



**UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA**

***POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN THE FORM OF 'SARA SUKA' IN BAUCHI  
STATE, NIGERIA. 1999-2013***

***KABIRU BELLO ILELAH***

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**By**

**KABIRU BELLO ILELAH**

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia, in  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Science**

**July 2015**

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## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late grandfather Alhaji Shehu Ilelah. To my parents, Bello Shehu Ilelah, Aishatu Bello Ilelah, and Maimunatu Bello Ilelah, my wife Zainab Abba and to my kids Abubakar, Aishatu and Zulaihat.



Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science

**POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN THE FORM OF 'SARA SUKA' IN BAUCHI STATE, NIGERIA.1999-2013**

By

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**July 2015**

**Chairman: Adlina Binti Ab Halim, PhD**

**Faculty: Human Ecology**

The utilization of political violence in the form of thuggery (Sara Suka) has remained one of the quickest means of attaining and maintaining political power. The 'Sara Suka' is one of the major social problems defiling the peaceful co-existence of people in Bauchi state. The group is believed to be motivated and sponsored by politicians, in order for them to be used as a political catalyst of rigging and propaganda, intimidation and harassment, kidnapping and many other forms of social vices to the inclusion of even murder, thuggery, robbery, drug addiction, rape and theft. Hence, the return of democracy in 1999 or in the past democratic regimes any activity such as the 'Sara Suka' group is highly connected with violence. Since that period of the year 1999, the government and other experts have been in designing policies that can control or solve the problem of 'Sara Suka' in the state, but the situation continues to increase on a daily basis and there is high turnout of youth involvement in such act nowadays, despite these efforts made by the government. It is on the bases of these concerns that this study intends to explore the historical background of the 'Sara Suka' activities in Bauchi State. The study also examines the factors that influence youth involvement in the 'Sara Suka' activity. The study goes further to identify the major implication of 'Sara Suka' menace in the process of political development, as well as exploring some possible solution to the problem. Methodologically, the study uses a qualitative case study approach in understanding the 'Sara Suka' in the politics of Bauchi state. The two techniques of sampling were utilized, purposive for the 'Sara Suka' group of informants and snowballing which was used to identify the other three groups of the informants. Data were collected through one-on-one in depth interview with five 'Sara Suka' members, one retired member, two victims of the scenario and four others (expert, NGOs, vigilante, Districts head). The data were transcribed, coded and analyzed through inductive method. Subsequently, the result shows that the 'Sara Suka' group emanated after the return of democracy in the year 1999, and their activities become worrisome in the 2003, and 2007 general elections in the state, and that the groups were created by politicians in order to win or maintain their political positions. The study reveals that there are political, social, and economic reasons behind the creation of the said group, so also the youth participation in the group. Moreover, the study understands that the implications of the 'Sara Suka' activity in the state include; the emergence of incompetent leaders, the emergence of the insurgency and small arms proliferation, political threat and the future of the youth and the state. Establishment of

law and education, the eradication of poverty and the commitment of both the government and the society are the possible ways out to remedy the problem of the 'Sara Suka' in the state. Based on these findings, the study recommends that the people at the grass root level should organize themselves or creates a vigilante group who are equal to the task and at the same time ready to face any challenges that seek to impose havoc on their society and the state in general. The government should also make sure that the laws that were put in place to sanction or punish those that are involved in the 'Sara Suka', either the members or their sponsors, should be reviewed and enacted, so that anyone found guilty should be punished according to the law. Campaigns and elections should be conducted in a free and fair manner, if anyone is found using violence or any such tactic, should be penalized from contesting. The government should also ensure and provide adequate food, shelter, full security and safety to the people in order to bring back peace and harmony among the people of the state.



Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Master Sains

**KEGANASAN POLITIK DALAM BENTUK ‘SARA SUKA’ DI NEGERI  
BAUCHI, NIGERIA  
1999-2013**

Oleh

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Tingkah laku keganasan politik melalui kegiatan kumpulan samseng (Sara Suka) telah kekal sebagai salah satu cara yang paling cepat untuk mencapai dan mengekalkan kuasa politik. 'Sara Suka' merupakan salah satu masalah sosial utama yang mencemarkan keamanan kehidupan bermasyarakat di negeri Bauchi. Kumpulan itu dipercayai bermotifkan politik dan ditaja oleh ahli politik, bagi membolehkan mereka diguna sebagai pemangkin penipuan dan propaganda politik, ugutan dan keganasan, penculikan dan lain-lain bentuk kemasukan maksiat sosial seperti pembunuhan, kegiatan samseng, penagihan dadah, rogol dan rompakan. Oleh itu, sejak kebangkitan demokrasi pada tahun 1999 dan rejim demokratik yang lalu, apa-apa aktiviti seperti kumpulan 'Sara Suka' sangat dikaitkan dengan keganasan. Semenjak tahun 1999, kerajaan dan pakar-pakar lain telah bekerjasama dalam mereka bentuk dasar yang boleh mengawal atau menyelesaikan masalah 'Sara Suka' di negeri ini, tetapi keadaan semakin membimbangkan setiap hari dan pada masa kini, terjadinya peningkatan tinggi penglibatan belia dalam perbuatan itu, walaupun pelbagai usaha telah dibuat oleh kerajaan. Atas dasar kebimbangan, kajian ini berhasrat untuk meneroka latar belakang sejarah aktiviti 'Sara Suka' dalam proses pembangunan politik di negeri Bauchi. Kajian ini juga dijalankan bagi menyiasat faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi penglibatan belia dalam aktiviti 'Sara Suka' ini. Kajian lanjut dijalankan untuk mengenal pasti implikasi utama ancaman 'Sara Suka' dalam proses pembangunan politik, serta mencadangkan beberapa penyelesaian yang mungkin kepada masalah ini. Metodologi yang digunakan dalam usaha memahami 'Sara Suka' politik negeri Bauchi ini adalah secara kajian kes kualitatif. Dua teknik persampelan telah digunakan, iaitu teknik bertujuan terdiri daripada kumpulan pemberi maklumat (informan) 'Sara Suka' dan teknik snowballing yang juga telah digunakan untuk mengenal pasti tiga kumpulan pemberi maklumat (informan) lain. Data telah dikumpulkan melalui temubual mendalam secara perseorangan dengan lima ahli 'Sara Suka', seorang ahli Sara Suka yang telah bersara, dua orang mangsa dan empat yang lain (pakar-pakar, NGO, ahu masyarakat, penghulu). Data telah disalin, dikodkan dan dianalisis melalui kaedah induktif dan perbandingan. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa kumpulan 'Sara Suka' bermula selepas kebangkitan demokrasi pada tahun 1999, dan aktiviti-aktiviti mereka menjadi semakin membimbangkan pada tahun 2003 dan 2007 iaitu tahun pilihan raya umum di negeri ini, dan kumpulan ini telah diwujudkan oleh ahli-ahli politik untuk menang atau

mengekalkan kerusi politik masing-masing. Kajian ini mendedahkan bahawa terdapat sebab-sebab politik, sosial dan ekonomi di sebalik kewujudan kumpulan itu, begitu juga dengan penyertaan belia dalam kumpulan itu. Selain itu, kajian ini juga menunjukkan bahawa implikasi aktiviti 'Sara Suka' di negeri ini termasuk ; kemunculan pemimpin tidak cekap, kemunculan pemberontak dan jenayah senjata api kecilan, keganasan politik dan juga kehancuran masa depan belia dan negara. Penguat kuasa undang-undang, pendidikan, pembasmian kemiskinan dan komitmen dari kedua-dua kerajaan dan masyarakat adalah jalan keluar untuk mengatasi masalah 'Sara Suka' negeri ini. Berdasarkan penemuan ini, kajian ini mencadangkan bahawa rakyat di peringkat akar umbi perlu menyusun diri mereka atau mewujudkan satu kumpulan masyarakat yang sentiasa siap siaga dan pada masa yang sama bersedia untuk menghadapi sebarang cabaran kekecohan dalam masyarakat dan negara secara amnya. Kerajaan juga perlu memastikan bahawa undang-undang yang telah diguna-pakai dapat menyekat dan menghukum mereka yang terlibat dalam 'Sara Suka', sama ada ahli atau penaja mereka. Semuanya harus dikaji dan disiasat, supaya sesiapa yang didapati bersalah patut dihukum mengikut undang-undang. Kempen dan pilihan raya perlu dijalankan dengan cara yang bebas dan adil dan jika sesiapa didapati bersalah menggunakan keganasan atau mana-mana daripada itu, harus digugurkan daripada bertanding. Kerajaan juga perlu memastikan dan menyediakan makanan yang mencukupi, tempat tinggal, jaminan keselamatan dan keamanan kepada rakyat untuk membawa kembali kedamaian dan keharmonian di kalangan rakyat di negeri ini.



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This thesis was submitted to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BYV	Bauchi Youth Vanguard
BCPR	Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery
CS	Copenhagen School
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
FRN	Federal Registered Notice
IDPs	International Development Program
ILO	International Labor Organization
IPSAS	Institute Program for Social Science
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NAPEP	National Agency for Poverty Eradication Program
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NEDS	National Education Data Survey
NEPU	Northern Element Progressive Union
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NIDA	National Institute on Drug Abuse
NUBASS	National Union of Bauchi State Student
NPC	Northern Peoples Party
NYSC	National Youth Service Corps
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nation
UNDP	United Nation Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nation Population Fund
UNODA	United Nation Office for Disarmament Affairs
USA	United State of America



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background to the Study

Political violence in a form of thuggery has remained one of the quickest means of achieving and maintaining political power in most countries of the world. Although, there is a lack of agreement, generally, among scholars about the exact nature of political violence. Different views and approaches usually attempt to define and explain the term political violence. These differences of perspective make it difficult to reconcile the nature of the concept both flexible and illusive, respectively (Mars, 1975). In this regards, Finn (1991) posited that political violence in a general sense offends the self-respect and security of all citizens. This means that political violence is a kind of violence and conflicts of any form that impose a threat to the peaceful co-existence of individuals within a geographical location. Oneil (2011) added that the concept of political violence is part of contentious politics or a collective political struggle which includes revolution, civil war, riots, strikes, peaceful protest movements and thuggery. That is, political violence is any violence outside of the state control that is politically motivated.

On the bases of these, therefore, political violence is a common means used by people and governments around the world to accomplish their political aims. Various groups and individuals believe that their political systems will never respond to their political demands. As a result, they believe that violence is not only a means but also necessary in order to achieve their political desire (Esew, 2003). At this point, most of the governments, political groups and political parties around the world believe that violence is the only means to intimidate their opponents and populace into compliance. At other times, governments use force in order to defend their country from external dominance, other threats of force and to coerce other governments and conquer territory (Finn, 1991). Most of the theorist of violence referred to political violence as a domestic or internal violence and conflict that are occurring within a state as a result of the economic depression, political interest, class domination or ethnic and cultural differences, and this has been happening to major nations and state, for a long time (Jackson, 2015).

Historically, political violence is not only limited to developing countries rather it is a global issue. The history of political violence in the world, generally, was recorded back after the second world war (cold war), this means that a modern history of politics and violence can only be traced in the diverse history of political violence in the modern world (Jackson, 2015). Political violence in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century was seen as whereby nations are as likely as persons to be called terrorist. The Jacobins of 1793 for example, were understood as terrorists because they use the state monopoly on violence to create a climate of fear among the populace. Thus, forty-seven (47) references to terror at the national level are recorded between the years of 1815-1860, where more than 15 references were from France. The Russian, on the other hand, also used dynamite to assassinate Tsar Alexander II (1881) which also marked another era of terrorism at the national level; this signifies that the terrorist uses an individual violence against the state to spread fear amongst the people (Gregory and Pred, 2007).

In regards to these, political violence takes several forms which include; terrorism, revolution, rebellion, civil war, riots, strikes, and thuggery. It is important also to note that all these forms of political violence normally occurred as a result of the economic depression, multi ethnic differences, religious differences, poverty, class domination, high rate of illiteracy, poverty and long colonial rule (Mars, 1975). However, Nigeria is one of the largest and most populous countries in Africa (Oyetade, 2003). The country has more than 250 ethnic groups with over 500 languages, of which the majority of these ethnic groups and languages are on the minority status. These diversities in ethnicity, religion and language have made the country to be diverse in nature (Gary and Raymond, 2005). This diversity has also created a lot of differences, especially in the process of consolidating the political system (Ehiobhi and Ehinmore, 2011). Thus, the main concern of this study was to explore the activities and youth involvement in the political thuggery (Sara Suka) in Bauchi state, as one of the forms of political violence.

Political thuggery was conceived as one of the forms of political violence. It is a process by which politicians recruited, trained, empowered and motivated youth to harass, intimidate, victimize and to some extent kill the political opponents of their sponsor (Theophilus, Nnorom, and Targba, 2013). Political thuggery has a relationship with violent activities; it is also in line with stealing, killing, hooliganism, touting, intimidation and harassment. It is behaviour that contradicts peace, harmony and the co-existence amongst groups (Mbaya 2013). Based on this, political thuggery is everywhere since there is no country that is free from violence or any criminal activities. The functionalist theorist (Emile Durkheim) posited that any country or society that is free from any criminal activities is a sick society (Anderson and Taylor, 2009). With the current situation in the global politics, different countries and nations struggle to obtain its full political power which leads to violation of human rights, destruction of properties and lives. Examples of this are in the Middle East (Syria, Iraq, Egypt), in Europe, the Ukraine, Asia Nepal, the Philipines, Burma, Mayarma, and in African countries, like Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya and Mali. Even America, Mexico, Argentina, etc., are more examples. All of these countries mentioned above had experienced or experiencing political violence in the form of terrorism, conflict, civil war, rebellion, revolution or thuggery in the process of political and economic struggle (Human Rights Watch, 2013).

Therefore, the use of political thuggery (Sara Suka) has become a common feature of Nigerian politics. Thugs usually exist in groups and always maintain a client-patron relation to those who (politicians) sponsor them. The 'Sara Suka' is one of such groups in the Bauchi state. 'Sara Suka' is a Hausa language word which literally means cutting and stabbing. The name is given to a group of thugs; mostly, youth of ages ranging from eight to thirty-five years (8-35 years). These are the type of youth recruited by politicians to cause mayhem during the political atmosphere. Also, in other parts of Northern Nigeria, these types of groups are used to threaten political opponents and voters to accept the election outcome of their client-patron (sponsor). These youth are usually drug addicts and pose violence. Although they exist mostly in Northern Nigeria, there are other groups in other regions of the Nigerian Federation (Lawanti, 2009). Therefore, it can be understood that 'Sara Suka' is a name given to a group of thugs in Bauchi State; each group of such thugs has its own name which they use to identify their members, for example, we have the Yan Kwanankwaila, Hungry Lion Boys, etc.

Consequently, thuggery activities are not only seen as a threat to democracy, but a threat towards the survival of a nation as a whole. Normally, two things have accounted for this immoral activity. The first aspect is the situation were by the politicians change the electorate system by gaining and retaining power by all means (winner take all). The second aspect, is the social situation (unemployment and poverty) the youth have found themselves in, which has created a problem in their live's (Shehu, 2011). A scenario where, youths cannot help themselves nor can they help their society to develop is discouraging and these youth becomes a problem to the society they live in (Wunti, 2012). Although, both the federal and the state government have put much effort to reduce thuggery in the country, through establishment of law and discipline of anyone involve in such activities as stipulated and enacted in the electoral act of the country (Nigeria).

The 2010 Electoral Act stipulated a maximum of N1 million or 12 months imprisonment for anyone who infringed on the Act. (FRN, 2011:22-23). The 2010 Electoral Act was made more stringent on the issue of political thuggery because it was believed that previous laws for checking electoral and political violence were weak, and thus did not adequately address the issue of political thuggery, as the situation becoming rampant in most communities and societies in the country (Samuel, 2011).

From the foregoing discussion, it can be concluded that political violence in a form of thuggery (Sara Suka) has become one of the favored means of attaining and preservation of political power, as it become a fashion to most of politicians to recruit unemployed youth to serve as their thugs, in order to rig an election, intimidate or harass the political opponent. Therefore, activities like that of the 'Sara Suka' or any of such can create security challenges which impose a threat to the peaceful co-existence of people in the community, society, state and the country at large. Thus, the situation of 'Sara Suka' immoral attitude has become a worried concern since the return of democracy in 1999, due to the high rate of youth involved in the 'Sara Suka' activities is on the increase.

## **1.2. Statement of Problem**

Insecurity has remained one of the greatest challenges in Nigerian unity, progress, political and socio-economic development. This is as a result of frequent communal conflict, post election violence, insurgency and other religion crisis, these situations normally generate insecurity and disturbed the peaceful co-existence of the people (fear, sadness, loss of life, displacement of people and property) living within a community.

Consequently, the country (Nigeria) is one of the developing countries of the world that is faced with various developmental challenges, which include poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, conflict and diseases, these challenges have eaten deep into the Nigerian political system. As a result, it has created great challenges to the very existence of individuals in most of the communities which lead to security challenges at a cost of earning a living. (Shehu, 2011)

As these challenges propagate to most societies, the return of the democratic rule in the year 1999 made people assumed that they would be better off in terms of their well-being, but the reality demonstrated that the majority of the people in Nigeria are

suffering from abject poverty and severe hardship. The increased marginalization of the youth and the failure to fulfill the socio-economical (unemployment) needs of the people has led to frustration as well as the increasing high level of social insecurity among the inhabitants of the region, particularly the communities of the Bauchi metropolis (Wunti, 2012).

In regards to socio-economical failure of the youth (unemployment), Shehu (2011), put it forward that, the implications are that this bunch of unemployed youth could easily be lured into any negative tendency and they are in fact ready to be recruited for any social menace. This has led to the formation of the 'Sara Suka' group in the Bauchi state. Therefore, the use of 'Sara Suka' in the state and its implication has been a source of worry in recent years, as it creates fear in the mind of people, restricts and denied their basic rights, due to its nature of security threats (intimidation, destruction of property and killing) in the community. The 'Sara Suka' group is the dominant criminal group in the state and their activity increases on a daily basis. So, it is believed that the failure to meet the social problem of youth lead them to fully participate in the 'Sara Suka' activity.

Moreover, it is as a result of these social problems, including illiteracy, unemployment and poverty, which the politicians' recruit such youth to serve them as thugs, in order to intimidate, harass, kill political opponents and run off with ballot boxes during the election (Lawanti, 2009). These thugs are normally used by politicians who are very desperate to win the election and maintain their position in the state apparatus. As the politicians declare a winner and gain power, the politicians pay them (thugs) and dump them (Shehu, 2011). To some extent, they even declare and permit the security personnel to arrest some of the thugs, addressing the thug's activity as a threat to the people and the government. As a result, this group turns to all types of crime, varying from stealing peoples' property, raping women, and killing innocent people, and this can create an implication towards the security situation (Lawanti, 2009). Such insecurity acts in the community or society can affect the social, political, and economic activities of the people and the country at large, that is it has many implications of security threat to the entire community. Although, some measures have been taken by the government to control such acts of thuggery like theft, harassment and intimidation.

Despite the fact that the Nigerian government (both federal and states) is making great efforts to ensure the safety of lives and property, the use of "thugs" (political thuggery) has become a security challenge which seems to have continued unabated (Abekhale and Tor-Anyiin, 2013). This has led to the loss of lives and property because very often, political opponents are killed and property destroyed. Official estimate, according to Lame, as reported by (Adebayo, 2013) show that the 'Sara Suka' groups has killed over 200 people, raped women on a daily basis and robbed people of their property in places like Karofin-Madaki, Kofar Dumi, Bakaro and other areas in the Majidadi B ward of Bauchi. The activities of these political thugs frighten people and in most cases displace them and restrict their movements, especially at night (Adebayo, 2013). Yet, the activity is increasing at an alarming rate, which has even led to other youth restiveness (security challenges).

Essentially, youth restiveness is a despicable act being perpetrated by a significant proportion of youths on the various communities that can no longer be ignored. Youth are supposed to be the activist of a state, now the question is what future a state has



whose youth engages in thuggery? These hoodlums (thugs) as well as their sponsors (politicians) are not only seen as a threat to democracy, but also to the people peaceful co-existence in the State and the country in general (Infonaturale, 2009). Thus, the problem of the insecurity of thuggery (Sara Suka) with the increasing level of youth illiteracy, unemployment, and poverty (Wunti, 2012 and Shehu 2011) which led to the formation of a thug group in the nature of the 'Sara Suka' has so many implications for the community. Understanding the problem of the youth in the community which influence them to actively participate in any social disorder is very crucial, because of the increased activity in the form of 'Sara Suka' (thuggery) in Bauchi that imposes a security threat to peaceful co-existence of the people.

The central issue of concern here is the raising activities of the 'Sara Suka' in Bauchi state despite the efforts of both the state and federal governments to check them. Kukah (2010) concluded that the 'Sara Suka' syndrome is fundamentally one of the challenges posing a security threat both to the government and the governed, losing billions of resources and thousands of personal properties. This is because lives and properties are no longer secured in the state and the situation is getting worse, which has led people in the state to call for the government to take serious action in curtailing the situation.

Though, previous works have suggested an alternative way to the government that would unravel the menace of these thugs in the state, which include; education, employment, and mass orientation, but the situation has rather persisted in the state. Therefore, this study tends to provide alternative solutions that can tackle the problem of not only the 'Sara Suka' menace but to any social insecurity in the state.

Additionally, this study tends to bridge in the gap which the previous studies (Wunti, 2012, Lawanti, 2009, and Shehu, 2011) did not capture, as all these studies are based on content analysis, secondary source and quantitative base research. For example; Wunti (2012) focused on the implication of political thuggery especially with arms proliferation which the group uses to intimidate their opponents. And how these arms have impacted on the peaceful co-existence of the people in the society. Whereas, Lawanti (2009) concentrated mainly on the origin of political thuggery as well as how the group is formed and works in the political process of Northern Nigeria particularly, Bauchi and Gombe. Meanwhile, Shehu (2011) looked at the social and economic situation of Nigeria, which is the backbone to the problem of the youth that led to the formation of the 'Sara Suka' and other social insecurities.

Therefore, this current study bridge in the gaps by focusing on the high rate of youth involvement in the 'Sara Suka' activities, which has an undesirable effect towards the development of the community (value system) and the human endeavor. More so, the study employs the securitization theory to examine the security challenges of 'Sara Suka' menace and how such insecurity acts impose a threat to the peaceful co-existence of the people and the community as a whole. The theory further help the study to examine the causes and the implications of such acts in the community and to youth. Additionally, the study also adopted a different methodology (qualitative method, in-depth) in understanding the security challenges of the 'Sara Suka' menace. This signifies that the study provides an in-depth information (direct information from the informants with high level of experience) about the causes and implication of 'Sara Suka' menace in Bauchi state. This is because, until this day the researcher did not come across any qualitative research that was conducted in exploring the activities of 'Sara Suka' in the community where the study was conducted and in the state as a

whole. By bridging these gaps of the previous studies, through the application of different methodology and theory, it will serve as a new avenue and contribution to the body of knowledge in the field of security studies and political science in understanding security threat, causes and implications of thuggery in the communities, societies, state and country at large.

To clearly understand the political violence and the activities of 'Sara Suka' in Bauchi, and Nigeria at large, therefore, the study asks the following research questions;

### **1.3. Research Questions**

1. What is the historical background of the 'Sara Suka' activities in Bauchi state?
2. What are the factors that influence youth to participate in 'Sara Suka' activities?
3. To what extent the 'Sara Suka' activities implicate the community?
4. In what ways the 'Sara Suka' problem can be combatted?

### **1.4. Objectives of the Study**

The purpose or aim of this study is;

1. To trace the historical background of 'Sara Suka' activities in Bauchi state.
2. To examine the factors that influence youth to participate in 'Sara Suka' activities.
3. To identify the implications of 'Sara Suka' activities in the community.
4. To explore the possible solutions to the problem of 'Sara Suka' menace.

### **1.5. Significance**

The significance of this study is to provide the 'Sara Suka' activities with a complete vision and to analyze their implication. Thus, the results of the study will benefit the community, society, the state, the country and other countries. The study is important because it provides the indispensable facts about the existing views of 'Sara Suka' in Bauchi state. This study serves as the basis for future plans of action by the government with regard to the necessary actions for the recovery of the deteriorating moral values of the state. This study will not only benefit the state, but also the whole world as it will create a milieu of awareness about the causes and implications of political thuggery (Sara Suka) to our culture and traditions. The study is also important for several reasons; for example, the problem of 'Sara Suka' is one of the social phenomena that hinders the peaceful co-existence of people in the community and the state as a whole. It is a problem and such problems deserve to be studied and analyzed. Moreover, many existing studies are historic, descriptive, and selected based on experience within the problem or encyclopedic studies, while other literatures, not all, see 'Sara Suka' as a criminal group. In general, the existing literature has focused on the causes of the problem while other studies have dealt with only certain aspects of the problem, for example, the implication and origin. This study fills a void in the literature and the analysis here provides an original contribution to understanding the problem.

The study will contribute to increase the interest on values in the field of politics by elaborating the meaning political violence and its form thuggery. Most of the literature on political violence has not explained the concept of thuggery from a theoretical view.

This study will bring this approach (social view) to a new challenging arena for those who are engaged in the field. It is hoped that this study will at least add some light to the current debate in the literature over the anatomy of political thuggery, while seeking to provide an analytical framework for the identification of and solution for the causes and implications of thuggery and political violence.

This study will further help to generate literature and fill in the gaps on current trends of 'Sara Suka' in Bauchi state. The study will also deliver a valuable contribution to the debate among scholars on the nature and implications of thuggery. Therefore, the study has intended to examine such debates as well contribute to them. It will also help to find out possible ways of combatting the activities of 'Sara Suka' that have become a problem not only in the state but in the country at large. Moreover, the study will identify possible ways of checking the activities of 'Sara Suka' in Bauchi state. It is hoped that such checks would discourage the existence of the 'Sara Suka', so that resources used for sponsoring the act may be directed to other beneficial policies.

Further, the current situation of 'Sara Suka' in Bauchi makes it even more pressing to explain the contexts in which the government makes certain decisions, whether radical or pragmatic in the way to provide adequate security. The study contends that by further studying the background, influential factors and the implication of such act, it can help in understanding the future of the state politics and security. This means that the study was conducted due to the lack of critical evaluation of the 'Sara Suka' problem.

The conclusion of the study provides effective results and notions which could be useful to the government as a body, aspiring for peace, it can also be used in comparative studies by any nation going through the same problem. The study will not only benefit the government alone, but also the youth and the community in general as it creates an environment of awareness about the problem of 'Sara Suka' in the state. Moreover, this will appeal to the student and researchers of social sciences as well as those with general interest in political science discourse.

### **1.6. Scope and Limitation**

The study will be limited in scope to only one community (Majidadi B) in Bauchi state, Nigeria. It is, therefore, pertinent to observe that the research has a limitation of generalization. The result only represents where the study is carried out. The need of this study was motivated based on the fact that people in this community (Majidadi B) are continuously being caught up in the middle of thuggery activities. Moreover, people are coming face to face with thuggery and violence in their societies, communities, and provinces, which, if not handled effectively, can be a problem in the growth and development of the human, communities and societies, particularly the Majidadi B community in Bauchi state. It is important to note that the Majidadi B is one of the developing communities in the state, because the community is located in the capital of the state, and most of the people living around the community are people with a high status. It is very unfortunate that this community (Majidadi B) remains the host and

popular place for the 'Sara Suka' activities, and it is becoming rampant on a daily base. Therefore, allowing such act of 'Sara Suka' to exist in the community is completely unethical, because very often people would continue to lose their lives, property and the community can also lose its value.

In regards to time bound, the study is limited in time from the period of 1999-2013. The reason was that democracy return to the state in that particular year of 1999, after a long period of military rule. It is also believed that these periods mark the beginning of thuggery (Sara Suka) in the state as a result of the democratic freedom.

The focus of this study in general, will be on political thuggery (Sara Suka). Specifically, the focus will be on the 'Sara Suka' in Bauchi state, by focusing on the 'Sara Suka' group activities, and the role it has played in engendering security situations, which impose a threat to the peaceful co-existence of the people and the survival of the community as a whole. Therefore, these threats have many negative implications for the youth, people and community development. Therefore, there is a need to study such problem, so that to provide an alternative solution to it, in order to avoid the further occurrence of the menace or any social vices which tend to tarnish the value of the community.

## **1.7. Definition of Terms**

For the purpose of being unambiguous, the main concepts of the topic of this study are identified and explained. These concepts are the concept of political violence and political thuggery.

### **1.7.1. Political Violence**

Banwo (2003) define political violence as the use of extra-judicial means in the contest for or in exercising political power. These include intimidation, harassment, assassination, blackmail, arson, looting and physical and psychological attacks amongst others. Esey (2003) also define political violence as the illegal utilization of power and violence against individuals or properties in order to threaten the government or the individual for achieving political and social objectives.

In this research work, political violence refers to the violence that are politically motivated through the utilization of thuggery which leads to destruction of properties and lives in the process of protecting the interest of their sponsor. Political violence will further be understood or refers to any security situations that impose a threat to the peaceful coexistence of the people within a particular community, society or state as the case may be. In this regards, political violence represents the acts of 'Sara Suka'.

### **1.7.2. Political thuggery and 'Sara Suka'**

The Oxford dictionary of English defines "thuggery" as a violent person especially a criminal. Samuel (2011) also defines political thuggery as an act of violence, intimidation, hooliganism, brutality or gangsterism whether leading to death or not, aims as a threat to political opponents during a campaign and after an election which is



targeted at achieving political results. Agba (2011) views the concept as the process of the utilization of thugs and physical force to intimidate or hurt political opponents or rig elections. In this regards, therefore, thugs are referred to as a group of youth who uses violence to intimidate, victimize and harass the political opponent of their sponsor.

Lawanti (2009) described that 'Sara Suka' is a Hausa word that literally means "cutting and stabbing", but in modern term 'Sara Suka' is a word given or referring to a group of thugs living in the Bauchi state of Nigeria. In this study, 'Sara Suka' means or refers to the group of youth that organized themselves as thugs in the form of drugs or violence which impose security threat to people in Bauchi state, Nigeria.

### **1.8. Organization of Chapters**

This study is on political thuggery groups (a study of Sara Suka) in the Bauchi state of Nigeria. In chapter one, which is the current chapter, the introductory aspect of the study is represented. It examines the background of the study, a statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, significance, scope and limitations and conceptual framework. Chapter two involves two aspects; the first segment entails the literature review of the topic, and the second aspect explains the theoretical framework of the study. In chapter three, the study discusses the methodology of the study. While, chapter four presents the data analysis and interpretation of the major findings of the study. And, chapter five, which is the last chapter, states the conclusion, implications and recommendations of the study.

### **1.9. Summary**

This chapter presented a general introduction of this study, the background of the study and problem statement were clearly stated, and the chapter also presented four research questions and objectives. Furthermore, the significance of the study, scope and limitation were explained which was followed by definition of terms and finally the organization of chapters. Based on the problem, research question and the objective of this study, the study tends to explore youth involvement in the 'Sara Suka' activities, and in the process of achieving this, previous literature will be consulted to identify the contributions of other scholars in the area and the gap that needed to fulfill. Therefore, the next chapter discusses and reviews the previous literature in the area of political violence and thuggery (Sara Suka).

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## APPENDICES

### Apendix A

#### FIELD WORK LETTER



**FAKULTI EKOLOGI MANUSIA**  
FACULTY OF HUMAN ECOLOGY



Friday, April 04, 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Re: Mr. Kabiru Bello Ilelah (GS 36561)

This is to introduce the above-mentioned young man who is a postgraduate research student of this faculty carrying out research for the degree of M.A.

The title for his research is: *'Sara Suka' in the Politics of Bauchi State, Nigeria*. The nature of the research demands fieldwork which involves carrying out interviews with academics, member of NGOs, and those with expertise in the field.

It is this I am writing to entreat you to offer him every support he would need so that he would be able to do an efficient job that will contribute to a successful research thesis.

I assure you that the data gathered during the Fieldwork is solely for the pupose of academic study and will not be divulged anywhere else.

Thank you in advance for your anticipated help.

Yours sincerely,

**DR. ADLINA AB. HALIM**  
Senior Lecturer & Supervisor  
Department of Government and Civilisational Studies  
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## Appendix B

### LIST OF INTERVIEWEES AND BACKGROUND

#### CATEGORY A;

Expert, NGO'S officials, Civil servant, District heads, Vigilante member and other Victims

##### **Informer 1.**

He was born and lives in Bauchi, he was 29 years old. He is currently a diploma graduate, and he is a businessman by profession. He is one of the victims of the 'Sara Suka' menace, when his shop was attacked and looted by the 'Sara Suka' boys at night, they got him in the shop and one of the group members hit him with a machete in his back and sustains a big injury. His money and some property were looted and others were destroyed.

##### **Informer 2.**

Born and lives in Bauchi, a 27 year old young man. He attended secondary school and currently a taxi driver. He was a victim as a result of late return from work, when the group rob and injure him at night.

##### **Informer 3.**

He was born and lives in Bauchi. He is 45 years old. He's currently a lecturer at the department of political science in Bauchi state university; he's an expert in the field of security, conflict and crisis management. He has vast experience and contributed immensely towards understanding the problems of youth social vices, security situations of the state, and conflict management. Most of these were found in his academic writings.

##### **Informer 4.**

He was born in Tafawa Balewa one of the local government areas of Bauchi state, he grow up and live in Bauchi, a 50 year old man. He obtains his Bsc and Msc in sociology in one of the public universities in Nigeria. He's currently serving in one of the security agencies and holds the position of chairmanship in the Muslim and Christian peace movement in Bauchi state. It is a non-governmental organization that aims to prevent the society from any security threat. They also engaged in sensitizing, rehabilitating and reconciling the 'Sara Suka' boys in a flat form of 'zauren sulhu'.

##### **Informer 5**

Born in Bauchi, a 48 year old man, he obtains Bsc in Public administration, he's currently a civil servant, serving in the ministry of youth and development with a post of Director in the ministry. The primary responsibility of the ministry was to provide policies for youth development in the state, and his office is the main administration office for making reports to the ministry and government in understanding the problem of youth and the way forward in the state.

### **Informer 6**

A 60 year old, who was born and lives in Bauchi. He is the head of the community (traditional ruler) where the study was conducted. He is an Islamic scholar with a diploma certificate in Arabic. His office was in charge of the administrative and judicial matters in the community, and he has been handling and judging a lot of cases in regards to youth restiveness like that of 'Sara Suka'. As a result of the high rate of the activity, he initiated the idea and establish the local vigilante group to serve as a security body in arresting and handling the arrested ones to the police.

### **Informer 7**

He was also an indigenous of Bauchi, who live in Bauchi for almost 20 years, he is 35 years old and he obtains a national diploma certificate, currently a teacher in the secondary school of the community. He serves as a leader of the vigilante group. Their responsibility was vigilant, and to arrest any person with a negative attitude or behavior, they punish at the same time hand them over to the police.

### **CATEGORY B.**

The 'Sara Suka' members and the retire member

#### **Informer A.**

Born in Bauchi, 27 years old. He obtains his diploma in state polytechnic Bauchi, and now a current member of 'Sara Suka' group in the area of the study. He is the deputy leader of the group, as a second person in command, he leads and assist the group when the leader is absent. He involved and lead in many attacks to other 'Sara Suka' group and the vigilante group.

#### **Informer B.**

He's 28 years old, born and grew in Bauchi. He was able to complete the primary school education. An active member and well known to everybody in the area, when it comes to 'Sara Suka' activities in the community. He serves as a leader in his group. He has been involved in series of killing, robbing and intimidating people. He has been in the group for almost 10 years.

#### **Informer C.**

A young man born in Bauchi, 30 years of age. A secondary school dropout, active member in the group he belongs, with a position of a leader. A very influential person as a result of his active and bravery the politicians always hire his group, in the process of campaign and election.

**Informer D.**

Born in Bauchi, 27 years old and also a secondary school dropout. Also an active and victim member of the 'Sara Suka' group and a leader of his group. He believes in an arrogant life, he always wants to see himself in fighting, intimidating people, chasing and raping girls. He was a victim as a result of rivalry (fight) between his group and other group.

**Informer E.**

Born and grown in Bauchi, 25 years of age. He spends all his life living in Bauchi, though he has been traveling out to other state of the country. But his main town and where he enjoys staying is Bauchi. He attended and finish his secondary school, and now a successful businessman. He was a former member of the 'Sara Suka' who serve in the group for almost eight years and held the position of a commander in the group. His main duty was to lead and command the group during an attack to another or opponent group. While serving the group, he becomes a victim when one of his hand was cut off, during a fight with another group of 'Sara Suka'. He has now withdrawn and retire himself from the 'Sara Suka' activities.

## Appendix C

### THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

VICTIMS	CIVIL SERVANT/ NGO'S/EXPERTS/LEADERS etc	SARA SUKA MEMBERS	OBJ
<p>a. Do you participate in politics?</p> <p>What do you know about the Sara Suka group?</p> <p>Tell me a time when you personally experience the Sara Suka activities?</p> <p>1. Do you have any idea when the Sara Suka activities start in the state?</p>	<p>a. Tell me what you know about the Sara Suka group?</p> <p>Tell a time when you personally experience the Sara Suka activities?</p> <p>1. Is there any specific period that lead to the emergence of Sara Suka activities in the state?</p>	<p>a. Do you participate in politics?</p> <p>What do you know about the Sara Suka group?</p> <p>1. Do you have any idea when the Sara Suka activities start in the state?</p>	<p>LEAD</p> <p>OBJ 1;</p>
<p>2. Which age group is more involved in Sara Suka activities and why?</p> <p>Does the group have any sponsored?</p>	<p>2. Which age group is more involved in Sara Suka activities?</p> <p>What do you think are the factors that influence youth to actively participate in such act?</p> <p>Tell me, do they have any backup or sponsors?</p>	<p>Why are you a member?</p> <p>Which age group is more involved in Sara Suka activities and why?</p> <p>Do you have any sponsors?</p>	<p>OBJ 2;</p>

<p>3. What can you say about their (Sara Suka) activities?</p> <p>What was it like for you when you had that Sara Suka have intimidated or kill?</p> <p>Do you consider them as a problem?</p>	<p>3. To what extent did the Sara Suka activities implicate the society?</p> <p>What was it like for you when you had that Sara Suka have intimidated or kill?</p> <p>Do you consider them as a problem?</p> <p>What is the government doing about it?</p>	<p>3. What do you do as a member of Sara Suka and what do you want?</p> <p>Do you consider this as a problem?</p>	<p>OBJ 3;</p>
<p>4. What is the solution to the problem?</p>	<p>4. What do you think is the solution to the problem?</p>	<p>4. Do you want to continue as a member? So what are your plans?</p>	<p>OBJ 4;</p>

WRAP UP QUESTIONS;

1. Do you have anything to add
2. Is there anything I should have asked?
3. How did the interview feel for you?

## Appendix D

### TRANSCRIBE INTERVIEW INTERVIEW WITH INFORMER 2

#### ON 'SARA SUKA' ACTIVITIES IN BAUCHI STATE

**Me;** Due to short period of time I will like to know more about you and that of your organization, sir.

**Info;** My names are..... informer 2.

Chairman. Christian and Muslim Peace Movement, Bauchi State.

This organization has come aftermath of 2001 Tafawa Balewa crisis, it was as a result of loss of a lot of life of our brothers and sisters, we decided to come together (youth) to form an association in order to avert the future reoccurrence of such menace, because we lost a lot of our friends, we lost a lot of our sisters, properties and houses. So why do we go into conflicts, why do we go into crisis, why do we kill ourselves. We need to sensitize one another, we need to educate the youth, and we need to avert those things through media, drama, at the same time school sensitization. The youths are the target, once we get them, I think we would minimize or mitigate the conflict in our society and community. And since then I have been going to so many places and we are getting a lot of recognition even by the government and we are affiliating ourselves to so many NGOS that are related to what we do, like the Interfaith Mediating Center Kaduna, they do come here time to time and Youth Federation For World Peace, we do go to Abuja headquarter in order to learn more about mediation reconciliation on how we can handle or avert or even early warning of a conflicts. So we do get ourselves into so many workshops, seminar, and at the same time training. Recently what we realize in respect of problem of the youth are unemployment and drugs. The youth are fun of engaging themselves into drugs simply because of the ideals. Once they get into it, then the politicians make use of them. They use cheap labor in order to intimidate their opponents, to oppress, to rig an election, regardless of the risk of their life, regardless of their community, prestige of their personality and thats why we decided to organize a peace forum where we can be able to invite the politicians and all the political elites should come and understand that is not only when they employ thugs before they win an election. And the thugs themselves should start realizing that they are just like an instrument, after they are been use they would be dump without employing them, so they become a miscreant's in the society. They will become useless not only to their family, but to the society in general. That's why they need reconciliation, reconciling, and rehabilitation, that's why we come in at a time in point we do have a Centre called Trauma councilors where those people who are traumatize or harassed, attack by all this Sara suka boys can be rehabilitated and at the same time counseling because of the traumatization they went through, So that their life's will come back to normal.



**Me;** interesting!

**Info;** yea! This is what we have been doing for the past eleven years. Since 2001 to date, it is even beyond 11 years.

**Me;** yes! So sir, what do you know about the Sara suka group, though you mention them in your early statement?

**Info;** The Sara suka group that I know are group of youth who are jobless and fun of taken drugs, giving themselves cheap labour to the politicians, assassins, rituals and to the people who are trying to cause havoc to the society, earn to have a living or out of passions they group themselves for a little fee to cause a serious problem in the community, yes. I can swear to Allah, that youth unemployment gave the opportunity to the politicians or any political elites to recruit such unemployed youth as they refer it as {shortcut to employment}. And mark you, the politicians denied or refuse to give youth employment because they have a plan on youth in the future, especially within the period of campaign and election by recruiting the youth and make them to serve as thugs. Therefore lack or inadequate policies on job creation by the government significantly damage and increase the rate of youth involvement in Sara suka

**Me;** Ok! Do you have any idea when this menace starts in the state?

**Info;** Sara suka boys emanated as a result of the establishment or existence of political system or affairs in the country. This was as a result of 1999-date. From 1999 there was little threat in respect of the Sara suka, were not consfiquious. Because there little money, drugs, rivalry involve. At times goes by politics become a do or die affairs, and then money and drugs become the order of the day.

**Me;** wow!

**Info;** So! That's why they were regarded as a shortcut term employment. Through this Sara suka they tends to get recognition, even people began to fear them because they become terror in the society. And out of it could you believe others are getting a lots and reasonable money and benefits. Some were given cars, some reasonable money to establish themselves etc.

**Me;** Do you mean the Sara suka boys?

**Info;** Yes! The Sara suka boys. So they cannot do without them. Before they arrive to particular rally or campaign places or environment they tend to reach there before the real politicians landed.

**Me;** so!

**Info;** So that they can be able to intimidate, harassed, terrorize their opponents. Once they scared them away, they invite or call their masters over. Even during the campaign if any opponent is sighted he can be attack or even murdered through sword, machetes, and so many means.

**Me;** so, it means this boys hold arms, like gun right?

**Info;** recently, they do. Because of the inflate ration of lighter arms not only with them in the country but the emergence of insurgence weapon become cheap. And we made to

understand that even the politicians do provide such arms to them, because they tend to be their security.

**Me;** But the politicians cannot be the elite, right?

**Info;** the politicians are the elites and the elites are the cause problem in our society. They were creating a game of numbers, divide and rule. They were trying to use them in order to get cheap vote and even if you don't like them you should allow people that like to vote for them. And even if you don't want to vote for them, they attract some with temptation of money, little money can buy them vote or harassed those people who are willing to challenge them, so that they can abandoned their polling unit/centers and the terror will now pick those voting cards cast in favour of their masters.

**Me;** So, politicians also have to be blame

**Info;** Absolutely yes, and I can say this, the political elites or so called politicians turn the Nigerian democratic system into DO or DIE affairs, and they achieved this through recruitments of unemployed youth. Because some of them (politicians) know that they are incapable of winning election or they can't retain their position, as such they become interested in those jobless youth so that they can instigate them into any form of social act. Believe me; the politicians are doing this all because of their selfishness, political gain and nothing more

**Me;** Previously, you made mention that Sara suka group are youth?

**Info;** they are.

**Me;** ok can you estimated the age range of this boys.

**Info;** fine! The age of this youth, let's assume they are not more than 26-27 below. A 15 year old boy can harass a group of people if he has machetes, 16-17yr old boy if he is addicted to a drugs, he can sacrifice his life for his own gain. So there are group of young people who has no future, value to their own plan and who were neglected by their family, parents, and community. As we can see most of them don't sleep at their parents' house. So they are hijackers, they move around any places they feel they can sleep, sometimes they even occupied uncompleted government building and the next day they go about their business. Sometimes they block roads to snatch people phones or money just to earn a living.

**Me;** from your point of view, I can clearly understand that parent play a role in Sara suka menace?

**Info;** yea!

**Me;** so, how and why the blame?

**Info;** one of the reason why this youth involve in Sara suka is because of the benefits. Recently they put and start sensitizing them with machines (motorcycles), money, bag of rice, and even sensitizing them with a little money that can sustain them on drugs. At the same time they are also sensitizing them with things like party dresses, and lets says temporary employment as they normally attach them as PA (permanent assistant), SA (special advisers), that every month they will be getting a reasonable money to sustain

themselves. And if he get let's say 30000 in a month at least he will keep 5000 for his drugs. So sustainable factor of all this things are the politicians, the appointment they give them, the drugs they get to maintain themselves and the negligent right from the work of their parent, because I believe every parents will start realizing once their children start derailing when they are going astray. Is either at the beginning the fault of their parent or fault of their uncles or most of these parent are not been brought up by their own parents. The most of all this is poverty. A father that has 7 kids cannot be able to carter for them. The person that has 2-3 rooms cannot be able to accommodate those children when grown up. So you don't even give a damn where they sleep, they don't care with the group they move along with, until when they start realizing that boy is drug addict and that time it might have been late. So this is one of the reasons, because of the poverty incapability of taking care of their children. One other thing is the traditional way of marriage to a lot of wives. You can see a poor person married to 3-4 wives and he knows he cannot take care of them but due to so called greediness he will go into without realizing the number of children he plan to get. Don't be surprise his even renting two apartments or houses, divide less children upon all the kids are not fully accommodated, which cannot satisfied their means of livelihood there. That's why even the girls that are within this kind of problem are involve into drugs addict, prostitution, cultism, rituals and you know this kind of system are increasing into alarming rate to this very existence of government. The unfortunate things the government is not doing anything about it, that is the disheartening aspect of it. You see! Had they been that the government is tackling at the alarming rate then we may have a hope along the tunnel but the government are not ready and willing to handle those things seriously because there were using this youth, if they stop this menace then they may not likely be re-elected. So they deliberately allow those things to continue, at time the attempt to reduce but it resurfaces again, there was no holistic project that can approach this kind of a thing. That's why you see it increasing at alarming rate. Anybody that is jobless will go into it. So long you can get a means of livelihood, drugs, and benefits from it. Some are even involve into homo sexualism simply because of the little benefits, because he has nothing to do. So the peer group also contributed toward this kind of the problem, why do this guy hold a fine phone, why did he dress gorgeously, how manage he gets things by carrying and sensitizing him one day he will introduce him into it, before realizing he get deep into it. So this is the problem. And then above all, I' am sorry to tell you this, the so called fundamental human right, the traditional way of controlling a child now is reversible, when you cane your child the community will also sight or the child will take you to court or to human right court, what do they call it....

**Me;** Amnesty!

**Info;** oh no, ummm! Aha, the civil right lawyers. And these lawyers will expose the pitching, unlike before were we can be beaten and that thing helps us to control our child and be more discipline. But when you beat a child now a day, the child would be taken away from you and start instigating the father. How do you expect this thing to control a child? That's why a child now is so free and even the community are afraid to

talk to him, unlike before the community has the communal ego and responsibility of calling anybody child to order who derail or astray and now once you do that, don't be surprise even his own father can sue you to court, they believe on individualism and free society on which it will take us to serious doomed, bad future and this is the situation in the country.

**Me;** so! What can you argued as the implication of such act to the society?

**Info;** yes! Their activity can lead the country into a serious problem and that's means it can pushed the country to serious doomed. Because, they said the youth are the leaders/future of tomorrow, if they were so nonentity now, that means the future leaders will be more worse, and there will be more missiles, more corruption, more drugs, more killing, more rituals and more anything illegal. Because the society allows itself to be destroy by them. Before you take drugs addicts to court you see a politician bailing him out, it is said the case is bail out. A thug can machetes somebody to death and that thug can be able to go free, even if he is arrested within a week or month, he will get away with it. He will even celebrate his release from the jail.

So how do you expect the society to be corrected? In such a person that commit murder has been allowed to work freely. Then we are in serious problem, our junior ones are at risk.

**Me;** sure, sir! Then this is a very serious problem

**Info;** it is.

**Me;** something has to be done about it.

**Info;** absolutely right!

**Me;** then what was it like for you when heard that the Sara suka have intimidate or kill someone?

**Info;** is very sad and unfortunate. Some of these Sara suka boys are known. When we started this programmed we emanated this things from the parents, the community has to identify the kind of children they are living with, who are their parents, if they could be able to identify the parents, then they can sermon them for a forum meeting, I mean a community meeting to advise them to call this children to order. If they refuse they can be taken into law, but now the reversible is the case you cannot bring that child to the meeting because he cannot come, because he has no respect to that forum. The father to that child, because of the abject of poverty and the benefits his having from the action of that boy, that boy despite the fact that his deep into it he still recognize his parents because he knows they are poor. When benefited from Thuggery or Sara suka activity he will come up with a bag of rice or reasonable money to give to his parents in order to push the effect of their problems. So is like to the parents that the boy is helping and doing well to them, so they cannot have the guts to call such boy to order because of the little benefits they are driving.

**Me;** it is a serious misunderstanding and problem, then.

**Info;** it is!!

**Me;** I would like to know what the government is doing in combating the menace. Though, you blamed the government efforts earlier on, for their incapability to tackle the problem. What can you add to that?

**Info;** to be frank! They are not... the government can only get involve into it, if their interest is at risk. Take for instance now; if the government of the day have their own thugs, the rival party have also another thugs, and when this thugs go into conflicts or fight among themselves, then at the end of the day, if the government in power thugs lost, let's say about ten life's, then they can come in under the pretest of arresting the thugs themselves. So when they arrested a lots of them, they will end up releasing their own thugs living the rival thugs into prison, just to showcase that things is been done about it. Otherwise they die and wine with them. A political ritualist can say he need an eye of human being because he want to do one thing or the other, or he need blood of a human being, he can use for the evil deed. And they are the ones that can easily get the distorting of a common man child. An innocent child can be attack to death or disappear in order to satisfy those politicians because, aaaahh a so called MARABU a witch craft person he can advise a politicians that he can win an election if he do this and that. This kind of people are the kind of people who mislead the politicians to perpetrate their elicit activities.

**Me;** you mean they are the ones leading them to devils work?

**Info;** yes! They are devils to themselves. Because, they involve into cultism in order to detriment the real transparency of democracy.

**Me;** so sir what do you think is the proper solution in tackling this problem?

**Info;** the proper solution in tackling this things is to create a law of sensitizing politicians themselves. If there's no corruption in politics, if there's an agency, a transparent agency that came to make some corrections of certain things and provide a holistic approach to those things and been backup by the government, I think it will mitigate the problem.

**Me;** don't you think that those who design the law are the politicians?

**Info;** they are, the politicians.

**Me;** so! What is the possibility?

**Info;** yes! It will be possible, if they can correct themselves. Take for instance, a corrupt person. If there's a law that a corrupt person cannot be called to order, then it is very unfortunate. But if there's a law, a real law that such a thing can be corrected and anybody that go away from that then he will not be elected or allowed to contest, that means the background to this is the corruption it selves. But if there's nothing like that on the ground, I'm afraid nothing like that will happen. So this is the situation.



**Me;** ok! With this we come to an end of the interview but I don't know if you have anything to add to the work?

**Info;** ahh! What I have is something that has to do with the interview, is that realizing the government non talent attitude towards this problem or activities of the Sara suka. The society just like the way we saw voluntarily organization, people and communities should come together in order to avert this kind of upbringing situation in their own communities by themselves rather relying on the government or any agency to solve the problem. Just like what you see at Karofin Madaki when they realize, this is becoming a serious problem, businessmen and their family are in danger, then they came together voluntarily and creates association of voluntarism getting the youth who are good to fight those who are bad and is healing, is correcting the society most of the menace that has been existing in that area overnight is no longer there. So I'm advising the society or the community and other community to immolate this kind of a thing, but before then they should have a guide, a rule and regulation at the same time collaborating with the security agencies because they should not go beyond their bound too. If there's no any guide them too can take part in order to revenge, revenge through what so ever they have. So deliberately some will be with them in order to take revenge, may be one of his brother has been smashed to death. So he can join the group in other to take revenge. But if there are rules and regulations that bind them, they are discipline kind of organizations, that is sensitizing the environment or community, and then they should look for people who are buoyant in order to empower them. You know things cannot go without resources.

**Me;** yes! Is there anything I should ask you?

**Info;** yea! There are other things that I want you to add in respect of the Sara suka that is identifying their God father. That is those who brain behind sponsoring, accommodating, instigating, terrorizing by supporting them with money, machetes, gun, drugs the kings need to be dictated, and the government should exposed them. If the society can be identifying those people then the ritualist who are involved under the Sara suka menace will not have means of DE deviling the society, and they need to be identify too. You get the points! So this are the kind of things that or should be ask. Though they cannot tell you who are the real behind the activities, but they know their masters then something has to be done. Otherwise the devils are winning. A thug can tell you "do you know who am i?" I will show you today, only because he knows he has a political backup, at that moment he can smashed somebody to death and ran away even if he was caught or arrested, the next day he will be released and celebrated. And if all these kinds of a thing are not check properly the society is in serious doomed. And materialism can led to corruption because nobody want to live in abject poverty so people get involved into such kind of the thing without it they cannot earn a living. You know some will be given a car, but you don't know the brain rational behind it but he was given as compensation. So something tangible needs to be done. That is just it.



**Me;** ok! Inshaa ALLAH this study will try as much as possible to outline the naked causes as well the possible solution to such menace, so that everybody will get to know the problem and at the same time how it can be tackle.

**Info;** that's good. And this is what we are expecting.

**Me;** lastly I will like to recommend your efforts and time towards participating in this research work, I thank you for that and may Allah reward more abundantly. Thank you once again. Salamu alaikum!a

**Info;** you are always welcome. Wassalam



## Appendix E

### INFORMANT CONSENT FORM



**UPM**  
UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

JAWATANKUASA ETIKA UNIVERSITI UNTUK  
PENYELIDIKAN MELIBATKAN MANUSIA (JKEUPM)  
UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA, 43400 UPM SERDANG,  
SELANGOR, MALAYSIA

#### FORM B1: RESPONDENT'S INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT

Please read the following information carefully and do not hesitate to discuss any questions you may have with the researcher.

#### 1. STUDY TITLE : "SARA SUKA" IN THE POLITICS OF BAUCHI, NIGERIA. 1999-2013

#### 2. INTRODUCTION:

The use of political thuggery (sara suka) has become a common feature of Nigerian politics, since the return of democracy in 1999. And the situation is now a worrisome to the entire people of Bauchi metropolitain and the country as a whole. Sara suka is a name given to group of thugs mostly youth age 8-35. Some of the youth are in secondary school while others are school drop out, and they are drug adicts and violent. As such politicians uses these opportunity to recruit them(sara suka youth) during campaign and election to serve them as guards. Their activity involve killing intimidation, harrasement and so on.

Therefore the aim of the study is to identify the origin, causes, implication and suggest some possible way out of these youth restiveness in Bauchi and Nigeria as a whole. In this regards, the study apply both primary (interview) and secondry tools of data collection under qualitative method.

#### 3. WHAT WILL YOU HAVE TO DO?

You are require to answer the interview questions or enquiries that you may have regarding the research.

#### 4. WHO SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY?

The followig shall not participate in the study  
People with no experience or idea about Sara Suka group.

#### 5. WHAT WILL BE THE BENEFITS OF THE STUDY:

##### (a) TO YOU AS THE SUBJECT?

The information obtain will be use to asses the implication of sara suka in bauchi state. This will enable the participants to appreciate their knowledge and idea

regarding the sara suka activities and the research work.

**(b) TO THE INVESTIGATOR?**

The study will be a new attempt to assess the implication of sara suka and to provide a sound solution to the menace

**6. WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS?**

The study involves risk (intimidation, harassment) because it deals with thugs groups (sara suka). In this regard, the research work tends to provide dimensions in tackling those risks.

**7. WILL THE INFORMATION THAT YOU PROVIDE AND YOUR IDENTITY REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL?**

Your information and identity is guaranteed and will be used solely for research purposes.

**8. WHO SHOULD YOU CONTACT IF YOU HAVE ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS DURING THE COURSE OF THE RESEARCH?**

For any additional enquiries during the course of the study, you can contact

Kabiru Bello Ilelah

Department of Political Science, Gombe State University,

Gombe State, Nigeria.

[kabirubelloilelah@yahoo.com](mailto:kabirubelloilelah@yahoo.com)

+2348036362838

+60146390915

*Please initial here if you have read and understood the contents of this page \_\_\_\_\_*

9. CONSENT

I AMB. AMINU GORAN SIA Identity Card No. CHAIRMAN  
address CHRISTIAN MUSLIM PEACE MOVEMENT  
B. MUKH hereby voluntarily agree to take part in the research stated  
above \*(sara suka /voice recording/face-face interview).

I have been informed about the nature of the research in terms of methodology, possible adverse effects and complications (as written in the Respondent's Information Sheet). I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this research at any time without giving any reason whatsoever. I also understand that this study is confidential and all information provided with regard to my identity will remain private and confidential.

I \* wish / do not wish to know the results related to my participation in the research

I agree/do not agree that the images/photos/voice recordings related to me be used in any form of publication or presentation (if applicable)

\* delete where necessary

Signature [Signature] (Respondent)      Signature [Signature] (Witness)  
Date : 21/6/14      Name : D. F. JOSHUA  
I/C No. : .....

I confirm that I have explained to the respondent the nature and purpose of the above-mentioned research.

Date .....      Signature .....  
(Researcher)

## Appendix F

### CONFIRMATION LETTER OF TRANSLATION

**Secret**

**Bauchi Radio Corporation**  
...broadcasting for development



30<sup>th</sup> December, 2014

The Senior lecturer,  
Department of politics and government,  
Faculty of human ecology, University Putra,  
Malaysia.

Dear sir,

#### CONFIRMATION OF TRANSLATION

I wish to write and inform you that all the interviews conducted by Kabiru Bello llelah were translated from Hausa to English here in Bauchi Radio

The questions are:

- A) Is there any specific period when the Sara suka activities in the state politics?
  - B) What are the factors that influence youth to participate in Sara suka activities?
  - C) What are the major implications of Sara suka activities in the state politics?
  - D) What are the possible way out?
2. All the transcribed interviews that were conducted in Hausa were translated into English.

Thank you.

**SECRETARY**  
**TO THE CORPORATION**  
P. M. B. 0133

Ibrahim Muhammad Malam Goje,  
News Editor

(For Secretary to the Corporation)




## Appendix G

### RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY LETTER

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
KADUNA STATE UNIVERSITY, KADUNA**

**VICE CHANCELLOR:**  
**Prof. William Barnabas Qurix**  
B.Sc, FT, D.Arc, M. A. Law & Diplomacy, MNNA, FNMA, IFMA (USA)

**HEAD OF DEPARTMENT:**  
**Dr. Yusuf Musa**  
B.Sc (A.B.U.), M.Sc (A.B.U.), Ph.D (A.B.U.), PGDE (KAD POLY) TRC:MMU



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**OFFICE OF THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT**

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11<sup>th</sup> November, 2014

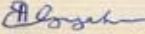
Dr. Adlina Bint Halim  
Senior Lecturer (Supervisor)  
Department of Politics and Government  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
University Of Putra  
Malaysia

Dear Madam

**LETTER OF ATTESTATION**

I write most honestly to certify that the Sara Suka Group which Kabiru Bello Ilelah studied exists in Bauchi State of Nigeria.

That the information collected for the study by Kabiru Bello Ilelah was painstakingly, meticulously and objectively done. Consequently without reservation I state unequivocally that it is collect and valid.

  
Ntim Gyakari Esegw PhD  
Associate Professor



## BIODATA OF STUDENT

Kabiru Bello Ilelah was born in the year 1982 in Bauchi State, Nigeria. He is currently a masters candidate in the Department of Government and Civilization Studies, Faculty of Human Ecology Universiti Putra Malaysia. He received his Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from Gombe State University, Gombe, Nigeria in 2009. He has vast experience in teaching and engagements with youth. He is a lecturer by profession in the Department of Political Science Gombe State University.



## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Kabiru Bello Ilelah, Adlina Ab Halim and Ku Hasnita Ku Samsu .(2015). The Implications of Thuggery as a form of Political Violence in Bauchi, Nigeria. *Elixir social studies*, 81 (2015), pp 31447-31452.

Kabiru Bello Ilelah, Adlina Ab Halim and Ku Hasnita Ku Samsu .(2015). Factors that Influence the Involvement of youth in Social Menace in Nigeria. *International journal of humanities and social science (Quest International Journal)*. Article submitted.

