

ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL THUGGARY ON THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ZARIA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KADUNA STATE

BY

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ABSTRACT

This paper is set to critically examine the daunting effects of political thuggery on political development in Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna state with a view to providing pragmatic solutions to the menace. To achieve this, Structural Theory of Conflict, particularly the liberal version expounded by Galtung (1990), Ross (1993) and Scarborough (1998) is employed to analyse the main theme of the paper. The study found that the activities of political thugs in Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna state have no doubt impeded the socio-political development of the study area. This was reflected on how almost all the pillars upon which the social development of the study area was underpinned were affected. Not only that, it has also impinged on the sanctity of the electoral process by undermining the legitimacy of elected candidates and election results thereby threatening democratic stability in the study area. The study also found that much effort has been made by community leaders as well as government officials and agencies through the implementation of various programmes with a view to checking the rising incidences of political thuggery and to prevent their possible future re-emergence. The findings revealed that the measures put in place were

barely effective due to factors such as undue political interference by political elites (particularly those from the ruling party), inadequate funding, lack of modern communication gadgets, and logistics challenges. The study therefore, recommend among other things, that political elites/politicians and political parties should know that, winning and losing are the two features of any election, so, the employment of foul means such as political thuggery in a bid to win elections is against the tenants of liberal democracy.

Key words: *Thuggery, Political Thuggery, Political Development,*

1. Introduction

It remains an undeniable fact that in any given society, for there to be meaningful development, whether political, social, economic, cultural or socio-political, there must be relative peace. In other words, the development agenda or programme of any society or nation is more likely to be successfully implemented if there is on ground, a peaceful atmosphere devoid of any form of hostilities.

May 29, 1999 marked a turning point in Nigeria's political history. It was the dawn of the

Fourth Republic, a return to democratic rule after several years under the yoke of military dictatorship which was marked by much suffering, human right abuses, infrastructure decay, and pervasive institutionalized corruption. With this development, (i.e. Nigeria's restoration to a democratic government) the hope of the common man for a just and an egalitarian society became rekindled, reawaken and revitalized (Dahiru, 2011).

With this development, (i.e. Nigeria's restoration to a democratic government), most Nigerians were full of hope and expectations not only because it signaled the eventual termination of authoritarian military rule, but also because democracy presupposes responsibility on the basis of which unity, social cohesion and development could be facilitated among the various social groupings, particularly in a pluralist country like Nigeria which has over 350 ethnic groups (Mohammed, 2018b). This expectation as opined by Mohammed (2018b) is predicated on the view that under a democratic government, individuals and social groups feel more secured than under non-democratic one.

However, after twenty three years of democratic experience in the country (1999 – 2022), the aspirations and expectations of Nigerians with regards to good governance, democratic dividends as well as political maturity among the Nigerian political leaders, seems to have waned and is fast replaced, at best by feeling of resignation and disappointment. This is because more than ever before, Nigerians are witnessing proliferation of some politically motivated group of social miscreants (armed non-state groups). These constitute credible threats to the country's national unity/integration, good governance, internal peace, stability and sustainability of democratic governance. For instance, Elaigwu (2007) cited in Dahiru (2010) observes that "... in the first eight years of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic, Nigeria is said to have witnessed over 140 cases of violent ethno-religious, communal, political and other conflicts of varying intensities and magnitude. Commenting on the consequence of security challenges that characterised the Nigeria's Fourth Republic, George-Genyi (2013) has emphatically adumbrated that "violent conflicts,

whether social, political or environmental have seriously contributed to the crisis situation in terms of loss of human and material capital in Nigeria in the last decade".

Prominent among of these armed non-state groups in Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna State is a group of social miscreants popularly known as *Yan-daba* (thugs). These are groups of young men (and occasionally women), mostly sycophants, who have become ready tools in the hands of unpatriotic citizens and politicians to be used for various nefarious activities including launching attacks on their opponents. These thugs can go to any extent, if only to defend and carry out the biddings of their benefactors. They intimidate, kidnap, maim, kill, destroy properties, or completely annihilate any targeted opponents. The activities of *Yan-daba* in Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna state, like in other parts of the country are not limited to inter or intra parties' crises. Ordinary citizens equally employ their services in a bid to gain undue advantage in a dispute situation - through intimidation – in order to arm-twist opposing parties. It is against this backdrop that this paper seeks to examine the pragmatic approach towards addressing the challenges of Political Thuggery in Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna State.

2.1 Conceptual Clarification

The central theme of this paper revolves around some key concepts that require a brief discussion in order to have clear focus. These conceptual terms are: thuggery, political thuggery, and political development.

2.1.1 Thuggery

Thuggery is conceptualized to mean a violent behaviour consciously intended to pose a threat or scare people who are perceived to be opponents in order to achieve an undue advantage. The word 'thuggery' is thus associated with criminal behaviour and is consequently linked with all negative synonyms such as violence, brutal acts, hooliganism, gangsterism, assassins, criminal, delinquent, troublemakers etc. Shankyula (2011) conceptualized thuggery as any act of intimidation, violence, hooliganism, brutality or

gangsterism, whether leading to death or not, calculated to pose a threat or scare people or perceived opponents aimed at achieving an undue advantage.

2.1.2 Political Thuggery

Shankyula (2011) viewed political thuggery as any act of intimidation, violence, hooliganism, brutality or gangsterism, whether leading to death or not, calculated to pose a threat or scare political opponent or perceived political opponents before, during or after elections and aimed at achieving an undue political result or advantage. Mohammed (2013) also conceived Political thuggery to mean any negative behaviour employed in order to alter, change or influence by force or coercion, the electoral behaviours of voters or voting pattern or possibly reverse electoral decision in favour of a particular individual, groups or political party. To Esiri (2016), political thuggery is any negative behaviour associated with violence, hooliganism, kidnapping, murder, assassination, gang action and troubleshooting that is connected or related to any political process. Political thuggery especially at elections may range from such acts as inciting or causing others to act in a disorderly manner, being in illegal possession of or usage of offensive weapon/s with the aim to scare or intimidate voters, snatching or destruction of election materials, acts resulting into undue influence as by compelling any person to vote or refrain from voting against his/her will, ballot stuffing etc. (Shankyula, 2011).

In line with the above, political thuggery is conceived to mean conscious use of threat or physical act carried out by sponsored/hired individual or individuals within political system against another individual or individuals with the intention to cause injury or death to persons and/or damage or destruction of property and whose objective have political significance. This means that political thuggery is employed in the struggle for acquisition of political power through unlawful means or through displacement of criminal behaviour.

2.1.3 Political Development:

To Park (1984), political development is “the capacity of the political system to satisfy the changing needs of the members of the society”. Mahajan (2012) viewed the concept of political development as mass mobilization and participation. Political development according to Johari (2007) is concerned with the development of democratic system or in other words, “it is the establishment and consolidation of the entire paraphernalia of the democratic system as growing participation of the people in the political process of the country, rule of law, free and fair elections, political stability and the like”

Political development is therefore fundamentally connected with the building of democracy and the inculcation of democratic values and orders in the mind of the people. It therefore suggest that mass participation or involvement of most of the people in the politics of any given social formation without discrimination on artificial grounds like those of party affiliation, political godfather, wealth, descent, sex, creed, etc.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

In order to provide a rational basis for explaining or interpreting the results of this paper, Structural Theory of Conflict particularly the liberal version expounded by Galtung (1990), Ross (1993) and Scarborough (1998) is employed to analyse the main theme of the paper. The main argument of the theory is structural defect; either internally generated or externally conditioned, are the main causes of conflict in society (Muhammad, 2006). The liberal structuralists like Johan Galtung argues that whenever economic and political discrimination and lack of tolerance in plural society are embedded in human social relationship, conflicts are bound to be higher, than in societies where opposite social relationship is established. Similarly, structuralists argue that other factors such as overpopulation, economic underdevelopment, demographic factors and uninterested social and political institutions are also responsible for the emergence of internal conflict which directly or indirectly retards the sustainability of any national development.

The arguments of structuralists have been criticized for its excessive focus on material interests as the single most important cause of conflict or insecurity in human society thereby neglecting other important causes such as ideological, psychology or socio-cultural factors. The theory is however deficient in its one-sidedness of looking at causes of conflict. It, for instance, does not see the bright sides of racial or ethnic diversity and the strength that a society may derive from pluralism. It only sees the flaws. The structural theory thus makes sense only when conflicts are viewed from the broadest possible perspective, and only if the observer opts to ignore alternate causes of the conflict.

Despite the criticisms laid against the theory, its real value cannot be denied. This is because the theory presents a large number of factors that make the emergence and escalation of conflicts possible. This further explained that social problems such as political and economic marginalization, injustice, exploitation and inequality in Nigeria have stricken Nigerians ready to resort to violence and conflict at the slightest instance. This explains the reasons behind the re-emergence and sustenance of thugs, ethnic/political militias in the present Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The theory further explained the causal relationship between societal social structure and national development of any given social formation. Thus, this theory is adopted in this paper simply for the fact that, the theory will help in providing an explanation with regards to the challenges of thuggery and political crisis in the study area in particular and Nigeria in general is emanating from the social structures of the Nigerian society which exerts considerable pressure upon certain individuals and ethnic groups in the country to engage in non-conforming conduct.

4.1 Methodology

4.1.1 Population of the Study: The population of this study covered the entire population of Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna State. According to the 2006 population census, Zaria Local Government Area has a total number of 408,198 inhabitants (National Bureau for Statistics, 2007), and by 2016 it was updated to

532,606 (Information Unit, Zaria Local Government, 2016).

4.1.2 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size of the Study: Multi-stage sampling technique was used to get the population of interest for this study due to time and logistics constraints. This technique involves sampling in successive stages such that at each stage, selection is made by using any of the well-known probability sampling methods (Biereenu-Nnabugwu, 2006).

The **first stage** was the use of **cluster sampling** to divide the study area according to state constituencies so as to ensure equal geographic representation. Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna state was officially divided into two (2) state-constituencies and they include: Zaria Birni or Ciki (City or Metropolitan) and Zaria Waje or Kewaye.

The **Second stage** was the use of **cluster sampling** to divide each of the two (2) state constituencies into Political Wards. This also is to ensure equal geographic representation. The Political Wards and their respective population that made up the two State Constituencies of Zaria Local Government Area are presented in a tabular form below:

Table 1: Zaria-Ciki State Constituency

CONSTITUENCY	S/N	WARD	POPULATION PER WARD
ZARIA-BIRNI/CIKI STATE CONSTITUENCY	1.	Anguwan Fatika Ward	36,964
	2.	Anguwan Juma Ward	32,044
	3.	Kaura Ward	32,044
	4.	Kwarbai A Ward	31,503
	5.	Kwarbai B Ward	66,411
	6.	Limancin-Kona Ward	68,764
TOTAL			267,730

Source: Information Unit Zaria Local Government (2021)

The table above shows the composition of the political wards and the population that made up the Zaria-Birni/Ciki State Constituency.

Table 2: Zaria Kewaye State Constituency

CONSTITUENCY	S/N	WARD	POPULATION PER WARD
ZARIA-KEWAYE STATE CONSTITUENCY	1	Dambo Ward	28,633
	2	Dutsan-Abba Ward	51,834
	3	Gyellesu Ward	38,650
	4	Kufena Ward	29,057
	5	Tudun-Wada Ward	28,421
	6	Tukur-Tukur Ward	58,337
	7	Wucicciri Ward	32,044
TOTAL			266,976

Source: Information Unit Zaria Local Government (2021)

The composition of the political wards and the population that made up the Zaria Kiwaye State Constituency was presented above.

Simple Random Sampling Technique was then used as **the third stage** to select four (4) Political Wards from each of the two (2) State Constituencies that made up the study area. The selected Political Wards from the 2 state constituencies and which formed the population of the study are presented in the table below.

Table 3: Zaria-Ciki State Constituency

CONSTITUENCY	S/N	WARD	POPULATION PER WARD
Zaria-birni/ciki Constituency	1	Kaura Ward	32,044
	2	Kwarbai A Ward	31,503
	3	Kwarbai B Ward	66,411
	4	Limancin-Kona Ward	68,764
TOTAL			198,722

Source: Information Unit Zaria Local Government (2021)

Table 4: Zaria Kewaye State Constituency

STATE CONSTITUENCY	S/N	WARD	POPULATION PER WARD
Zaria Kewaye Constituency	1	Dutsan-Abba Ward	51,834
	2	Gyellesu Ward	38,650
	3	Tudun-Wada Ward	28,421
	4	Tukur-Tukur Ward	58,337
TOTAL			177,242

Source: Information Unit Zaria Local Government (2021)

The fourth stage was the computation of the sample size from the combined population of the selected political wards in the previous stage; using the Taro Yamane’s formula. The formula is presented below:

Given that:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where:

n = Sample Size. N = Size of the Population. e = Percentage of acceptable sample error

Therefore,

$$\begin{aligned} n &= \text{? 'Unknown'} \\ N &= \mathbf{375,964} \\ e &= \mathbf{95\% (0.05)} \end{aligned}$$

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{375964}{1 + 375964 (95\%)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{375964}{1 + 375964 (0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{375964}{1 + 375964 (0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{375964}{1 + 939.91}$$

$$n = \frac{375964}{940.91}$$

$$n = 399.6$$

$n \approx 400$ (Sample size)

The fifth stage involved the computation of the total number of questionnaires that was administered in each of the selected wards; using the formula below:

$$\frac{\text{Ward Population}}{\text{Population of selected wards}} \times \frac{\text{Sample Population}}{\text{Desired Sample Size}} = 1$$

Using the above formula, the ward's sample population size was obtained by dividing the number of population per ward with the total population of the selected wards multiplied by the desired sample size of the study. This is what gives the size or number of questionnaires that was administered to each of the selected political ward in proportion to its population. The table below presents number of questionnaires administered to each of the selected political wards under study in proportion to their population.

Table 5: Administration of Questionnaires

S/N	Selected Political Wards Of The Local Government	Total Population Per Selected Wards Of The Local Government	Sample Size Per Selected Wards Of The Local Government
1	Dutsan-Abba Ward	51,834	55
2	Gyellesu Ward	38,650	41
3	Kaura Ward	32,044	34
4	Kwarbai A Ward	31,503	34
5	Kwarbai B Ward	66,411	71
6	Limancin-Kona Ward	68,764	73
7	Tudun-Wada Ward	28,421	30
8	Tukur-Tukur Ward	58,337	62
Total	8 Political Wards	375,964	400

Source: Author's Analysis (2022)

The last stage involved the administration of questionnaires to sampled respondents in all the selected wards using **Systematic Sampling Technique**. Here the household population data was used to determine the selection interval of the respondent and onward administration of the questionnaires. The first respondent was randomly selected and followed by selection interval in proportion to the wards' sample population size. The table below shows the systematic selection of the study through the use of the households' data as arranged alphabetically.

Table 6: Sample Size Selection Interval using Systematic Sampling Technique

S/N	Selected Wards Of The Local Government	Household Data in the Selected Wards Of The Local Government	Sample Size Per Selected Wards Of The Local Government	Selection Intervals
1	Dutsan-Abba Ward	11943	55	217
2	Gyellesu Ward	8982	41	219
3	Kaura Ward	6238	34	184
4	Kwarbai A Ward	12822	34	377
5	Kwarbai B Ward	12556	71	177
6	Limancin-Kona Ward	9842	73	135
7	Tudun-Wada Ward	14606	30	487
8	Tukur-Tukur Ward	17393	62	281
Total	8 Political Wards	139,827	400	

Source: Author's Analysis (2022)

The above table shows the systematic selection of the selection intervals through the use of the number of households. The number of the household from each ward was divided by the sample size of the ward, in order to get the selection interval of the questionnaire administration.

4.1.3 Sources and Instruments of Data Collection:

This paper utilized both Primary and Secondary sources in the collection of data. Under the **primary source**, questionnaires were administered within the eight (8) selected political wards of Zaria Local Government. The questionnaires were both close and open ended. And research assistants were employed to help in the administration and retrieval of the questionnaires. While on other hand, the **Secondary data** was gathered from the existing literature documented in books, journals, published articles, magazines, newspapers and internet materials.

4.1.4 Method of Data Analysis: The data generated through both primary and secondary sources were analyzed using simple percentage method and frequency distribution tables.

5.1 Presentation and Analysis of Data

This section presents and analyses data collected through both secondary and primary sources on the subject under study in the light of which deductions or findings were drawn and verified. The data collected through questionnaires were analysed and presented descriptively using frequencies and percentages. The results from the questionnaire were complemented by the existing literature. A total of 400 questionnaires were administered in all the selected wards of the study area, based on their respective population as calculated. Out of the 400 questionnaires administered, 383 questionnaires representing (95.75%) were retrieved and therefore, were considered to be valid for data analysis.

5.1.1 Data Presentation

Table 7: Analysis of the respondents’ views on the nature of the activities of thugs in Zaria Local Government Area

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Violent	343	89.56
Non-violent	35	9.14
Undecided	5	1.30
Total	383	100%

Source: Authors’ Analysis (2022)

Table 7 shows that out of 383 sampled respondents, 343 of the respondents representing 89.56% confirmed that thugs in the study area were generally violent when carrying out their criminal activities. 35 of the respondents representing 9.14% have disagreed that the thugs’ activities were violent in nature and 5 of respondents representing 1.30% did not respond to the question simply because they had no idea.

Table 8: Analysis of the respondents’ views with regards to the question “Which period would you describe the activities of thugs in Zaria Local Government Area as more active?”

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
During the election period only (campaign & election period)	55	14.36
Other period only (after electoral process)	37	9.66
All of the above	287	74.94
Undecided	4	1.04
Total	383	100%

Source: Authors’ Analysis (2022)

Table 8 shows that 55 of the respondents representing 14.36% have admitted that the activities of thugs in the study area are more noticeable during the election period only. 37 of the respondents representing 9.66% have confirmed that the activities of thugs in the study area are clearer at other period only (i.e., after the election period) 287 of the respondents representing 74.94% have admitted that the activities of thugs in the study area manifests in both during the election period as well as after the election period and 4 of them representing 1.04% have no idea.

Table 9: Analysis of the respondents’ opinion on the implications of thuggery on the political development of Zaria Local Government Area

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Assassination and killing of political opponents and electorates	14	3.66
Incompetent leadership	24	6.27
Emergence of unpopular candidates and winners	29	7.57
Destruction and burning of political party offices	30	7.83
Increased apathy towards voting and general political participation	106	27.68
Intimidation, harassment and maiming of innocent people and political opponent	94	24.54
Loss of confidence in election results	63	16.45
Post-election violence	21	5.48
Undecided	2	0.52
Total	383	100

Source Authors’ Analysis (2022)

Table 9 captures the respondents' views on the impact of political thuggery on political development of Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna state. The statistical record in the table revealed that out of the 383 sampled respondents, 14 respondents representing 3.66% identified assassination and killing of political opponents and electorates/people as among the consequences of thuggery on political development of the study area. Emergence of incompetent leadership was believed by 24 respondents representing 6.27% and 29 respondents representing 7.57% are of the view that thuggery has contributed to the emergence of unpopular candidates in to political power. 30 respondents representing 7.83% believed that political thuggery resulted in the destruction and burning of innocent peoples' properties as well as political parties' properties. 106 respondents representing 27.68% are of the view that political thuggery in the Zaria Local Government Area increased the level of political apathy. While 94 respondents representing 24.54% believed that intimidation, harassment and maiming of innocent people are the effect of political thuggery in the study area. 63 respondents representing 16.45% believed that political thuggery has resulted in the loss of confidence in the election results. The table further shows that, Post-election violence as a result of political thuggery was believed by 21 respondents representing 5.48%. While only 2 respondents representing 0.52 did not respond to the question asked.

Table 10: Analysis of the respondents' views on whether or not they are aware of any measures taken by Government and community leaders in controlling or managing the activities of thugs in Zaria Local Government Area

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	268	69.97
No	110	28.72
Undecided	05	1.31
Total	383	100%

Source: Authors' Analysis (2022)

Table 10 captured the respondents' opinion on the question of 'whether or not they are aware of the measures taken or put in place by government and community leaders on controlling the menace and the future re-

emergence of political thuggery in Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna State. The table shows that out of 383 sampled respondents, 268 respondents representing 69.97% agreed that they are aware of the existence of the measures, 110 respondents representing 28.72% said no meaning they are not aware of the existence of any measures, while 5 respondents representing 1.31 did not respond to the question.

Table 11: Analysis of the respondents' views on the types of measures taken by Government and community leaders in managing the activities of thugs in Zaria Local Government Area

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Community Elders and Youths Forums	40	10.44
Community Vigilante Groups	97	25.33
Nigerian Police Force	71	18.54
Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps	68	17.75
Skill Acquisition Programmes	47	12.27
Youth Empowerment Programmes	60	15.67
Undecided	0	0.00
Total	383	100%

Source: Authors' Analysis (2022)

Table 11 presents the respondents' views with regard to the types of measures taken by government and community leaders towards managing the activities of political thugs in Zaria Local Government Area. The table shows that out of the total sampled respondents 40 respondents representing 10.33% identified community elders and youth's forum as one of the measures put in place. 97 respondents representing 25.33% are of the view that community vigilante groups are among the measures put in place. 71 respondents representing 18.54 identified Nigerian Police Force as measure put in place. 68 respondents representing 17.75% are of the view that Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps are among the measures put in place. Skill acquisition Programmes as measure of managing the menace and possible re-emergence of political thuggery received 47 respondents representing 12.27%. 60 respondents representing 15.67% identified Youths Empowerment Programmes among the measures put in place, while none of the respondents failed to answer the question.

Table 12: Analysis of the respondents' views on the effectiveness of the measures taken by Government and community leaders in controlling the implication of thuggery on the Political Development of Zaria Local Government Area

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very Effective	38	9.92
Effective	97	25.33
Barely Effective	204	53.26
Ineffective	41	10.71
Undecided	3	0.78
Total	383	100%

Source: Authors' Analysis (2022)

Table 12 disclosed the effectiveness of the existing measures put in place by both the government and the community leaders towards overcoming or managing the phenomena of political thuggery in the study area. 38 respondents representing 9.92% are of the opinion that the existing measures in place were very effective. 97 respondents representing 25.33% believed that the existing measures in the study area were simply effective. 204 respondents representing 53.26% considered the existing measures in the study area to be barely effective. 41 respondents representing 10.71% believed that the actions (measures) were ineffective. 3 respondents representing 0.78% did not respond to the question.

5.1.2 Discussion and Analysis of Findings

i. On the nature of thug activities in the study area, table 7 revealed that there seems to be a general agreement that the thugs in the study area are violent in nature. This opinion (i.e. the opinion of those that said 'Yes'— which means that thugs in the study area were violent in their activities) also corroborates the submission of Mohammed (2018) where he pointed out that “most if not all thugs are violent in their activities/operations”. The statistical data in table 8 revealed that the activities of thugs in Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna State cover both the period of election and after. This was demonstrated by the fact that more than 80 percent of the respondents admitted and confirmed that the manifestations of thuggery was witnessed in

both the election period and also after the period of elections.

ii. On the effects or implications of thuggery in the study area, the findings in table 9 shows that ‘increased apathy towards voting’ recorded the highest frequency followed by ‘intimidation, harassment and maiming of political opponents and innocent electorate’. Buttressing this point, Mohammed (2018) pointed out that “the turn-out of voters/electorates during the 2015 general elections in some polling units such as Kwarbai I, II & III (all located in Sarki Musa L.G.E.A Primary School Madarkaci) and L.G.E.A Primary School Fadisonka was low compared to the electorates’ turn-out in 2011 gubernatorial election”. He further attributed the low turn-out to the manner in which thugs were used in 2011 general election as well as 2012 chairmanship election in Zaria LGA, characterised by snatching ballot boxes and intimidation of electorates as well as political opponents. It was gathered that the activities of thugs who were well armed with sticks, cutlasses and other dangerous weapons has further exacerbated the problem of low voter turn-out of voters in almost all the 13 political wards which comprises of 328 polling units.

Buttressing on the intimidation, harassment and maiming of political opponents and innocent electorate, Mohammed (2018) pointed out that “prior to the 2015 gubernatorial election, there were series of intimidation and harassment of the residents of *Salandu, Anguwan Sirdi, Baban-Gwani, Anguwan Nupawa, Durmin Maigarke* all in Limancin Kona Ward code 004 by thugs who are loyalist of Alhaji Sama'il Musa (Sarkin Gandu)”.

iii. Other implications of thuggery on the political development in the study area as revealed in table 9 include assassination and killing of political opponents and electorates, incompetent leadership, emergence of unpopular candidates and winners, destruction and burning of political party offices, loss of confidence in election results, post-election violence

- iv. On the types or nature of the measures for checkmating thuggery in the study area, table 11 revealed that the existing measures put in place are of two broad categories; namely the coercive measures and non-coercive measures. The coercive measure involves the use of military and paramilitary personnel, while the non-coercive measures involves initiating and building of policies, programmes or institutions aimed at changing the thinking and perception of youths towards satisfying their basic human needs through provision of employment opportunities for the youths. The paper found that one the most pronounced example of coercive measures in the study area is the use of Police Force, ZEMSO, and Security Joint Task Force (comprises of the Nigeria Police, the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps and other uniformed security personnel).
- v. With regards to the efficacy of the measures taken to check political thuggery in the study area, the paper found that they were barely effective. This observation was revealed in table 12 whereby the respondents who believed that the existing measures put in place by both the government and the community leaders towards managing the activities of and the possible future re-emergence of thuggery in the Zaria Local Government Area was barely effective has out weighted the number of respondents, who believed that the measures were very effective and or effective if put together.

The paper revealed that the above unfortunate situation was intricately connected to the fact that most of the security agencies lack rich/informative, valid and reliable data that are appropriately collected, collated and analyzed for requisite knowledge, projection and planning against thuggery and other forms of criminalities. Yet, the agents (security agents) are supposed to cover a population of over 532,606 people, spread over the 13 political wards. As a consequence, the security agents in the study area suffered due to the fact that they were ill equipped and lacked the requisite operational logistics.

6.1 Concluding Remarks

It is clear from the above analysis that thuggery has a serious negative impact on the political development of Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna state. It is also found from the analysis and discussion that the emergence of thuggery in the study area has undermined the legitimacy of the elected candidates and threatened democratic stability in Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna state. The paper also found that a lot of effort has been put in place by government through programmes and law enforcement agencies towards the control and prevention of possible future re-emergence in the study area.

The paper further found that the existing measures are of two categories and they include coercive and non-coercive. The paper also revealed that one of the most common, physical and more accessible measure taken or put in place by the government in a bid to manage the activities as well as to mitigate the re-emergence of political thuggery in the study area is the ZEMSO. The findings of the paper also revealed that the engagement or operation of Nigeria Police Force in the study area were barely effective because of factors such as undue political interference by political elites (particularly those from the ruling party), funding, communication gadgets and logistic inadequacy.

It is based on the above premises therefore, the following recommendations are made:

- i- There is the need to de-emphasize the premium attached on the acquisition of political position for accumulation of wealth. This is because the paper found that the tremendous importance attached to political position intensifies the struggle for the capture of any political position, this in turned instigated the re-emergence of thuggery.
- ii- Poverty alleviation should be put in place to reduce the level of poverty and other economic hardship facing the people particularly the youths. This is because the paper revealed that, majority of those sponsored by politicians to engage in political thuggery and electoral violence which in turn

- impacted negatively on the political development of the study area, are living below the poverty line of less than 2 American Dollar (\$2) a day.
- iii- Concerted efforts should be made to revive the economy to provide jobs and uplift the living standard of the people. This will eventually reduce the sources of idle hands that can easily be manipulated to cause civil unrest. This is because the paper revealed that, majority of those sponsored by politicians to engage in political thuggery and electoral violence are unemployed youths.
- iv- The political elites and politicians particularly those in the ruling party should demonstrate their readiness in the fight against thuggery. In other words, political elites and politicians (particularly those in the ruling party) should demonstrate high level of political will in the fighting against thuggery. This is imperative because the paper revealed that political elites of the ruling party are among the beneficiaries of thuggery in some cases in the study area particularly within the period under review.
- v- There is need for some relevant bodies, agencies or forums to engage the educating the politicians as well as the masses on the effects of imbibing a political culture of violence. This is imperative in order to ensure political contests devoid of intolerance and selfishness.
- vi- There is need to empower the police force in order for them to have the necessary machineries needed for anti-crime operation. This is because paper revealed that the engagement or operation of Nigeria Police Force in the study area were barely effective because of factors such as undue funding, communication gadgets and logistic inadequacy, and political interference by political elites (particularly those from the ruling party).

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