FACTORS THAT INFLUECED VOTERS BEHAVIOUR IN THE 2012 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION: A CASE STUDY OF SABON-GARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KADUNA STATE

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,
ZARIA

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (BSc.) DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

MAY, 2014

DECLARATION

I, ISHAQ RUFAI (Reg. No. U10PS1013) do hereby declare that this work is the product of my personal effort and it has not been presented elsewhere for the award of a degree or any other academic qualification. The efforts of other individuals consulted in the course of conducting this research were acknowledged.

_____ _____

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CERTIFICATION

This project is titled "factors that influence voters Behaviour in the 2012 local government election: A case study of Sabon-Gari Local Government Area of Kaduna State." submitted by Ishaq Rufai, (U10PS1013) meets the requirement for the award of Bachelor of Science (BSc.) Degree in Political Science Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and has approved because of its contribution to knowledge.

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DEDICATION

All praise be to Allah, the Beneficent the Most Merciful for sparing my life and granting me the opportunity to pass through this programme successfully, I therefore, dedicate this research work to my true love parents Mallam Ishaq Amadu Rano and Mallama Safiya Haruna whose endless love, care, encouragement, motivations and prayers have guided me through, and their prayers and dreams is to see me be a successful person in life. May almighty Allah bless them abundantly for their wonderful contributions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I must start this acknowledgement by expressing my thanks to Almighty Allah, the most compassionate, the most merciful, for sparing me the health strength, focus and tenacity to successfully complete this programme.

However, special mention must be made on a very important personality who has contributed tremendously in different capacities to ensure the success of this research work. It is on this ground that I become indebted to my cheerful and respectful supervisor, in person of Dr. Umar M. Kaoje whom I have always run to for directions and corrections, who in spite of his tight and busy schedules go through my manuscript for advice correction and useful suggestion on the account of writing this research project with success to the completion of this work.

I also, wish to express my special gratitude and thanks to my parents, Mallam Ishaq Ahmadu Rano and Mallama Safiya Haruna for their endless love, care, encouragement, motivations and their prayers have really guide me through, to see me be a successful person in life, I pray that may Almighty Allah bless them abundantly, and may He grant them a high class in Jannatul Firdaus, Ameen summa amen.

My special gratitude also goes to the members of my family from my elder brothers in persons of Mallam Yunusa Ishaq, Muhammad Kabiru Ishaq, Abdullahi Ishaq my elder sisters: late Rakiya Ishaq, Hadiza Ishaq (Jaririya) Hauwau Ishaq (Uwannan), Harira Ishaq and my younger sister Fatima Ishaq, as well as the daughters and sons of all my elder sisters and brothers such as:- Jamila Yusuf, Barira Yusuf, Nashida Yusuf, Umar Faruk Kabiru, Al-Mustapha Kabiru, Abubakar Sadiq Abdullahi, Aisha Abdullahi, Rukayyah Abdullahi, Ahmad Yunusa, Hassan Yunusa, Hussain Yunusa, Safiyyah Yunusa Among others. The wives of my elder brother:- Nafisa Yunusa, Asma'u Kabiru, Shamiyyah Abdullahi for all their moral support and encouragement during the course of my study programme.

My special thanks also go to the all brother and sisters of my father and all his friends. Also my special thanks goes to the professor Chado of the department of physical and health education, faculty of education in ABU Zaria; Mai-Unguwar Hayin-Danyaro, also I will not forget my teachers that thought me in primary school such as:- Mallam Yakubu Salisu, Mallam Yakub who is now in faculty of education ABU Zaria, Mallama Khadijah, Malama Rukayyah, my teachers in secondary school: Mallam Musa Sadiq who really helped me, and who is now an A.S.P living in Lagos, Mallam Shehu, Mal. Mudi, Malama Maryam and Mal. Yahaya among other. I will not also forget with my Islamic teachers such as Sheikh Usman Zaria, Mallam Abubakar bin Harun, Ustaz Mustapha Umar, Mallam Sani, Mallam Imran Muhammad Nasir, Mallam Salmanu, Mallam Lawal (Shehi). My friends and colleagues such as Mallam Umar Khalil Assalafi, Ali Salaf, Adamu Yunusa, Anas Ibrahim, Abdulmalik Abdullahi, and Muhammad Ahmad among others.

Moreover, my special appreciation goes to the entire lecturers of the department of political science and international relations who have contributed squarely in the present condition that I am. Reference must be made to such scholars whose intellectual disposition admired and had been source of inspiration to me as a student. They include:- professor R.A Dunmoye, the Dean Faculty of social sciences, professor Umar Muhammad Kaoje, Professor Kayode Omojuwa, Professor James Kantiok, Professor Onobe, Professor P.P Izah, Dr. Sadique Muhammad, Dr. Hudu Abdullahi, Dr. Audu Jacob, Dr. Ismaila Shehu, Dr. Faal Muhammad, Dr. Aliyu Yahaya, Dr. Yusuf Yakubu, Dr. David Moveh, Dr. Nurudeen, Dr. George Atelhe, Mallam Dayyabu Hassan, Mallam Saidu Adamu, Mallam Umar Tanko, Mallam Hamza, Mal. Aminu Garba, Mal. Bashir, Bello Gwarzo, Mal. Baffah, Mal. Abdul Ahmadu, Malama Khadija Gumbi, Malama Rahinatu, Mallam Aminu Danja, Monama Malama Halima, Mallam Babangida and Mallam Rabiu Muntari may Almighty Allah Bless you all.

I will also like to extend my deepest appreciation to all members of the association of Muslim political scientist and diplomats (AMPAD) both the past and present EXCOS members. Also, I will not forget the association of Muslim social scientist (AMSS) both the past and present EXCOS members for their contributions towards educating and enlighten of Muslim Ummah both spiritually and academically.

I once again, will not forget the encouragements and help given to me by persons such as: Ibrahim Yusuf Muhammad, Sadiq Ibrahim Nasir, Mallam Rabiu Muntari and Mallam Bashir Muhammad, Mallam Aminu Ismail towards the success of this project work.

I will also, like to extend my deepest appreciation to my fellow classmates and group of my friends in person of Usman Dbala, Abdulhameed Magaji, Zakariyyah Shehu, Aliyu Baraje (Timbuktu), Abidu Bature, Mallam Umar, Elbichara Muhammad, my classmates such as Khairudden Zakariyyah, Rashida Abdulhadi, Sadiq Ali Akilu, Bilkisu Nana, Umar Kabir and Rukayyah Aliyu and many more others, while those that I could not be able to mention their names, because of the limited space, may Allah bless you all. Also, this acknowledgement will not be concluded without mentioning the unique sets of U09PS/IS, U10PS/IS and all the non-academic staff of the department and faculty and all that help me in one way of the other in life.

Most finally, I wish to express, my sincere apology to all those whose name has not been mentioned as a result of the limited space, I wish to thank you in various aspects of encouragement you gave me all the time. May Almighty Allah Bless you all Ameen.

ABSTRACT

The topic of this research work was the factors that influence voters Behaviour in the 2012 local government election: A case study of the Sabon-Gari local government area of Kaduna state. The research work therefore attempted to examine the factors that possibly influenced voters Behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election, and also attempted to examine the impact of such influences on both the voters and political processes of Sabon-Gari local government. Therefore, voting Behaviour as has been explained in the work, can be seen as an aspect of political Behaviour, that seek to determine the key variable that motivate voters to vote or not to vote, and for what reason. That is therefore, an attempt to find out the factors that are influencing voting patterns of electorates, in a given period of time. Voting Behaviour therefore is the conscious interest of individual in his decision to his leaders.

Therefore, voting Behaviour is a form of political Behaviour, through how and why decisions were made either by the public decision makers or which has been the central concern for political scientist or electorates. In a nutshell, voting Behaviour can therefore be refer to as the exhibition of a particular voting practice by citizens of a country. The research work has reviewed literatures that are related to the topic. Also this research work adopted a Behaviouralism theory in other to analyze the factors that influence voters Behaviour. Behaviouralism can be traced back to the concept of general system theory, which had it's origin from the writings of Budwig V. Bartallanty.

The study adopted a sample random sampling whereby four (4) electoral wards were selected out of the eleven (11) wards that are in the local government. These four local government were: Dogarawa, Samaru, Hanwa and Basawa ward. Across all the four (4) wards, 120 questionnaires were distributed that is thirty (30) questionnaires to each ward. Eighty (80) out of one hundred and twenty (120) were returned which formed the basis of the data that was presented and analyzed. The findings of the research shows that there were many factors that influenced voters Behaviour during the election. Party manifesto has been responded by 25 respondents, which is equivalent to 31.5% and which has the highest of respondents by the electorate. Also, incumbency factor has been respondent by 20 electorates which is equivalent to 25%, then followed by the desire for change with 20 respondents also equivalent to 25%. Also, financial inducement has 10 respondents with 12.5% then others that were influenced by other factors had 5 respondents equivalent to 6%. Also, in the comparison of the chairmanship election result recorded at the polling unit and that of ward level revealed that Basawa has the total of 498.2 votes from all the parties that have contested in the election, in the polling unit while at ward level was 154.6 votes, in Dogarawa has the total of 346.4 at polling unit and 293 at the ward level. In Hanwa, it has the total of 122.6 at polling unit, and 313.6 at ward level whi8le in Samaru, it has the total of 169 at polling unit and 248.6 at ward level. Also in companion of the councillorship election result, Basawa has 144.6 at the polling unit and 181.4 at ward level, Dogarawa, 160.8 at polling unit and 332.8 at ward level. In Hanwa, 86.4 at poling unit and 254.6 at ward level. In Samaru, 160 at polling units and 160 at ward level. This has clearly shown that according to this research work, the result announced at the polling unit was correct and the election was free and fair, but at the ward level the result was invalid and the election was not free and fair. Also, during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election, majority of the people that registered during the registration exercise did not participate in the election, whereby 28.7% voted in the chairmanship election and 26.7% voted in the councillorship election. Finally this have shown that both the chairmanship and the councillorship election was characterized by irregularities and all sort of election malpractice. Therefore, after deep analysis of the views of the electorates of Sabon-Gari local government on the issue of factors that influences voters Behaviour, the work concludes that really there were factors that influenced voters Behaviour such:- party manifesto, financial inducement, incumbency and desire for change and many others.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Voting Behaviour is a form of political Behaviour. Therefore, understanding voters Behaviour can explain how and why decisions were made. Either by public decisions-makers, which has been the central concern for political scientist or electorate. To interpret voting Behaviour, both political science and psychology expertise where necessary, and therefore the field of political psychology emerged. Political psychology researchers study ways in which effective influences may help. Voters more informed voting choices, with some proposing that effects, may explain how the electorates makes informed political choices, inspite of low overall levels of political attentiveness and sophistication.

To make inferences and predictions about Behaviour concerning a voting decision, certain factors are said to influence voters Behaviour. Such as:- culture religion, public influences include:- the role of emotions, political socialization, tolerance of diversity of political views and media etc. the effect of these influences on voting Behaviour is best understood through theories on the formation of attitudes, beliefs, schema, knowledge structures and their practice of information processing. For example, research from different countries indicates that people are generally happier in individualistic cultures where they have right, such as right to vote. The degree to which voting decisions is affected by internal processing system of political information, and external influence alters the quality of making truly democratic decisions. A voting which is derived devoid of sentimental, be it primordial centrifugal or centripetal forces. Ogundiya (2003).

With the Nigeria, evidence abound in the literature that at least up to the decades of independence, voting Behaviour was not guided by ideology, party programmes or merit of those standing top be elected, but by political calculus of ethnic geo-politics, religious

bigotry, out right bribery, power of incumbency, abuse of electoral process, corruption etc. Ogundiya (2003).

In Kaduna state, with the return to democratic rule in 1999, the Kaduna state independent electoral commission (KAD-SIECOM) was established in accordance with the provisions of section 197 (1) (b) of the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria which is charged with the responsibility of organizing and conducting elections for local government council in the state. The commission receives support and cooperation from security agencies and civil society. From the inception, KAD-SIECOM has conducted three different local government council election in all of the 23 local governments of the state. The first exercise, was conducted in 2004, 6 years after the independent national electoral commission organized one in December 1998. Subsequent elections of 2007 and 2012 had a time lag of 3 and 5 years respectively.

Voting Behaviour lire any other human Behaviour can be impacted by a number of factors, which may be internal or external, short-term or long-term. Therefore, Sabon-Gari local government area of Kaduna state has been either directly or indirectly influenced by the factors in their environment.

In this research work, we intends to study the factors that influence voters Behaviour and its various manifestations in the Sabon-Gari local government in the 2012 local government election. This work will be done through relevant data acquisition and analysis.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARACH PROBLEM

This research has examined the factors that influenced voters Behaviour in the 2012 local government election of Sabon-Gari local government area of Kaduna state. As, such the research work, will attempt to address questions such as:-

i. What are the factors that possibly influenced voters Behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election?

ii. How does these factors influenced voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election?

iii. What is the impact of such influences on both the voters and the political process of election?

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objectives of the study is to examine the factors that influence voters Behaviour in the last Sabon-Gari local government election, that was conducted in December, 2012 objective of the study include:-

i. To analyze how these factors influenced voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

ii. To explain the relationship between such factors and the candidates for elective offices.

iii. To identify the possible influences of other factors

iv. To prefer effective solutions to the possible threats that are arising from the influences on voters Behaviour.

1.4 ASSUMPTION/HYPOTHESIS/PROPOSITION

The research work was carried out within the assumptions that:-

i. Fear of intimidation by opposition supporters influenced voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

ii. Party manifesto influence voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

iii. Incumbency factor influenced voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

iv. Financial inducement to voters as a result acute poverty and literacy in society influence voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

v. Desire for change influence voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

The scope of this research was the factors that influenced voters Behaviour in the 2012 December, Sabon-Gari local government election. Therefore, the research work will cover the period of the study, that is December, 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

The major limitation of this research involves field study and opinion sampling, whereby the researcher is likely to face financial constraint as well as absence of adequate literatures on voting Behaviour and factors that influence voters Behaviour in Sabon-Gari local government. Even with the few literatures available there is the problem of having access to them. Another vital aspect is the fact that, the work, is on human Behaviour. Also there is difficulties of winning voters attention and thereby getting arithmetic information, access to officials of electoral records from the appropriate authorities also posed difficulties to obtain during the exercise.

The research will involve primary data collection method such as the questionnaire methods, there is therefore the problem of value which influenced responses from the respondents and even the issue of non-chalant responses from the society. Richard Claude (1970) did rightly put it "if you ask a political scientist who votes and why, he will refer you to a vast literature of voting Behaviour studies".

1.6 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Conceptual clarification or definition of those key concepts in this research work is imperative.

These concepts or terms includes:, politics, voting, election and voting behaviour.

i. **Politics:-** Politics can be define as persistent pattern or exercise of power that involves in a significant extend of power, authority and legitimacy, it can also be

define as a way through which scarce societal resources should be allocated to the people in society. Haroid Laswell, defined politics as a science of who get what when and how. Politics in this sense is a battlefield in which various interest compete for the distribution and redistribution of societal resources. On the other hand Vernon Dyke agrees with Wright definition, according to him, politics can be defined as a struggle among actors pursuing conflicting desires on public issues. David Easton on the other and sees it as an authoritative allocations of values in the societies., but generally, politics can be define as any persistent pattern of human interaction (informal relations) and activities happening in the society that involves to a significance respect of power, authority and legitimacy. M. Muktari (2002).

ii. **Voting.** This is a process whereby any eligible voter willingly decided to go and cast his/her vote freely or exercise his legal right through electing his candidate freely according to his/her wish without any fear of intimidation harassment, inducement or coercion. A voter therefore, in free and fair election can vote according to the dictates of his conscience. Nwankwo (1992:140)

iii. **Election:-** Can be defined as an act of choosing or selecting candidates who will represent them in the parliament and in other positions in the government. Election is also said to be contested between competing political parties or groups for government power. Elections become imperative as a result of impossibility of direct representation as practiced in the modern states. Direct representation as practiced in the small ancient Green city gave way to indirect representations as a result of the growth of modern nations.

In this indirect representatives, citizen through election choose those that will represent their interest and opinions in the legislature and other government positions. The encyclopedia of social science vol. 5, defined election as one procedure of

aggregating preferences of a particular kind. Election therefore, is a way through which people or individuals in a community come together to exercise their right of franchise to elect their leaders or representatives to various offices etc.

iv. Voting Behaviour

Voting Behaviour is the main form political participation in liberal democratic societies and the study of voting behaviour is highly specialized sub-field within political science. The analysis of voting patterns invariably focuses on the determinant of why people votes as they do and how they arrive at the decisions they make. Sociologist tends to look at the socio-economic determinants of supports for political parties, observing the correlations between class, occupations, ethnicity sex, age and vote. Political scientists have concentrated on the influence of political factors such as: political group electoral campaign and the popularity of party leaders on voting behaviour. However, both disciplines share much the same terrain, and increasingly have tended to overlap in their analytical approach. Harrop M. and Miller W.L (1987).

1.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As the result of the importance that is attach to the concept of voting behaviour, in relations to the factors that influence voters behaviour in any given election, the following questions therefore emerged.

1. What is the key variable that motivates voters to vote or not to vote?
2. How public influences such:- emotions, political socialization and diversity of political views influence voters behaviour?
3. Why does people votes as they do and how they arrive at the decisions they make?
4. To what extend does the factors that influence voters behaviour promote political participation and stability in the society?

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Voting Behaviour as a form of political behaviour, it help us in understanding the behaviour of the people or the voters. Also, through the study of voters behaviour, we will be able to know how public decisions are made either by public decisions-makers, which has been central concern for political scientist or electorate.

As a result of the above explanation on voting behaviour, it is therefore very relevant to study factors that influence voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

The significance of this research work are as follows:-

1. This research work is significant, because it attempt to document those factors that influence the voters behaviour in a given election. The research will also, go further to provide explanations on the relationship between voters and the various candidates that are contesting for various offices.
2. The research will also provide more analysis and explanations on the literatures that have explained factors that influence voters behaviour particularly in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. The work will also help the Kaduna state independent electoral commission (KADSIECOM)), and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), to come up with better electoral policies and programmes for the betterment of our democracy in Sabon-Gari local government, Kaduna state and Nigeria at large.

1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is concern with the factors that influence voters behaviour in the 2012 local government election: a case study of Sabon-Gari local government area of Kaduna state. Primary source of data collection is employed in this research. This is due to the need for the direct observation of events and further classification and analysis.

1.9.1 Research Design

- Population selection for the study
- The sample and sampling techniques
- Questionnaire administration
- Analysis of data
- Statistical method for data analysis

1.9.2 Population Selection for The Study

The researcher used the inhabitants of Sabon-Gari local government, the categories of people are choose randomly for filing the questionnaire from different wards and development area in the local government, who are electorates in 2012 election.

1.9.3 The Sample and Sampling Techniques

A sample is precisely a part of a population sampling procedure which is concerned with the method of drawing sample from the population of voters in the Sabon-Gari local government, the sample area was divided among the four (4) words in Sabon-Gari local government. i.e. Basawa, Dogarawa, Hanwa, and Samaru.

In each district, the respondents were chosen, and at least with application of (30) questionnaire to each ward. While all along some questionnaires would be filled by the researcher himself from the answers given by the respondents that are not educated enough or can not read or write.

It is important therefore, to note here that, out of the 120 questionnaires dispatched to the public to obtain valid and useful information only (80) were returned. The method that was employed was the simple method of random sampling distribution in questionnaire administration. This method therefore, ensures that every element of the population has an equal chance of being represented in the sample.

1.9.4 Questionnaire Administration

During the administration of the questionnaire, some of my friends assist me to distribute to the respondents from different area on the local government. This is for effective administration of the questionnaire copies to various areas that are rural and urban areas.

1.9.5 Analysis of Data

In the research work, two data were collected and analyzed, these are secondary data from newspapers, journals, periodicals, and primary data from the questionnaire that were returned in other to describe the opinion of the respondents on the relationship that exist between two (2) variables (X) and variable (Y).

1.9.6 Statistical Method for Data Analysis

The statistical method employ for the analysis of data in this research work was simple percentage and frequency tables that will be constructed which will in return gives simple and inferential facts on the research topic.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to review literatures that are related to the topic under study. The chapter is organized inform of themes. These themes include conceptual clarifications on concepts such as:- voting behaviour, elections and politics. In writing this research work, certain number of relevant materials has been consulted. Also, knowledge that is related to this study has been gathered from different sources such as formal and informal interactions, discussion, past research work. Chapters of published books, Articles, journals and periodicals, as well as from media. The researcher focuses on factors that influence voters behaviour in the 2012 election of Sabon-Gari local government area of Kaduna state.

Voting Behaviour can be seen as an aspect of political Behaviour, that seek to determine the key variable that motivate voters to vote or not to vote, and for what reason. That is therefore an attempt to find out factors influencing voting pattern of an electoral, a given period of time of voting Behaviour is the conscious interest of individual in his decision to his leaders. Bernerd Barcison (1954).

David E. Apter (1995), according to rational theories, an individual, vote depends on the perceived value of public good policies, policy outcome, leadership and on her experiences about competing parties, success in achieving these goods. When making judgment the voters processes important about six key political object, social group, political parties ideology, policy issues, policy performance of the candidate.

These size objects, constitutes “cognitive scheme”. That citizens use to comprehend, interpret and evaluate political life. Individuals evaluate parties according to cognitive criteria. What consequences or benefit cost will result from voting for a preferred party, rather than opposition parties? To what extend will that party realize beneficial outcomes for

the self particular social groups. This include the enactment of specific policies measures, the attainment of specific desirable policy outcomes (competence, integrity and character), in candidate running for office. Voters with strong party loyalties who frequently receive consistent partisan messages from homogenous information network-relatives, friends neighbors, church, voluntary assistance, mass media choose same party at election time. Generally, the most informed citizens base their electoral choices on the perceived congruence between their own policy position and policy standard of the preferred party's candidate on assigning responsibility for such political outcomes, as high inflation war and corruption ideological interpretations and party images shape voting behaviour.

According to Bob Jessop (1974). Pp 30, he said:- perhaps the most influential approach in long history of voting studies, has been that of class theory. Argues that the major determinants of political behaviour is "class position". Many other approaches stated moreover from this theory and attempt to explain supposed divisions or exception. The different studies, for example are promised on this approach and seek to explain in terms of certain deviant psychological and cultural orientation why a stable proposition of working class voters do not vote in accordance with class voting, but also that an explanation of voting in terms of difference (or intend of its alternative secularism) is incompatible with class theory. Thus can diquete assessment of different studies must not only consider the consistency and validity of the different thesis it select, but also their compatibility with differential voting behaviour.

Gary C. Jacobson (1980) said in his book "money in congressional election (P.31), the patterns of voting in congressional elections allow ample opportunity for campaign expenditure to influence election results.

Robert Black bum (1995) in his book, "the electoral system in Britain" (P.94). Precisely show how individual electors choose to cast their vote is not surprisingly a subject

of every great political interest, not only to politicians themselves, but also to journalists, markets research companies and academies and students in university. The name has been coined for research and analysis in voting Behaviour and patterns of "psychology". This is a line of inquiry which combines the disciplines of both sociology and psychology. Almost by definition, it is not an exact science; for if it where, we should always know the result of general election in advance.

As David Butler, one of the leading psychologist in Britain, he has admitted that, the reasons why people vote the way they do, and why they change their allegiance are still observe, despite an exert-growing body of academic and commercial research.

According to Susan J. Carroll and Richard L. Fox (2014), in their book "Gender and election". They offered a systematic, lively and multi-faceted account of the role of gender in the electoral process through the 2012 United State of America (U.S.A) elections. This timely yet enduring volume strikes a balance, between high lighting in the most important development for women as voters and as candidates in the 2012 elections and providing along-term, in-dept analysis of the ways that gender has helped in shaping the contours and outcomes of electoral positions in the United State of America (U.S.A) individuals have demonstrated the importance of gender in understanding and interpreting the presidential elections.

Lois Duke Whitaker E.D. and Susan J. Carrol. (2008: P.232). The scholars concentrated on gender gap in voting as well as the difference in the proposition of women and men in voting of the same candidate. According to them, evident in every presidential election have shown that since 1960, this policy phenomenon reached a high of 11 percentage points. In the 1996 election, contributors discuss the history complexity, and ways of analyzing gap in voting; the gender gap in relation to partnership motherhood, ethnicity and

impact of parental status on the gender gap and the gender gap in races involving female candidates.

According to John A. Fere John and Morris P. Florina. In their book “the paradox of not voting (p.525); in a seminar work Anthony towns argued that, a citizen would vote rather than abstain, if his vote value exceeds zero. Where the vote value equals the utility, differences between the two candidates, discounted by the citizens probably of effecting the outcome. As towns remarked, the later probably is small so, the vote value generally could not be expected to exceed any cost associated with voting.

According to G. Bingham G. Powell and Guy D. Whitten (1980) in a book “Across national analysis of economic voting”. They argued that, the bulk of the research on economic voting has concentrated in the effect of aggregate measures on national economic performance on short term changes in government popularity or vote. Other aspects of the incumbents performance such as war experience or scandals, have also receive attention. The first studies is good heart and Behaviour Ansali 1970, Kremer 1971.

David B. Truman (1965) observed that while the uses of census statistics and voting figures, can reveal some interesting correlations most census students of voting have concluded that, they need to know about why people vote as they do, for this reason, heavy reliance had been placed on the sample survey. The individual in such sample can be asked all sorts of questions that the census enumerators omitted, for census takers only ask information year of schooling, in comes occupation national origin etc.

Survey interviews can as well ask about religious party, preferences and of parents and frequency of voting etc. moreover, the analysts of sample survey can draw inferences about the person he is questioning, he can assign him to a social class and assess the level at which he interprets the political process and the intencity of his various concerns.

Bernard Barelson (1954), he discovered that in any early empirical study of voting behaviour, the tenants of classical democratic theory did not hold in the electorate. Instead of being informed and interested, voters were found to be ignorant and apathetic.

Compbell and his associates (pp.169-71). Argues that, for an issue to influence a citizens vote decision, the citizens must also care at least minimally about the issue. More again the citizens must be aware about the party manifestation that which party represents his interest, or position.

Financial inducement is a factor that influences voters behaviour. Therefore, financial inducement in this research project means a form of corruption to persuade somebody to do something which he may not do it, in an election process.

Financial inducement in election, is an electoral abuses, it is a corruption of electoral practices and corruption of electoral practices is bribery or intimidation of the individual voter (Encyclopedia Britannica Library 2003).

Ibrahim Lame and Femi Odekunle (2001) say under the various transition programmes organized by successive military regimes, the voters gradually become a commodity that could be bought and sold.

Humphery Nwosu, once chairman of the electoral commission, complaints that Nigerian voters were corrupt, because they would take any money from one candidate and vote for another. The act of receiving money to vote is corrupt.

According to the B.B.C programme of Hausa service (21-1-2009), Bilkisu Labaran et al discussed that financial inducement to voters is as a result of acute poverty and literacy of the people in the society. They said that, little money is given to the voters so that politicians will buy their votes and pay them in return with small amount of money. This is the reason of why politicians are not taking care of the people in the rural areas, because they have already bought their votes since the time of campaign.

According to the oxford concise dictionary of politics, there are three (3) main subdivision of the study of voting in political science. These are:- voting procedures, voting Behaviour, in mass electorates and voting in a smaller bodies, such as legislatures.

In ancient Greece, voting was not much used for elections to offices, which were filled on the jury principle or random selection. But it was used for decisions on propositions put before the democratic assembly, and in the pate of individual periodically, assemblies voted on weather to "ostracize" that is temporarily banish somebody. System class and education have an effect on voting Behaviour, but are of course also related to each other because people in higher classes have more or acquire more education. How do we disentangle the effects of each of the two on voting? Powerful computers enable more sophisticated statistical techniques based on multiple regression to attack these problems. The study of voting in legislatures, such as the House of Commons and the U.S congress (often called roll-call voting). Dates back to the early 20^{th} century. Initially, aggregate methods were used, notably by Lowell A.Z. in his book "the government of England".

In the united state of America, were party discipline is weak, method of analyzing the divisions among democrats or among republicans by such predicators as their ideology, the length of time they had saved in congress, in the interest of their districts, are very well established, in the united kingdom, the power of the party whips means that house of commons divisions lists are usually quite uniformative. However, a few studies of roll-call voting have used more indirect measures. Such as floor revolts, membership of party as early day motions.

Also, oxford learners dictionary defines voting as the formal action of choosing somebody or something in an election or at a meeting.

Oxford learners dictionary defines Behaviour as the way somebody behaves especially towards other people. Therefore Behaviour is a function for the interaction of the person and his environment or the interaction of the situation and the organism.

The block law dictionary (1990), defines elections as a process of selecting a person to occupy a position or an office usually a public office. Following by this definition, court of appeal in the recent case of Buhari and Obasanjo, defines election in the contex of section 137 (1) (b) of the 1999 constitution as the process of choosing by popular votes, candidates for political office in a democratic system of government. Suffice to all or add that activities connected with this process fall within the definitions of election.

Several scholars have equates election with "voting" the latter is an integral part of the formed which in itself is seen as a whole. As the result of this many scholars express similar views. For instance, Ujo (2008: p. 63) opines that:

> *While voting is the actual process in which choice is made from various alternatives, election is an umbrella word with a wider coverage with, which includes other activities before during and after voting. These includes planning registration of voters, delimitation of constituencies, procurement of materials, election day activities, arrangement of the polling stations, polling procedures, counting of votes and announcement of results.*

Election is therefore, seen as a whole process that commences with the formulation of the electoral law and subsequently establishing an electoral agency that is charged with the responsibility of conducting election. The activities before, during and after the voting exercise geared towards the emergence of a duly elected representative are regarded as part of the election process. Omotola (2010: Pp.50-51), argues that "for elections to be termed democratic, they must be free, for participatory, competitive and legitimate.

Festus Okoye (2003: P.Vii), defines election as a formal act collective decision that occurs in stream of connected antecedent and subsequent Behaviour., according to him election involves the participation in governance. He further, posit that, election are not

necessarily about election day activities, though it forms an important components, elections to him, encompasses activities before, during and after elections. This definition has been criticized for being complex and lacking precision and focus.

According to Omonijo (2007), election is the act of choosing public officers to fill a vacant posts by vote. It is an act of choosing those that govern a state; it may be conducted periodically. Elections are central institution of democracy; the authority of the government derives solely from the consent of the governed. The principal mechanism for translating that consent in to governmental authority is the holding of free and far elections. Election also provide public accountability. "The threat of defect at the polls exerts pressure on those in power to conduct themselves in a responsible manner and take account of the popular interest and wishes when they make their decisions (Microsoft corporative 1993-1998).

Election can also be defined as the choice of representative by the method of voting. It is a medium through which a large number of people participate in the political process. The electorate therefore, play legitimate role in ensuring this peaceful change of government. Election is therefore a very central to the principle and practices of democracy all over the world (J.O. Toluhi 1997:87).

Encyclopedia Wikipedia (2006:p.22), sees election as a making of decision process where people choose those that will hold power or official offices. It is the mechanism by which modern democracies filled offices in the legislature, executive and some times judiciary and in regional and local government level.

Etanbi and Shola (2008), posits that election is one of the most important pillars of democracy indeed, it is a necessary condition for democracy because it provides the medium for the expression of the core principles and purpose of democracy such as freedom, choice and accountability of political leaders, transparency etc. in other to serve this purpose of democracy, elections must be free and fair. The notion of free and fair elections expresses

several conditions. This includes absence of manipulation, violence and fraud as well as impartiality of election management authority and effective participation by the electorate at all stage of the electoral process.

Heywood (1997), sees election as a device for filling an office or post through choices made by idea and body of people that are called the electorate what it implies is that the designated people will have to exercise their franchise and this franchise must be reflected in the outcomes of the exercise.

According to Keefar (2004); "elections are struggle over the access to the sources controlled by the state, which are biggest price in society". He continue by saying that, that is why politicians resort to any means of obtaining public office.

An essential requirement of election in a democratic system of government is that it should be free and fair.

Mackenzie (1967); dentified four (4) conditions of free and fair elections. These are:-

1. An independent judiciary to interpret the laws or electoral law;
2. A honest competent and non-partisan administration to manage the elections;
3. A developed system of political parties that are well organized to put their programmes and candidates before the elections at alternatives with which to choose.
4. A general acceptance throughout the political community of certain whether vague rules of the game which limits the struggle for power because of some unspoken sentiments that if the rules of the game are not observed more or less faithfully, the game itself will disappear amidst the weak age of the whole system.

As Mackenzie, rightly observed, the four conditions identified above, may represent the idea/types but, nonetheless are useful in anticipating the outcome of elections and determining the health of prevailing electoral system.

A more realistic approach to issue of a free and fair election is the one developed by Dundas (1994) based on the comments made by common wealth election observer.

Dundas was of the view that the issue of free and fair election or what he referred to as the best practice could be adverse by formulating the following question.

- Has the full potential to contribute the holding of free and fair multi-party elections been reflected in the provisions of the constitutions and those electoral laws?
- Is the legal framework adequate to ensure that the organization of free and fair multi-party election can be achieved in a given situation?
- Have courts been given the fillets possible role in assisting aggrieved person who complain about failures in the procedure of major election process?
- Are the election safeguards satisfactory balance with the facilitation measures in place aimed at delivering high quality elections services at lost effective levels?

Dundas, further identified a number of conditions and criteria that need to be met if elections is to be transparent since "fairness" is contingent upon the level of transparency. These are follows:-

a) Fixed dates for elections.

b) The role of observer's opinion polls and media.

c) Criterion of subordinate entities to enhance transparency involvement of political parties in election process.

d) The openness or otherwise of findings for political parties and their campaign.

e) The (proper) arrangement for the polls on the ground.

He concluded by saying what can be glared from the cheek list of ingredients for the success of elections identified above is that free and fair elections does not only constitute the bedrock of a democratic policy, it can also mean that where these candidates are lacking

as in Nigeria, the consequences are obvious. Neither can democracy endure, nor can it's practices and culture be reutilized (Samuel Egwu 2003).

An eminent constitutional lawyer Ben, Nwabueze (1985), explained.

> *The concept of free and fair election as:- the concept of free and fair elections require that unimpeded by the official interference dissemination on the ground of sex, race, colour, wealth and so on by physical restraints; intimidations, beribery, treating undue influence or other such conditions that endanger the security of persons or otherwise abstract their freedom of actions, every adult citizen shall be free to contest an election and to campaign for vote, to register as voters non being allowed to cast more than one vote or to vote on behalf of another person or otherwise to impersonate another voters; that political parties are force to sponsor candidates and can as far votes in a truly competitive sense; that the territorial units of representation federal or state constituencies are also demarcated to be as nearly equal in population as possible and so and not favour are political party against the other; that the contest is conducted. According to laid dawn rules accepted by all as bindings; that those entrusted with its conduct are not agents of or act not subjected to direction by any of the constitutions;. That the contest in fact conducted impartially giving no advantage to one candidate against another; that the result shall be based on and truly reflected the votes lawfully cast at the election by voters and free from falsification, inflation other fraudulent manipulations of figures, that the territorial units of representation federal or state constituencies are so demarcated as not to be as nearly, equal in population as possible and as not favour are political party against the other; and that winner shall be determined by majority or the highest number of such lawful votes each votes counting equally with another."*

In the above estimation of Nwebueze, the freeness and fairness of an election extends to the liberty to choose whether to contest an election or not. It also extends to such pre-election activities as delimitation of constituencies and ends with the declaration of a result that truly reflects the lawful votes cast at the election. Thus, free and fair elections are the threat and soul of the democratic process. Since democracy implies that power should flow from the governed, this can not be achieved without free and fair elections.

In reality, however, elections have no single characteristics, they are neither simply mechanisms for public accountability nor a means of ensuring public control. Like all

channels of political communications, election are a “two way street” that provides the government and people, the elites and the masses with opportunity to influence one another Andrew Heywood (1999).

The legal framework for election in Nigeria is based on the explanation that election are not heed in a vacuum, and there are rules and regulations that are guiding their conduct and also the participation of citizens in Nigeria. The electoral act of 2002 as amended. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the various court rulings on elections registration of political associations are all part of the laws guiding the conduct of election in the country.

The independent National electoral Commission is one of the bodies created for the federation by section 153 of the 1999 Nigerian constitution. The body is composed of a chairman who shall be the chief electoral commissioner and twelve other members to be known as national electoral commissioners and they are responsible for the body and person with unquestionable integrity and not be less than fifty (50) years and forty five (45) of age respectively. [(Paragraph 15 of part 1 of the third schedule to the 1999 constitution), under the independent national electoral commission (establishment act), the age requirements are 50 years and 40 respectively. Other than the national commissioners, the constitutions also require that the presidents to appoint a resident electoral commissioners who shall not be less than 45 years of age and must be a person of unquestionable integrity (section 4 (1) (a) (1)].

The commission is empowered to,

i. Organize, undertake and supervise all elections to the office the president and vice president, the governors and the deputy governor of state as well as the elections to the membership of the senate, the House of Representatives and House of Assembly of each state of the federation.

ii. Monitor political campaigns and the rules and regulations that will govern political parties (section 197 (1) (b) of the 1999 constitution).

iii. Registration of the political parties

iv. Monitor the organization and operation of the political parties and their finances.

v. Average and conduct the registration of persons qualified to vote and revise the register of voters for the purpose of any election under the elections.

However, under the independent national electoral commission (establishment etc) act, the commission is empowered to organize and conduct as well as supervised election into the office of chairman to the office of chairman of local government council and area councilors. This provision has been excluded from the functions of the commissions stated above under 1999 constitutions. The probable reason for the exclusion is that by virture of the constitution, elections into the local government created by the constitution is now the responsibility of state independent national electoral commission also created by the constitution (cap. 6 law of the federation of Nigeria 2004).

Qualification to Contest Election

A person is qualified to contest an election into any political office if he or she:-

i. Is not found to be mad or an unsoundly mind.

ii. Is not a member of any secret cult.

iii. Is a citizen of Nigeria.

iv. Has been educated up to at least secondary school certificate.

v. Has satisfied the age limit set by the electoral laws for the relevant political office.

A person can also be disqualified from contesting for any political office if he or she:-

i. Is found to be mad or of a unsoundly mind.

ii. Has been sentenced to death by any court or tribunal or has been sentenced to a term of imprisonment for engaging in fraudulent or dishonest activities.

iii. Has been declared bankrupt.

iv. Is a member of any secret cult

v. Is still a civil servant in any part of country

vi. Has been found to be corrupt or guilty of embezzlement by a court of law or a tribunals or an administrative panel of inquiry.

Qualification to Vote

A person is qualified to vote if he or she is a:-

a) A citizen of Nigeria

b) Is about 18 years old or above

c) Has registered in a ward or constituency

d) Live in the constituency where he or she intends to vote

e) Has registered or have registration card which must be presented at poling station on the day of an election

Politics though have no universally accepted definition as other concepts in social sciences do, there are some scholars of politics in which some sees it as a process of making and executing of governmental decision or policies and so also as the authoritative allocations of values, or who get what when and how. The quest for power, order and justice, the art of influencing, manipulating and controlling others a process of resolution of conflicts in a society and struggle among actors pursuing conflicting desires on public issues. Politics is the activity of negotiating argument, discussion, application of force persuasion etc. to which an issue is agitated or settle conflict arising from different parts of society (Ernest Barker, (1962:1).

Polities can also be defined as any persistent pattern of human relations (informal relations) and activities happening in the society, that involves to a significant patterns of power, authority and legitimately, but generally Greek concept of polities more accurately

refers to the process by which more debates on matters concerning the "polis" that is the political community and taking decisions and actions in an attempt to the common good.

Therefore, polities are seen as controversy, a process of resolution of conflict through dissension, bargaining a compromise. For Marx Weber, politics is the operation of the state and its institution. Polities for him, means striving to share power or striving to influence the destruction of powers among individuals and group within a state. Harold as well, defines polities, as shaping and sharing the power Robert Dahl (1995: pp. 1-5).

William Bluhm, (1965) in his book "theories of the political system (P5.) "reduced to its universal elements then, politics is a social process characterized by activity involving rivalry and cooperation's in the exercise of power and culminating in the making of decisions for a group. The appeal of the definition flows out of its apparent flexibility or wide scope. Politics is found wherever power relationships or conflict situation exist, which means that the political scientist can legitimately study the politics of a labour union or corporation, religious organizations, as well as what goes in a legislature or administrative agency.

In the sense of Greek political philosopher Aristotle, began his famous work towards analyzing politics, with observation that "man is by nature a political animal". By this Aristotle means that the essence of social existence is politics and that two or more men interacting with one another are invariably involved in a political relationship. Aristotle also means that very few people prefer an isolated life to one that includes social companionship. Men are engaged in politics as they try to convince others to accept their points of view. Aristotle then concluded that the only way to maximize one's individual capability and to attain the highest form of social life was through political interaction with others in an institutionalized setting, a setting designed to resolve social conflicts and to set collective goals of the state Ernest Berker (1962).

In view of the above mentioned definitions and the clarification that was given by political scientist, no final solutions giving towards the universally and acceptable definition of polities.

Thus a leading political scientist, Frank Good now, wrote that:-

> *"such an attempt to define polities is not only dangerous but even of successfully made, it is not in my opinion to justify the expenditure of thought and the time necessary to secure the desire end Good now F.G (1904 p. 35).*

Since there is no best definition of politics, most political scientist agree that politics has something to do with power, authority and influence, which are central organizing concepts of the body of politics. However elusiveness of these concepts as will be explained in volumes of books, but yet did not reach the required or brought to an ending conclusion on what politics and political activities is all about, and this was as a result of the nature of diversity in the field of political arena.

Based on the above literatures that I have reviewed in this project work, it has clearly shows that scholars that ranges from national and international level, have all expresses their views in their various literatures on the voting behaviour phenomenon. Based on the literatures that I have reviewed, scholars have expressed their views on the factors that influence voters behaviour. Such as:- social group, political ideology, policy performance of the candidate influence voters behaviour as has been seen in the work of David E. Apter (1995). Also, financial inducement influences voters behaviour as in the work s of Ibrahim Lame and Femi Odekunle. Also "class position|" influences voters behaviour, this is based on the explanation that why a stable proposition of working class voters do not vote in accordance with class voting. Also, many of the scholars play in influencing voters to vote or to not. Also, some scholars such as G. Bingham G. Powell and guy D. Whitten (1980) have stated that economic performance plays an important role in influencing voters behaviour. Some scholars have also stated that financial inducement plays an important role in

influencing voters behaviour. Many scholars as we have seen in the literature review have also explained that incumbency also influence voters behaviour. On the other hand, the literature review have concentrated in reviewing the concept of election as the choice of representative by method of voting. Also, politics according to the many of the scholars seen politics as process of resolution of conflict through discussion, bargaining and compromise.

Therefore, based on my own view on the factors that influence voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election, include:-

i. The influence of party manifesto, that is the set of plans of actions that contain programmes and action that a party plan to achieve,
ii. Desire for change
iii. Incumbency factor
iv. The personality factors
v. Desire to improve economic well being
vi. Money or financial inducement
vii. Religion or ethnic affiliation

Apart from these factors there were several factors that on my personal view influence voters behaviour such as:-

- The attraction of a specific candidate
- The influence of particular campaign
- The prospective policy issues
- The evaluation of incumbent government performance
- The campaign spending
- The extend of media coverage as well as candidate image.

All these have therefore in one way of the other influence voters behaviour in any given election

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory employed for the purpose of this research work is behaviourism. The theory was used to analyse the factors that influenced voters behavior in the 2012 Sabon Gari Local Government.

According to the Robert A. Dahl (1961, pp 76-71), behavioural approach to the study of politics is a product of what he called protest movement, within American political scientist. These protesting political scientist came to prominence in U.S.A. therefore, the term "behavioural science" or behavioural science" or behaviouralism was coined by a group of quantitatively oriented, rigorously inclined social scientist, at the University of Chicago. Behaviouralism was developed after the Second World War era.

Behaviouralism have certain number of scholars who made significant contributions to the field. In which apart from David Easton there were others that includes – David Truman, Robert Dahl, Heinz Eulau Evron Kirk Patrick, Harold Lasswel and Karl Deustch. They tried to build up empirical or causal theory in studying any political event. David Easton (1971) observes that "the behavioural research seeks or wishes to look at the participants in the political system as individuals who have the emotion, prejudices and predispositions of human beings as we know them in our daily lives."

The theory is based on the following assumptions:-

i. That all political phenomenon depends on human actions.
ii. Behaviouralism is also on the assumption that human behavior follows regular pattern and that pattern can be known.

iii. It also advocates the utilizations and development of more precise technique of observing, classifying and measuring data and urges the use of statistical or qualitative formulations wherever possible.

iv. That the generalization which can make about political behavior must be kind of generalization that can be tested with reference to behavior.

Despite its strength, behavioural theory has been criticized:-

They have been criticized on the basis that is not possible to apply methodology of natural science to study human behavior.

Also the second criticism that was leveled against behaviouralism is that political phenomenom cannot be subjected to rigorous study, and this means that it is not possible to study politics objectively or scientifically as they claimed. While the proponents of the behavioural theory do not agree on every point, a basic concensus can be discerned from them which includes:-

i. Data should be quantified and "findings" based upon quantifiable data. In the final analysis, the behavioralist argues, only quantification can have possible the discovery and precise statement of relationship and regularities.

ii. Also, research should be theory-oriented and theory directed.

iii. Political science should concerned with pure research aimed at solving specific, immediate social problems and programmatic ventures.

iv. Also, political science should be concerned itself with phenomena which can actually be observed, that it with what is said or done Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus (1970, pp 45-54).

Behaviouralism as a theory is very relevant to the research topic this is because, behaviouralism focus on an individual behaviour as a unit of analysis. Therefore, individual behaviour cannot be over emphasized in studying the factors that influenced voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon Gari Local Government election. Generally, human behavior is easy to be influenced by certain factors, that includes ideology, desire for change, financial inducement, incumbency, ethnic, religions and motivational factors, which can have and continue to have an impact in determining the behavior of voters in any given election. This because of the fact that the human behavior is oriented towards certain uniformities which could be explain and predict political phenomenom.

Therefore, despite the criticism of behaviouralism, the theory has remained very relevant in trying to provide linkage between the theory and the research topic. That is, the factors that influenced voters behavior in the 2012 Sabon Gari Local Government election. This can be justified in the following ground: One, the adoption of the behaviouralism in the study is justified, due to the fact that, it provides suitable frame-work in other to examine the relationship between, the factors that influence voters behavior in the 2012 Sabon Gari Local Government election. This can be justified in the following ground: one, the adoption of the behaviourism in the study is justified, due to the fact that, it provides suitable frame-work in other to examine the relationship between, the factors that influence voters behaviour and the candidates for elective offices. Two, the key variable that motivates voters to vote or not to vote in an election. Three, the theory is justified, because it will help us in knowing the extend to which the factors that influenced voters behavior promote political participation and stability in the society. Four, the theory is also relevant to the research work, because it will help in analyzing voters behavior on the factors that influenced their behavior during the 2012 Sabon Gari Local Government election. These factors includes: the desire for change, financial inducement and incumbency factor among others.

Desire for change as factor that influenced voter behavior during the election play a vital role in explaining the behavioral pattern of voters on the variable that motivates voters to vote or not to vote. As a result of this reason, during the election people came out massively to vote, candidates of their choice. This is because of the economic hardship that the ruling party P.D.P put them in. Therefore this gave people courage of standing up to fight for their right and their emancipation through desire for change. This therefore is unconnected with the long time P.D.P took ruling the local government. This is because since the creation of the local government on 21st August 1991 to date it has been under PDP. Desire for change. Therefore, have manifested through influencing voters behaviour in other to change the ruling party. This is justified because the result collected from the polling units as shown in Appendix II shows that the candidate of CPC (Shaka) have highest vote. But at the ward level the result was invalid. Explanation of this has been provided in the comparison of the chairmanship election result recorded at the polling units and result announced at the ward level in chapter three.

In this research work, we therefore adopt behavioural theory because of its relevant in providing explanations on the role of individual behavior which cannot be over emphasize in determining the factors that influenced voters behavior in any given election. Behaviouralism focuses on individual as the unit of analysis rather than focusing on institutions of government. The theory will therefore help us in justifying and testing the following assumptions:- that fear of intimidations, party manifesto, financial inducement, desire for change and incumbency factors influence voters behavior in the 2012 Sabon Gari Local Government election.

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CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SABON-GARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT, OVERVIEW OF THE ELECTION AND THE OVERVIEW OF THE FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE VOTER BEHAVIOUR IN THE 2012 SABON-GARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is aimed at providing the background information of the area under study in terms of history geographical location, population composition of the districts festivities, power supply, transportation and the administrative set up of Sabon-Gari local government. Also the chapter aim at over viewing the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. At the end, the chapter will overview the factors that influenced voters Behaviour in 2012 Sabon-Gari local government elections.

3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SABON-GARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KADUNA STATE

The emergence and subsequent existence of Sabon-Gari can be traced directly from the colonial administration of Nigeria by British imperial power exploitation of natives the British colonial powers introduced their famous divide and rule tactics by dividing and entrenching (3) three settlements in Zaria. As, cosmopolitan character, there settlements includes: Zazzau, (Ganuwa) which is the district home for the real indigenes in the present day Zaria city. Since its inception, it has kept on growing and has since given rise satellite towns such as Tudun Wada, Samaru, Falldan, Muchia etc.

However, Tudun-Wada was created for and in habited by Muslims emigrants, from other parts of the North and lastly Sabon-Gari was to serve settlers from to their parts of the country (non-indigenes) Sabon-Gari from which the local government derives its name was established as a result of the development of railway transport, commerce by British colonial

administration in the Northern state of Nigeria and as a rehabilitation centre as the result of the coming of railway in 1903.

When Sabon-Gari local government was first established by the federal ministry of local government on 27th August 1999, Sabon-Gari local government formed part of the Zaria local government council which was itself being transformed from native authority system to a local government authority, following the 1976 local government reform.

Subsequently, Sabon-Gari district and Soba district were carved out of the Zaria local government and were merged to create Soba local government. With these transformation going on, Sabon-Gari district was sub-divided into two (2) these are:- Sabon-Gari and Basawa district to form the Sabon Gari local government with six (6) districts at present namely:-

i. Sabon-Gari
ii. Basawa
iii. Bomo
iv. Hanwa
v. Muchia and
vi. Samaru

Sabon-Gari local govenrmen as at 2003 elections in comprises of 11 (eleven) wards namely; Basawa, Bomo, Chikaji, Dogarawa, Anguwan Gabas Hnawa, Jama'a, Muchia, Samaru and Zabi wards.

Finaly since the creation of Sabon-Gari local government in 1999, it has been pursuing its economic, social, political and constitutional activities to date.

3.2.1 Geographical Location

The Sabon-Gari local government area covers about 600 square kilometers. It has boundaries with neighbouring local government area. Also Sabon-Gari local government is

located in the zone one (1) that is in the geo-political separation of the state. Sabon-Gari local government shared boundaries with the following local governments as follows:-

a) To the east, Zaria local government
b) To the west, Giwa local government
c) To the north Kudan local government
d) To the south, Soba local government

Sabon-Gari local government is an Isenberg land area, indulating landscape and in some areas you find manshy and wamy soil. There are also high hills around Hanwa, Zabi Palladan, Gwanda and Tsugagi.

However, the vegetation is high savannah, while the soil is fertile. They plant and grow both foods crops and cash crops. Such as: cotton, tomatoes, maize millet etc.

The average rainfall in Sabon-Gari local government is about 10.99, 3m and it has four (4) season in a year namely:-

1. Hot season = March- April
2. Rainy season = May-October
3. Harvest season = October-December
4. Harmatan season = December –February

The rainfall in Sabon-Gari local government has an average of 90 days. The monthly temperature varies from 95.4 of in April, to 81.1 of in August (IPRU:2006).

3.2.2 Population Composition of Districts

The local government has the population figures of 224,067 peoples according the 1991 census population. Also, the literacy is 69.4% level. However the projected population in the 1991 is (281,482) in 2000 (290,216) in 2001 (299,137) and in 2002 (388,311).

Sabon-Gari to which later became autonomous from Zaria local government has over 65% Muslims and there are quit number of people practicing Christianity and a negligible number of people practicing traditional religion (Bori).

In terms of ethnic composition, Sabon-Gari is a ecosmopolitant town, that is comprises of various Nigerian ethnic groups. Such as:- Hanwa, Fulani, Yoruba, Igbos, Calabar, Moro'a, Gbagyi, Ibiras, Ninzam Birom, Zurus, Bendel and others (1986)

3.2.3 Festivities

There are three (3) festivities being observed in line with the religious, social and economic aspect of the area these are: Eid-El-Fitr, Eid El-Kabir and Christmas celebration

3.2.4 Economy

The main occupation of the people of Sabon-Gari are:- farming, trade, and craft such spinning weaving, leather work slots and civil servants.

As a centre of commerce, trade and industrialized area in which business activities are taking place, from one place to another. The major industries and other viable ventures in Sabon-Gari local government are as follows:-

1. Zaria oil mills
2. British American Tabacco (BAT)
3. Arewa Poultry farm
4. Comrade cycle (Bleyele assembly palnt)

The other viable ventures composed of

1. First Bank Plc (FBN)
2. Union Bank Plc (UBN)
3. United Bank For Africa (UBA)
4. Afri Bank (AB)
5. Unity Bank (UB)

6. Guaranty Trust Bank (GTB)
7. Zenith bank (ZB)
8. Inter Continental Bank (ICB)
9. Chartered Bank (CB)
10. Diamond Bank (D.B)

Also there are marketing areas in Sabon Gari local government which includes:

i. Sabon-Gari Markets
ii. Samaru Market
iii. Kwangila Market/Yangoro and other business centres.

In addition, Kaduna state is regarded as the centre of learning and most of the institutions of the state that made it the centre of leaning are located in Sabon-Gari local government: these institutions of higher learning includes:- Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Institute for chemical research and technology, division of agricultural collage Zaria, Nigeria institute of transport technology, Nigerian collage of aviation technology etc. this, therefore make it consisting of large working class in the state.

3.2.5 Organizational Structure and Administrative of Sabon Gari Local Government

Sabon-Gari local government is administered by an elected council with the chairman of the council having executive powers which is being vested on him by the constitution. The council has 11 elected councilors including the vice chairman and it also has a council secretary. Elected councilors are being appointed as chairmen of various committees in the local government. And the administrative head is the Director of Personal Management (DPM) who is appointed by the local government service commission. Besides, the internal auditor, area auditor in the local government, inspectors are appointed by the state government into the councils to work along side with the council chairman, and they are in turn answerable to the state government.

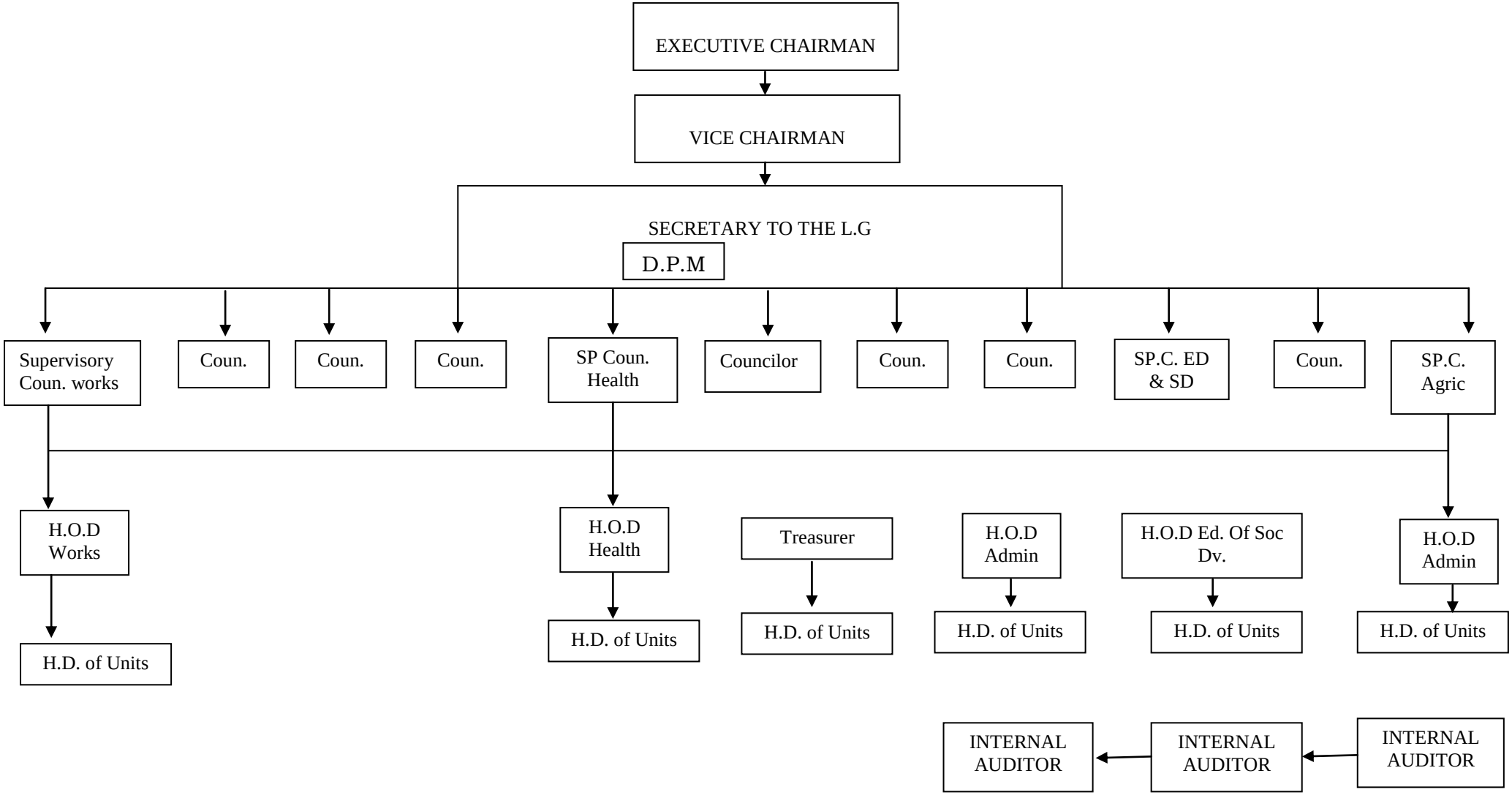
The Sabon-Gari local government has seven (7) complexes or departments namely:

1. Works department
2. Agriculture department
3. Education department
4. Finance department
5. Administration department
6. Health department
7. Legal department

The above department are sub-divided into units for example, education department ivied into:

i. Information units
ii. Adult education unit
iii. Social welfare unit
iv. Community department unit

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF SABON GARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT



Source: Information and Public Relations Unit, Sabon Gari Local Government

3.2.6 Sabon-Gari Local Government and HS Economic Development

Considering the agricultural developments, the local government provides the following:-

1. Skills acquisition: the local government is training the youth and women, in the 6following: soap making, candle, carpentry, knitting, tailoring among others.
2. Empowerment: the local government is assisting the cooperative societies in other to get loans from banks to their farming activities. There is a special programme on community based agricultural and rural development. Under these programmes, the communities have been empowered by training and financial assistance from joint hands in local government, state government, federal government and African development bank (ADB) in which they operated through the districts of the programme for two (2) years, they have started with (3) three districts whereby they have been given ₦14 million.
    - District A receives about N6000,000 whereas
    - District B receives about N400,000, then
    - District C receives about N400,000.

After two years, then the program will move to the next three districts. The programme is basically to promote the agricultural sector within the area of Sabon Gari local government.

Apart from these programmes, there is agricultural extension service in which the workers are moving from one village to another for guiding the farmers on agricultural system to the extend that, if they have any problem that is beyond their control they can then consults the extension of agricultural research Samaru A.B.U Zaria.

3.3 AN OVERVIEW OF THE 2012 SABON GARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION

Since the creation of Sabon-Gari local government in 1991, the local government recorded her fifth chairmanship local government election in 2012 these are: 1993 elections, 2000 election, 2004 election, 2008 election and 2012 election. The 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election was believed to have been massively rigged and widely accepted to be not free and fair by both members of the opposition parties and the local observers. As a result of this therefore, there are many factors that are responsible for this, that have helped in influencing the voters Behaviour. Among these factors is said to be financial inducement given by the politicians to the voters in other to buy their votes. There is also incumbency factor among others.

The election was conducted on 1st December 2012; that was conducted by the Kaduna state independent electoral commission (KAD-SIECOM). After the conclusion of the election the Kaduna state independent electoral commission (KADSIECOM) under the leadership of chairlady Dr. (Mrs.) Hannatu U. Biniyat on 3rd December 2012 announced the winner of the election, in the person of Hon. Abubakar Muhammad (master) of the PDP as the winner. Depeating Hon. Yusuf Salihu (shaka) of opposition party (CPC), and then Hon (Engr.) Mas'ud Ojo Tukun of ANPP and Hon. Hajiya Hauwa Abubakar of CAN.

3.3.1 Kaduna State Independent Electoral Commission (KADSIECOM)

The Kaduna state independent electoral commission ADSIECOM) is the electoral body that conducted the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government. The commission like those of other states of the federation came into being only during this forth republic section 197 and part II (B) of the third schedule of the 1999 constitution as amended spells out the establishment, composition and functions of the state independent electoral commissions.

There were attempts in 1979 and 1991 to establish residual independent electoral commissions at state levels, but both attempts were short-lived and never took place as a result of the long time military interventions in Nigerian polities. The 1999 constitution as amended is therefore a watershed in the establish and constitution of the state independent electoral commissions nationwide.

Consequently, upon the provisions of the 1999 constitution, the Kaduna state House of Assembly enacted the law No. 15 Gazette No. 21 volume 37 of 24th December, 2003 to a formally constitute and empower the Kaduna state independent electoral commission. The 2003 Kaduna state law was amended by law No. 13 of 2006 in line with the INEC'S electoral Act of 2006 Another amendment is currently proposed for 2012 in tandem with INECS's 2010 electoral act as amended in 2011.

The first commission inaugurated on the 11th October 2000, comprises of the following members:-

- Alhaji Muhammad Sanga (Hon. Chairman)
- Dr. Aminu Ismael (Hon. Commissioner)
- Dr. Nuhu Muhammad Jamo (Hon. Commissioner)
- Alhaji Idris Muhammad Bello (Hon. Commissioner)
- Mr. John Usman (Hon. Commissioner)
- Late Mrs. Ladi Nanaye Andow (Hon. Commissioner)

The late Mrs. Ladi N. Andow and Alhaji Ibrahim Muhammad were later, and during the 2nd term of the commission, replaced by Hon. Dr. (Mrs.) Hannatu Biniyat and Alhaji Lawal A. Yahaya Birnin Gwari respectively. The former became acting and now the substantive chairman of the commission even as the late was also re-appointed in the present commission.

With the establishment of the commission it has conducted the 2004, 2008 and 2012 local government councils election. Inspite of the teething challenges of conducting elections for the first time by a state independent electoral commission, the commission did its possible best in ensuring the transition of democracy at the grass-root level and also influences voters behaviour.

The Kaduna state independent electoral commission influences voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election, to some extend. For instance, many voters refused to vote because of the voters distrust and low confidence in the commission. The commission was accused of supporting the interest of the incumbent government and as such it was believed that there will never be free and fair election. Moreover, considering how the commission conducted its previous elections in the local government, that is 2004 and 2008 where the ruling party won all the elections. Moreover, the perception of the electorates over the commission that there will not free and fair election was proved by the commission. This is because the returning officers of 11 wards of Sabon-Gari local government, who went to KADSIECOM office/collection centre to submit the elections results unfortunately, met no body; there was also a serious delay, before the election began in all of the polling units. All these irregularities were believed by the electorates especially from the opposition parties to be away of manipulating the election in the interest of the incumbent government or the ruling party by the KADSIECOM. This was also been proven by the announcement of the election results by the commission, which gives victory to PDP over opposition parties. The table below gives the results of the election as announced by Kaduna state independent electoral commission (KADSIECOM).

3.3.2 List of All Chairmanship Candidates of the 2012

Sabon-Gari local government election along with their final result according to KADSIECOM

Chairmanship Candidates	**`Political Parties**	**Vote Acquired**
Hon. Abubakar Muh'd (master)	PDP	42,259
Hon. Yusuf Salihu (Shaka)	CPC	14,251
Hon. (Engr,) Mas'ud Ojotukan	ANPP	Not Registered
Hon. Hajiya Hauwa Abubakar	ACN	Not Registered

Source: KADSIECOM, 2012

It could be seen from the table above that honorable Abubakar Muhammad (master) was declared the winner of the election with the total votes 42,259. This therefore, gave opportunity for Hon. Abubakar Muhammad (master) of PDP to defeat his opponent Hon. Yusuf Salihu (Shaka) who acquired 14,251 votes. While the other two (2) candidates, Hon. Engr. Mas'ud Ojotukun of ANPP and Hon. Hajiya Hauwa Abubakar of ACN. These two (2) candidates only registered with their political parties, but they have failed to register with the KADSIECOM and as such they are not recognized by the commission.

3.3.3: Comparison of the Chairmanship Election Result Recorded at the Polling Unit and Result Announced at the Ward Level

Since we have been able to obtain results recorded at the polling unit and the one declared at the ward level, we compared the two. In the five polling units sampled from each of the four wards, the mean score of each of the four prominent political parties as regards both the polling unit and the ward level presented for both the chairman and councilor elections in tables below respectively.

WARD		ACN	ANPP	CPC	PDP	TOTAL
Basawa	(P.U)	-	3.8	359	135.4	498.2
Basawa	(W.L)	-	-	26.2	128.4	154.6
Dogarawa	(P.U)	0.4	6	137.2	202.8	346.4
Dogarawa	(W.L)	-	2.2	6.2	284.6	293
Hanwa	(P.U)	-	3.8	80.6	38.2	122.6
Hanwa	(W.L)	-	3.8	14	295.8	313.6
Samaru	(P.U)	-	0.6	139.4	29	169
Samaru	(W.L)	2.2	4.6	58.2	183.6	248.6
Total	(P.U)	0.4	14.2	716.2	405.4	1,136.2
Total	(W.L)	2.2	10.6	104.6	892.4	1,009.8

Source: Compiled from form KDEC 8B (1) and form KDEC 8A (1), 2012.

In table above in the chairmanship elections conducted in Sabon-Gari L.G.A., from the total mean score of 498.2 votes recorded at the polling units in Basawa ward, the ANPP had a mean score of 3.8 votes which is equivalent to 0.8%. The CPC had an average of 359 votes corresponding to 72% of the ward average. For the PDP its mean vote was 135.4 representing 27.2% of the ward average and the ACN had no vote. However, at the ward level in the same ward, the result declared indicates that 154.6 votes was the ward mean score. Both ACN and ANPP had no votes, the CPC had an average of 26.2 votes equivalent to 16.9% of the ward average and the PDP had a mean score of 128.4 votes corresponding to 83.1% of the ward average.

At Dogarawa ward, the polling units results average was 346.4 votes from this figure. ACN recorded 0.4 as its mean score representing 0.1% of the ward average. ANPP had a mean score of 6 votes corresponding to 1.7% of the ward mean. While 137.2 votes representing 39.6% of the ward average was the CPC average and for PDP its mean score was 202.8 votes equivalent to 58.5 of the ward average. However, at

the ward level, the result declared shows that 293 votes was the ward average, ACN had no vote. ANPP had an average score of 2.2 votes corresponding to 0.7% of the ward average. The CPC had 6.2 votes representing 2.1% of the ward mean and the PDP scored an average mean of 284.6 votes equivalent to 97.1% of the means score in the ward.

In Hanwa ward, a total of 122.6 votes was recorded as the mean score for the polling units results. ACN had no votes, ANPP recorded 3.8 votes representing 3.1% of the ward average. CPC had a mean score of 80.6 votes corresponding to 65.7% of the ward average and the PDP recorded a mean score of 38.2 votes equivalent to 31.2% of the ward average. However, at the ward level, the result declared shows that 313.6 votes was the ward mean score. ACN had no votes. ANPP recorded 3.8 votes representing 1.2% of the ward average. CPC received 14 votes corresponding to 4.5% of the ward average and the PDP polled 295.8 votes equivalent to 94.3% of the ward average.

The result from the polling units in Samaru ward shows that, 169 votes was recorded as the ward average. Out of this ACN had no vote, ANPP polled 0.6 votes corresponding to 0.3% of the ward mean score, CPC had 139.4 votes equivalent to 82.5% of the ward average and PDP recorded 29 as its average score corresponding to 17%. However, the result announced at the ward level indicates that 248.6 votes was the ward average. ACN had 2.2 votes corresponding to 0.9% of the ward average. ANPP polled 4.6 votes representing 1.9% of the ward mean score, CPC got 58.2 votes as its mean score equivalent to 23.4% of the ward average and PDP had 183.6 votes representing 73.8% of the ward average.

A comparison of the two results shows that the result announced at the polling unit level is greater than the result declared at the ward level by some 12.5%. An inference can then be drawn that, apart from tampering with the result at the ward level, the figure was far less than the actual votes cast.

Similarly, it can be inferred that the election process at the ward level was not transparent as the results announced did not tally with the results announced at the polling unit.

3.3.4: Comparison of the Councillorship Election Results Recorded at the Polling Units with the Result Announced at the Ward Level.

WARD		ACN	ANPP	CPC	PDP	TOTAL
Basawa	(P.U)	0.4	1.6	82.8	59.8	144.6
Basawa	(W.L)	-	0.6	24.6	156.2	181.4
Dogarawa	(P.U)	0.6	22.6	72.6	65	160.8
Dogarawa	(W.L)	-	1.4	2.8	328.6	332.8
Hanwa	(P.U)	0.2	13	56.8	16.4	86.4
Hanwa	(W.L)	0.2	14	9.4	231	254.6
Samaru	(P.U)	0.2	2	123	34.8	160
Samaru	(W.L)	-	2.4	49.4	247	298.8
Total	(P.U)	1.4	39.2	335.2	176	551.8
Total	(W.L)	0.2	18.4	86.2	962.8	1,067.6

Source: **Compiled from; Form KDEC 8A (1) and form KDEC 8B (1), 2012.**

In table above in the councillorship elections conducted in Sabon-Gari L.G.A., from the total mean score of 144.6 votes recorded at the polling units in Basawa ward, the ANPP had a mean score of 1.6 votes which is equivalent to 1.1%, the CPC had an average of 82.8 votes corresponding to 57.3% of the ward average and the PDP's mean vote was 59.8, representing 41.3% of the ward average. The ACN had 0.4 votes equivalent to 0.3%. However, at the ward level in the same ward the result declared indicates equivalent to 13.6% of the ward average and the PDP had a mean score of 156.2 votes corresponding to 86.1% of the ward average.

At Dogarawa ward, the polling units results average was 346.4 votes. From this figure, ACN recorded 0.6 as its mean score representing 0.4% of the ward average. ANPP had a mean score of 22.6 votes corresponding to 14.1% of the ward mean, while 72.6 votes, representing 45.1% of the ward average was the CPC average and for PDP

its mean score was 65 votes equivalent to 40.4% of the ward average. However, at the ward level the result declared shows that 332.8 votes was the ward average, ACN had no vote, ANPP had an average score of 1.4 votes corresponding to 0.4% of the ward average. The CPC had 2.8 votes representing 0.8% of the ward mean and the PDP scored an average mean of 32S.6 votes equivalent to 98.7% of the means score in the ward.

In Hanwa ward, a total of 86.4 votes was recorded as the mean score for the polling units result. ACN had 0.2 votes equivalent to 2%, ANPP recorded 13 votes representing 15.1% of the ward average, CPC had a mean score of 56.8 votes corresponding to 65.7% of the ward average and the PDP recorded a mean score of 16.4 votes equivalent to 19% of the ward average. However, at the ward level, the result declared shows that 254.6 votes was the ward mean score. ACN has 0.2 votes corresponding to 0.1%. ANPP that 181.4 votes was the ward mean score. Both ACN had no votes, ANPP scored 0.6 votes, representing 0.3%. The CPC had an average of 24.6 votes recorded 14 votes representing 5.5% of the ward average, CPC received 9.4 votes corresponding to 3.7% of the ward average and the PDP polled 231 votes equivalent to 90.1% of the ward average.

The result from the polling units in Samaru ward shows that 160 votes were recorded as the ward average. Out of this ACN had 0.2 votes, representing 0.1%. ANPP polled 2 votes corresponding to 1.3% of the ward mean score, CPC had 123 votes equivalent to 76.9% of the ward average and PDP recorded 34.8 as its average score corresponding to 21.7%. However, the result announced at the ward level indicates that 298.8 votes was the ward average. ACN had no votes. ANPP polled 2.4 votes representing 0.8% of the ward mean score, CPC got 49.4 votes as its mean score equivalent to 16.5% of the ward average and PDP had 247 votes representing 82.7% of the ward average.

A comparison of the two results shows that the result announced at the polling unit level is less than the result declared at the ward level by 48.3%. An inference that can be drawn is that, apart from tampering with the election result at the ward level, the figures declared were more than the actual votes cast.

Similarly, it can be inferred that the election process at the ward level was not transparent. As the result. Announced did not correspond with what actually transpired at the polling unit level.

3.4 AN OVERVIEW OF THE FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE VOTERS BEHAVIOUR IN THE 2012 DECEMBER, SABON-GARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION

3.4.1 Voting

This is a process whereby an eligible voter willingly go and cast his vote freely through electing the candidate he wish, without any fear of intimidation, harassment, inducement or coercion Nwankwo B.C, (1992:140)

3.4.2 Voting Behaviour

Voting behaviour is a form of political behaviour, through the understanding of voters behaviour can help to explain how and why decisions were made either by public decision. Makes in which has been central concern for political scientist or electorate. Voting behaviour can therefore be refer to as the exhibition of a particular voting practice by the citizens of a country Dudly B.J (1962).

3.4.3 Nigerian Voting Behaviour

Voting in Nigeria is not a new phenomenon; it dates back to the formative years of the Nigerian state. A critical excursion in to the colonial creation of the Nigerian state reveals the core reason behind the various political crises inherent in the country. As a colonial state, the 1914 amalgamation market the watershed of the Nigerian entity. Before then, the Nigerian

entity existed under 3 regions or blocks (1) crown colony of Lagos (2) southern protectorate and (3) northern protectorate, and each having a distinct political, economic and social behaviour different from one another.

But after the amalgamation by the colonialist, so many attempt to administer the entity advocated different system and constitution such as the creation of the Nigerian councils in 1992, legislative councils for the south in 1922 where the first universal; franchise was not given until after 3rd January, 1954 through the federation. Diamond L.

With the advent of independence in 1960, a home based constitution was instituted. The independence constitution came into effect on October, 1963. "The constitution swept away the last vestiges of colonial rule giving the whole of leadership to the Nigerian nationalist who lacking the knowledge of the political behaviour of the various region plunged the country into a political dilemma in respect to the Nigerian elections which happened and reflected from the first republic general election of 1962, and still have effect on the force determined to date. The force will be lifted according to the Centex of election and the influence that pose the threat one after the other.

3.4.4 Factors that Influence Voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari Local Government Election

Several theories have been put forward in other to explain why people behave the way they do, and why decisions were made either by public decisions-makers, which has been a central concern for political scientist or electorate. To interpret voting behaviour, both political scientist and psychologist expertise where necessary and therefore the field of political psychology emerged. Political psychology researchers study ways in which effective influences may help voters to make more informed voting choices with some proposing that effects may explain how the electorates makes informed political choices inspite of low overall levels of political attentiveness and sophistication.

The Sabon-Gari local government election held on 1st December, 2012, which was conducted by the Kaduna state independent electoral commission (KADSIECOM). There were four (4) candidates that contested for the election. Hon. Abubakar Muhammad (master) of P.D.P, Hon. Yusuf Salihu (Shaka) of CPC, Hon. (Engr) Mas'ud Ojotukun of ANPP and Hon. Hajiya Hauwa Abubakar of ACN. Hon. Abubakar Muhammad (master) was declared as the winner with the total votes of 42,259, then followed by Hon. Yusuf Salihu (shaka) of CPC who become the second with 14,251 votes. This therefore gave Hon. Abubakar (master) of PDP chance of winning the election over Hon. Yusufu Salihu (shaka) of CPC. The other two (2) candidates did not register with KADSIECOM, but they registered with their political parties.

Therefore, based on the above explanation on how the election was conducted up to the final result, we can now say that there were many factors that influence voters behaviour during the election. These factors can be short terms or long terms, internal or external, because the election was characterized with irregularities. These factors are:-

1. **Money or Outright Bribery:-** This factor played a decisive role in shaping peoples Behaviour towards voting generally. The influence of money or financial inducement have played a vital role in influencing voters Behaviour, and this was as a result of the high level of poverty and economic background of the generality of the populace coupled with high rate of unemployment, high cost of living and poor government policy to address such problems.

   Therefore, many voters, who has turned out to vote during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election, were not able to vote for a candidate, they would have liked to vote for, if situations were normal, but rather, they were made to change their minds to vote for those that offered them money. To quote from the common wealth observer group.

> *"many Nigerians openly voice out that some extremely wealthy individuals were interested in obtaining or remaining in power at all cost and would attempt to buy the election or voters votes taking advantage of unemployment, poverty high cost of living in Nigeria and low mass pay of INEC officials potentially jeopardized the integrity of the lection".*

Since the creation of Sabon-Gari local government area of Kaduna state on 27th August 1991, the local government is being ruled and controlled by P.D.P. this was because of the influence that the party has at the state and federal level. All the past chairmen and the present one were all installed and controlled by the ruling party P.D.P. since the beginning of the local government in 1993, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 respectively, no candidate that contested and failed. These candidates include:- Hon. Musa Saleh Annur, Hon. Mallam Magaji Abdu, Hon. Bashir Ibrahim Sakadadi, Hon. Kasim Lawal Abasco and the present chairman Abubakar Muhammad (master).

As the result of the above influence that P.D.P have in controlling all the affairs of the Sabon-Gari local government, it is therefore not surprising if you conclude that P.D.P used its influence of money in other to buy the vote in other to buy the votes of the electorates.

According to the BBC programmer of Hausa service (21-1-2008), Bilkisu Labaran et al discussed that; finical inducement is as a result of the acute poverty and literacy to people in the society. They said that title money is given to voters, so as to buy their votes and pay them in return with small amount of money. And that is the reason why politicians did not care to take care of the affairs and the development of the rural settings.

Also, Ibrahim Lame and Femi Odekunle (2001), says under various transition programmes organized by the military and the civilian regimes, the votes becomes gradually a commodity that could be bought and sold. Humphery Nwosu, money from one candidate and vote for another. The act of receiving money to vote is therefore for another practice.

Therefore, as the result of the above evidence is enough to prove that financial inducement; money or out-right bribery is a factor that play a vital role in influencing the

voters Behaviour as the result of the acute poverty and economic hardship of the electorate, in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election, were PDP the ruling party used its power and money to buy the votes of the electorate in other to win the election.

2. **Desire for Change:** The 2012 local government election in Sabon-Gari local government like other elections in Nigeria history; that was characterized by electoral irregularities and influences. As a result of this long time that PDP took ruling Sabon-Gari local government, this gave people courage of standing up and resisting to fights for their emancipation towards their desire for change at all cost.

   This therefore, put the people of Sabon-Gari local government on alert on how to approach the election and win for their candidate that will take them out of the hardship that P.D.P put them. This is because people of Sabon-Gari local government believed that P.D.P has totally failed to meet met up their basic need. Just as according to the "Abraham Maslow" analysis as a system of basic needs which are said to arise from human organism and which fundamentally determines political Behaviour. These needs are in order of priority or hierarchy, as follows:-

   a) Safety or security need
   b) Physical needs
   c) Need for togetherness
   d) Needs of equality
   e) Needs of self actualization

Maslow argue that, the individual pursue those basic. Needs for their own sake in his life-long process of behaving as a human being, and that failure to satisfied these needs diminishes an individuals mental life. This is because according to him those needs are not eradicable, but not create it, controlled but never quit destroyed in either themselves or others.

This condition of poverty and hardship that the ruling party PDP put them in and in search of these basic needs of humanity as Abraham Maslow's theory stated, triggered the society (masses) to turn out massively and vote in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. Despite the fact that PDP is the ruling party in the state and at the federal level. But at last the election result was rigged because of the influence that PDP has.

Also, poverty on the other hand is responsible for making people to desire for change. This is because poverty is a situation where people are struggling really hard to have one or more square meals a day. Poverty and hunger are relatively cousins, the former always dragging along the latter. The level of poverty in Nigeria has seriously increased despite of being endowed with economic with enormous resources. This level of rapid increase in poverty was an outcome of the poor political leadership. People were desperately in search of means of survival. This situation, therefore agave room for political elite to use the instrument of "money". This is because money has diversity and has a universal language and every one is desire for it. It is based on this that people sell out their right (votes) to the politician.

P.P Izah in his research on voting Behaviour (2007) general election observed that. In one of the most educated states in Nigeria (Ekiti state), pointed out that the masses sold out their vote (at the cost of N1000,00).

In view of the above, it is generally believed that, the desire for change, as a result of the high level of poverty and bas economic background of the generality of people in Sabon-Gari local government, really influence voters Behaviour to come out massively in other to vote for an opposition party beside P.D.P. Therefore, may electorates vote for Hon. Yusuf Salihu (shaka) of C.P.C, but at last because of the power and other influences that P.D.P have, they used all these in other to rigged the election.

3. **The Personality Factor:** The term personality has been subjected to the various interpretations and meanings in the behavioural sciences. Some conception utilized it to

be human innate characteristics or organic structure, or what is simply known as biological being. Some other conceptions understood it as the biological being that is being structured and modified by living environment is of course social, political and natural environment in which the individuals grows through time.

The personality factor have of an individual may informs his/her Behaviour during an election. For instance an electorate with a high self esteem will likely assess the various manifestos and his own expectation, and based on these take a decision of whom or which party to vote for. Where as some one with low esteem have to depend on others to take decisions.

Therefore, personality factor of the electorates plays a decisive role in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. Whereby many electorates that have high self esteem assess the various manifestos and his expectation and based on these take a decision of who or which party to vote for. Based on this, the voters votes was shared among the four candidates. The analysis of the result have shown that, for the chairmanship election, a total of 56,510 votes, representing 28.7% of the 196,899 registered voters in the local government, cost their votes. For the councillorship election of all the 11 wards of the local government, 52,486 votes equivalent to 26.7% of the registered voters in the local government, were recorded. We can therefore infer that the majority of the registered voters (over 70%) did not participate in the election. This analysis has therefore, explained the personality of the electorates for deciding on who to vote or not to vote.

4. **The Extend of Media Coverage:-** This is another factor that influence voter Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government. Generally, it is believed that information that is gotten from either printed or electronic media. Printed such as:- News paper, Magazines, Posters and bill boards. The electronic means of communication has to do with. Radio, Television, Internet etc. therefore, the more the ability of a candidate to buy

media spaces, the more the candidate will have success or get the support from the electorates. This is because; media play a vital role in campaign activities.

Therefore, during the December, 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election, media have really influenced the voter behaviour. This factor has therefore, influence the voters in other to make rightly selection among the four (4) candidates. Abubakar Muhammad (master) of PDP, Yusuf Salihu (shaka) of CPC, Engr. Mas'ud Ojotukun of ANPP and Hajiya Hauwa Abubakar of ACN. Media have therefore play a decisive role in influencing the voters behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

5. **Incumbency Factors:-** Incumbency factor is a very strong factor that play a decisive role in influencing voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. But the problem of the abuse of the power, incumbency seems not to have been explicitly captured by the literature Nwanegbo and Alumena, (2011) Fawole (2005) has argued that Nigeria electoral system perhaps based on its British colonial provenance, has never seen independent candidates to vie for political offices. All this attest to the fact that incumbency factor indisputably plays a decisive role in influencing voter behaviour.

Therefore, based on the above explanation on what incumbency factor is all about, we can agree that incumbency factor play a vital role in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

This is because since the creation of the local government on 27th August 1991, the local government is being ruled and controlled by P.D.P. this was as a result of the influence that the party has at state level. All the chairman of the local government of past and present were installed and controlled by the ruling party (PDP). Therefore, since the beginning of weak government election in the Sabon-Gari local government in the year 1993, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 respectively, no candidate of the ruling party (PDP) that contested and lost in

any election. This was as a result of the very and influential intervening variable that might be responsible for this continuous winning of election by the party, which is "the influence of incumbency factor" by virtue of the ruling party's control in the state every year.

Therefore, incumbency factor has generally believed to have influenced the voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. This is because the ruling party (PDP) possessed all the instrument of power, such as: the police the soldiers as well as the money in other to buy the voters of the electorates. It has been reported that during the election, and during the completion of the result of the election at the KADSIECOM, no member of the opposition party is allowed to enter, because of the high number of the security personnel that were deposited there in other for the ruling party to achieve its aim.

6. **Party Manifesto:-** Party manifesto was also among the factors that influence voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. Party manifesto therefore, refers to the public declaration of principles, policies, purposes and cardinal plans or programmes which a political party intends to adopt on all subjects when it comes to power. Party manifesto includes the aims and objectives of a political party. Party manifesto, as a factor that influence the voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government, is very important. This is because, it gives course of action which the political party will follow in order to succeed, also, party manifesto is used as a magnetic pull to entice more members and the electorates to support the party. Party manifesto enable the electorates to make informed choices among several promises made by parties for their mandate. Therefore, the party without manifesto has nothing to present and such party cannot have the mandate of the people.

   Therefore, as the result of the above importance of the party manifesto, the candidates that participated in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election have declared to the public their party manifesto during their campaign or rally. For example, Abubakar

Muhammad (master) of PDP, Yusuf Salihu (shaka) of CPC, Engr. Mas'ud Ojotukun of ANPP and Hajiya Hauwa Abubakar of ACN. Have all declared their party manifestos during their various campaigns. Therefore, the electorates with a high self esteem, will likely assess the various manifestos and his own expectation and based on these take a decision or whom or which party to vote for. Whereas those with low self esteem have to depend on others in other to take their own decisions.

7. **Desire to Improve Economic Well-Being:-** This was also a significant factors that influenced voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. The economic condition of any society is very significant, this is because man need to satisfy his physical needs. Such as; food, clothing and shelter as argued by Abraham Maslow. Also, according to Marxist, the economic factor determines the bases while the political activities determined the super-structure.

Therefore, as a result of this, voters will likely go to the candidate that they have assurance on to improve their economic well beings. This factor has therefore, played a vital role in influencing voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

In conclusion generally, having identified several factors that influence voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. These factors include:- financing inducement, money or outright Bribery, desire for change, the personality factor, party manifesto, desire to improve economic well being, incumbency factor and the extend of media coverage. These factors have therefore played a distinctive role in influencing voters behaviour in the 2012 December, Sabon-Gari local government election. At the end, we proper possible way out for effective voting behaviour in Sabon-Gari local government, Kaduna state and Nigeria in general. This includes, better economy, because according the Marxist is the base. When economy of the country is in order, then the life of the people will be in better position.

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CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to presents the analysis of all data that was collected through the use of questionnaires. The total number of one hundred and twenty (120) questionnaires were distributed (80) were returned back from the respondents. That is to say thirty (30) questionnaires was distributed to each of the four wards in Sabon-Gari local government. These four (4) wards include: Dogarawa, Samaru, Hanwa and Basawa ward. The questionnaire consist of twenty six (27) questions. Some of the questions from the questionnaires are open-ended while some are close ended. The data that was collected from the field are presented and analyzed using statistical method, all with the purpose of analyzing the factors that influence voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

SECTION (A) PERSONAL INFORMATION (BIO-DATA)

Table 1: Gender of Respondent

Sex	**Respondent Number**	**Percentage**
Male	60	75
Female	20	25
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The table above shows the distribution of respondents according to Gender out of the total of 80 questionnaire returned 60 (75%) respondents were males while the remaining 20 (25%) respondents were female, this has shows that more male participated ion this research more then female.

Table 2: Marital Status

Marital Status	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Single	25	31.25
Married	45	56.25
Widowed	10	12.5
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The above table shows that 25 (31.5%) of the respondents are single, while 45 (56%) are married. Also 10 (12.5%) of the respondents are widowed. This implies that most of the sample respondents are married.

Table 3: Qualifications of the Respondents

Qualification	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Primary education	5	6
Secondary education	10	12.5
Dip/NCE	15	18.75
Degree and above	50	62.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The above table show that out of 80 respondents, 5 (6%) belonged to the primary education category. Also 10 (12.5%) of the respondents belong to the secondary school education, while 5 (18.75%) of the respondents have either diploma or national certificate of education (N.C.E). also the 50 which is equivalent to (62.75%) possess degree or higher educational qualification.

Table 4: Age Distribution of Respondents

Ager (years)	Respondent Number	Percentage %
18-27	30	37.5
28-37	20	25
38-47	20	25
48 and above	10	12.5
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The table above show the distribution of the respondents based on age. It indicates that 18-27 (37.5%), 28-37 (25%), 38-47 (25%), and 48 and above (12.5%). This indicated that most of the respondents fall in the age bracket of (18-27).

Table 5: Occupation of Respondents

Occupation	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Civil servant	40	50
Self employed	10	12.5
Artisan (carpentry, black smith)	15	18.75
Students/applicants	15	18.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The table above shows that 40 (50%) of the respondents are civil servant, while 10 (12.5%) of the respondents are self employed, also, 15 (18.75%) of the respondents are artisan (blacksmith carpentry etc) and 15 (18.75%) of the respondents belong to the category of students or applicants. This has clearly shown that civil servants constitute the majority of the respondents.

Table 6: Distribution Based on Tribe

Tribes	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Hausa/Fulani	35	43.75
Yoruba	20	25
Igbo	10	12.5
Others	15	18.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The table above shows that random distribution of the questionnaires, thus fulfill the objective of this study to reach out to almost the tribes in the Sabon-Gari local government election. The table therefore shows that 35 (43.75%) were Hausa/Fulani, the 20 of (25%) belong to Yoruba, the 10 of (12.5%) belong to the Igbo and 15 of (18.5%) belong to the other tribes. Therefore from the above table, we can come to the conclusion that Hausa/Fulani were the dominant tribe in Sabon Gari local government.

SECTION B: INFORMATION ABOUT THE DECEMBER, 2012 SABON-GARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION

Table 7: Did you participate in the December, 2012 Sabon-Gari Local Government Election?

Respondents	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Yes	60	75
No	20	25
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The table (7) above shows that 60 of (75%) of the respondents participate in the 2012 election, and 20 of (25%) of the respondents did not participated in the 2012 election.

Therefore, we can conclude by saying that the people that participated in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election are more compare to those that did not vote in the election. This therefore will give us good information on the topic under study that is the factors that influence voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

Table 8: If yes in which ward?

Ward name	**Respondent Number**	**Percentage %**
Dogarawa ward	20	25
Samaru ward	15	18.75
Hanwa ward	35	43.75
Basawa ward	10	12.5
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The above table has shown the distribution of electorates that participate in the 2012 election with their wards. The 20 respondents of the (25%) voted in Dogarawa ward, also, 15 of the respondents of the (18.75) voted in Samaru, the 35 of the respondent of the (43.75%) voted in Bomo ward, while 10 respondents of the (12.5%) voted in Basawa ward. This therefore has clearly indicated that majority of the respondents of those that took highest number belong to the Hanwa ward with the total number of 35 of (43.75%).

Table 9: if No Why?

Responses	**Respondent Number**	**Percentage %**
Fear of intimidation by thugs	20	25
Due to full of violence	30	37.5
The election result can be rigged by the ruling party	15	18.75
Other specify	15	18.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The table (9) above has indicated certain response from the respondents, who did not participate. In the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election due to one reason of the other. The following are the responses:- those that did not vote because of the fear of intimidation by thugs are 20 representing (25%), and those that did not vote because the election is full of violence are 30 respondents which represent (50%), and those that believed that the election result can be rigged by the ruling party are 15 representing (18.75) while for other reason specify such as; it was complicated, was traveled was full of confusion etc. constitute 15 representing (18.75%). This his therefore shows that those that did not vote because of the full of violence take highest number in the responses.

Table 10: Are you a member of any political party?

Respondents	**Respondent Number**	**Percentage %**
Yes	45	56.25
No	35	43.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

From the table above, 45 of the respondents which is representing (56.25%) are members of a particular political party. While 35 of the respondents which is representing (43.75%) did not belong to any political party.

Therefore, the majority of the respondent belong to a particular political party. This gave us a clear analysis about the election and what will possibly influence them to vote regardless of the party affiliation.

Table 11: If yes indicate the party you Belong to?

Party	Respondent Number	Percentage %
PDP	20	25
CPC	25	31.25
ANPP	15	18.75
CAN	10	12.5
Other specify	10	12.5
Total	60	100

Source: Field work, 2014

From the table above, we can see that 20 of the respondents which is representing (25%) belong to the PDP, 25 respondents which is representing (31.25%) belong CPC also, 15 respondents which is representing (18.75%), the respondents belong to ANPP. Also, 10 of the respondents, which is representing (12.5%), belong to the ACN. Also other political parties respondents are 10 which is representing (12.5%).

Based on the figure we can conclude that CPC have a majority membership than other parties including PDP in this survey work.

Table 12: What influence you to join the party (rank in order of important)

Factors that influence you to join the party	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Party manifesto	30	37.5
National out look of the party	25	31.25
Fear of intimidation	15	18.75
Others specify	10	12.5
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The table (12) above shows that the respondents opinion on what influenced them to join a particular political party. Thus 30 that are representing (37.5%) were influenced by

party manifesto, 25 that are representing (31.25%) were influenced by national out look of the party, 15 of the respondents, that are representing (18.75%) were forcefully influenced by the circumstances of the fear of intimidation. Also, 10 respondents that are representing (12.5%) belongs to the other thing that influence them to join a particular political party.

From above we can conclude that the majority of the respondents joined political parties because of the party manifesto as indicated by their number of response.

Table 13: How Best would you Describe the December 2012 Sabon-Gari Local Government Election

Respondents	**Respondent Number**	**Percentage %**
Organized	20	25
Rigged	44	55
Free and fair	16	20
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The table above shows that the respondent described their opinion over the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election, from the table, 20 of the respondents that represent (25%) considered the election as organized. 44 respondents, that represent (55%) considered the election as rigged, while those that considered the election as free and fair consisted of 16 respondents which represent (20%). From the table we can conclude that the election was rigged based on the perception of the respondents that constitute the majority.

Table 14: Did you Agree with the Result

Respondents	**Respondent Number**	**Percentage %**
Yes	16	20
No	64	80
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The table above has shown whether the respondent agree with the result or not 16 of the respondents that represent (20%) agreed with the result of the election. While 64 of the respondents that represent (80%) did not agree with the result of the election due to irregularities that ere characterized with the election. Therefore, we can simply say that majority to the respondents did not agree with the result due to electoral fraud.

Table 15: How would you Assess the Nature of the 2012 Sabon-Gari Local Government Election

Respondents	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Full violence	40	50
Peaceful	30	37.5
Fair	10	12.5
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

From the table above, the electorates assess the nature of the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election, the 40 respondents that represent (50%) assess the election as full of violence, also 30 respondents assess the election to be peaceful that represent (37.5%), lastly, 10 respondents described the election to be fair, they represent (12.5%). Therefore we can conclude that those that assess the election to be full of violence constitute the highest number.

Table 16: How can you assess the performance of Kaduna state independent electoral commission? (KADSIECOM)

Responses	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Excellent	10	12.5
Good	5	6.25
Fair	50	62.5
Poor	15	18.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

From the above table, the respondents assess the performance of KADSIECOM in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. 10 out of the respondents and which represent (12.5%), of those that assess the KADSIECOM to be good, were 5 which represent (6.25%) also, those that assess it to be fair were 50 and which represents (62.25%) while those that assess KADSIECOM to be poor were 15 in number that represent (18.75%) therefore this has clearly shows that the majority of the respondents assess the KADSIECOM to be fair in it's performance during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

Table 17: What was the nature of the campaign procedure conducted before the election?

Respondents	**Respondent Number**	**Percentage %**
Terrible unhealthy	10	12.5
Generally peaceful	20	25
Fairly democratic	40	50
Unethical	10	12.5
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

The table above revels that the respondents expressed their views over the nature of the campaign. Was terrible unhealthy were 10 and which represents (12.5%) and those that believed that the campaign was generally peaceful were 20 which represent (20%) also those that believed that the campaign was conducted fairly democratic were 40 which represent (50%), while those that viewed the campaign as unethical were 10 and which represent (12.5%). Therefore, this has clearly shown that the number of respondent that viewed the campaign as fairly democratic were the majority.

Table 18: How effective were the law enforcement in maintain peace during campaign and election process in the Sabon-Gari local government election

Respondents	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Excellent	10	12.5
Good	35	43.75
Fair	20	25
Poor	15	18.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

From the above table, 10 of the respondents evaluated the performance of the law enforcement agencies as excellent representing (12.5%), 35 of the respondents viewed their performance as good representing (43.75%), 20 of the respondent also viewed their performance as fair which represent (25%) while those that believed that the performance of the law enforcement as poor were 15 representing (18.75%). This has therefore explain that the performance of the law enforcement agency in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election during the period of election and campaign was good, because they constituted highest number.

SECTION C: FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE VOTERS BEHAVIOUR IN THE 2012 SABON GARI LOCLA GOVERNMENT ELECTION

Table 19: have you heard of the phrase "voting behaviour before"?

Respondents	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Yes	60	75
No	20	25
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

From the above table respondents expressed their views on the concept of voting Behaviour. Where 60 of the respondents have heard of the concept of voting Behaviour before, which represent (75%), while 20 of the respondents did not heard of the phrase voting Behaviour respondents did not heard of the phrase voting Behaviour before which represent (25%). This has shown that the number that have heard of the concept of voting behaviour before are the majority.

Question 20: If yes, what do you understand to be the meaning of voting Behaviour?

The following are the various meanings of the voting Behaviour that was given by the respondents

- Voting behaviour refers to the process of how electorates make certain choices
- When electorates makes informed political choices in an election
- Voting behaviour is the criteria that voters use in determining who they will vote in an election
- It refers to the way and manner that electorates vote their candidate through looking at certain criteria
- Refers to the study of political processes that focuses on socio-economic factor that voters consider when election
- It refers to the individuals attitudes and motivations during the voting
- Refers to the process that explains who and why electorates vote as they do.
- This has to do with the behaviour of individual in the process of election
- Is the way that electorates follow in other to choose their candidates.
- Voting behaviour refers to the perceptions of the electorates in any election.
- This simply refers to the lines of choices that electorates follow when election
- It represent the area of individuals political behaviour

- Refers to the process of electing candidates in any given election
- It could be referred to as the exhibition of a particular voting practice by the citizens of a country.
- Is the process whereby people exhibit certain ideas in an election.

Table 21: Did you agree that there are factors that influenced voters behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election?

Respondents	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Yes	55	68.50
No	25	31.5
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

From the above table, we can understand that 55 respondents that represent (68.50%) agreed that really there are factors that influence voters behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. While, 25 respondents that represent (31.5%) did not agree that there are factors that influenced voters behaviour. Therefore, we can conclude that the number of people that agreed that there are factors that influenced voters behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election are the majority in number.

Table 22: If yes, what are the factors that influenced voters Behaviour during the election

Responses	Respondent Number	Percentage %
Party manifesto	25	31.25
Incumbency	20	25
Desire for change	20	25
Financial inducement	10	12.5
Others specify	5	6.25
Total	80	100

Source: Field work, 2014

From the above table (22) the respondents stated out the factors that influenced voters behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. 25 of the respondents which represent (31.25%) were of the view that party manifesto influenced voters behaviour during the election, also, 20 of the respondents which represent (25%) believed incumbency factor influenced the voters behaviour during the election. Also, the 20 respondents are of he view that desire for change influenced voters behaviour, while represent (25%), the 10 of the respondent believed that it was financial inducement that influenced voters behaviour during the election, and which represent (12.5%); 5 of the respondents were at the view that other factors played a vital role in influencing voter behaviour during the lection, and they represent (6.25%).

We can therefore conclude that those that believed that party manifesto influenced voters behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government constituted the majority with the total number of 25 of (31.25%).

Question 23: In your opinion, what do you understand and by party manifesto as the factor that influenced voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election

Below are the views of the respondents on the party manifesto

- This refers to the course of action in which the political will follow
- It refers to the plan of action
- Refers to what will help the electorates to have insight about a political party
- It refers to the direction that political party give to the lines of its programme of action
- It shows the ideological direction of the party
- Party manifesto explains how the party intends to achieve its programmes
- It refers to the magnetic pull to the electorates
- It refers to the public declarations of a political party to its supporters.
- It help political parties to make informed choices among several promises during election

Question 24: In your opinion what do you understand by the incumbency factor as the factor that influenced voters behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election?

Below are the views of the respondents on the incumbency factor

- Refers to the using every resources available to you as a sitting political officer to achieve your aim.
- When someone is in power use incumbency in other to retain himself on power
- Refers to the power that is possessed by a political office holder to suit his/her interest.
- When a political officer holder use government law enforcement agency live police, military in other to return himself back to power.
- Is a situation where politicians use their poster to ascertain objectives that are selfish in nature.
- Refers to the process of manipulating the views of the people in a particular position.
- It also re3fers to the using of the state resources such as mass media, finance etc.
- Retaining the personal position to seat on power using influence and resources.
- Refers to influential use of political position to ascertain objectives.

Question 25: In your opinion what do you understand by the desire for change as factor that influence voters behaviour

The following are the responses of the respondents on what desire for change means.

- This simply means a situation whereby electorates are tired of the bad condition that they found themselves.
- This is a situation in which people fight for their freedom through election
- It refers to the changing of a statisqou by the electorates because of the lack of development.
- It has to do with what people desire of to bring change about their present condition.

- It refers to do with what people desire of to bring change about their present condition.
- It refers to the condition that people found themselves with full of poverty, and rise up in other to demand for change.
- It ahs to do with seeking of change through voting of a good leaders.
- Desire for change also means going for what is better.
- It refers to electing leaders that will solve the problems that are affecting people.

Question 26: In your opinion what do you understand by the concept of financial inducement?

The following are the views of the respondents on what they think financial inducement or outright bribery means

- It refers to the buying of the votes of the electorates by the politicians
- It is the poverty that resulted to the financial inducement, which force the voters to sell their mandates.
- It has to do with presenting anything that has the money value do the electorates during election.
- Is a process were by people sell out their votes in getting something return.
- It is the bribe that electorates are collecting from the politicians.
- It refers to what politicians justify their position for not developing the rural areas as the result of the money they have given to the voters.
- It has to do with selling the mandates and right that electorates have in order to change a particular government.
- It refers to the situation whereby voters take money from the politicians and vote for another.

Question 27: In your opinion what are the solutions for effective voting Behaviour in Sabon-Gari local government?

The following are the opinion of respondents about the solutions for effective voting Behaviour.

- Provision of employment
- Free and fair election by the KADSIECOM
- Improving the economic wellbeing of people
- Effective use of mass media
- People should be educated on voting for candidates on the basis of qualification
- The Kaduna state independent electoral commission (KADSIECOM) should be made independent and autonomous form the state government.
- It can be effective when government provide masses with projects in the rural areas
- Through exemplary leadership
- Voting Behaviour can be effective in Sabon-Gari local government, when government join hands with different institution and associations, such as civil society, religious leaders. Etc,
- Voters should do clear selection of the candidate that they are going to vote for.
- Political parties should clearly stated out their party manifesto, so that electorate can exercise their choice.
- It can be effective when offenders of law are punished.
- The ruling party, should always use law enforcement agencies judiciously
- It can be effective when the youth stand up to fight for their right and they should not involve themselves into violence during election
- Voting behaviour can be effective when people know and respect their right.

4.2 VERIFICATION OF HYPOTHESIS

This simply refers to the process of actual analysis of the hypothesis raised by this research in chapter one (1) referring to what factors the researcher believed influenced voters behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

In this section therefore, the flowing are hypothesis raised and will be tested as follows:-

1. **Hypothesis (i):** That fear of intimidation by opposition supporters prevalent in December 2012 Sabon-Gari local government influenced voters Behaviour. From the nature of the election conducted in the local government is always full of violence as conflicting interest to control power and have access of allocating who get what when and how. From the above therefore, a considerable number of people in Sabon-Gari local government were forced to vote against their wish and aspirations, and this have happened because of the nature of the nature of the day which is full of chaos as political parties battle each to seize power, which all along other things employed political miscreants to frighten and bullied people to vote in a favour of their party and against other party.

This has clearly shows according to the respondents that about 25% of the sample population during the research agreed that Sabon-Gari local government election was influenced by the fear of intimidation by group of politically motivated miscreants.

We can therefore conclude by saying that the 2012 December election of Sabon-Gari local government was influenced to a large extend by the fear of intimidation as shown according to the responses from the questionnaires administered and gathered in formation.

2. **Hypotheses (ii):** that party manifesto happens to influence voters behaviour. This hypothesis was confirmed valid. The analysis shows that the December 2012 Sabon-Gari local government was characterized by influence of party manifesto due to the

involvement of a considerable number of respondents who were influenced by party manifesto. By its meaning, it refers to the set of plan of action that contains programmes and actions that a party planned to achieve. It was discovered from the research work, that 25 of 31.25% of the respondents voted based on party manifesto hence this confirmed the first hypothesis

3. **Hypothesis (iii):** that incumbency factor influence voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. This hypothesis was confirmed valid. The analysis has clearly shown that politicians use the state resources in other to get control over people. Such state resources include:- police, military, mass media etc. therefore, it was discovered from the research work, that 20 of the respondents and which represent 25% voted based on the influence of incumbency in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government.
4. **Hypothesis (iv):** That financial inducement influenced voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. This hypothesis has been confirmed to be valid this is because the research work has shown clearly how politicians corrupt therefore 10 of the (12.5%) of the respondent were influenced by financial or money out bright bribery.
5. **Hypothesis (v):** That desire for change influenced voters Behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. The desire for change has played a considerable role in influencing voters Behaviour in the December 2012 Sabon-Gari local government. This hypothesis has been confirmed valid because of the bad condition of economy and lack of human needs that was associated with the society, this has therefore make them to come and exercise their right through election so as to change the government they think did not do so much in their development. Therefore about 20 respondents that represent (25%) of the sample population during the research work agreed that desire for change influenced voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter intends to provide a synopsis of the foregoing discussion on the factors that influenced voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election: A case study of Sabon-Gari local government area of Kaduna state. The research work also analyzed the voting behaviour on how it influenced both voters and the political process of Sabon-Gari local government election. The chapter will also present the research finding in the form of conclusion, offer suggestions and recommendations.

5.2 SUMMARY

As mentioned above, the whole aim of this research work is to work into the pattern of voting behaviour on how it influence voters behaviour weather positive or negative, short term or long term to the whole electoral process in the people of Sabon-Gari local government.

Chapter two deals with literature review by different scholars on the concept of behaviouralism which was reviewed to ascertain, if they share any value orientation with the issues raised on the general pattern of voting behaviour in the larger community in relation to Sabon-Gari local government. It also provides theoretical framework which centered on behaviouralism which simply means the study of individual Behavioural pattern towards polities, that is how individual Behaviour could be measured in determining his political participation and their level of relations and active participation. In a more comprehensive form, the term behaviouralism can be explain as a scientific approach to the analysis of social phenomena that deals with individual group and their Behaviour towards polities in extension informal interaction and all activities happening in the society that involved to significant aspect of power, authority and influences Arnold B. (1959: V-Vii).

Chapter three gives an overview of the Sabon-Gari local government election, as part of the chapter, it also, it provided the background to the election. The principal candidates in the election and also the final result of the election. The chapter also provided an overview of the factors that influenced voters Behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. Also, the chapter gives a historical background of the study are which is the Sabon-Gari local government.

Chapter four concerns itself with the presentation and analysis of data collected. Whereby the statistical and tabular methods where used have to portray the views of the respondents from the Sabon-Gari local government on the factors that influenced voters behaviour.

Chapter five is concerned with the general summary of the work, the conclusion and recommendations.

5.3 CONCLUSION

This research was conducted on the need to ascertain the voting behaviour among the people/voters based on so many factors that played a vital role in influencing the behaviour of people in any giving election. With regards to this research work on the topic: factors that influenced voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. There were so many factors that influenced voters behaviour in the last election, these factors as mentioned in the work include: party manifesto, desire for change, financial inducement, improving the economic wellbeing of the people among others.

Moreover, election is very relevant, because is a plat form whereby people choose the best candidate of their choice, on who they think can look after their affairs. As a result of this therefore, all process that is leading to the emergence of political leaders must or has to be free and fair but the reverse is the case.

Finally, since election is the bedrock of producing future leaders, it then becomes imperative that educating members of the public through enlighten on political culture and how to take part in selecting free minded and responsible people that would promote transparency in leadership. In this light or regard, only qualified and genuine leaders can be identified or elected at the national, state and even local government level. Taking this into consideration will solve the problems that peoples are faced when making choice on who they should vote or not to vote, this will also provide good leadership not only in Sabon-Gari local government, Kaduna state, but Nigeria in general. Also, participatory democracy should be encouraged to achieve or enhance confidence in polities especially in the third world countries and particularly in Nigeria with Sabon-Gari local government in particular.

5.4 RECOMMENDATION

It was found that during the course of this research work, that there is need to provide certain recommendations that could help that could help to check mate or at lease reduce the problems that are associated with the voting behaviour and political participation in Sabon-Gari local government and in Nigeria in general.

Having noted the perceptions and motivations of the people on the voting behaviour in Sabon-Gari local government. Therefore, the following points or measures of recommendation, if implemented will go along way towards solving or reducing drastically most of the problems of politics that are coupled with the problems concerning the formation and conduction of the election in the local government, state and Nigeria in general.

1. Voting should be based on equal opportunity of people form religious, gender and ethnic background, etc. irrespective of the unit the candidate might come from. Contrary to the current practice of rotational or power shift between ethnic and religious boundaries which actually is against the constitutional provisions of the federal republic of Nigeria and Sabon-Gari local government.

2. Voters or electorates should be enlightened or educated so that they will be able to know the candidates they should go for and who they should not go to.
3. There is need to ensure free and fair election at all times, not were rigging, violence killings, maiming and all sort of intimidation etc. become the success of a candidate. This is because all these factors are inimical to political development, thus there is the need to avoid all form of electoral crisis
4. There should be a form of mass education of the electorates and politicians to shun any kind of dirty politics of ethnicity, financial inducement, intimidation in all aspects of our political activities. By doing so, there is going to be good environment were justice, freedom and peace will prevail.
5. The religious and ethnicity that is prevalent in the country's political process should be wiped out from polities of local, state and at the national level. Government and equally religious bodies should maintain neutrality in the electoral process to avoid confusion and any of political dislocation in election.
6. Accountability and transparency should be encouraged by government at all levels. This will provide healthy, smooth and fair political engineering at all levels.
7. There is need for government to provide job opportunities or employment to the youth. This is because, majority of the youth take part in any violence be it political or economical or social violence.
8. Further more, independent of judiciary should be ensure so that people can seek for redress of their right if is been trampled upon, that is if they are harassed or intimidated in this process of election.
9. Also, it is part of the recommendations, that Kaduna state in depend electoral commission (KADSIECOM) is made independent and autonomous from the state government.

10. The independent national electoral commission must ensure that only credible candidates who can adequately propel the needs of the people should be encouraged to stand for election at all levels.
11. Also, power that was vested by the constitution to the state governments in other to conduct local government election should be amended that is the power of conducting local government elections should be given to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) not state government. Therefore amending the act that gave the state government power to conduct the local government election will provide free and fair election in the whole local government we have in the country, particularly the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election.
12. The independent national electoral commission (INEC), must and should constitute to liase with civil societies and pressure groups in organizing workshop on leadership training in a bid to foster a smooth working relationship of the people and government in order to enhance individual peace progress and good governance.
13. The low enforcement agency must be empowered to carry out their routine judiciary without any fear or favour. They should be provided and empowered with the necessary paraphernalia of violence at any time and by any group, regardless of the position of the group in the government.
14. Mass media such as radio, television, magazines, journals and others shodu8l try to orient and educate people on the political activities such as election, voting Behaviour, electoral violence etc. also, mass media have an enormous functions to carry out in the process of reconciliation among the factions of people that are not in peace.

Therefore, politicians can not influence electorates through financial inducement, by buying their votes. Politicians justify their actions by not improving the standard life of the people in the rural areas. Financial inducement or money/out right bribery really influenced

voters behaviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election. This is because many people are living in a very bad condition of economy and unemployment, whereby people find it difficult to have one or more square meals a day. Also, government should provide youth with employment, in other to eradicate the electoral violence and other crisis that can erupt. This is because youth always play role in any good or bad condition. Government should also provide security of lives and properties, so that people will have rest of mind whenever they are engaging in their political activities. The government that is on power or that is in control of any position either in the federal state or local government should respect the opposition members in any election and promote equality among other members of other political parties.

In contrast therefore, such can be improved also by well formidable civil society that will save as a check to the activities of the government intensive political orientation of the population by relevant agencies such as National Orientation Agencies (NOA) mass media etc. also, the Kaduna state independent electoral commission have a very vital role to play in ensuring free and fair election that is not characterized with any irregularities. Carrying out all these into action, will helping sustaining our hard earned democracy for economic and political advancement for economic and political advancement of Nigeria and Sabon-Gari local government, where equal opportunity will abound for all, irrespective of tribe, religion and ethnicity among others.

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APPENDIX I

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA

Dear Respondent,

I am a final year student from the department of political science and international studies, faculty of social sciences Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, I am conducting a research on the topic titled "Factors that influence voters behaviour in the 2012 local government election: A case study of the Sabon-Gari local government area of Kaduna state." This research work is part of the requirements for the award of Bachelor of Science (BSc.) in political science. The questionnaire is one of the methods of collecting data for the research, you are please requested to answer the following questions with all sincerity. Please indicate your answer by ticking the appropriate box. The response provided will be treated with almost confidentiality and used strictly for the purpose of this research only.

Yours faithfully,

Ishaq Rufa'i

SECTION A: (PERSONAL INFORMATION/BIO-DATA)

1. Gender (a) male [ ] (b) female [ ]
2. Marital status (a) single [ ] (b) married [ ] (c) widowed [ ]
3. Qualification (a) primary education [ ] (b) secondary education [ ] (c) diploma/NCE [ ] (d) Degree and above [ ]
4. Age distribution (a) 18-27 years [ ] (b) 28-37 years [ ] (c) 38-47 years [ ] (d) 48 to above [ ]
5. Occupation (a) civil servant [ ] (b) self employed [ ] (c) artisan (carpentry, blacksmith etc) [ ] (d) students/applicant [ ]

6. Distribution based on tribe (a) Hausa Fulani [ ] (b) Yoruba [ ] (c) Igbo [ ]
(d) Others specify [ ]

SECTION B: (INFORMATION ABOUT THE DECEMBER 2012 SABON-GARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION)

7. Did you participate in the December, 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election? (a) yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
8. If yes in which ward (a) Dogarawa [ ] (b) Samaru [ ]
(c) Hanwa [ ] (d) Basawa [ ]
9. If no why? (a) Fear of intimidation by thugs [ ] (b) Due to full violence [ ] (c) The election result can be rigged by ruling party [ ]
(d) Others specify [ ]
10. Are you a member of any political party? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
11. If yes, indicate the party you belong to (a) PDP [ ] (b) CPC [ ] (c) ANPP [ ] (d) ACN] (e) others specify_____
12. What influenced you to join the party? (rank in order of importance 09a) party manifesto [ ] (b) National outlook of the party [ ] (c) fear of intimidation [ ] (d) others specify_____
13. How best would you describe the December 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election
(a) Organized [ ] (b) Rigged [ ]
(c) Free and fair [ ]
14. Did you agree with the result? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
15. How would you assess the Nature of the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election? (a) Full of violence [ ] (b) Peaceful [ ] (c) Fair [ ]

16. How can you assess the performance of the Kaduna state independent electoral commission (KADSIECOM)? (a) Excellent [ ] (b) Good [ ] (c) Fair [ ] (d) Poor [ ]

17. What was the nature of the campaign procedure conducte4d before the election? (a) Terrible unhealthy [ ] (b) Generally peaceful [ ]
    (c) Fairly democratic [ ] (c) Unethical [ ]

18. How effective were the low enforcement in maintaining peace during campaign and election process in Sabon-Gari local government election. (a) Excellent [ ] (b) Good [ ] (c) Fair [ ] (d) Poor [ ]

SECTION C: FACTORS THAT INFLEUNCED VOTERS BEHAVIOUR IN THE 2012 SABON GARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION

19. Have you heard of the phrase "voting Behaviour" (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
20. If yes what do you understand to be the meaning of voting Behaviour?_____
21. Did you agree that there are factors that influenced voters Behaviour during the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
22. If yes, what are the factors that influenced votes Behaviour during the election? (a) party manifesto [ ] (b) incumbency factor [ ]
    (c) Desire for change [ ] (d) Financial inducement [ ] (e) others specify _____
23. In your opinion, what do you understand by party manifesto as the factor that influenced voters be3haviour in the 2012 Sabon-Gari local government election? _____
    _____
24. In your opinion, what do you understand by the desire for change as the factor that influenced voters Behaviour?_____
    _____
25. In your opinion, what do you understand by the desire for change as the factor that influenced voters Behaviour?_____

_____

26. In your opinion, what do you understand by the concept of the financial inducement?_____
27. In your opinion what are the solutions for effective voting Behaviour in the Sabon-Gari local government?_____

Thank You All