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An Assessment Of The Activities Of Kalare In Political Violence In Gombe State, Nigeria

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Abstract:

This paper assessed the factors responsible for the recent changes in the role of kalare from hunting group to political thuggery in Gombe metropolis, and the effects on the citizens of Gombe metropolis. In order to get these results, The sampling technique employed a “combination of “purposive” and snowball Jekadafari, Bolari, Kagarawal, Bogo and Tudun-wada in Gombe metropolis were carefully chosen as a focus of this research in order to reflect the area where the activities of Kalare are more pronounced in Gombe. Also the same wards were used in sampling the views of the general public because being the area where the activities of Kalare are more pronounced they are in a better position to comment on the activities of kalare group. A Total of 385 respondents were selected. The research discovered that the Kalare were hunters before they joined Kalare activities due to unemployment among the youths in Gombe. The major sponsors of Kalare activities in Gombe state was discovered to be the individual aspirants, political parties and the government in power which is the PDP. This research concluded that unemployment is the major factors responsible for Kalare activities in Gombe state, while lack of scholarship for those who finished their secondary school in Gombe had contributed to youth in joining the Kalare activities. Based on the above findings and conclusions, the following are some of the recommendations. The government should create more job opportunities for the youth through vocational training, establishment of some companies and agricultural loan which will encourage the youth to go into agriculture and also vocational training tools and loan should be given to them to establish their own workshop. Both state and federal legislature should enact a law that will ban any aspirants from contesting any post if found using Kalare and the related groups in his/her campaign. Scholarship should be given to those who have the requirement for higher education and anybody found to be guilty of election related misconduct should be dealt with without interference by the executive or aspirants.

1.Introduction

The post independence period of Nigeria's history of politics is full of stories of violence. From the First Republic through to the present dispensation, politics has remained characterized by violence. Since then the country has continued to experience varying degrees of political and other forms of violence, taking different colorations-ethnic, religious, and communal etc.

The years 2003 to 2007 also witnessed an unprecedented increase in acts of political violence across the country arising from the formation of ethnic and political militia, such as Oduduwa People Congress (OPC), in the South-West of Nigeria, ECOMOG in Borno State, Kalare in Gombe State, and Sara – Suka in Bauchi State among others.

Individual politicians and groups (political parties and ethnic group formations) have in unequivocal terms demonstrated their readiness to employ violence to achieve their personal goals. This state of affairs has caused an ominous cloud over the sustenance of democracy and raised concerns over the future of Nigeria as a political entity (Umar, 2003)

Since the advent of civilian rule in 1999, Gombe State has experienced quite a number of political violence due largely to the involvement of Kalare into political activities. In 2003 Kalare activities virtually became part of the electoral process in the state making electoral campaign and voting as a battle ground where Kalare are used to harass, intimidate, assassinate and deter Political opponent during electoral campaign and Voting of candidates of their choices

Thus, in view of the foregoing it has become imperative to assess the activities of Kalare political Violence in Gombe state.

2.The Origin Of 'Kalare' In Gombe State

"Kalare" derives its name from a hunter drummer from Miya in Bauchi State. The hunter's name was Kalare and he was a renowned hunter drummer, who always graced occasions organized by hunters anywhere in the northern part of Nigeria.

During his visit to Gombe sometime in 1994, when some hunters of Bolari in Gombe metropolis were turbaned by the District Head of Bolari as Barde, Sarkin Dawa, and so on, Kalare's name was used to identify the hunters, thereby adding 'yan' to the 'Kalare' to replace their initial name of Maharba' or 'Yan Dawa, and thus came to be known as "yan kalare"

The ‘Yan Kalare’, until recently; were known to be hunters and always lived in the bush. They were hardly seen in towns or cities unless during their annual festivals. But with the highly tensed political rivalries in the 2003 General Elections, the politicians in Gombe state dragged them into their political rallies. They were used to harass opponents or protect themselves from attacks. As a result of this, some other jobless youths joined them and thenceforth almost all of the said youths in Gombe state got involved in one form of political violence or the other.

Today in Gombe state the issue of ‘Kalare’ is synonymous with every act of political violence, threat to lives and properties, and other indecent activities. In fact, most of the politicians in Gombe state have their own set of ‘Yan’ Kalare’ who will serve as their guards whenever they are embarking on any political rally or campaign.

3.Statement Of The Research Problem

The history of political violence in Nigeria is as old as the history of Nigeria. Nwosu, (1991) traced the history of political violence in Nigeria, to the 1959 federal election designed by the British to facilitate the transition from Colonial rule to independence. The problem intensified with the 1964 general elections even before the election were held, Nwosu added that it was clear from the extreme position taken by the then major alliance of political groups i.e. the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) and the United Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) that no matter which one of the two groups won the result would be hotly contested. (Nwosu, 1991:120 cited in Godowoli, 2003)

Kuna, (2003) traced the scale and intensity of political violence as from 2002 in Spates of political conflicts and violent clashes within and between communities, social groups and political parties on the one hand and the state on the other raise doubts about the viability of this republic.

Thus political violence in Nigeria is an old phenomenon. However, the year 2003 to 2007 has witnessed an unprecedented increase in the use of political violence in the politics of Nigeria and Gombe state is not an exception.

Though there have been reports on the incidence of Kalare on elections and campaigns in Gombe Metropolis, there has not been any Empirical studies on how and why Kalare are involved in political violence. Therefore, this research intends to carry an empirical study to assess the factors responsible for the recent change of the role of “Kalare” from hunting group to Political Violence and what are the effects of these changes on the citizens of Gombe Metropolis.

4.Objectives Of The Study

The main objective of this research is to study the phenomenon of political violence in Gombe State and to assess the role of Kalare group in recent times. The specific objectives of the study are:

- To determine the factors responsible for the recent change in the role of Kalare from hunting group to political thuggery.
- To assess the socio-demographic characteristics of the Kalare groups in Gombe Metropolis
- To examine the effects of Kalare political violence on the citizen of Gombe Metropolis.
- To identify the major sponsors of Kalare political violence in Gombe Metropolis
- On the basis of the major findings and conclusions, to suggest possible solutions to the problem of Kalare.

5.Scope Of The Study

The focus of this study is on the activities of Kalare in political violence in Gombe Metropolis from 2003 to 2007. As such the research has been limited to five major wards in Gombe metropolis which comprises of Jekada Fari, Tudun-Wada, Kagarawal, Bolari and Bogo respectively being the area where the activities of Kalare is more pronounced. The 2003 – 2007 having witnessed an unprecedented increase in the acts of political violence in the country and Gombe in particular became the period of my concern.

6.Literature Review

6.1.Definitions Of Violence

Marc,(2001:11) in explaining violence, stated that if we pay attention to Newspapers, television, and other types of media, violence appears to be a pervasive part of life. Even if we ignore fictional account, newspaper, magazines, television, and the World Wide Web provide a plethora of violence both in types and amount. But what is violence? Is there a difference between violence and criminal violence? Marc asked, and continues to state that, Violence is difficult to define because there are so many different kinds. There is violence associated with the forces of nature: tornados, earthquake, rainstorms floods

and forest fire are frequently describe as violence that result in loss of life and property Marc, (2001:11)

Newman (1979:1) who defined violence differently as its can be seen below.

that, violence may be the outcome of extreme emotional states such as rage, anger, or hate may be directed toward people, these emotions may also be directed toward object or animal. Kicking the dog after a frustrating day at office is an example.

What comes closest to the definition of violence used in this paper, is the definition offered by Weiner, Zahn, and Sagi (1990:13) who stated that Violence is “the threat, attempt, or use of physical force by one or more persons that result in physical or nonphysical harm to one or more persons” We generally think of violence as action directed toward another in a face to face encounter or near physical contact. Such behavior may be purposeful or motivated by frustration and anger at another.

7.Factors Responsible For Political Violence

According to Yadudu, in a pre-convocation lecture (2008)

Political actors, particularly those in the opposition camp, have come to believe - a belief which, one must caution, and should not be dismissed lightly that their opponents who are in office will not conduct a free and fair election. They will, by fair or foul means, seek to perpetuate themselves in office. To compound matters further; political violence is employed to further the cause of perpetuation in office or unseating an incumbent. Respect for individual freedoms suffers in the run -up to or during electioneering campaigns. Officials, who have sworn to defend the constitution, engage in reckless disregard of the rule of law. Yadudu

According to Aikor (2007), persons within the age range of twelve to thirty years are dependent on their parents for survival. They are also very poor, and they constitute the powerless, jobless, and unemployed and so can be easily manipulated by the elite.

All these conditions results to making them vulnerable to many social vices like crime, political violence, prostitution, drug abuse, alcoholism among others. Therefore in view of their poverty, they only serve as steady army for the powerful politicians that use them to create havoc on the political system especially during elections and pay them very meager amount of money.

While tracing violence in the North East, Umar (2003:212) stated that;

Politicians in the North East, as in other parts of the country, are the critical group that orchestrated and employ violence in the pursuit of personal interest. The most worrisome behavior of our politicians is the manner they have inter-twined politics with violence. They are not only ready to recruit and work with political thugs but have come to accept thugs and violence as a legitimate part of the political process. He further stated that there is hardly any politician or the political party in the zone that does not have a militia group or at least one person who has a tie to thugs and has the capability to organize them (thugs) to attack, maim or assassinate a political rival or destroy political office in furtherance of political interest.

In trying to identify the agents of political violence and thuggery Umar, says:

Youths constitute the readymade group for the perpetration of violence in the North East as well as the nation at large. Politicians recruit them to serve as hit men, bodyguards and militia for the parties. (Umar, 2003:202).

This attitude as Pointed out by Umar, is very relevant to this study because the research also discovered that these youth groups known as Kalare are the agents of political violence in Gombe state, and politicians and political parties are the major exploiters of these Kalare.

8.Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for this research is the Marxian concept of “mode of production” as also used by Sa’ad (1988) the “mode of production” was first utilized by Marx in his analysis of nineteenth century industrial England. It encompasses two aspects: “production forces” and “relation of production” The expresses human relations to nature, that is, the degree to which he/she controls it. The latter expresses the relations among people arising in the process of the production of material goods.

The productive forces include people and object and instruments (means) of labour. In other words, they include tools, machinery, raw materials and labour power combined in a particular way. Thus productive forces do not refer to production technology alone.

Relations of production are, above all, economic relation among people who get together for the purpose of producing material value. Thus all relations of production depend on the three basic aspects: who owns the means of production the degree of division of labour, and the nature of distribution of output. In this way, five types of relations of

production could, according to Marx, be distinguished: primitive communal, slavery, feudal, capitalist and communist. Three out of these five relations of production such as slavery, feudal, and capitalist are characterized by considerable inequalities. In each a small group had/has been able to effectively own the means of production and by so doing, to expropriate to itself the product of others labour. Such considerable inequalities resulted in the formation of social classes such as slave and master in slavery, serf and lord in feudal relation and proletariat (worker) and capitalist, in capitalist relation. These relation are, not only means of exploitation, but also of conflicts.

Those who own capital-factories, machines and large sums of money-form the ruling class exploit those who do not own the means of their own livelihood, but have to find employment provided by the owners of capital. Capitalism is thus a class system, in which conflict between classes is common occurrence.

William Chambliss (1976) also argues that the greed, self-interest and hostility generated by the capitalist system motivate many crimes at all levels within society. Members of each stratum use whatever means and opportunities their class position to commit crime. Thus, in low- income areas, the mugger, the petty thief, the pusher, the pimp and the prostitute use what they have got to get what they can. In higher-income brackets, business people, lawyers and politicians have more effective means at their disposal to grab a larger share of the cake.

Therefore looking at the nature of the mode production as postulated by Marx, and the contribution of Chambliss, one will understand the relevance of this theory to this research work. These are for the followings reasons: those who own the means of production (capitalist} anywhere in the world constitute the ruling class, and as also pointed out by Chambliss, that the “the greed, self- interest and hostility generated by the capitalist system motivate many crimes.” Nigeria is not an exception where the capitalist are the politicians and the ruling class and the motivators of political violence. While the politicians are the capitalist, Kalare formed the proletariat (labour) as they use them in causing violence for their selfish interest by giving them money to buy drugs such as, Indian hemp, pakarline, beneline, and so on until they are out of their mind before they are instructed and given a target by the politicians particularly the ruling party in the case of Gombe metropolis during each camping and election. By so doing the youth (Kalare) feel as if they are part of the ruling class due to how they associate with the politicians during campaign and elections but after the (politicians} have achieved their goal (political power} they abandon the (Kalare) youth. This attitude of using the political

thugs like kalare and their like and abandon them is the common attitude of the politicians in Nigeria and Gombe in particular.

Looking at the above reasons and explanations, one will understand that the politicians are the capitalist, while Kalare are the tools exploited by the politicians to attain political power as a source of accumulation of wealth as used by the capitalist in the -capitalist system of government.

9.Methodology

9.1.Sampling

The sampling technique employed is a combination of a “purposive” and snowball. Jekadafari, Bolari, Kagarawal, Bogo and Tudun-wada in Gombe metropolis have been carefully chosen as the focus of this research in order to reflect the area where the activities of Kalare are more pronounced in Gombe metropolis, while snowball was used in selecting the kalare respondents where the first respondent leads to the other respectively. Also the same wards were used in sampling the views of the general public because being the area where the activities of kalare are more pronounced they are in better position to comment on the activities of kalare in Gombe metropolis.

9.2.Sample Size

In selecting the sample size, the respondents were divided into three groups which include the Kalare group, the General public and patrons of the political parties of the four political parties in Gombe metropolis. A total of 385 respondents were sampled in the whole of Gombe metropolis, 150 people were interviewed among the Kalare group with 30 youth from each of the five wards mentioned above. As for the general public, 250 people were interviewed. A total number of 225 questionnaires were received. Jekadafari 50, Tudunwada 46, Kagarawal 42, Bogo 40 and Bolari 47 responded respectively. For the patrons of the four political parties, 8 people were interviewed with 2 from each of the four political parties in Gombe metropolis which include PDP, AC, ANPP and AD. Also 2 people were interviewed among the traditional leaders.

10.Mode Of Data Collection

As one of the objectives of this paper, is to (Assess the activities of kalare in political violence) in Gombe Metropolis, an admixture of three techniques were employed, which include interviews, questionnaire and documentary.

11. Interview Method

Here, both questionnaire, structured, and in-depth interview were utilized. The Kalare groups were interviewed while they provided answers to the questions asked. As for the general public, they were issued with the questionnaire to fill and return them at the end of the day and those who cannot read and write, the questionnaire were read to them while they provided an answer to the questions which served as a structured interview. This is to enable the researcher to ask uniform questions and get a different response from the respondents. As for the prominent politicians and the traditional leaders, in-depth interview were utilized in order to enable the researcher ask questions outside the interview guide where the need arises in order get a clear information on the subject of discussion.

12. Documentary Method

Data were drawn from the Anti -kalare Squad records particularly about their set up and mode of operations. Also data were collected from the records of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) at the State Police Headquarters Gombe, and the specialist hospital on records of kalare victims.

13. Data Analysis

Generally speaking the technique of data analysis employed in this research uses descriptive statistics where frequency distribution and percentage were used to analyze the data collected.

The total respondent for this research was three hundred and eighty five (385) the total sample interviewed was summarized in table 1, 2, and 3 below.

WARDS	PDP	AC	ANPP	DPP	NONE PARTY	TOTAL
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BOLARI	22	04	02	0	02	30
KAGARAWAL	26	02	0	01	01	30
TUDUN-WADA	23	02	0	01	04	30
JEKEDA FARI	20	04	03	01	02	30
BOGO	19	01	02	03	05	30
GRAND TOTAL	110	13	07	06	14	150

Table 1: shows the distribution of kalare respondent by wards and parties

Source: Field work 2007

The above table shows the Kalare respondents according to the party they are working for across the five wards in the metropolis which indicate that the P D P has the highest population among the kalare groups.

Wards	Male	Female	Numbers
Jekada-Fari	25	25	50
Tudun- W ada	25	21	46
Kagarawal	25	17	42
Bogo	25	15	40
Bolari	25	22	47
Total	125	100	225

Table 2: shows the general public who respond to the questionnaires according to their wards

Political Party	Numbers
P.D.P	2
A.N.P.P	2
A.C	2
D.P.P	2
Traditional leaders	2
Total	10

Table 3: shows the distribution of in-depth interview with traditional Leaders and Prominent Politicians according to their parties

14.Socio Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The socio demographic characteristics of the Kalare groups in Gombe state were presented below.

Ages	Frequency	Percentages
10-15	4	2.6
16-25	113	75.3
26-30	28	18.6
31-40	5	3.3
Total	150	100
Qualification	Frequency	Percentages
Primary school	24	16
Secondary school	94	62.6
Diploma	10	6.6
Quaranic school	01	0.6
Never attended formal education	21	14
Total	150	100
Religion	Frequency	Percentages
Islam	158	92
Christianity	12	8
Total	150	100
Marital status	Frequency	Percentages
Married	7	4.6
Single	143	95.3
Total	150	100
Responses	Frequency	Percentages
Hausa/Fulani	91	60.6
Other tribes	59	39.3
Total	150	100

Table 4: shows the Distribution of Kalare Respondents by Age, Qualification, Religion, Marital status and Tribes respectively.

Source: Field work, 2007.

Table 4 shows that, 75.3 percent of the Kalare group in Gombe state were between the ages of 16-25 which is the age where the youths are in their active stage. Between these

periods they are supposed to be furthering their education in various institutions of learning. But unfortunately for them, they are in conflicts with the norms and values of the society which shows that, they are problems to their society as they don't contribute positively. Also the hope for the youths to be the leaders of tomorrow in this situation is fading out unless the situation is controlled.

While the distribution of kalare respondents by gender shows that 100 percent of them are males as we can see from this field survey. The males are expected to be head of families in future but as we can see from this research they have failed to meet up with the expectation of the society.

The distribution of kalare by their educational qualification shows that, 62.6 percent of the Kalare members have been to secondary schools, while 21 percent said they have never attended any formal education, 6.6 percent had diploma education. This data shows that, those that attended secondary schools but could not proceed for their higher education and could not get employment constitutes the highest percentage of kalare members with 62.6 percent. Therefore by this data we will conclude that it is lack of educational qualifications that make the youth to join political violence.

The same table above also indicates that, 95.3 percent of the Kalare respondents are singles and they don't have anything doing in other words they don't have any societal responsibility which make them vulnerable and cheap for the politicians to employ them into political violence in the metropolis.

The above table shows that 92 percent of the Kalare members in Gombe state belong to the Islamic faith. This may not be unconnected with the fact that the majority of the people of Gombe are Muslim as such the majority of the Kalare are Muslim since most of them are indigene of the state.

The distribution of kalare by tribes also indicates that 60.6 percent of the Kalare in Gombe belongs to the Hausa/Fulani who are the migrant ethnic groups. While 39.3 percent are other tribes who are the indigenous group of Gombe State.

Responses	Frequency	Percentages
Unemployment	114	78

Poverty	32	21.3
Others	4	2.6
Total	150	100

Table 5: shows the Distribution of Kalare respondents by their reasons for Joining Political Violence

Source: Field work, 2007

The above table shows that, 78 percent of the Kalare members joined the Political violence as a result of unemployment and poverty as we can see above, and 21.3 percent also attributed the reason for Kalare activities to poverty, and only 2.6 percent that had something doing before they joined the Kalare activities in Gombe metropolis. This also corresponded to the views of Ibrahim (2007) a politician who said that the youth are jobless but now with the introduction of kalare they have make kalare activities as their source of incomes. Also in an in-depth interview with Abubakar a politician and former commissioner stated that it is because the youth are jobless that's why the politicians find them cheap to employ as kalare so that they can get money to spend Abubakar, (2007) Therefore from the above table we can understand that, unemployment among the youths is a serious problem as they have their own social demands which must be met. As such since those demands cannot be met through the legal means, they resorted to Kalare activities, as an opportunity to earn something to solve their problems while causing insecurity to the general public in Gombe state.

Responses	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	132	88
No	18	2
Total	150	100

Table 6: shows the willingness of kalare respondents to abandon political Violence if given employment.

Source: Field work, 2007

The above table further proves that, it is truly unemployment that makes the youths to join Kalare activities in Gombe state. As we can see that, 88 percent of them are willing to abandon Kalare if given an employment.

Sponsors	Frequency	Percentages
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Individual aspirants	44	29.3
Political party	35	23.3
Government	56	37.3
Others	01	0.6
Nobody	14	9.3
Total	150	100

*Table 7: Shows the Major Sponsors of Kalare Violence in Gombe Metropolis
Source: Field work, 2007*

The table shows that 37.3 percent of the respondents claim that it is the Government in power who employed the youth in to political violence, while 29.3 percent stated that they are being employed by the individual aspirants into the political violence. This view by the kalare respondents indicates that, they are being sponsored by the government correspond with the views of the following prominent politicians in Gombe Idi, B., Ibrahim, Z., Umar Y, Abubakar B.B and Magaji B. in an in-depth interviews with them separately (IDI, Gombe Oct. 2007)

Occupations	Frequency	Percentages
Hunting	30	23.3
Petroleum hawker	13	6.6
Trader	9	10.6
Student	86	37.3
Others	12	5.6
Jobless	25	16.6

*Table 8: shows the Occupations of the Kalare respondents before joining
Political Violence
Source: Field work, 2007*

Table 8.0 shows that 37.3 percent of the Kalare members were secondary school students before they joined political thuggery. This data is also supported by table 4.0 which shows that 62.6 percent of the Kalare educational qualification is secondary schools. While 23.3 percent of them were hunters from whom the name Kalare originated in Gombe State. According to Magaji (in an in-depth interview) In most cases those hunters are the leaders of the kalare groups because they claim they are immune to weapons and have traditional medicine to

protect Kalare members against any weapon and this gives the members encouragement and make them fearless in their activities. Interview with Magaji B (2007)

Year	Male	Female	Total
2003	Record Could not be found		
2004	333	72	405
2005	324	86	410
2006	439	91	530
2007	366	65	431
GRAND TOTAL	1462	314	1776

Table 9: This table shows the annual Kalare victims according to the record of the specialist hospital Gombe

Source: Gombe Specialist Hospital Traumatic Records (2007)

The above table shows that throughout the years from 2003 there have been cases of kalare violence in the metropolis even though the records of kalare victims for 2003 could not be found because of the poor system of recording but the table above shows the continuity in the act of political violence in the metropolis as we can see there is a record of kalare victims up to 2007.

YEAR	Robbery	Homicide	Rape	Hurts	Assault	TOTAL
2003	2	Nil	9	21	14	46
2004	4	Nil	5	16	11	36
2005	3	1	8	17	10	39
2006	3	Nil	6	19	9	37
2007	2	Nil	9	23	12	45
GRAND TOTAL	14	1	37	96	56	204

Table 10: this table shows the annual prosecuted Kalare members according to various offences

Source: Police record Gombe state command 2007

The year 2003 has the highest number of prosecuted kalare members followed by the year 2007. This also shows that the introduction of Anti Kalare in Gombe metropolis did not stop the activities of kalare violence as we can see in 2007 has second highest cases of political violence in the metropolis.

Consequences	Frequency	Percentages
Insecurity	13	5.7
Threat to lives and properties.	6	2.6
It gives a bad future of our youth	38	16.9
All of the above	163	72.4
No response	05	2.2
Total	225	100

Table 11: shows the consequences of Kalare violence in Gombe metropolis

Sources: Field survey, 2007

Table 11.0 shows that 72.4 percent of the general public respondents said that the consequences of Kalare violence in Gombe metropolis includes insecurity, threat to lives and property, as well as showing an indication that the youth has no good future in the metropolis if nothing is done about it, as it can be seen in the table above.

15. Conclusion

The research was able to trace the major sponsors of this kalare violence to the government in power which is the P D P under the leadership Governor Muhammad Danjuma Goje which also make it necessary for other none ruling parties to look for protection against the attack of the ruling party Kalare thugs. As such it leads to so many counter attacks between the kalare supporter and the thugs of the opposition's parties during campaigns and political rallies in the metropolis.

Shortly before the conclusion of this research work, it was understood that the introduction of Anti Kalare squad by the Government was just for political reason but not for the purpose of finding a lasting solution to political violence in the metropolis this is because as the election for 2011 drew nearer the Government disbanded the Anti kalare squad and gave some temporary employment to kalare members particularly those that are close to the administration. Furthermore, it short listed over one hundred kalare members to be paid five thousand naira monthly, which means the Government still wants to use the kalare members for forth coming election.

The people of Gombe state as gathered by this research are not comfortable with the activities of the Kalare in the state as when election is over the Kalare thugs resort to burglary and theft and so many cases of rapes are being reported. This is because during campaign and elections, they have source of getting money to solve their immediate problems through the politicians. But as soon as this means is no more there, they resort to so many criminal acts in the metropolis. These includes snatching of phones, rapes, stealing etc. therefore the conclusion here is that, unless permanent jobs are secured for these youth, otherwise their criminal activities will not end in the metropolis.

Finally, from this research we can understand that, it will be difficult for the politicians to do without political thugs in Gombe state since the strength of thugs determine the victory of the political party in the state. This was confirmed, during the 2007 election when the opposition party ANPP tried to put an end to the administration of the P D P but all efforts proved abortive because, the ruling party had the highest and strongest Kalare thugs group who stopped the opposition from their legal right of voting the candidate they wanted. As such the same administration was maintained by force. Violence often mars free and fair election.

16.Recommendation

Based on the findings, the following are the recommendations of this research.

- The researcher has found out that, unemployment is the major factors responsible for the activities of Kalare in Gombe. Therefore the Government should create more job opportunities for the youth through agricultural loans, establishment of some small scale industries, and more vocational training programmes should be introduced. After the training tools and loans should be given to them to enable them establish their own businesses.
- The researcher also discovered that there are some of the Kalare members who have finished their secondary school education but they were unable to proceed to institutions of higher learning which make them redundant. The government should give them scholarship particularly those between the ages of 16-25 years to continue with their educational training in universities, colleges of educations and polytechnics.
- Since this research have understood that, the politicians are the major sponsors of these Kalare groups, the legislatures should formulate a law that

would stop politicians from contesting for any post if found engaging the services of political thugs in their campaign. The rule of law should be strengthened and the judiciary as an independent arm of government should ensure that all those who engage in electoral violence and related malpractices are punished without any exception.

- This research also discovered that all the Kalare members are from less privileged families. As such an enlightenment campaign should be embarked upon by the media on the disadvantages and dangers of political violence so that both the parents and the youth would understand that their children and ward are being used for the benefit of the politicians to the detriment of the parents and their children futures.
- The researcher was made to understand that so many people lost their lives as a result of Kalare activities. While the anti-Kalare squad complained about government officials' interference by demanding the police to release those kalare members that belong to the ruling party (PDP) which shows there is biasness in prosecution. Therefore, the police and the judiciary should be allowed to do their work without interference by the executive or any party official.

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