

Political Thuggery and Violence in Gombe of Nigeria: an Examination of *Kalare* Phenomenon

By

¹Abubakar Umar Alhaji, ³Abdulkadir Ahmed & ⁴Ramatu Boyi

^{1,3&4}Department of Political Science, Federal University of Kashere, Gombe State

²Bala Rabi Hashidu,

²Department of Geography, Federal University of Kashere, Gombe State

Correspondence email: umaralhaji@fukashere.edu.ng

Abstract

Political thuggery is an integral form of violence where individuals who are seen as thugs move around the streets, homes and markets to inflict injuries, fear, and even kill other people that consequently result to loss of lives and properties especially during elections. The behaviour mostly manifested during elections periods in order to get certain political interests so as to win or maintain political power. This paper examines the causes of political thuggery otherwise called *Kalare* in Gombe of Nigeria. A total number of 384 respondents were drawn from the sample within the study area. The study instrument with reliability confidence of 95% is used in the process of data collection. The paper uses survey research technique where data are collected using questionnaire and quantitatively analysed. The results reveal that selfish interest of thugs, poverty and unemployment, illiteracy, poor governance; group sentiment and injustice jointly cause political thuggery and violence in Gombe of Nigeria. These lead to creation of fear amongst candidates, hindrance of electorates, killing of innocent people, violating human rights, destruction of valuable properties, insecurity during and after elections, stealing and assault. Therefore, the paper recommends among other things, provision of employment, orientation toward peaceful coexistence, good governance, equity and justice as well as proper education.

Keywords: Political Thuggery, Violence, Election, Politics, Power, Gombe, Nigeria

Introduction

Violence is a devastating phenomenon in the world. It has brought about loss of lives and valuable properties with socio-political and economic consequences. As a social phenomenon, violence has become a challenging occurrence attracting the attention of academics to conduct scientific research. This phenomenon, which is characterized by crisis, conflict, dispute, and rebellion, affects the development of modern states in all their ramifications. Thus, from Europe to North America and from Latin America to Africa and Asia, many states are facing political challenges, which often involve violence. For instance, Harroff-Tavel (2010) has cited a few of such cases which transverse the globe in the 21st Century. The first case was the 2005 experience of a wave of violent disturbances which beset the Paris suburbs,

eventually spread to 200 cities in France. The second case is the 2008 experience of armed violence among different gangs in Cape Town, South Africa. The third case was the 2010 Brazilian experience of armed violence between drug gangs and the police in Rio de Janeiro. Similarly, United States also experienced a number of incidents of violence in 2012 including wanton killing by gunmen. Many countries in the Middle East were also engulfed in violent social and political crises in 2012 (Abubakar, 2015).

Violence of different forms has also been recorded in different regions and at different times in Nigeria, throughout its political history. The trends of violence continued in the Nigerian cities even after the 1st October, 1960 celebration of the Nigerian political independence from the British government. Cases of violence were recorded in the Nigerian cities in the 60s and beyond. Such cases include the riots that erupted from political party conflicts in the 1964 General Election and the Civil War that extended across the Nigerian rural and urban areas between 6th July 1967 and 7th January 1970 (Akeem and Adeyinka, 2012). There have been, particularly in the Northern part of the country, ethno-religious violence, election violence and communal conflicts in the forms of pastoralists-farmers, settlers-indigenes and land disputes. Most Northern Nigerian states such as Kano, Kaduna, Plateau, Borno, Bauchi, Gombe, Adamawa, Taraba, Yobe, Katsina, Nasarawa and others have experienced one form of violence or another. There are also incidences of violence in Eastern Nigeria, especially through the activities of the Bakassi Boys in the areas of Aba, Anambra, Enugu, Imo and Onitsha. The activities of the Oduduwa People's Congress have also contributed to a trend of violence in Western Nigeria, particularly in Lagos and Ibadan. Several cases of violence have also been recorded in Warri, Port Harcourt and Yenagoa in the forms of militant attacks on multinational oil companies and kidnappings (Abubakar, 2015).

Gombe of Nigeria, being the focus of this research, has also experienced trend of violence, partly due to its strategic location in the North-East sub-region. It is believed that since the creation of the state in 1996, the state has experienced several cases of violence. These include ethno-religious conflicts, land dispute, pastoralists-farmers conflicts, armed robbery, kidnapping, thuggery or *kalare*, electoral violence and other social vices. Of all these forms of violence, however, the most devastating phenomenon that keeps recurring in the area is thuggery by *Yan kalare*. In spite of the different measures adopted by government to curb the menace, thuggery has remained pervasive in the area.

Since the return to democracy in 1999, thuggery has become a pervasive phenomenon affecting innocent individuals and democratic activities in Gombe of Nigeria. The menace is affecting democratic activities during campaign, rallies and casting of votes which invariably cause loss of lives and valuable properties. Thuggery also perpetually affects innocent individuals on daily basis in their homes, shops and on the streets. The activities of thugs called *Yan kalare* in Gombe have widely affected the relative peace enjoyed by the people. These thugs move mostly in groups victimizing, terrorizing, intimidating, and injuring not only politicians but also innocent individuals in the area. The menace results to death or poses deadly threats by deterring individuals from actively partaking in the political, economic and cultural activities in their environments. Hassan (2011) and Lamido (2008)

explained and attributed *kalare* thuggery to only political affairs that affect political activities, but this research has gone further to examine *kalare* thuggery not only a political but also a social affair affecting democratic and social activities within the area. It is against this background, therefore, this research attempted to examine the causes of the incessant *kalare* activities in Gombe of Nigeria.

Literature Review

Political Thuggery and Violence

Thuggery has been defined differently by different scholars. Howell (2004) and Asiegbu (2011) observed that thuggery refers to the activities of thugs connected with stealing, killing, kidnapping, rudeness, victimization, intimidation and harassment. This manner affects peace, harmony and mutual co-existence among groups in their respective communities. If politics is criminalized through thuggery, right people who are the observers of good values tend to be scared and keep away from political processes. This suggests that thuggery is a violent behaviour affecting political processes in the Nigerian politics. Banwo (2003) maintains that the processes of the use of extra-judicial means in the course of the contest for or in exercising political power including intimidation, harassment, assassination, blackmail, and arson; physical and psychological attacks could not help to ensure sustainable peace and security within any democratic system like Nigeria. Hence, scholars believe that the attributes of sponsoring thugs is due to the fact that Nigerian politics is characterized by rigging, violence and ropes under the manipulation of the few elites.

Political violence formed the basic and integral part of violence. As observed by Osaghae (1994), social violence can assume a criminal posture when it is intra-personal and inter-personal or politically motivated and consequential if it is inter-group or inter-societal due to the involvement of a large or a small group of people. Similarly, Gurr (1970) classified social and political violence into three categories. These are turmoil violence, conspiracy violence and internal war. Hibbs (1973) also sees it in three situations: anti-system, politically significant and mass political action.

A study on social violence in the Republic of South Africa has shown that the root cause of social violence in South Africa is associated with the social matrix and the long history of oppression, poverty and exploitation in the country. This is due to the fact that, from 1948, the apartheid government denied the majority of South Africans access to central political authority and embedded racially-based social inequality. The state used vertical institutional violence to maintain this inequality, racial superiority and social control. In terms of opened political violence the state overpowered those opposed to it via 'legalized' detentions, convictions and bannings, and retorted violently to any resistance to its authority. The State harassment was directly through official government bodies. Structural deprivation in South Africa offers the context to understanding the high levels of crime. Likewise, the National Crime Prevention Strategy of the Republic of South Africa (1996) attributed the escalation in crime to the destruction of social control mechanisms, enormous social and economic disparity, unemployment and underdevelopment, the legitimacy crisis in state institutions related to the slow transformation from the

old order, and the 'culture of violence' in South Africa. Therefore, As South Africa moves through the transition to democracy, the legacy of political and other forms of violence will continue to take its toll on the psychological, social, political and economic coexistence of all South Africans (Hamber, 1998).

On the whole, political thuggery and violence are intertwined and complex. The kalare phenomenon in Gombe state is not different from other parts of the country since the return to democratic rule in 1999. The phenomenon of thuggery keeps on reoccurring despite effort by government to tackle the incidence in the state. This research attempted to examine the causes of thuggery in Gombe state.

Causes of Violence and Thuggery

Violence has its implications as far as the attainment of national security is concerned. Political violence is basically "carried out by youth gangs whose members are openly recruited, financed, and sometimes armed by public officials, politicians, party officials, and their representatives" (Luqman, 2010). The extremely competitive and ethnically charged nature of Nigerian politics, particularly at the highest levels, makes political stability a difficult national asset to secure. For example, the lengths politicians are prepared to go to obtain political office are evidenced by the fact that some have gone as far as seeking to create 'fake' police and other security forces, by purchasing uniforms for their hired thugs to wear. In addition to these, illegal firearms are being painted with Nigeria Police insignia. This questions the existence of an effective security force, when it can be readily supplanted with a fabricated replacement. Assassination has also been used as a tool for eliminating political opponents in the country (TSA, 2011).

Additionally, violence has contributed remarkably in the initiation of young people who are generally regarded as the future hope of the Nigerian society into crimes. Certain factors prompt this phenomenon including social disorganization resulting from the breakdown of values and norms in the society. The other challenges are encumbered due to negative social changes from the wave of globalization engendered by the movie industry, satellite and internets as well as economic meltdown have all contributed to the degeneration. For the youth, the consequences are more detrimental. Illegal roadside markets have become fertile grounds for petty thefts, daylight robberies and other criminalities that involve the youths. In a way, these youths are also co-opted and exposed to violence by the nature of their engagement in para-security employments. Adisa (1994) instantiates this with Lagos State where the youths called Area Boys who are responsible for organized street violence are hired by Lebanese businessmen as bodyguards or intimidators; at same time, night clubs, restaurants, and brothels in several parts of Lagos employ their services as enforcers. Not only in Lagos, this trend is perhaps a major cause of concern as the politicians also employ these youths as bodyguards and errand boys from where they graduate into full blown thugs.

Ethno-religious violence is an integral part form of violence. Albert (1994) considers a few cases of violence in Kano. Among other things, he argues that ethnicity, religion, and culture are the foundation of violence in Kano state. He further explains that the first major religious violence in Kano took place between December 18 and 29, 1980, it was triggered off by the Maitatsine sect under Muhammad Marwa. The

*Political Thuggery and Violence in Gombe of Nigeria: an Examination
of Kalare Phenomenon*

riot was expanded to other places in Northern Nigeria such as Jimeta in 1984, Gombe in 1985 and Funtua in 1987. Between May 28 and June 5, 1985 over 61 people were killed and over 101 injured in some areas of the then Bauchi State, specifically Gombe, Azare, Kaltungo and Alkaleri.

Religious violence affects 'unity in diversity' in the contemporary democratic process of Nigeria. A study of violence suggests that conflicts between Nigerian Christians and Muslims have often manifested in deadly inter-religious conflicts. On September 8, 2000, Gombe state experienced religious violence in Kaltungo. The crisis erupted as a result of the apprehension arising from the agitation for the implementation of Sharia in the state. Also, on March 22, 2007, another religious tension occurred in Gombe, owing to a revolting act perpetrated by secondary school students who killed their teacher at Government Day Secondary School, Gandu, in Gombe, on account that the teacher desecrated the Holy Quran while attempting to stop a student from cheating in the examination hall. This takes the intervention of the security agents to forestall reprisals (Sampson, 2012).

Similarly, other major cases of violent ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria have included the Kafanchan-Kaduna crises in 1987 and 1999, Zangon-Kataf riots of 1992, Tafawa Balewa clashes in 1991, 1995 and 2000, the Kaduna Sharia riots of 2000, and the Jos ethno-religious riots of 2001. Although no exact figures of casualties are available, the Kaduna riots of 2000 and the Jos riots of 2001 have each claimed several hundreds of lives and generated violent ripple effects beyond Kaduna and Jos, respectively (Osaghae, 2005). Ethno-religious violence is complex. This is evident in Omeiza (2012) which points out that the 1991 ethno-religious violence between the Sayawa and Hausa-Fulani in Tafawa-Balewa was worrisome but the immediate cause of the crisis could not be precisely given, some believed that it erupted following an attempt by a Christian to slaughter pigs in the Muslim section of the town's only abattoir. It was also suggested that the conflict was ignited consequent upon roasted meat (*Suya*) made of pork and sold to a Muslim. However the major issue being contested during the crises, as gathered by Omeiza was the leadership of Lere District, an area the Sayawa people wanted to be governed by the native people and not the Fulani. In pursuant of the demand to govern the area, the Sayawa had clashed with the Head of Lere who was appointed by the Emir of Bauchi (Omeiza, 2012).

Nigeria has throughout its political existence grappled with one form of violence or the other. This is occasioned by the heterogeneity of the country in many respects and conflicting relationships. It is also during the democratic dispensations that this violence manifests most as compared to the military regimes. Yahaya (2012) puts it that "evidence abounds to suggest that such conflicting relationship is not new in the country rather they appear so simply because they were largely muzzled and forced underground during the country's period of military interregnums". Other political analysts believe that most approaches to the causes of violence focus on the immediate and visible factors that are responsible for the violence rather than the remote triggers and the social milieu that incubate the phenomenon. On this vein, Sampson (2012) comments that poverty, corruption, non-implementation of reports on ghastly conflicts, impunity enjoyed by culprits, perversion of preaching and

worshipping centres, unguided utterances, provocative journalism, religiosity, uncensored social media and so on are the elemental causes of violence with varied dimensions in Nigeria.

Analysing the nature and extent of violence and insecurity in Nigeria, Mohammed (2012) noted that “the rising tide of ethno-religious and sectarian violence with its attendant destruction of churches and mosques, public places and institutions has further compounded the state of insecurity in most of the northern states”. The situation of security challenges in Nigeria had taken a different dimension by graduating into terrorism following the first bomb blast during the celebration of the country’s Independence Day in 2010. This development ushered in a condition of disharmony, instability and above all social disorder that again threatens Nigerian nascent democracy. MEND claimed responsibility for the blast while the government attributed it to extremist Islamic sect called *Jama’atu Ahlis Sunnah Lidda’awati Wal-Jihad* popularly known as *Boko Haram*. More often than not, other causes of violence are politically motivated by the authorities concerned as Mohammed (2012) puts it that “although the phenomenon of violence and conflict in Nigeria is in some cases politically induced and motivated, by and the state is neither impartial to the root causes nor neutral in its response to conflicts”. Therefore, despite the fact that Galtung (1981) as cited in Osaghae (1994) violence is any activity that is aimed at destruction of life and property, but the researcher concludes that violence is any devastating phenomenon affecting individuals, communities, modern states and the world at large in all spheres of life. It is characterized by all sorts of crisis, conflict, robbery, kidnapping, dispute and rebellion which are caused by the known or unknown individuals to a known or unknown target. As such, this phenomenon destabilizes the stability, peace, order, harmony and tranquillity of people in their communities.

On the other hand, thuggery today has become a matter of national insecurity, especially during campaigns and elections. Security is thus elemental in governance as it is the protection of the lives, rights, dignity and property of the citizens and the resources, territory, sovereignty and lawful institution of the country. It is also when these institutions utilize the resources of the nation for the provision of secure, just and equitable living conditions for the citizens of the country that they own their legitimacy (Usman, 1986). However, in most African states, including Nigeria, the rulers of the states, empires and polities constitute the major threat to the security of the lives and properties of their own citizens. Meanwhile, the security agencies that exist to checkmate the excesses of such leaders become the propagators of disunity because of their political ambitions.

Furthermore, in discussing the causes of thuggery in Borno state, Mbaya (2013) argues that the majority of youths in Borno state are jobless, illiterates, with no means of livelihood, they are impoverished, and being paid easily to manipulate election results. The political elite capitalize on this weakness and recruit the youths, who not only constitute the pillar of society but also the most vulnerable to the self-inflicted poverty, as their thugs and touts to perpetrate violence. Secondly, politics for personal gain – this has become a common feature in Nigerian politics. This is a situation in which an individual tries to hold on to power for personal gains. In an attempt to hang on to power, leaders often create a regime of violence, repression

*Political Thuggery and Violence in Gombe of Nigeria: an Examination
of Kalare Phenomenon*

and bloodshed. They organize political thugs, hooligans and scavengers to sing their praises, intimidate opponents and kill them if they become intransigent. The unnecessary and uncoordinated urge to control, dominate and amass wealth for their family and friends informs the emergence of political thugs to be used to win election by all means. Thirdly, prebendal politics in Nigeria, politics is conceived as an investment. The politicians, having invested huge amount of money on campaigns and other political activities, coupled with the existing system of winner takes all, would want to win at all cost. In view of the above, the need to employ the use of thugs and touts to manipulate and rig elections becomes necessary, especially when such politicians are not popular candidates. Fourthly, refusal to accept electoral defeat in good faith is also a fertile factor that can breed thuggery and trigger violence in politics. Absence of good governance and low political culture are also contributing factors to the menace of thuggery and violence. Similarly, hunger, marginalization, incapacitation, intolerance, domination, and apathy can also cause political violence.

Research Methodology

Method of Data Collection

Survey research approach is used in this study. The study used questionnaire as its instrument of data collection. Similarly, relevant official reports, text books, journal articles, magazines, newspapers and other periodic reports and publications are consulted and reviewed as secondary data. These helped in broadening the general knowledge about thuggery in order to aggregate the information collected from the primary sources.

Research Population

This study used the population of Gombe area of Nigeria from 18 years and above as its research population. According to the 2006 national census report, as sourced from Gombe State Bureau of Statistics 2016, the general population of Gombe state is 2,365,040 and the population of 18 years and above is 1,087,271. Therefore, based on the annual population growth rate of 3.2%, the projected population of Gombe area from 18 years and above is 1,592,230, which formed our population of the study upon which a representative sample is drawn.

Sample and Sampling Method

The study uses Krejcie and Morgan (1970) classification for determining sampling size. The classification uses a table to capture population and the size or number of questionnaires to be administered. The table argues that in a study of 1,000,000 to 5,000,000 populations, a sample size of 384 respondents is enough. This is also affirmed by the Research Advisors (2006) and argues that 384 populations size is enough for the population of 1,000,000 to 500, 000,000 in a given research. The researchers systematically selected three local government areas based on the three senatorial zones in the state. Akko local government area has 228,325, Gombe local government has 181,366 and Kaltungo local government has 137,577 populations of 18 years and above. The total number of the projected population of 18 years and above in the three local government areas is 547,268. However, since the population

of the study is 1,592,230, the sample size is determined as 384 respondents. This represents 95% confidence level and 5% margin error as provided by Krejcie and Morgan (1970).

Sampling method entails the “way sample units are selected from a parent population” (McNabb, 2009). According to Izah (2012), this technique is used in market surveys as well as political studies”. Probability sampling method is selected and it is “one in which the sample units (people, parts, groups, homes, cities, tribes, companies etc.) are selected at random and all have an equal chance of being selected” (McNabb, 2009).

This study uses a combination of cluster and systematic sampling techniques. Abubakar (2015) states that Gombe state comprises of 11 local government areas which are further grouped into three Senatorial Zones: Gombe North, Central and South Senatorial Zones. Furthermore, the three senatorial zones constituted the units of the study. Accordingly, the local governments are also divided into wards and three wards are selected on the basis of raffle draw which represented the local government areas. The selected wards are Jekadafari, Shamaki and Ajiya, representing Gombe Local Government Area in Gombe North; Kumo West, Gona and Tumu wards, representing Akko Local Government Area in Gombe central; and Kaltungo West, Kaltungo East and Ture wards representing Kaltungo Local Government Area in Gombe South.

Statistically, to get the actual number of questionnaires that were administered in each local government area, the researchers divided the projected population of 18 years and above of each selected local government to the actual population size of this research which is 547,268 and multiply it with the number of questionnaires generated from Krejcie and Morgan (1970) scale which is 384. The result shows that 160 questionnaires were administered in Akko, 127 in Gombe, and 97 in Kaltungo local government areas.

Method of Data Analysis

The data collected from the respondents of this study are analysed empirically using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) with the aid of STATA version 14.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The study identifies the factors that cause political thuggery as violence in Gombe of Nigeria. The relationship between political thuggery and various factors is depicted in Table 1. The *F*-statistic indicates that the joint significance of the variables in the model is statistically significant at one percent level of significance. This is shown in the lower part of the table to be 5.840 with probability value ($p=0.000$). This indicates the overall adequacy of the model. Furthermore, the various indicators used in the regression explain about 52 percent of the variation in the political thuggery as a major source of violence in Gombe of Nigeria.

*Political Thuggery and Violence in Gombe of Nigeria: an Examination
of Kalare Phenomenon*

Table 1 <i>OLS Regression Result with Political Thuggery as Dependent Variable</i>					
<i>variables</i>	<i>coefficients</i>	<i>standardised coefficients</i>	<i>standard errors</i>	<i>t - values</i>	<i>probability values</i>
CONS	0.441	-	0.872	0.51	0.308
SIT	1.511	0.450	0.397	1.33	0.000
PUN	0.225	0.183	0.169	1.45	0.096
IIL	0.046	0.170	0.032	1.34	0.078
PGO	0.380	0.162	0.284	0.69	0.095
PPE	-0.085	-0.108	0.124	-2.67	0.248
INJ	0.289	0.372	0.108	0.76	0.006
ISA	-0.037	-0.088	0.049	-0.51	0.227
<i>Diagnostics</i>					
R-Square		52%	Skewness		10.62 (0.101)
F-Statistics		5.840 (0.000)	Kurtosis		1.46 (0.227)
Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)		1.460	Interquartile Range for Normality		2.17
B-P Cook-Weisberg (Heterosc)		1.530 (0.217)	Model Specification ($\hat{\sigma}^2$)		-0.19 (0.849)
Cameron & Trivedi IM-Test		13.710 (0.102)	RAMSEY Omitted Variable Test		6.27 (0.002)

Note: CONS means constant, SIT represents selfish interest, PUN means poverty and unemployment, IIL denotes illiteracy, PGO represent poor governance, INJ denotes injustice, PPE and ISA represent politician and political elites, and inactive security agents respectively. The values in parenthesis under the diagnostics tests represent the probability values that correspond to their respective statistics. B-P means Breusch-Pagan test for heteroscedasticity.

Source: *Authors' Computation*

The results revealed that selfish interest among youth of 18 years and above lead to increase in the level of thuggery and violence in the study area, thereby aggravating the current state of political thuggery and violence in the state. The coefficient is statistically significant at 99 percent level of confidence. Moreover, the table also indicates that increase in the level of poverty and unemployment among the youth also lead to increase in the level of political thuggery and violence in the area. Thus, the result shows that when poverty aggravated by unemployment increases in the study area of Gombe, it usually lead to interest in political thuggery as a means of earning a living which fuels violence in the state. This result is in line with the findings in Mbaya (2013). However, the coefficient is only statistically significant at

10 percent level of significance. The table further reveals that illiteracy is another importance factor that causes political thuggery and violence in Gombe area. The coefficient is also found to be statistically significant at 10 percent level of significance. Similarly, an increase in the level of poor governance in the state also increases the tendency to have a greater increase in the level of political thuggery and violence. This might be true since the government is indirectly benefiting from the operations of the thugs under the platform of bad governance. The statistics shows that the coefficient is statistically significant at 10 per cent level of significance. Moreover, the result also reveals that injustice and group sentiment are also factors that cause increase in political thuggery and violence in the state. The coefficient is found to be statistically significant at one percent level of significance. This is therefore, a strong pointer to the fact that increase in exhibiting injustice and group sentiment will lead to increase in the level of violence based on political thuggery at least in the study area.

The variables that measures whether interest of politicians and political elites and inactive nature of security agents are some of the factors that cause political thuggery and violence are found to be negatively related to political thuggery and violence. This might not be unconnected to the extant effort of the government and security agencies to ensure that the issue of thuggery is dealt with through various programmes and policies in the state. However, the coefficients are not statistically significant at any conventional levels of significance. This is an indication that the political thuggery and violence are not connected to the politicians and political elites and security agents in the communities that are engaged in the political thuggery and violence in the state.

Variables	VIF	1/VIF
SIT	1.50	0.665
PUN	1.56	0.643
IIL	1.09	0.918
PGO	1.21	0.828
PPE	1.97	0.506
INJ	1.07	0.936
ISA	1.66	0.603

Note: The mean for the VIF is 1.46 and VIF means variance inflation factor.

Source: *Authors' computation*

The validity of the regression model is investigated using the diagnostic test presented at the lower part of Table 1. These include test for multicollinearity, heteroscedasticity, variable omission, model specification and normality of residuals. The multicollinearity among the independent variables is assessed based on variance inflation factor (VIF) proposed in Marquardt (1970). The variance inflation factor indicates absence of multicollinearity in the model. The result of the variance inflation factor and the tolerance factor is presented in Table 2.

*Political Thuggery and Violence in Gombe of Nigeria: an Examination
of Kalare Phenomenon*

The heteroscedasticity is checked using Breusch and Pagan (1979) and Cameron & Trivedi (2005) decomposition of information matrix test. The tests in Table 1 show that the null hypothesis of homoscedasticity is not rejected. Therefore, there exists no problem of heteroscedasticity in the model. For the test of normality of residuals, in addition to the skewness and kurtosis which fail to reject the null hypothesis of normality in the distribution of residuals, the study further uses interquartile range proposed in Hamilton (2012) which assumed asymmetry of distribution of residuals. The test suggests interquartile ranges below and above the first and third quartile respectively. However, Hamilton argues that mild outlier are common in sample of any size, nevertheless the severe outliers are not expected to be between three interquartile ranges. The statistics show that the residuals are approximately normally distributed.

The model specification test reveals that the $\hat{\rho}$ square statistic is not significant which indicates that the test fails to reject the null hypothesis/assumption that the model is specified correctly. Thus, the model does not suffer from specification error. Furthermore, omitted variable bias test is conducted and the result indicates the existence of bias arising from omitting important variables in the model. However, this is expected in this type of study that seeks to determine factors that cause political thuggery and violence. This is similarly shown from the R^2 value which explains only 52 percent of the variations. Although this is adequate, but the remaining 48 percent is left unexplained. Nonetheless, the model is found adequate by both F -statistics and model specification test. Therefore, the coefficients of the model presented in Table 1 are efficient and consistent in explaining the factors that cause political thuggery and violence in Gombe area.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Political thuggery is an integral form of violence where individuals who are seen as thugs move around the streets, homes and markets to inflict injuries, fear, and even kill other people that consequently result to loss of lives and properties especially during elections. This paper examines the probable causes of political thuggery otherwise called *Kalare* in Gombe of Nigeria using primary survey data. The results reveal that selfish interest of thugs, poverty and unemployment, illiteracy, poor governance; group sentiment and injustice jointly cause political thuggery and violence in Gombe of Nigeria. These lead to creation of fear amongst candidates, hindrance of electorates, killing of innocent people, violating human rights, destruction of valuable properties, insecurity during and after elections, stealing and assault. Based on the foregoing, the paper recommends among other things, provision of employment, orientation toward peaceful coexistence, good governance, equity and justice as well as proper education for youth.

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