 – 25	64	64	27.6
2	26 – 30	48	48	20.7
3	31 – 35	56	56	24.0
4	36 – 40	45	45	19.4
5	41 and above	18	18	7.8
Total		**232**	**232**	**100%**

Source: Field Work

The breakdown in table 4 above shows that age bracket 20 – 25 has a representation of 64(27.6), age bracket 26 – 30 has 48 (20.7) representatives, age bracket 31 – 35 represented by 56 (24.0) respondents, age bracket 36 – 40 follows with 45 (19.4) representatives while age bracket 41 and above is represented by only 18 (7.8)

respondents. Age bracket 20 – 25 has the highest representation while 41 and above, has the least.

Table 5: Educational Qualification of Respondents

S/N	Qualification Bracket	No	Frequency	Percentage%
1	Primary School Certificate	19	19	8.2
2	SSCE/WASC/HSC	66	66	28.4
3	Diploma/NCE	76	76	32.7
4	Degree/HND	59	59	25.4
5	Others	12	12	5.2
Total			**232**	**100%**

Source: Field Work

Table 5 above indicates that 19 (8.2%) of the respondents hold the Primary School Leaving Certificate, 66 (28.4%) of them hold either the SSCE, WASC or HSC, 76 (32.7%) of them are either NCE or Diploma holders, 59 (25.4%) of them are either Degree or HND holders. Others with higher qualifications are 12 (5.2%). This means that all of the respondents hold one form of educational qualification or the other. This places them in a position to make informed contributions to this study.

Table 6: Status of Respondents

S/N	Status Bracket	No	Frequency	Percentage %
1	Electorate	172	172	74
2	Party chieftains	24	24	10.4
3	INEC official	36	36	15.5
Total		**232**	**232**	**100%**

Source: Field Work

The table above indicates that 172 (74%) of the respondents under this section were drawn from the electorate. 24 (10.3%) of them are party chieftains while the remaining 36 (15.5%) are INEC officials. Majority of them are members of the electorate.

Perception of politicians on the role of INEC in the emergence of electoral violence in plateau state.

Table 3:

Variables	No	Frequency (F)	Percentage (%)
INEC contributed to electoral violence in the 2007 governorship election	7	7	23.4 %
INEC activities did not contribute to electoral violence in Plateau State.	23	23	76.6 %
Total	**30**	**30**	**100 %**

Source: Field work 2010

The table shows that 23.3% of the politician agreed that the activities of the INEC has contributed to emergence of electoral violence in Plateau State while 76.6% disagreed that the activities of INEC have not contributed to the emergence of electoral violence in Plateau State.

Table 7: Electioneering Experience of Respondents

S/N	Experience Bracket	No	Frequency	Percentage%
1	1 – 5 years	50	50	21.5
2	6 – 10 years	51	51	21.9
3	11 – 15 years	57	57	24.5
4	16 – 20 years	44	44	18.9
5	21 and above	30	30	12.9
Total		**232**	**232**	**100%**

Source: Field Work

The information provided in table 7 above shows that 50(21.5) of the respondents have electioneering experience of about 1 – 5 years, 45(22.5%) have between 6 and 10 years experience, 51(25.5%) have between 11 and 15 years experience, 44(18.9%) have between 16 and 20 years experience while 30(12.9%), the least have an experience of 21 years and above. This means that all of the respondents have enough experience in terms of electioneering practices and hence can speak from an informed perspective.

The respondents were then asked to state their perception of electoral violence. 32(16.6%) of the respondents chose not to comment on the issue, while others described electoral violence as unwillingness by the politicians to accept defeat at elections. Some described electoral violence as the display of greed, lack of patriotism and altruistic goals and lack of sportsmanship by the politicians in plateau state. Electoral violence was also conceived as any act of disrupting the peace during electioneering. Electoral violence was described again as the humiliation of the electorate during elections, stealing of ballot boxes and the use of coercion i.e. thugs to achieve selfish ends.

Furthermore, our respondents described electoral violence as the chaos and crisis caused by attempted rigging of votes, others saw it as the lack of adherence to electoral laws and regulations. We can therefore safely summarize the perceptions of our respondents by stating that electoral violence includes all irregularities aimed at disrupting the electioneering process.

Table 8: Respondents' Opinions on the Causes of Electoral Violence in Nigeria

S/N	Opinions Bracket	No	Frequency	Percentage%

1	Zero summative of Nigerian politics	28	28	12.0
2	Unwillingness to accept defeat	32	32	13.7
3	Poor implementation of electoral laws	38	38	16.3
	Lack of discipline among politicians	28	28	12.0
4	All of the above	106	106	45.6
Total			**232**	**100%**

Source: Field Work

The data in table 8 above indicates that 28(12.0%) of our respondents opined that the zero sum nature of Nigerian politics accounts for electoral violence in plateau state, 32(13.7%) of them maintained that electoral violence in Nigeria is caused by the unwillingness to accept defeat on the part of politicians, 38(16.3%) attribute it to poor implementation of electoral laws, 28(12.0%) opined that electoral violence is caused by lack of discipline among the politicians. 106(45.6%) of the respondents however maintained that all the factors itemized above put together, account for electoral violence in Nigeria.

The respondents were then requested to state how they would describe the 2007 gubernatorial elections in Plateau State. 32(13.5%) of them chose not to comment on the matter. 38(16.5%) of them were of the opinion that the election was free and fair, 37(15.9%) insisted that the election was free but not fair, 28(12.0%) of them simply described the election as 419.

Furthermore, 58(22.8%) described the election as characterized by widespread manipulation of figures in favour of the ruling party (PDP) of the federation; the election was also rigged in favour of certain candidates. They further opined that the election was tough and filled with massive destruction of lives and properties and several life

threatening occurrences. As far as this group is concerned, the 2007 Plateau Gubernatorial elections can best be described as a fraud which was masterminded by some political godfathers in order to bring in their candidates and continue their political agenda in the state. The remaining 39(16.8%) of them noted that the federal government must rise up to the occasion of salvaging the country from the dangerous whims and capriences of our politicians. Their views on the matter were more of recommendations rather than opinions on the elections in the state.

Having stated the above, the respondents were then asked to identify the factors which best explains the eruption of violence in Plateau State politics. The following factors were identified;

i. Non-acceptance of defeat

ii. Disenfranchisement

iii. Lack of contentment, satisfaction and understanding

iv. Ethno-religious intolerance

v. Godfatherism

vi. Injustice

vii. Rivalry among politicians

viii. Inordinate ambitions of Politicians

ix. Lack of understanding of the electoral process

In the light of the above, the respondents were asked if they think that electoral violence in Plateau State is motivated by ethno-religious crises that have engulfed the state since 2001.

Table 9:

S/No	Response bracket	No	Frequency	Percentage%

1 2.	Yes No	149 83	149 83	64.2 35.7
Total		**232**	**232**	**100%**

Table 9 above shows us that while 149(64.2%) of the respondents agree that electoral violence in Plateau State is motivated by ethno-religious considerations, 83(35.7%) maintained a contrary position i.e that ethno-religious factors have no place in electoral violence in Plateau State politics..

They were then asked if the violence in Plateau state politics has changed the attitudes and character of the Plateau people towards themselves. 149(64.2%) of them maintained that the violence has negatively affected the attitudes of the people towards themselves, while the remaining 83(35.7%) denounced the assertion. If the opinion of this majority is anything to go by then we may accept that electoral violence in Plateau State has affected the attitude of the people towards themselves.

They were then asked to state how the change has manifested in Plateau State. The respondents were allowed the option of choosing more than one factor. 42(18.1%) of them were of the view that violence in Plateau State politics has manifested in the assassination of people, 48(20.6%) of them rather pointed at molestation as the most glaring sign of the impact of electoral violence on Plateau State people's attitudes towards each other. 55(23.7%) of the respondents opined that humiliation of people is quite common in Plateau State now. 25(10.7%) of the respondents choose killing and assassination as common signs of the impacts of electoral violence in Plateau State, 34(14.6%) of them opined that molestation, assassination and humiliation are the effects

of electoral violence in Plateau State while 28(12.0%) however identified humiliation killing and molestation as the results of electoral violence in Plateau State.

On that note, respondents were asked to state what electoral violence portends for the conduct of free and fair elections in Plateau State. 44(18.9%) of them did not comment on this part i.e they chose to remain silent. The summary of the opinion of 45(17.3%) is that violence portends distortion to the political system and electioneering process of the state meaning that elections in the state will lack credibility in time to come if the issues are not urgently addressed. Furthermore, 26(11.2%) opined that with electoral violence recurring in the state, free and fair elections will continue to elude the state thereby hampering political development in the state.

In the same vein 45(17.3%) of the respondents maintained that electoral violence in the state portends "danger" for the conduct of free and fair election in the state. 23(9.9%) of them rather chose to put forward recommendations to stem the tide before the whole state goes up in flames, for them the federal government must rise up to the occasion and salvage the state from violent activities. As far as 33(14.2%) are concerned there is nothing like electoral violence in the state and so there is nothing to worry about. The remaining 16(6.8%) raise issues like corruption, imposition of wrong candidates on the people, sectional distrust, more religious and ethnic intolerance, injustice and maladministration, breach of peace, killing and displacement of innocent citizens, devastation etc. all of which are capable of adversely affecting the economy of the state thereby reinforcing poverty, unemployment and suffering among the people in the state. Respondents were asked to mention other possible factors that caused electoral violence and from the analyzed 36.82 % (electorates) stressed the fact that lack of

political will by government in implementing committees' recommendations have affected the electoral process in Plateau State.

In the light of the foregoing, they were requested to freely suggest possible solutions to electoral violence in Plateau State and Nigeria in general. 75(32.3%) of them strongly called for sincere electoral reforms in Nigeria as in their view, the flaws existent in the electoral system account for the recurrent crises during electioneering periods. On a further note, 29(12.5%) were of the opinion that government should initiate and carry out more massive enlightenment through the mass media to educate the electorate on the various dangers of electoral violence and the need to desist from participation in electoral violence in Plateau state

Furthermore, 27(11.6%) of the respondents suggested the creation of job opportunities for our teaming unemployed youths and the provision of social amenities. This to them is a sure way to minimize violence in the electoral process. 18(7.8%) suggested that politicians in plateau state should learn to accept defeat in a sportsmanship manner, avoid rigging in elections and also stop using inciting statements during campaigns. 19(8.2%) recommended the provision of adequate security at polling centers to prevent thugs and hoodlums from being able to perpetrate violence during elections in plateau state.41 (17.6%) Others suggested the early arrival of polling materials at polling centers, 25(10.7%) recommended that efforts be made to bring all those involved in electoral violence to book as this will serve as deterrent to others in future elections.

There were those who called for an end to the second tenure system and the introduction of the zoning system in the state as this will give everybody a fair chance at

the polls. There were however those who rather chose not to comment or suggest any way forward in the state.

4.2.3 ORAL INTERVIEW FOR POLITICIANS

This interview was conducted in the three senatorial zones of plateau state and it was done among politicians i.e jos North(northern zone), mangu(central zone), and shendam(southern zone). The interview questions were asked using structured questions and had the following classification of respondents

I, the first group agreed to grant the interviews with their names published.

Ii, the second group agreed to grant the interview only on condition of anonymity.

Iii, the third group agreed to grant interview on the condition that their names and interview would not be published but only analyzed , however all the views of politicians was analyzed in 4.2.1(analyses of politicians opinions)

INTERVIEW OF POLITICIANS FROM JOS NORTH

Hon. Badung Representing Gada Biu Ward in Jos North local Government Area did not agree that any form of violence transpired in the elections although he admitted that ethnic/religious differences was a factor i.e. Christians voted for PDP while Muslims voted ANPP. He attributed it to the religious and ethnic crisis that has bedeviled the state over years which has affected the governorship elections negatively.

The second interviewee was Hon. Abubakar Ishaq (ANPP) representing Angwan Rogo Ward, Hon Ishaq admitted that the elections were ethno – religiously inclined because of the crisis that engulfed Plateau State, he also admitted that in his constituency

there were killings, lootings and thuggery. However, said the solution to the problem is that people should learn how to live in peace and harmony in Plateau State.

The third interviewee was Hon. Danjuma Inuwariki (ANPP) representing Yantrailer Ward; Hon. Danjuma claims that the major reason for electoral violence in Plateau State is the rigging by the ruling Peoples Democratic Party which brought about fake leaders and he said the only solution was implementation of electoral reforms.

The fourth person interviewed pleaded anonymity; he is an AC youth leader, he claimed that 2007 Gubernatorial elections was dominated by rigging and that electoral violence was ethno – religiously motivated, and that there is now intra/inter ethnic consciousness in Plateau that perhaps accounted for the killing of an aspirant because he was seen as a minority tribe aspirant. He also admitted that it accounted for the factionalization in the Peoples Democratic Party. In proffering solutions he said that the removal of the present administration and replacing it with a neutral government was the best.

The other six interviewees declined oral interviews and opted for questionnaires.

RESPONSE FROM PLATEAU CENTRAL ZONE (MANGU L.G.A)

The first interviewee was Hon. Mark Davar (AC) who contested for the chairmanship of Mangu Local government Area in the 2007 elections. She believed that it was the emergence of party factions in the PDP prior to the elections that caused electoral violence. She said it was grudges among party members and that INEC did not help matters because they identified themselves with just one faction, the faction not recognized became AC; she also claimed that ethno – religious differences was manifested openly between and among tribes and attributed the reason for assassination

as wickedness and lawlessness. She however said provision of job for youths is a solution to the question of electoral violence in Plateau state.

The second interviewee was from Kaduna Ward, he pleaded anonymity. He is also holding an elective post; he claimed that elections in Plateau State was ethno – religiously motivated through the advocating of votes through religious and ethnic lines; he believes illiteracy was the main reason for assassination among politicians.

Hon. Joshua Nanfwang was the third interviewee from Gindiri Ward I. He was a former supervisory councilor from Mangu local government area, he also corroborated with the others where he agreed that the violence was ethno – religiously motivated and that it was the first time a strange phenomenon as such was experienced in the politics of Plateau State, he started by blaming INEC for recognizing a party EXCO that was not "elected but selected", he also said the good intentions of the aspirant that was killed was the reason for his assassination. When asked about the solution to this problem he said it was the implementation of electoral reform that was the solution.

The fourth interviewee from Plateau central was Hon. Theophilus Nanpan a former councilor and party chieftain Representing Gindiri Ward II he attributed electoral violence in Plateau State to the political party in power and party leaders, he believed that the assassination of the aspirant was due to inter ethnic differences and the "domineering spirit by the Beroms who want Plateau at all cost".

The fifth interviewee from Mangu was a councilor who pleaded anonymity, he also attributed the reason for electoral violence to ethno – religious, that is because there were arms flying now in Plateau State; it has made people use arms freely and the elections was an avenue for the usage of those arms.He also complained about the role

of INEC who was supposed to be an impartial judge but aligning with the "Abuja group" that he believed escalated electoral violence. He, however, believes that people should be allowed to make their choice.

RESPONSE FROM PLATEAU SENATORIAL ZONE (SHENDAM L.G.A)

The First Interviewee From Shendam is Hon. Kenneth Yilmep, formerly representing Shendam Ward I, Yilmep was of the view that the reason for electoral violence during the 2007 elections was the emergence of the Nasir Mantu and Joshua Dariye faction of the PDP. He believed that two leaders cannot lead;such a situation was bound to engender electoral violence, especially, when Dariye left the political party. He was also of the view that the general lack of security and the partial nature of INEC was another reason for the electoral violence which automatically culminated into the killing of Jesse Aruku, he further mentioned that electoral reforms should be implemented fully to solve this problem.

The second interviewee is Hon. Sunday Yagwan who is a serving councilor from Shendam Ward (B). He believed that there was no internal democracy in all the political parties that contested, According to him, there were factions. He believed that the assassination of a governorship aspirant was a plot to pave way for easy winning because the aspirant in contention was a popular contender, he however believed the role played by INEC and security agencies did not help matters as it ended up in aggravating the crisis. This automatically brought about trouble. In proffering solution to the crisis, he believed that candidates should not be imposed against their wishes.

The third interviewee from Shendam was Hon. Ishaku Yibuel from Jiban Ward who is a serving councilor in the ward; when asked what was the reason for violence

during the 2007 gubernatorial elections he declined comment. However he was of the view that personality clashes was of the view in the ruling party was the reason for the assassination of Jesse Aruku. He believed the only solution to the problem in Plateau State was for godfatherism to stop.

The fourth interviewee was Alexander Danang a youth leader in the Action Congress. He believed that crisis in Plateau State was ethno – religiously motivated; in his view, there was massive campaign to stop Beroms from holding the Governorship post. Also, he believed that the series of crises that engulfed Plateau State in the last 10 years had introduced hatred. He observed that Guns and other lethal weapons were available in the state. In short, he termed it "ethnic consciousness" as the reason for assassination of an aspirant prior to the elections and the breakdown of law and order during the "selection" process. He however believed that when people shun politics of bitterness the problem would be solved. He also emphasized complete over hauling of INEC even if it means bringing expatriates to run INEC. He condemned INEC for aligning with Nasir Mantu's faction of the PDP.

4.2.4 OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

Having administered the questionnaires among politicians, party chieftains, INEC officials and members of the electorate in three local governments of Plateau State i.e. Jos North, Mangu and Shendam, it has been discovered that the 2007 Plateau State gubernatorial election was characterized by violent activities which no doubt marred the electoral process.

It was also found out that the causes of the electoral violence include unwillingness on the part of politicians to accept defeat, poor implementation of electoral laws, lack of internal democracy in the political parties lack of discipline among politicians, greed, ethno-religious intolerance, etc. These factors were brought to bear on the electoral process in Plateau State. The result of this being that peace and security which was part of the beauty of the state, have now eluded the entire state due to the frequent cases of molestation, assassination, killing, humiliation, etc. This means that the indigenes and residents of Plateau State are now obviously at daggers drawn.

It has been noted that this development will not augur well for the conduct of free and fair elections in Plateau state and also for the peace and economic development of Plateau State hence the need for urgent measures to address the situation.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Assumption No 1.

1. Ethno religious considerations contributed to the spate of violence in the 2007 Governorship Elections in Plateau State.

   The inference drawn from books journals and interviews conducted is that the crises that engulfed Plateau State in the past 9 years (see pg 71-74) has actually affected the electoral process thereby making electorates vote along ,ethnic and religious lines .This view was shared by many politicians interviewed; for instance, Action congress leader from Jos North Local Government Area was of the view that the ethno-religious crises in Plateau State over the years had awoken consciousness in the electorates, therefore people now vote along so called "indigene-settler" dimension. This position was earlier on highlighted by Dunmonye(2008:133) when he states that

   Controversies and contestations over citizenship rights in the Nigerian federation have become sources of conflicts that have threaten the corporate existence of Nigeria .

   Ayorinde (1983) also mentioned earlier that

   The stratification of these groups has been accompanied by continued identity formation and a desperate search for ethnic security….. self or group

preservation can take the form of sub ordination or domination or fighting to preserve ones independence, teaming with others to increase chances of survival.

This has provided answer to the research question which states; what were the factors that created violence during the 2007 Gubernatorial elections? It also measures up with one of the objectives of the study which tries to examine the reasons for the outbreak of electoral violence during the 2007 Gubernatorial elections. Therefore, the afore-mentioned reason affirms the proposition that 'Ethno-religious considerations contributed to the spate of violence in the 2007 Governorship Elections in Plateau State'

ASSUMPTION No 2

Lack of Political will by government in implementing committee recommendations affected the electoral process in Plateau State during the 2007 gubernatorial elections in Plateau State.

As regards the second assumption, the various committee reports reviewed, newspaper reports, interviews conducted, journals and other publications agreed to the fact that the inability of government to effectively implement the findings and recommendations of the numerous committees set – up by either the Plateau State government or the Federal government has affected the electoral process in Plateau State. In effect, if people who are either the sponsors or prosecutors of electoral violence in Plateau State are brought to book it will serve as a deterrent to others.

In a related development, some of the people interviewed were of the opinion that ethnic or religious sentiments are not principally the cause of electoral violence but

rather, they are used as catch – all approach to generate public sympathy which is sensitive in a multi – ethnic and religious state like Plateau, in particular, and Nigeria at large.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The 2007 gubernatorial elections in plateau state was placed under examination as the backdrop of the prevalence of electoral violence, this was done through identifying the factors which accounted for electoral violence in plateau state, the Identification was strategically done through employing quantitative and qualitative means to analyze peoples views on the situation, the work further reviewed existing views of scholars on the subject electoral violence, electoral processes and plateau state which gave a clearer view on the subject under investigation(electoral violence). To do this questionnaires were administered among politicians, party chieftains, INEC officials and it captured the views of the various respondents who gave answers on issues concerning prevalence of violence, reasons and solutions, also politicians numbering thirty were sampled from three senatorial zones ie Mangu, Shendam and Jos North local government areas which were the most populated in Plateau State according to the National Population Census of 2006, one important area examined was the various committee reports released, the reports indicated clearly that government's lack of will to implement reports was a major factor to the prevalence of electoral violence, Conclusively Various opinions suggested the worrying state of Electoral Violence and agreed that Both citizens and Government Need to rise up to the Challenge because failure to do that would Continue

to disrupt the electoral process which would hamper the Democratization process in Plateau State in Particular and Nigeria In General.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear respondents,

I am a Master of Science (M.Sc) student of the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, currently undertaking a research on "Violence and the Electoral Process: A case study of the 2007 Gubernatorial Elections in Plateau State". Your opinion on the following issues is hereby sought. You are assured that your response will be treated as confidential. Thank you.

SECTION A: BIO-DATA

1. Sex: Male { } Female { }
2. Age: 20 – 25 { } 26 – 30 { } 31 – 35 { } 36 – 40 { }
   41 and above { }
3. Educational Qualification: Primary school certificate { } SSCE/WASC/HSC { } Diploma/NCE { } Degree/HND { } others specify……..
4. Tick your status among the following options: Electorate { } party chieftain { } INEC Official { }
5. Indicate your experience in the electioneering process: 1–5 years
   { } 6 – 10 { } 11 – 15 years { } 16 – 20 years 21 years and above { }
6. State your perception of electoral violence
   …….
7. Indicate your opinion on the cause of electoral violence in Nigeria. Zero sum nature of Nigerian politics { } unwillingness to accept defeat { } poor implementation of electoral laws { } lack of discipline among politicians
   { } all of the above { }

8. How would you describe the 2007 gubernatorial elections in Plateau State……

9. What in your opinion best explains the eruption of violence in Plateau State politics?.....

10. Were there cases of violence in the conduct of the elections?

Yes { } No { }

11. Give reasons for your response to 10 above……...

12. If yes to 10 above, state the types of violence noticed during the elections

……

13. What other factors do you think affected the electoral process in Plateau state?

…….

14. What does the violence portend for the conduct of free and fair elections in Plateau State……..

15. What are the implications of electoral violence on Nigeria's democracy?.....

16. In the light of your experience, freely suggest possible solutions to electoral violence in Plateau State and Nigerian in general.

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POLITICIANS IN PLATEAU STATE

1 Are you from Plateau State? (Yes or No)

2 Where do you live/Stay in Plateau State?.....

3. How long have you been in your stated area?

2 – 4 years ☐ 5 – 7 years ☐ 8 – 10 years ☐ Above 10 years ☐

4. How do you assess the politics or political atmosphere of Plateau in the first and second republic.
   a. Very peaceful and absence of electoral rigging
   b. It was generally free and fair
   c. Dominated by rigging, molestation and Humiliation.
   d. Killing of political aspirants and electorates.

5. How do you rate the last gubernatorial election in Plateau state (2007)?
   a. Characterized by violence and crisis
   b. Dominated by rigging
   c. Ethno – religiously motivated election.

6. What do you think are the major reason(s) for the violence in the Plateau gubernatorial election of 2007.
   a. The emergence of political party factions
   b. The ethno – Religions differences
   c. Motivated by political leaders and the party in power

7. Could you Asses the Role of INEC in the 2007 Gubernatorial Elections In Plateau State?

   …….

8. What do you think is the Reason for the Assassinations of governorship aspirants prior to the 2007 election in Plateau? ……..……

……..……

9. Could you please state other factors that cause violence? During the 2007 elections in Plateau State……..

……

10. Could you please proffer solutions that would avoid the reoccurrence of the problem again?

……

(You may choose more than one option in questions 4, 5 & 6)

APPENDIX 3

Electoral Violence in Plateau State during the 2007 Presidential, National Assembly, Gubernatorial and House of Assembly Elections.

APPENDIX	LGA/WARD	Date	Causes of Electoral Violence	No. of People Injured	No. of People Killed	Observers
Ai	Gyambwa/jos /North	21-22-04-2007	Disappearance of electoral materials by presiding officer	Many wounded	8	EU
Aii	Ali Kazure/jos North	21-22-04-2007	Missing ballot paper Lateness in starting of election	37 wounded	4	Commonwealth observers
APP (iii)	Nguwu & Angwan Rogo	21-22/04/2007	Missing of ballot boxes Stronghold of ANPP rejected	18 wounded	3	ECOWAS observers
APP (iv)	Naraguta (3)	21-22/04	Falsely stamped and signed ballot papers, pre-printed ballot papers	-	-	UN & EU observers
APP (v)	Wildlife Park/Jos South	21-22/04	Arrest of pressing officer to deliver the election materials	-	-	IRI & Human Right
APP (vi)	Kanam	21-22/04	Lateness in start of voting Under age voters on queue	36 wounded	6	Human Right & IRI observers
APP (vii)	Mangu, Jos South Jos East	21-22/04 2007	Inadequate ballot papers Missing of party logo on ballot papers, inadequate tables for electoral officers and agents	-	2	Commonwealth & EU observers
App (viii)	Jos North Bassa & Wase	2122/04/2007	Underage voters, inadequate materials	Many	13	EU
APP (ix)	Shendam	"	Hoarding of electoral materials	-	2	EU
	Total			91 people	38 people	

Source: European, Commonwealth, International Republic Institute and ECOWAS Report for 2007.

EU – European Union

EC – ECOWAS

IRI – International Republican Institute

APPENDIX 4

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES	DATE OF INTERVIEW
Hon. Abubakar Ishaq (ANPP)	6 /4/ 2010
Hon. Danjuma Inuwariki (ANPP)	6/4/ 2010
Hon. Yohanna Badung (PDP)	6/4/ 2010
Hon. Hajara Mark Davar (AC)	12/4/2010
Hon. Joshua Nanfwang (PPA)	12/4/ 2010
Hon. Theophilus Nanpan(PDP)	12/4/2010
Hon. Kenneth Yilmep (PDP)	14/4/2010
Hon. Sunday Yagwan (PDP)	14/4/2010
Hon. Alexander Danang(PDP)	15/4/2010
Hon. Ishaku Yibuel (PDP)	14/4/2010
Prof Abraham Mallum. (PDP)	16/4/2010