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The Menace of Armed Banditry and Its Implications on Voter Turnout at Elections in Katsina State of North-Western Nigeria (2015-2019)

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Abstract: Guided by Frustration-Aggression Theory (FAT), this paper examined the menace of armed banditry and its implications on voter turnout at elections in Katsina State of North-Western Nigeria from 2015 to 2019. The paper utilized both primary and secondary methods of data collection. Primary method involves generating data via Structured Questionnaire (SQ) administered to target respondents selected through multi-stage sampling procedure. 400 respondents formed the sample size determined through Krejcie and Morgan (1970) statistical table for sample size determination. Secondary method entails that data were generated from books, journals and web-based materials among others. Descriptive statistics was used to analyse data generated from the field survey. The research hypotheses were tested with the aid of non-parametric statistical tool known as the Chi-Square (X^2) at 0.05 (5%) level of significance. Findings of the study showed that poverty and unemployment are the major factors responsible for the rising spate of armed banditry in the State. Findings also showed that armed banditry manifests mostly in the form of kidnapping/mass abduction of people for ransom. Further findings revealed that, armed banditry poses a threat to the security of lives and property of the people in the State, which in turn has negative implications on voter turnout at elections. Provisions of employment opportunities by the State government and other stakeholders as well as strengthening of the security architecture before, during and after elections are recommended as the way forward.

Keywords: *Armed banditry, Democracy, Elections, Menace, Voter Turnout*

Introduction

The phenomenon of armed banditry is not peculiar to Nigeria as it has been a major security challenge in the African continent where armed bandits have ceaselessly devastated the horn of Africa, East and Central Africa and the trans-Saharan trade routes from Niger Republic all the way to Libya (Ladan & Matawalli, 2020). Armed banditry has been in existence in parts of Chad and around Lake Chad and they also have significant presence in parts of Southern Africa (Aregbesola, 2020). In West Africa, the prevalence and severity of armed banditry has contributed to the rising wave in regional insecurity with a potential threat to regional integration of the sub-region (Abdullahi, 2019). Reports have shown that some of the armed bandits from some countries of the West African sub-region such as Niger Republic and Mali among others were invited to orchestrate large-scale attacks in some countries of the sub-region with devastating consequences. These armed bandits usually moved through the porous West African borders with their arms and ammunition to assist their fellow armed bandits in orchestrating large-scale or reprisal attacks.

In Nigeria, armed banditry emerged as concomitant consequence of about forty (40) years of protracted conflicts between sedentary crop farmers and nomadic cattle herders that meander on the high plains of northern Nigeria particularly the North West geopolitical zone in states such as Zamfara. Armed banditry in Zamfara State started since around 2009 and escalated in 2011 especially after the general elections (Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016; Anka, 2017). It is axiomatic that Zamfara State has degenerated into the theatre of armed banditry in Nigeria in recent years, where most of these armed bandits' leaders were based and from forests in Zamfara State they would move riding on motor cycles to other States in

the North-West such as Katsina among others, to operate and return to their forest dens (Farouq & Chukwu, 2020). Thus, by the year 2010, armed banditry had started in Katsina State primarily in the seven Local Government Areas (LGAs) that shared boundary with Zamfara State namely Jibia, Batsari, Safana, Danmusa, Kankara, Faskari and Sabua. Since its inception in 2010, the nefarious activities of armed bandits in Katsina State in the forms of kidnapping/mass abduction for ransom, village raids and armed robbery among others have continued to have political and socio-economic effects on the people of the State.

Armed banditry refers to the incidences of armed robbery or allied violent crimes, such as kidnapping, cattle rustling, and village or market raids. It involves the use of force, or threat to that effect, to intimidate a person or a group of persons in order to rob, rape or kill (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). Armed banditry consists of the organization of armed bands for the purpose of attacking State or social institutions or enterprises or individual persons (Ladan & Matawalli, 2020). Participation in such bands and in the attacks committed by them is equally regarded as armed banditry (Collins, 2000). According to Shalangwa (2013), armed banditry refers to the practice of raiding and attacking victims by members of an armed group, whether or not premeditated, using weapons of offence or defense, especially in semi-organised groups for the purpose of overpowering the victim and obtaining loot or achieving some political goals. Such armed bandits are usually perceived as outlaws; desperate and lawless marauders who do not have a definite residence or destination but roam around the forest and mountains to avoid being identified, detected and arrested (Okoli & Ugwu, 2019). Armed banditry is also reflected in criminal escapades like

drug abuse, arson, rape and other forms of violence; the brazen and gruesome massacre of agrarian communities with sophisticated weapons by suspected herdsmen and reprisal attacks from surviving victims threw it up to the front burner of national security (Uche & Ikwuamadi, 2018). Economic or political interests motivate banditry. The former refers to banditries motivated by the imperative of material accumulation while the latter has to do with those driven by the quest to rob, to assault or to liquidate a person or a group of persons based on political or ideological considerations (Okoli & Ugwu, 2019).

Voter turnout is the percentage of eligible voters who cast a vote in an election. Put slightly differently, voter turnout is the voting eligible population or the percentage of eligible voters who cast a ballot in an election (Chukwuma & Okpala, 2018). In every democratic society, voter turnout is the most common form of political participation. In other words, voter turnouts are important measures of political legitimacy and are contrasted with the measures of trust in politicians and satisfaction with the performance of the current government. Political legitimacy has the potentials of affecting voter turnout at elections, whereas citizens' trust in political actors and satisfaction with the government may influence voters' choice but may not have a straightforward connection with turnout during elections (Grönlund & Setälä, 2004).

Political apathy which is one of the causes of the low turnout of voters is based strongly on the lack of interest towards political activities. According to Roskin, Cord, Medeiros, Jones (2010), political apathy is mainly seen among young people who do not vote as much as the elderly ones or middle age. This is because the middle aged are concerned about social security and are more interested in voting leaders who

will make policies that have positive impact on the economy. This shows that in a situation where a greater percentage of young people in the society do not vote, there will continue to be massive low turnout since majority of the population are not interested in political activities. Below is a table showing the rate of voter turnout for Presidential elections in Nigeria from 2003 to 2019.

Table 1: Nigerian voter registration, turnouts, and Voting Age Population for presidential elections (2003 to 2019)

Year	Voter Turnout (%)	Total Votes	Registration	VAP Turnout (%)	Voting Age Population (VAP)
2003	69.08	42018735	60823022	65.33	64319246
2007	57.49	35397517	61567036	49.85	71004507
2011	53.68	39469484	73528040	48.32	81691751
2015	43.65	29432083	67422005	32.11	91669312
2019	34.75	28614190	82344107	26.87	106490312

Source: IDEA Voter Turnout Database, 2019 <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/voter-turnout>

In Nigeria voter turnout has steadily declined since 2003 as shown in Table 1. In 2003 voter turnout during the Presidential election was 69.08% and in 2019 it dropped to 34.75%, which represents a 34.33% drop in voter turnout. Many reasons have been adduced for this steady decline. Scholars like Robinson & Torvik, (2009) Collier and Vicente (2012), Collier and Vicente (2014), Adeleke (2016), Chukwuma and Okpala (2018) and Adigun (2020) have argued that electoral violence, intimidation, political thuggery, voter fraud, political apathy and the prevalence of socio-economic factors tend to influence voter turnouts at elections.

Other scholars such as Bashir (2022) have blamed insecurity for the steady decline in voter turnout at elections in Nigeria. However, available literature shows that no concrete empirical study has been carried out linking voter turnout to the activities of armed bandits in North-Western Nigeria in particular and the country at large.

It is against this backdrop that this paper interrogates the implications of armed banditry on voter turnout in North-Western Nigeria using Katsina State as a reference point from 2015 to 2019. In other words, the paper examined the relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout in Nigeria's North-West using Katsina State as a reference point between 2015 and 2019. The paper is divided into seven sections. Section one is the introduction. Section two focuses on the research hypotheses. Extant literature is reviewed in section three. In section four, the framework of analysis of this paper is examined. The methodology of this paper is the focus of section five. The results/findings of this study are discussed in section six while conclusion and recommendations formed the thrust of section seven

2.0 Research Hypotheses

H₀: There is no significant relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout at elections in Katsina State

H₁: There is significant relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout at elections in Katsina State

3.0 Literature Review

The incessant incidences of armed banditry and its associated threats to security, which have enveloped the North-West region of Nigeria, particularly, Zamfara, Katsina, Kaduna, Sokoto and Niger States, have become a worrisome national security issue of public concern (Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016). Reports

indicate the burgeoning of armed bandit groups, whose members are seen conspicuously displaying sophisticated weapons of warfare, and terrorizing herders' settlements, farms, villages and the highways with the mission of killing people, kidnapping/abducting of persons for ransom, and rustling cattle (Olaniyan, 2018). It was reported that between October, 2013 and March, 2014, 7,000 cattle were rustled from commercial livestock farms and traditional herders in Northern Nigeria (Bashir, 2014; Tauna, 2016) while about 330 attacks were orchestrated by armed bandits and 1,460 deaths were recorded between January and July, 2019 (Abdullahi, 2019). In most cases, the armed bandits killed and maimed the people and raped the women before dispossessing them of their money and other valuable property (Akowe & Kayode, 2014) while in some instances, they also kidnapped girls or women in the process (Adeniyi, 2015; Yusuf, 2015)

Different narratives, explanations and reasons have been adduced for the rising incidences of armed banditry in the North-West in particular and the country at large. One of such factor is poverty (Alao, Atere & Alao, 2015). While concurring with Adebayo's (2018) perception, Adeolu, (2018) noted that Nigeria has overtaken India as the country with the largest number of people living in extreme poverty, with an estimated 87 million Nigerians, or around half of the country's population, estimated to be living on less than \$1.90 a day! This suggests that unemployed youths tend to join criminal gangs to perpetuate crime in order to make a living in the midst of extreme lack of the basic needs of life. Other causative factors worth mentioning include weak security system (Achumba, Ighomereho, & Akpor-Rabaro, 2013); and arms proliferation (Uche & Ikwuamadi, 2018) among others.

Available records show that while more than 1,100 people were killed in 2018 in the six states of Zamfara, Katsina, Sokoto, Kaduna, Niger and Kebbi over 2,200 were killed in 2019, and more than 1,600 fatalities were recorded between January and June 2020 (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020). By September 2019, such attacks had internally displaced over 160,000 people and produced more than 41,000 refugees (World Food Programme, 2019; United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees, 2019). Displacement numbers stood at over 247,000 IDPs and some 60,000 refugees as at 2020 (Selim, 2020).

Yusufu and Ilevbare (2021) explored the phenomenon of armed banditry in Katsina State of Northern Nigeria against the backdrop of its rising incidences in recent years. The study utilized both survey and documentary methods. Survey method involves collecting data from structured questionnaire administered to 400 respondents selected via a multi-stage sampling procedure. Documentary method entails that data were generated from books, journals and web-based materials. Findings of the study showed that high rates of poverty and unemployment among the youths is the most significant factor responsible for the persistence of armed banditry in Katsina State. The study also found out that armed banditry manifests in different forms such as kidnapping, cattle rustling, armed robbery, and village/market raids while proliferation of arms is the major threat of armed banditry to internal security in the state. The paper concludes that armed banditry constitutes a threat to the safety of lives and property of the people of Katsina State in particular and by extension the security of Northern region as a whole. The paper thus recommended among others that there is an urgent need for the creation of employment opportunities for the teeming

youths in the State while at the same time alleviating rural poverty.

Dutse and Abdulrasheed (2020) examined the effects of armed banditry on human security in Kaduna State. Sample for this study was 100 community leaders selected through purposive sampling technique. The instrument for data collection was questionnaire. Data collected were analysed using descriptive statistics such as mean and standard deviation. The results of this study revealed that, armed banditry has high effect on human security in Kaduna State. Further findings revealed that there was high incidence of armed banditry in the State during the period under review. The study therefore recommended that government should provide adequate security to improve the human security level of the people in Kaduna State.

In their studies, Tracey (2016), Burden and Wichowsky (2014), and Stockemer, LaMontagne and Scruggs (2013) reveal that potential voters may withdraw their participation in elections because they may have gone frustrated by socio-economic challenges, such as unemployment, poor infrastructure, and corruption in the electoral process. Stockemer, LaMontagne and Scruggs (2013) argued that citizens may not be willing to participate in the electoral process or may completely distance themselves from the electoral process because they may feel incapacitated to elect trustworthy representatives that will serve their interests when elected. While conventional hypothesis may argue that high unemployment rates could induce low voter turnouts, Burden and Wichowsky (2014, p.897) argue the “withdrawal hypothesis” may not hold water because “unemployment brings out more voters” since the potential voter is “more likely...to select candidates based on economic performance” rather than their current state. Even though unemployment

may be a crucial factor in voter turnout, some researchers, therefore, argue that it is not so much that unemployed potential voters are apathetic, but that the political institutions have failed to engage them to participate effectively in the electoral process by including issues seeking to address unemployment on the political agenda (Tracey 2016, p. 3).

Bashir (2022) in his study interrogated the effects of banditry on voter turnout in North-Western Nigeria using Katsina State as a reference point and found that voter turnout was high during the 2015 and 2019 general elections in the State despite the atmosphere of insecurity created by the activities of armed bandits who kidnapped and raided villages indiscriminately. The study deployed mixed methods approach (triangulation) in data collection and analysis. 400 respondents determined via Yamani (1967) sampling formula formed the sample size of the study. The respondents were drawn from eight most affected LGAs in the State.

Theoretical Framework

This paper is framed within the context of Frustration-Aggression Theory (FAT) propounded by John Dollard, Leonard Doob, Neal Milles, O.H Mowrer and Robert Sears (Akuva, 2012). The theory was later modified and its frontiers expanded by other scholars such as Aubrey Tates *Frustration and Conflict* (1962); Leonard Berkowiz *Aggression: A Social Psychological Aggression* (1961) and Ted Robert Gur *Why Men Rebel* (1970).

The major assumption of the theory is that aggression is usually a direct repercussion of frustration, and that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour usually presupposes the existence of frustration and that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of

aggression (Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939). Frustration is therefore defined an interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal response at its proper time in the behaviour sequence (Dollard et al., 1939). The controversy that this theory generated led one of its proponents to modify the central idea of the theory. Thus, Miller (1941) criticized the theory for being too general for assuming that frustration must always lead to aggression or that aggression is always propelled by frustration. Miller's intervention led to the second phase of the hypothesis which reflected a more acceptable reality that frustration produces instigations to a number of different types of responses, one of which is instigation to some form of aggression. However, some years later, a significant modification was made by Berkowitz in 1989 when he argued that aggression can be driven by inherent personal benefits to the aggressor and not necessarily by past wrongdoings and that people are more likely to attack somebody or something when they discover that they are deliberately denied what is legitimately theirs than when the interference is an accidental occurrence. He concluded that frustrations are aversive events and generate aggressive inclinations only to the extent that they produce negative effects (Berkowitz, 1989).

Applied to the purpose of this study, the theory enables us to understand that increasing attacks orchestrated by armed bandits across Nigeria, most especially in the North-West geo-political zone of the country, are largely driven by frustrations occasioned by economic woes, which force people to seek other sources of livelihood via criminal means such as armed banditry in the form of kidnapping/mass abduction for ransom. As rightly noted by Fererabend and Feirauben (1972), aggression is as a result of frustration which emanates from an individual's inability to attain their goals. This

suggests that armed banditry is a direct product of frustration resulting from poverty and unemployment among others (Maureen & Blessing, 2018; Adegoke, 2019). Armed banditry in the North-Western Nigeria in particular and the country at large is as a result of the need by some frustrated persons in the society to break the jinx of poverty. That explains why the issue of ransom taking is common in armed banditry operations in the country. However, in some instances where the ransom payment is not forthcoming or delayed, the armed bandits became overwrought and frustrated and consequently resort to killing their victims (Yusufu & Ilevbare, 2020)

Research Methodology

The study was conducted in Katsina State of North-Western Nigeria. The State in one of the most affected States by the nefarious activities of armed banditry in Nigeria’s North-West. The study adopted a survey design of an ex-post facto type. Mixed methods approach (triangulation) was used for data collection and analysis. SQ was the primary method (instrument) used for data collection while books, journals and web-based materials among others were the secondary instruments used for data collection. SQ was administered to target respondents selected through multi-stage sampling procedure. 400 respondents formed the sample size determined with the aid of Krejcie and Morgan (1970) statistical table for sample size determination. Simple random sampling technique was used to select 3 out of the 8 most affected LGAs in the State, namely Batsari, Faskari and Jibia while convenience sampling technique was used for SQ administration to target respondents. Descriptive statistics was used for data analysis. The research hypotheses were tested with the aid of non-

parametric statistical tool known as the Chi-Square (X^2) at 0.05 (5%) level of significance.

Table 2: Sampled LGAs and their Respective Respondents

LGAs	Population (2016)	Number of Respondents
Batsari	280,600	$280,600 * 400 / 769,000 = 146$
Faskari	262,400	$262,400 * 400 / 769,000 = 136$
Jibia	226,000	$226,000 * 400 / 769,000 = 118$
Total	769,000	400

Source: NPC, 2016

Results and Discussion

The respondents were asked to express their opinions based on the statements given in the SQ as tabulated below using 5-point Likert Scale of SA (5), A (4), U (3), D (2), (1). The **Relative Importance Index (RII)** of the respondents is computed thus:
 $5+4+3+2+1=15/5=3.0$

Decision Rule: If the **RII** is less than **3.0**, the respondents *disagreed*; if the **RII** is equal to **3.0**, the respondents are *undecided*; if the **RII** is greater than **3.0**, the respondents *agreed and as such the statement is taken as important*.

Table 3: Relative Importance Index (RII) of the Causes of Armed Banditry

Causes	5	4	3	2	1	T W V	R I I	RA NK
Unemployment/Poverty	18 5	18 0	13 3	17 7	10 0	1723 5	4.31	1 st
Weak security system	17 8	17 5	27 7	12 2	08	1703 8	4.26	2 nd
Politicization of insecurity	17 5	17 3	35 5	10 0	07	1689 7	4.22	3 rd

Porous borders	1 7 3	1 7 1	3 3	1 5	0 8	16 86	4. 2 1	4 th
Poor governance	1 7 7	1 5 8	2 8	2 7	1 0	16 65	4. 1 6	5 th
Arms proliferation	1 6 9	1 6 7	3 4	1 3	1 7	16 58	4. 1 4	6 th

Source: Field Work, 2022

Analysis of the data in table 3 shows that the most important factor responsible for the increasing wave of armed banditry in Katsina State is unemployment/poverty with **RII (4.31) ranked 1st**. This finding is in line with the results of similar study conducted by Shalangwa (2013); Alao, Atere and Alao (2015) and Yusufu and Ilevbare (2021) who linked armed banditry, terrorism and other criminal acts to poverty. Also considered a significant factor responsible for the increasing wave of armed banditry in Katsina State is the issue of weak security system with **RII (4.26) ranked 2nd**. This finding is in tandem with the finding of a study carried out by Achumba, Ighomereho and Akpor-Rabaro, (2013) who blamed the weak Nigeria’s security system on inadequate weapons of warfare and inadequate training of the security agents which made it difficult for the country to curtail the incidences of armed banditry and related criminal activities in the society. This was probably what Tahir and Usman (2021, p.6) had in mind when they said: “Nigeria is grossly under policed and this partly explains the inability of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) to effectively combat crimes and criminality in the country. Other significant factors responsible for incessant armed banditry include: politicization of insecurity (**RII=4.22) ranked 3rd**; and porous borders (**RII=4.21) ranked 4th**. This is in tandem with the finding of similar study conducted by Adeola and Oluyemi (2012) who disclosed that the porosity of the Nigeria’s borders has aided the

uncontrollable influx of migrants, mainly young men, from neighboring countries such as Republic of Niger, Chad and Republic of Benin responsible for some of the criminal acts. Other significant factors responsible for the incessant armed banditry in the study area are poor governance (**RII=4.16) ranked 5th**; and arms proliferation (**RII=4.14) ranked 6th**

Table 4: Relative Importance Index (RII) of the Patterns of Armed Banditry

Patterns	5	4	3	2	1	T W V	R II	RA NK
Kidnapping /Abduction	1 8 5	1 8 3	0 5	1 2	1 5	17 12	4. 2 8	1 st
Armed Robbery	1 7 9	1 7 3	2 3	1 7	0 8	16 98	4. 2 5	2 nd
Village Raids	1 7 5	1 6 7	2 9	1 0	1 9	16 69	4. 1 7	3 rd
Cattle Rustling	1 5 5	1 5 1	1 4	4 7	3 3	15 48	3. 8 7	4 th

Source: Field Work, 2022

Analysis of data in Table 4 shows that the most important manifestation of armed banditry in Katsina State is kidnapping of persons for ransom with **RII (4.28) ranked 1st**. The second most important manifestation of armed banditry according to the respondents is armed robbery which has **RII (4.25) ranked 2nd**. Other significant manifestations of armed banditry as shown in the above analysis are village raids which has **RII (4.17) ranked 3rd** and cattle rustling which has **RII (3.87) ranked 4th**. These findings are in tandem with the findings of similar studies conducted by Okoli and Okpaleke (2014), Okoli and Ugwu (2019), Yaro and Tobias (2019), Ladan and Matawalli (2020)

Table 5: Relative Importance Index (RII) of the Implications of Armed Banditry on

Voter at Elections	Turnout							
	5	4	3	2	1	T W V	RI	RA NK
Very Low Turnout	169	167	144	223	227	1628	4.07	1 st
Low Turnout	158	155	099	477	355	1550	3.88	2 nd
Moderate Turnout	121	110	79	56	44	1389	3.47	3 rd
High Turnout	4	6	24	17	18	6617	1.65	4 th

Source: Field Work, 2022

Analysis of data in table 5 shows that the most important implication of armed banditry on voter turnout at elections is **very low turnout** with **RII (4.07) ranked 1st**. Also found to be an important implication of armed banditry on voter turnout at elections is **low turnout** with **RII (3.88)** at elections ranked **2nd**. The third most important implication of the activities of armed bandits on voter turnout at elections in the study area is **moderate turnout** with **RII (3.47) ranked 3rd**. **High voter turn** with **RII (1.65) ranked 4th** was found to be insignificant. This implies that voter turnout at elections cannot be high in an atmosphere of insecurity created by armed bandits. This finding contradicts the finding of similar study conducted by Bashir (2022) who found that voter turnout at elections increases in an atmosphere of insecurity created by armed bandits.

Table 6: Relative Importance Index (RII) of the Solutions to the Problem of Armed Banditry in Katsina State

Turnout	RII							
	5	4	3	2	1	T W V	RI	RA NK

Continuous provision of employment opportunities	190	178	180	088	006	1738	4.35	1 st
Strengthening of the security architecture	183	175	127	173	139	1698	4.25	2 nd
Border surveillance	177	172	293	130	099	1695	4.24	3 rd
Good governance	173	168	77	199	233	1649	4.12	4 th
Depoliticization of insecurity	166	157	310	200	266	1617	4.04	5 th

Source: Field Work, 2022

Analysis of data in Table 6 shows that the most important remedy to the problem of incessant armed banditry in Katsina State is continuous provision of employment opportunities to the teeming youth in the State which has **RII (4.35) ranked 1st**. Another relevant solution to the problem of armed banditry, according to the respondents is strengthening of the security architecture with **RII (4.25) ranked 2nd**. Also found to be an important strategy that could be used to curtail the problem of armed banditry in the State is border surveillance with **RII (4.24) ranked 3rd**. Other important remedies to the problem of armed banditry include: good governance which has **RII (4.12) ranked 4th** and depoliticization of insecurity with **RII (4.04) ranked 5th**.

Test of Research Hypotheses

The research hypotheses stated below were tested with the aid of non-parametric statistical tool known as the Chi-Square (X²) at 0.05 (5%) level of significance.

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(F_o - F_e)^2}{F_e}$$

$$\alpha = 0.05 \text{ (5\%)}$$

$$DF = (c-1) (r-1)$$

Decision Rule for Chi-Square Test

Accept H_0 , if $X^2_c < X^2_t$

Reject H_0 , if $X^2_c > X^2_t$

H₀: There is no significant relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout at elections in Katsina State

H₁: There is significant relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout at elections in Katsina State

Table 7: Test of Hypothesis Table (Variables 1 & 2 on Table 5)

OPTIO N	SA (5)	A (4)	U (3)	D (2)	S D (1)	TOTA L
1	16 9	16 7	14	23	27	400
2	15 8	15 1	09	47	35	400
TOTAL	32 7	31 8	23	70	62	800

Source: Author’s Computation, 2022

$$DF = (c-r) (r-1)$$

$$DF = (5-1) (2-1)$$

$$DF = (4) (1)$$

$$DF = 4$$

$$\alpha = 0.05 \text{ (5\%)}$$

$$F_e = \frac{\text{Column Total} \times \text{Row Total}}{\text{Grand Total}}$$

Table 8: Observed Frequency (F_o) & Expected Frequency (F_e) Table

F _o	F _e	(F _o - F _e)) ²	(F _o -F _e)) ²
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				F _e
169	163.5	5.5	30.25	0.19
167	159	8	64	0.40
14	11.5	2.5	6.25	0.54
23	35	-12	144	4.11
27	31	-4	16	0.52
158	163.5	-5.5	30.25	0.19
151	159	-8	64	0.40
09	11.5	-2.5	6.25	0.54
47	35	12	144	4.11
35	31	4	16	0.52
TOTAL				11.52

Source: Author’s Computation, 2022

$$X^2_c = 11.52$$

$$X^2_t = 9.49$$

$$DF = 4$$

he results of the analysis in table 8 reveal that X^2_c value is **11.52** and it is greater than X^2_t value which is **9.49**. Thus, the study concludes by rejecting the null hypothesis and states that, there is significant relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout at elections in Katsina State. This suggests that, in an atmosphere of insecurity created by the manifestation of armed banditry in the forms of kidnapping/mass abduction of persons for ransom and village raids among others, voter turnout would be negatively affected as prospective voters would be scared of going out to exercise their franchise. This finding contradicts the result of a similar study conducted by Bashir (2022) who found that insecurity caused by armed banditry does not affect voter turnout at elections in North-Western Nigeria.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study examined the implications of armed banditry on voter turnout at elections in Nigeria’s North-West using Katsina State as a reference point from 2015 to 2019. The study was anchored on

Frustration-Aggression Theory (FAT) for the purpose of analytical systematization. The study deployed qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis with quantitative dominance. Findings of the study showed that an atmosphere of insecurity created by the nefarious activities of armed bandits negatively impacts on voter turnout at elections. The study concludes that an atmosphere of insecurity in the society will always scare voters away from pooling booths which in turn negatively affects voter turnouts at elections. However, if electronic voting in which eligible voters could stay at the comfort of their homes and cast their votes eventually becomes the practice in Nigeria, then the issue of declining voter turnout consequent upon insecurity caused by armed banditry would have been overcome.

Based on the above findings, the following recommendations were made:

- i. Employment opportunities should be continuously created by the government at all levels and all stakeholders so as to reduce the number of idle hands prone to commission of crimes on the streets.
- ii. There is an urgent need to strengthen the country's security system to make it par with those in the developed World. The security agents need to be motivated in cash and kind and also trained and retrained while at the same time providing them with sophisticated weapons of warfare to make them effectively combat armed bandits and all other criminal elements in the country.
- iii. The country's borders are too porous. This has made it very easy for criminal elements posing as cattle herders to

migrate into the country with all manner of arms and ammunition to maim and kill Nigerians in their fatherland. Border surveillance by professional and well-armed security operatives therefore becomes imperative.

- iv. Lastly, there is need for government at all levels to depoliticize insecurity and shun corruption in all its forms and ramifications. Insecurity in the form of armed banditry would reduce in an atmosphere of good governance and equitable distribution of the resources in the land.

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