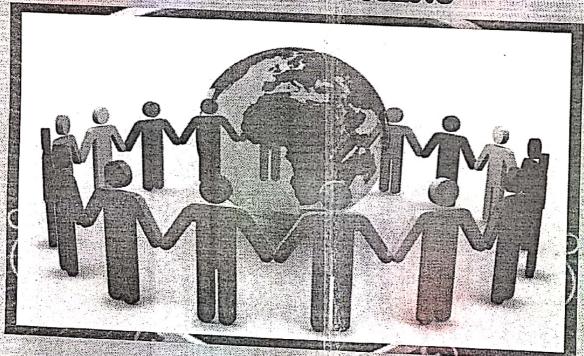
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Institute of Public Administration of Nigeria, Abuja The Political Economy of Epileptic Electricity Supply and Unemployment in Nigeria: Its Implication on the 2019 General Elections in the Country

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### Abstract

This paper examines the interconnectivity between stable electricity supply in Nigeria as an engine of economic growth and unemployment on the one hand, and the conduct of violence free election in the country on the other. Since the defunct National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), to Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) and now Private(s) Electric Companies, the nation has witnessed dramatic drop in the supply of this resource to its teeming populace and therefore the supply has become epileptic in the recent times despite huge financial resources government has committed to the sector. Employing both qualitative and quantitative methods of research, one thousand Eight hundred questionnaires were randomly administered on respondents chosen from six industrialized capital cities in the country as sampling population and these include Lagos, Kaduna, Port-Harcourt, Maiduguri, Plateau and Aba. Using simple percentage of data analysis, findings reveal that there are an apparent links between stable electricity supply and violence free election, on the one hand, unemployment and poverty on the other. However, unstable and epileptic power supply has made the youths of the country more susceptible to electoral violence. Theunavailability of electricity has forced the youths to disengage from small medium enterprises such as Tailoring, Haircut saloon, Cyber Café, ICT Businesses, Cottage industries, etc. which havehitherto provided sources of sustainability to these youths. Therefore, the paper recommends that government at all levels should urgently and proactively fix this sector so that the attendant vulnerability of the teeming youths to electoral violence in the country could be considerably reduced, if not entirely void of.

Keywords: Electoral Violence, Unemployment, Epileptic Electricity Supply, Youth

## Introduction

Stable and regular electricity supply is one of the most salient indices of determining developed and prosperous economy which offers its teeming population a prospect of enjoying gainful employment. Both developed and developing countries such as USA, Britain, Russia, India and Pakistan realized how germane the power sector is to their economies and have therefore taken a step further to protect and consolidate electricity supply by harnessing nuclear energy to guarantee its stability.

Nigeria's case pictures an abysmal failure in this sector. Since the moribund NEPA, to the present day private electricity companies, the successive governments of the country havestruggled to provide its population with stable electricity supply. The failure of the government to realize this objective has continuously forced the teeming

Nigerian youths out of job, most especially in small and medium industries, such as haircut saloon, tailoring, ICT businesses, furniture, welding work, cyber café, etc.this trend has also led to the collapse of industries such as textile mills, mining and agroallied in the North and small medium and large scale industries like cassava processing mills, Dunlop Plc, PZ, Michelin and Unilever in the South, which hitherto provided sources of sustainability to these youths. The country has witnessed serious electoral violence in its democratization bid and the 1965 "operation wetie" is still fresh in the memory of many Nigerians. The 2011 and 2015 general elections violence called for a deep concern among Nigerians with the attendant loss of lives and properties and detraction from national development. On this note, huge effort is required to avoid a recurrence of this ugly incidence in the coming general elections in the country. To this end, therefore, this paper seeks to underscore the nexus between irregular supply of power, unemployment, poverty and their attendant implications on the conduct of violence free general elections vis-a-vis national development in the country.

Conceptual Aperture

It is very germane to shed light on the concepts used in the discussion for a proper understanding and directions. Three concepts were majorly used in the paper and these include Epileptic Electricity Supply, Unemployment and Electoral Violence. Epileptic Electricity Supply

Epilepsy is a biological term which means the tendency to have a recurrent seizure in the body system. Epileptic power supply therefore is a situation in which electricity is in a recurrent seizures and inadequate to sustain and maintain the population of a given country. Adedokun andOsunpitan(2010, p. 154) described epileptic supply of electricity as a situation whereby there are consistent power outages in an area over a given period of time. Epileptic power supply occurs as a result of different technical problems such as lack of enough generated Mega Watts to cater for the teeming population's electricity need and electrical network problems during the process of power generation, transmission and distribution. George (2012, p.10) X-rays the effect of epileptic power supply on the national development when he observes that the "crippling hydra-headed monster has not only rendered businesses hopeless, but has also been the main clog hindering bright minds from actualizing a lot of potentials". In the same vein, Ayodele (1998, p.01) asserts:

Apart from serving as the pillar of wealth creation in Nigeria, it is also the nucleus of operation and consequently the 'engine of growth and employment generation. In recognition of the consolidating linkage between the energy sector and the other sectors of the economy, electricity development and utilization therefore, have pervasive impacts on a range of socio-economic activities and consequently the living standard of citizens in the country

Regular power supply will boost the economy and attract domestic and foreign investment which will provide job opportunities for the teeming youths who were

unemployed, thus ending all forms of violence in the country including electoral violence. Adedokun and Osunpidan (2010:164) further stress the importance of stable electricity that "adequate power supply impact is the backbone of infrastructure development, wealth creation, job opportunities and human/capital development."

President Jonathan also observes that it is "a fact that electricity will remain the catalyst for the growth of our economy and electricity supply stabilization will ultimately improve the lives of millions of Nigerians." (The Nation, February 22, 2015). It is on record that electricity generation in Nigeria is fluctuating between 5 and 6,000 MWs (as of September, 2014), a country of population of over 189 million, (worldometer, 2017) while South Africa with just over 40 million generated 40,000MWs. Indeed, it is crystal clear the reason behind minimal electoral violence in South Africa and maximum electoral violence in Nigeria.

Unemployment

Unemployment occurs when a set of population are without work and actively seeking job. It is often used as a measure of the health of a nation. Unemployment is the disability of able hands to engage in the sustenance of livelihood and it is largely caused by bad governance which invariably leads to the collapse of small and medium enterprises.

In particular, small and medium enterprises are the engine of development and main provider of employment to the teeming youth's population. Aremu and Adeseyi,

(2011:200) asserts:

The small and medium scale industry is seen as a key to Nigeria's growth and alleviation of poverty and development in the country. Therefore, promotion of such enterprises in developing economies like Nigeria is of paramount importance since it brings about a great employment.

Unemployment appears to be the root cause of violence in Nigeria. Research suggests that unemployed youths are disproportionately more likely to be perpetrators, as well as victims of crime and violence. Both leading contestants in the 2015 general elections in the country, President Goodluck Jonathan and General Muhammed Buhari, recognized the central position of employment generation as key to national development. Jonathan in his campaign rally in Kaduna says "the collapsed textile mills in the state would be revived so as to create jobs for the teeming unemployed youths in the state". (The Punch, 31" January, 2015). While Buhari was more elaborate, during his campaign in Kebbi state, he says, "ending current epileptic power supply will boost the economy and attract domestic and foreign investment which will provide job opportunities for the teeming youths who were unemployed thus ending political violent in the country". (The Punch, January, 7th, 2015). The problem of violent crises in Nigeria has been exacerbated by the high rate of unemployment and economic recession which has pushed many youths out of job, some of whom graduates into various deadly crimes

(Okafor, 2011, p. 11). There is no doubt that there is symbolical and diabolical relationship between unemployment and political violence. Unemployment is the genesis of violence in the country and it is discovered from the research conducted that violence is more prevalent in the North than the South, most especially during the 2011 and 2015 elections.

### Electoral Violence

Violent crimes generally refer to such activities as terrorism, kidnapping, murder and armed robbery. The term electoral violence means any act of violence perpetrated in the course of political activities, including pre, during and post-election periods. (Ojo, 2014, p. 01). Electoral violence does only mean arson action; it connotes both actions and utterances such as hatred speeches directed towards violation of electoral processes and rules. ECOWAS Commission election monitoring team in Nigeria observes that "one of the issues is that our long-term observer mission said there was a lot of hate media, hate speeches being distributed. It was not good for our polity. It is heating up the polity" (The Punch Newspaper, February 17th 2015). The agitation for postponement of election timetable on whatever guise or excuses, including mobilization of youths, towards the realization of such objective is an act of electoral violence. In addition, mass movement of people from one axis of the country to the other on the apprehension of possible electoral fallout constitutes, directly or indirectly, electoral violence. Electoral violence is a mere sub-set of political violence and it is distinguished by its timing around elections and desire to impact elections by altering its outcome or simply disrupting elections. Electoral violence can be physical threat and intimidation of voters, opponents, snatch or destroy election materials (UNDP, cited in Akwaya, 2013).

Electoral violence in Nigeria is mostly carried out by gangs whose members are openly recruited, financed and sometimes armed by politicians, State officials and party officials or their representatives. Members of these groups are mostly illiterate, unemployed and poor young men, who are mobilized to attack their sponsors' rivals, intimidate member of the public, rig elections and project their patrons from similar attacks. Akwaya (2013) further observes, Electoral violence manifest in forms such as disruption of campaign rallies, assassinations, rigging by theft of ballot papers and boxes, disrupting elections on election day or chasing away voters, malicious and wanton destruction of property and arson require systematic and detailed planning and organization. Although unemployment, not illiteracy, determines youth involvement in electoral violence, Fisher, cited in Nkwachukwu and Nkiru (2012, p. 06), states:

Electoral violence is "any random or organized act that seeks to determine, delay or otherwise influence an electoral process through threat, verbal intimidation, late speech, disinformation, physical assault, force "protection", blackmail, distribution of property, or assignation

During the build up to 2015 general elections in the country, electoral violence manifested with hatred and provocative statements coming from all sides. With public misinformation, attack and intimidation, almost 100 lives have already been lost, with the North West of the country worst hit in the pre-electionviolence (NHRC, The Nation Newspaper February 14th). In the same vein, General AbdulSalamAbubakar, a former Head of State, observes during his meeting with the Nigerian service chiefs on the 2015 General Elections that "any Nigerian who loves this country must preach peace. There is apprehension and there is no need for that, Nigerians, please, I beg you, learn from the former mistakes". Also, the Sultan of Sokoto AlhajiSa'ad Abubakar III and the Catholic Archbishop of Abuja, Cardinal John Onaiyekan expressed similar fears on the 2015 general elections:

Given the recent acts of violence witnessed in the campaigns, including the assaults on the convoys of President Jonathan in the North, it was obvious that forthcoming General elections may spell crises, except urgent steps were taken to forestall the situation

The Punch, Febuary., 3, 2015

Electoral violence is not new in country. It dates back to 1959 during colonial era and reached it ugly peak in 1965 with "operation wetie" in the western part of the country. In the recent history, the 2011 graphic picture or the consequences of political violence that accompanying the general election is still fresh. For instance, in Kaduna state alone, the Nigeria police reported that 1,435 private properties, 967 shops, 137 churches, 46 mosques, 46 police property, 16 government property, 437 vehicles and 219 motorcycles were burnt or destroyed (Oduagbo, 2011:10). In a similar tune, Al Jazeera reported that "over 1000 lives were lost during 2011 general election rioting in Nigeria". (Al Jazeera, Febuary 7th, 2015)

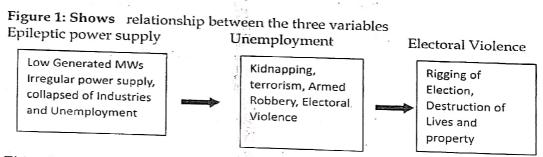
Research Methodology

The paper adopted mixed methods, combining empirical study with extensive literature review on the subject matter. Six industrialized capital cities in Nigeria were purposively selected across the six Geo-political zones in the country as sampling population and these include Lagos, Kaduna, Port-Harcourt, Maiduguri, Plateau and Aba. The choice of these cities hinged on their industrial patent and vulnerability to violence. One thousand Eight hundred questionnaires were randomly administered, with three hundred per city. Information regarding relationship between epileptic power supply, unemployment and electoral violence were elicited from the respondents.

Results and Discussion

Findings from the study show that 83.4% of the respondents agreed that the country was witnessing epileptic power supply in the country. It stresses further that epileptic power leads to the collapse of small, medium and big Industries which eventually lead to unemployment thus resulted into the Youths prone to machineries of electoral violence. While 16.6% of the respondent disagree that epileptic power supply in Nigeria influence the political development in the country. This suggests that epileptic power supply affects directly or indirectly the collapse of industries. For instance, past studies

show that most of the textile industries in the North collapsed in the 1990s and 2000s due topower failure. Unilever, PZ, and others were also affected by the epileptic power supply, and in the aftermath of such scenario is layoff of staff.



This figure shows diabolical and symbolic relationship between the variables. Productivity affected money spent on wages are more than the output, hence there is the need to cut down the labor force so as to save cash, increase in the rate of unemployment, engagement of youths by the politicians in violent act and increase in electoral violence.

# Conclusion and Recommendations

Undoubtedly, there is strong nexus between availability of stable and unhindered supply of electricity and development vis-à-vis employment generation in a country. Hence, epileptic supply of this important source of development could be a catalyst for unemployment capable of breeding electoral violence which can thus derail national development process in Nigeria. Unemployment is the root cause of violence, not only in Nigeria, but across the globe. This research work has discovered that unemployed youths are more susceptible to violence because, it is said, an idle hand is a devil's workshop. In the previous general elections (1999, 2011 and 2015) in the country, violence reached alarming rates and this act resulted in wanton destruction of properties and lives, most especially in the Northern region of the country. In a pragmatic suggestion, the paper recommends among others that the Government should proactively fix the energy sector by significantly increase the power generation, transmission and distribution so that energy required industries can regularly and reliably source uninterrupted power to sustain and provide the teeming youth population unhindered job opportunities. Government at all levels needs to work together in this course because the issue of power generation and distribution is very vital to the development of a nation and therefore should not be handled by s single tier of government. State governments must be ready to join and compliment the effort of the central government in this regard. For instance, the effort of the Lagos State Government in this direction has really helped in the boosting of energy generated and supply to the state inhabitants and industrialists. If this is pragmatically put in place, it

would avert the recurring political violence that often accompany general elections in the country, thereby enhancing an unfettered progress in the national development process.

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