

Electoral Manipulations and Voters Apathy in Nigeria

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Abstract: This study reveals the electioneering process in Nigeria political development is not devoid of electoral manipulations. It is instituted by result desperadoes who defiled the act of performing fundamental and civic responsibility of voters, patriotically intertwined with right to speak and assessing the incumbency performance or an attempt to test-run other aspiring potential contenders, albeit, returning or sacking officers from offices. On integration, electoral manipulations are no doubt, an aberration, but a culture adopted as the last option of suppressing the strength of the opposition, manipulation of EMB even within the internal party polity. It is of course not in single pipeline of current dispensations (1999-2019) rather traceable to political developments from the early 1950s to late 1970s and 1980s-1990s. Descriptively, electoral manipulations stance in electoral process commenced and brewed behaviorally due to untold ethnic founding of political parties hinged on socio-cultural groups and affiliations in the instance of AG, NPC, NCNC, second, third and fourth republic are not exempted outside the parlance from preceding political atmosphere which marred the successes of pre and post-independence preponderance of electoral manipulations in Nigeria, consequently, the politics of wet e. Hence, electoral manipulations culture thus situated in the democratic governance. Objectively, this effort aims to identify and analysed the causes of apathy in electoral process based on secondary data and proffering recommendations to reducing apathy in the Nigeria electioneering process.

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INTRODUCTION

Democratic governance principles consist of eight elements. Some of these include; human rights, elections, rule of law, separation of powers, the parliaments, democratic pluralism, the government and the opposition, public opinion and freedom of the press. Each of these

principles are interrelated in roles and functions in providing, allocating and distribution of dividends of democratic governance to all the stakeholders (i.e., electoral body, political parties, law enforcement institutions, electorate and party flag bearers). To this end, flaws in any of the above principles demean the process of good governance. On the contrary, the most significant

element of democratic tenets will be considered in this endeavour and not holistically, rather, analysing the reoccurring challenges that have enveloped the polity of Nigeria electoral principles which have been internalised politically (electoral culture). Election in this context, connotes an arrangement put in place by the electoral body which empower the stakeholders (electorates) either to retain or replace political office holders. Thus, in an attempt to elect or depose a party flag bearer by result desperado, electoral malpractices emanate.

The nexus of electoral malpractices and voter's apathy during election period cannot be overemphasized. This action however is a macro element of election malpractices generally. In other words, election malpractices comprise several elements and these include, suppression of opposition's strength, demand and supply in relations to vote buying and selling by party and politicians, gun-shots, widespread killings, ballot box snatching and manipulation of election results, among others. In a related development, voter's apathy therefore is an incidence that emanates from election malpractices, notwithstanding, by immediate or remote causes.

The synergy between the political party, party candidatures and the electorate are the Election Management Bodies (EMB). The relationship between this inter-connectedness towards political development especially in the Nigeria context is expected to be independent and operating in peaceful co-existence with other stakeholders found within the ambience of political terrain. Similarly, the electioneering process in this context has not been devoid of violence and it is traceable to the inception of political development in Nigeria in early 1950s and late 1970s and 1980-1990s although, this has not yet withdrawn from previous and current political dispensations (1999-2019) and thus, peculiar in causes.

This era on the other hand, characterized and founded political processes as well as the electoral processes on tribal arrangements, i.e., Yoruba empire, Igbo terrain and the Hausas Caliphate consequently, known as socio-cultural movement. The emergence of political party did not just commence independently and cannot stand aloof but re-engineered on extended affiliations and associations formed in the interest of socio-cultural group. Therefore, in analysing the study's objective synoptically, this endeavour will analyse the causes of voters' apathy in relation to election violence in the Nigeria context. Methodologically based on secondary sources of data and periodic electoral administration as scope for this endeavour.

Adoption of Protracted Culture (APC): Prior to 1964/1965, the dominant of political parties during the first Republic were developed based on socio-cultural tenets. In 1950s, AG, NPC and NCNC in this instance gained their dominance and wide support as a result of

sectional articulated interest of each cultural group. In relations, AG was attributed to the Yorubas, NCNC from this context intertwined to the Igbos and Hausas were connected to NPC and to a large extent, the democratic experiment internally was therefore exposed to irregularities founded on tribalism. Likewise in 1983, the second Republic on the other hand were not distant from the parlance of first Republic electoral and political processes. In this scenario, Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) and National Party of Nigeria (NPN) are descriptive in their sphere of influence as in tandem with Yorubas and Hausas, respectively. Thus, this period was marred by disgraceful practices which were scandalous to internal polity.

In 1990s, third Republic however, witnessed additional violence. This act in itself was brewed from leadership ideology. To this end, two political parties were launched that is Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republic Convention (NRC) during this period, there were insensitivity from the electorate's perspectives on religious observations as highly inclined by the current leaders. However, chief MKO Abiola and Babagana Kingibe (Muslim-Muslim joint ticket) and NRC on the influence of the president, picked Sylvester Ugoh and Tofa (Christian-Muslim joint ticket) as presidential candidate for third Republic and running mate respectively. Hence, the annulment of election result of June 12, 1993 spikes the aftermath of post-election violence in Nigeria owing to preferred choice of military president. Hence, Olowojolu^[1] reiterates that ethnicity and religion are part of the electoral system, although, some of these factors have also contributed to voter's apathy in Nigeria electioneering processes.

By fourth Republic, 1999-2003 electioneering administration, the emergence of civilian president in 1999, stemmed from the military regime under Major General Abubakar Abdulsalam outlined principles adopted for the military-civil rule transition on mode of party system, candidature, electoral body, requirements for the electorates before performing their civic duties. Amidst these electoral processes, there were speculations from stakeholders who actively participated in the election reiterate series of malpractices that occurred during general elections. Succinctly, among the two presidential candidates, Chief Olu Falae, the flag bearer of Alliance for Democracy (AD) in his summations challenged the victory of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) on the ground that the later lost to him in that election. Although, personal opinionated.

Likewise, 2003-2007 on the other hand, the electioneering exercise under the administration of Prof. Maurice Iwu was referred to as the most corrupted and worst election in the history of Nigeria. This outcome of electoral weaklings was questioned by local researchers,

international observers and agencies, political and public affair analysts and academia castigated the exercise that brought in Chief Olusegun Obasanjo in for his second term as the president of Nigeria (2003-2007). To this end, the unanswered interrogations from all stakeholders in respect to the outcome of the election to a greater extent, threw the electorates into another scale of apathy due to colossal irregularities meted out from such exercise. Hence, owing to this exercise known as electoral fraud in the Nigeria electoral history, voter's apathy again amplified.

Similarly, Yar'Adua's dispensation in sequence was not exempted from the frivolities of electoral fraud in Nigeria political development. In his broadcast in 2007, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua admitted that the election that brought him to power was marred by several election malpractices. This action, however, commends the President's claims that the appropriate quarters should do the needful to address the shortcomings of electoral fraud in the Nigeria polity. In contrast, the consequence of voter's apathy increased as a result of this act. Thus, the demise of Yar'Adua inaugurated the deputy as the president and General Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, (GCFR), Dr Ebele Goodluck Jonathan who completed the dispensation of his predecessor from 2009-2011.

After 2011-2015, the electorate in this period mildly accepted the candidacy of Dr Goodluck Jonathan as the best man for the job, although, challenged by Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) opposition candidate, Major-General Mohammod Buhari. Vanguard^[2] in this period, electoral exercise was executed, won by the former, consequently challenged by the candidate of the CPC. In summation to the aftermath in addendum to the actions of the runner-up or losers and stakeholders from various analysis, recommendations and write-ups, however described the involvement of court action in the politics. To a large extent, court injunctions, verdicts and declaration also contribute to the voter's apathy which distracts the running regime to perform optimally and consequently, the electorate felt the impact of court activities which by capacity limiting the capacity of their choice to disburse dividends of democracy in that manner. To this end, Human Right Watch^[3] described that about a thousand people were killed during the electioneering process in Nigeria.

The fierce contest between the incumbency of PDP (Dr Goodluck Jonathan) and the aspiring presidential candidate of the All Progressive Congress (APC), Major General Mohammod Buhari as a unified candidate from the convergence of some political parties such as All Nigeria Peoples Congress, (ANPP), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), and fragmented part of All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), confirmed that the desperate measures by the

politicians both in the PDP and APC either to remain on the seat or displacing the incumbent through electioneering process, vehemently claimed several lives, sustained injuries through the gun-shots which scared voters from performing their constitutional and civic role in deciding the right candidate for the job between 2015-2019.

Currently, 2019 general elections which experienced inherent bondage with delayed tactics, brought the incumbent on the seat of power, having discovered by the majority of some stakeholders most especially 'the voter's' witnessed last minute election postponement of the election due to severe beatings of opponents, ballot boxes snatching strategies^[4] suppression of the oppositions by gun-shots, demand and supplying of votes vis-à-vis buying and selling of electorate franchise, election results desperado, delayed in the electoral reforms, media manipulations, fake news and hate speech among others to an extent reduced or killed the voter's keenness to perform its civic right during national call to measure the performance of the incumbency or test running the alternative or the opposition into the seat of power. Thus, the power of the incumbency has been perpetually test run on the outcome of the judicial changes on cases brought before the court of law for a redress. For instance, the anomalies of some state elections albeit to an extent have prompted the court of law to re-engineer pace of electoral politicking by upturning and restoring mandate to a rightful candidate irrespective of party affiliations.

As a result of some court decisions, winning at all cost or retaining party affiliations victory truncated by court ruling, subsequent state electoral process of fragmented units have attracted militarisation of elections, especially in the affected states. Militarisation on the other hand in an election entails the excessive deployment of security forces (Directorate State Security (DSS), Nigerian Army (NA), National Security Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC), Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) among others) as law enforcement agencies in order to maintain law and order, control the free flow of electoral sensitive materials and safe guarding the electoral officials. Often times, the purpose for heavy deployment of security personnel most times intimidates, victimizes, suppresses, especially the oppositions and perhaps, weakening the strength of other potential contenders that is, the prospectus candidate to win a seat. For example, in Osun and Ekiti gubernatorial election in 2014, over 12,000 security personnel were deployed to manned the election in both states alone. It is believed that the deployment of heavy militarisation is most times adopted to align the state affiliated to the central government, thus, to be favoured the central government anointed candidate to emerge as the winner of the election. To this end, excessive deployment of the military scares the electorate and especially the loyal

opposition party members that is supposed to be democratic in operation lacks the credibility of democratic governance principles. Likewise, voter's apathy increases due to the culture of heavy militarisation in the affected states. Ashindorbe^[5] excess deployment of military and armed men during any election is undemocratic and poses threat to democratic values and dividends.

ADOPTION OF INHERENT BONDAGE AND DELAYED TACTICS ETHOS

The accumulated activities of intra-party crisis in relation to 1964/65, party and flag bearer's popularity that is 1979-1983 general election as well as the electorate decision to elect national leadership train in Nigeria, no doubt have had adverse effect on the current dispensation electorally. In a related development, the chronicles of electoral violence otherwise induced intra-party crisis, political violence, i.e., politics of wet e (interpreted as politics of wetting opponents properties with fuel to raze them with fire) election rigging, result inflation, party interest over the interest of the masses, among others as the sole streak to be emerged as winning party flag bearer at all cost culture for both party members as well as its affiliations.

In the political ambience in 1964/65, NPC and AG to this end, displayed their strength based on the winning streak for its party, tribes, loyalty and exposure. Albeit, these cultures did not just thwart that electoral regime rather, it was transmitted into 1979/83 and subsequently into the present dispensation such as fourth republic (1999-2019). The adoption of electoral manipulations culture subscribed and adhere to by the contemporary politics to an extent have further increased voter's apathy geometrically during call for the national assignment.

Currently, the adoption of Inherent bondage and delayed tactics ethos are as the result ineffectual failures of party's manifestos, ideologies, policies, plans and programs for example have downplayed the potency of party's flag bearers before the electorates. The under-performance of any party candidature from any political party affiliations resulted into desperate means to win the seat at all cost despite their unpopularity among the voters and this could not stand aloof the first, second and third republic electoral actions displayed by the politicians having subjected to electoral manipulations that are hinges on electoral violence. As a result of this what could have led to this menace can be classified into) absolute power) authority and) sudden wealth.

ABSOLUTE POWER STRENGTH DISPLAY AND APPENDAGE PLATFORM

In Brian, posits that power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Power in itself can be

intoxicated, especially if backed-up supremely. The appendage to this power in a sovereign state. For instance, Nigeria polity, recognizes president as the Grand Commander of the Federal Republic who by all means also wields a veto power, shield by the same token with immunity while in office. Although, they can be prosecuted while in office irrespective of any crimes committed or electorally related, the power vested by the constitution bar actions that could have been mete out from judicial precedents. Sequel to this context, the central government most times in the Nigeria displays its strength in subjugation the strength of the EMB to align its demands on the citizens, notwithstanding, voters' interest.

The chemistry of power in Nigeria political environment to a large extent claimed to be displayed on inter-personal level. It is said to be connected to the slogan of 'who-know-who' as against of what being prescribed and described by the constitution. However, the demean of the electioneering processes in Nigeria as orchestrated by the political environment have gone hydra-headed into the electoral setting. While this is going on, power appendage exhibited from two perspective which are top-bottom approach and bottom-top approach in ensuring victory for its party members. The former approach eulogies the directives of the power forces from the top echelon to the grassroots electoral bodies and later style entails the exhibition of power from the grassroots to the top for power help at inter-personal level. In other words, the dreadful end cannot be curtailed immediately without being measured on the voter's apathy towards any election in Nigeria.

Voter's apathy as being revealed by this table shows the increasing rate of voter's lack of interest in the election and the surge in the electoral manipulations that has devalued the stance of credible elections exercises in Nigeria. Be that as it may, absolute power which corrupt absolutely comes at interplay between political gladiators as the most driven force that propels other electoral manipulations both at the local and at the national level. In that circumstance, the level playing ground, security of lives and properties could not have been ascertained whenever absolute power is being displayed during electioneering processes in Nigeria. Thus, popularly preached and by patterns have confirms that blacks are intoxicated by power absolutely without legitimate authority.

Legitimate authority and extremist: Nyerere opines that legitimate authority can be classified into three namely traditional authority legal authority and charismatic authority. By integration, these manifolds are acceptable perhaps on substantive recognition placed on each of the items adopted for operations in which behavioural setting in this manner dictates the tunes of usage. In a related development, the application of each of

these classifications depends largely on attributed fractions of parameters and by description, attitude, culture, beliefs, traditions, backgrounds, norms, customs and rituals. However, at macro level, political environment, economic environment, social, religion, technology, cultural environment, yet other factors for other categories of authority. On the other hand, integrity, dignity, character, achievement, successes and contribution of a leader selflessly in this context conferred authority on outstanding quality of a leader. By the same token, authority is vested on persons or groups of individuals respectively. For example, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Paul Kagame of Rwanda, Goodluck Jonathan, Nigeria among others.

Politically, irrational quest for power can undermine legitimacy of authority against the background of any country's tenets such as human rights, elections, rule of law, separation of powers, the parliaments, democratic pluralism, the government and the opposition, public opinion and freedom of the press. To this end, the rudiments are manipulated and arrowed to align with individual's interest, i.e., the politicians and political party in holding the mantle of authority in which the plight of the electorates are not put at the fore of the electoral processes in the country. The quest for legitimate authority can be achieved through and by any means radical, especially in the corridor of Nigerian polity. Deducing from the general thought which reiterates that no legality can be ventured on illegality. Hence, the roots are destroyed and cosmetically dressed the top.

Instantaneous wealth and do or die: Excess allocation of resources and disbursement of funds at the expense of other factors of production in Nigeria economy, education, health and social sector to a large extent reflects the voter's apathy in Nigeria. The outcome of this action is shown aftermath the election as the politicians abandoned and neglect their constituents or sometimes releasing peanuts for the masses. Meanwhile, the nexus between voter's and instantaneous wealth is discovered in the activities and passion for wealth accumulation by the politicians who for any means of reaching the seat of political office power, devalued the fundamental rules of the game by involving in the anti-democratic actions. These actions are tantamount to challenges confronting credible elections in the country. The quest for sudden wealth accumulation by the politicians gets rid of electorates rights to decide and in turn involves in the devastating adventures and subsequently reduces the voters' interest in participating in the future elective principles. For instance, majority of constituency allowance allotted to the constituency through the senators and lower house members could not be accounted for since the inception of the program.

Voters Apathy Pandemic (VAP): In every democratic governance, popular participation should not be undermined. In this regard^[6] citizens involvement in the democratisation process is inevitable, perhaps, vote casting, tax paying, allegiance to the state patriotism, obeisance to nationalism as well as the leadership college, among others. To this end, the continuous reduction of voter's interest in exercising their franchise during a national call have been marred by electoral manipulations. The widespread of electoral manipulations otherwise transits into our electoral and political culture can be termed as electoral manipulations pandemic. Agaigbe reiterates that apathy is lack of sensation of individual obligation an inactiveness and irrelevance for political matters could make momentous bearings (negatively) on elections increasing rate in any state or country. To a large extent, this action connotes the insensitivity of the citizens to participate in the elections, programme or an event. Thus, tracking election violence sprout voter's apathy in Nigeria electioneering processes^[7].

In other words, apathy could also be a sudden event or accumulated incidence. It is casual, when fatality beyond brutality characterised the event of an election. For instance, 2003 and 2015 election in Nigeria were largely defined by political violence sunk by thuggery, suppression of opposition's strength and inert-party conflicts. On the other hand, accumulated manipulations perhaps, traceable to the era of political development found within the political terrain in Nigeria. In that circumstance, the culture of electoral manipulations resulted to by some stakeholders in the polity to a very large sense, for fear of losing the exercise at first Republic (1950-1960s), second Republic, (1970s-1980s), also, third Republic featured (1990s) and 1999-2019 as fourth Republic witnessed severe and vehement degrees of electoral manipulations. These manipulations, especially intra-party crisis, business-political based interest rather than national interest, extreme politicking such as politics of wet (this is burning of houses, fellow human beings and others), tribalised politics and incumbency strength. Premium Times^[8] and Human Right Watch^[3] reported ascertained that about 626 persons were killed in the last 2019 general elections. In the same report, the North-Eastern Nigeria, the highest figure was recorded in this region approximately 172 were killed and about 146 fatalities. Also, South-South about 120 fatalities were recorded while in the North central, it was estimated around 111 were massacred, 63 in the South-west, 14 killed in the South-East. In addition to this, European Union, Election Observers Monitoring confirms that 150 people were killed. To this end, about 31.6% of 84,004,084 turned out for 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

In a related development, Nigeria Civil Society Situation room (NSS), cited in Punchng, March 3, 2019 published that 58 Nigerians were killed and reiterates that there were prevalence of vote buying and vote selling in Osun, Zamfara, Kebbi, Kano, Plateau, Delta, Enugu, Ekiti, Oyo, Benue, Nasarawa, Bauchi, Sokoto, Lagos and Kwara between 500-5000. In this context, citizen's conscience and values were purportedly purchased by the lack of right perspectives and priorities of political leaders who have one time or are currently failing their constituency interest.

Currently, the below table shows the level of apathy against the total number of registered of voters from 1999-2019, although in descending order-2019 total voters registered for the general elections was 84,004,084. However, 26,074,876 voters came out to perform their civic responsibility which represent 31.04% of total registered voters. Meanwhile, in 2015 general elections, a total of 68,833,476 voters registered for the general elections. This represent 37.15% at 28,278,083 of total votes cast. Moreover, in 2011 general elections, 73,528,040 of voter registered for 2011 election from this figure, about 34,700,00 at 51.00% of the total registered voters. Likewise, in 2007, 31,027,021 representing 57.50%. Nevertheless in 2003, 60,823,022 registered towards the election, meanwhile, total votes cast was 42,018,735 at 69.1% to this end, in 1999, total votes cast was 42,018,735 which represented 52.30 per cent from 57,938,945 of total registered voters. Hence, the below shows and confirm the increasing rate of apathy towards electioneering process in Nigeria from 1999-2019. To this end, the voter's apathy pandemic has been increased successively as shown in the table below^[9].

Consequence of that electoral manipulations:

Irregularities meted out from any periodic or slated election in any environment are identified particularly those hinged on previous occurrences. Similarly, there are some certain consequences associated with such malpractices, although, these consequences are peculiar to such political environment. For example, Nigeria political terrain since independence was founded on tribalism, sectionalism, ideologies. In that circumstance, whenever an aggrieved candidate feels cheated or robbed in an election, he therefore approaches the court of law for a redress. The court actions are perhaps in Y reactions) upholding the existing victory of a candidate) upturning the victory of the candidate brought before the court of law. The later court reaction depicts two verdict which could either be nullity of the whole exercise or dispensing justice in favour of the appellant. However, the former in Nigeria have always resulted in victory at all cost even at the expense of unpopularity of the court losers to returning themselves into the seat of power and

sometimes against the interest of the people. Thus, the effect of accumulated actions of politicians, judicial pronouncement over elections, internal party crisis, among others have led to major implications on the electorate.

Insofar, there are negative implications of electoral manipulations and malpractices on the electorate. These consequences are to an extent traceable to 1964/65 elections, 1970/80, 1990 and 1999-2019 fourth Republic inception in which the effect have increased voter's apathy in Nigeria, especially in Table 1 and 2. Egobueze and Ojirika^[10] the effort of this endeavour to this end, reiterate that electoral manipulations consequences on the electorate, likewise reigniting the apathy in the electorate in performing their civic responsibility. Some of these include court verdicts and injunctions irregular in periodic election intimidation and victimisation of voters and opposition demand and supply occurrences, lack of political will and interest) winning desperado) militarisation) political violence) thuggery and) electoral induced violence that is gunshots, election rigging, over-voting, vote buying and selling. Lastly, election result hoarding from pronouncement.

In Nigeria political context, EMB, in executing its primary duties, the in-dependency of the board has not been optimally shielded from manipulation and interference from its employer, politically. The infiltration from the employer (that is, the Presidency) to an extent has undermined the power of EMB to suit its personal interest in wielding victory to the incumbency, perhaps not only in fund resources, but holistically. This happens in terms of logistic, modalities, guidelines, and most importantly the resources aspect which, dictate the successes and failures of the body. The control of resources of the presidency over the body to this end, have depleted the statutory and constitutional role through usurpation of EMB's electoral rules and principles over ambitious interest of the political gladiators.

In that circumstance, the recent power tussle and conflicting issues between the parliament and the executive arm of government over electoral reforms have impaired the sanctity and the stability of the Electoral Management Bodies over the years to a state of wantonness of the electioneering processes in Nigeria. Without doubt, the debilitating effect of these actions to an extent, unleash the atmosphere of impotency on the EMB, more so, in the decisiveness. However, the fate of the kingmakers should be consolidated in both functions and dispensing of funds which must be removed from the corridor of the executive arm of government, if truly, the Nigeria political development desires free and fair election in the country.

The consequences of electoral manipulations are numerous the lack of credible candidate for the public

Table 1: Percentage of voter's apathy in Nigeria

Periodic years	Total number of registered voters	Total number of votes cast	Percentage of-voters-apaty (%)
2019	84,004,084	26,074,876	31.04
2015	68,833,476	28,278,083	37.15
2011	73,528,040	34,709,056	51.20
2007	61,500,000	31,027,021	57.50
2003	60,823,022	42,018,735	69.10
1999	57,938,945	30,280,052	52.30

Adapted from Wikipedia (2000-2020), Independent National Electoral Commission (2020)

Table 2: The descending order of voters Apathy in Nigeria (1999-2019)

Periodic year	Total number of registered voters	Total number of votes cast	Percentage of-voters-apaty (%)
2019	84,004.084	26,074.876	31.04
2015	68,833.476	28,278.083	37.15
2011	73,528.040	34,709.056	51.20
2007	61,500.000	31,027.021	57.50
2003	60,823.022	42,018.735	69.10
1999	57,938.945	30,280.052	52.30

Adapted from Wikipedia (2000-2020), Independent National Electoral Commission (2020)

office. The citizens are left with no choice of fulfilling the mandate of the god-fathers and undemocratic system of government internally, protracted internal party crises, uneven development, lack of political will political instability, misplaced priority in terms of expenditures, corruption, collapse in institutional structure, lack of trust in the government, self-interest rather than national interest, anti-government protest and violence. To this end, political structure; the base of national planning will be driven without goals and objectives^[10]. In conclusion, electoral manipulations that has enveloped the political and electoral atmosphere to an extent have damaged the sanity and sanctity of Nigeria progress developmentally. Although, the menace has been internalized into the system and if it must stop, it must start with individuals with national calls on the message “*istandfortruth.*” Similarly, Individuals, groups, communities, corporate bodies, government institutions, arms and tier of government must stand for the truth and bitter against erring individuals who violates the progress of the country.

CONCLUSION

Reduction in political incentives: currently, the mode of wealth being accrued to each and every political office holder is alarming and this in turn discourages the electorates in passing vote of confidence on their representatives. Convincingly, if the rate of fund is reduced, the rate of die-hard interest will be minimal. People on the hand have seen this platform as the avenue to make wealth having seen it as a career without engaging in other economic oriented activities. If politics transcend into a part time job and incentives reduced, the surge in the political and election manipulations and violence will be a forgotten issue and therefore increasing the voter's interest in the electoral system.

Nurturing political development through CDAs: this step connotes the grassroot recognition of the

community's associations as the deciding factor in choosing the most qualified for the public office. Prior to this recommendation, buying and selling dictates the tunes of political office holder and principles of the fastest fingers. Although, money bags politics have been downplayed in the Nigerian politics, yet, candidature mobilization, endorsement, acceptance should be strengthened by the community involvement as the sole determinant of any candidacy against the backdrop of anointed candidate through god-fatherism.

Pronouncement of election results electronically:

Central collation of result from each unit to the wards, wards to local government, local government to constituency and from the constituency to the state level is not good enough for our nursing democracy. Results should be declared by segments rather than sending result to the central collation centers. In other words, political hoodlums and miscreants always laid ambush on the electoral officials from the result desperadoes most times on their way to the state collation center. Thus, the pronouncement of result electronically at the community level send environmental peace both to the rural and the urban voters.

Independence of EMB: If dividends of democracy and good governance is to be achieved, independence of electoral body as umpire should be guaranteed in all the African countries, although this study adopted Nigeria in the sub-Saharan Africa as the study area, similarly, the setting is related and relevance to the African political development. Since, EMB is composed of bureaucrats, technocrats and academia, it should be made to stand aloof arms of government thereby regarding it as the fourth arm of government which will not be at the mercy of executive arm of government in recruitment, funding, operations and mode of operandi. In conclusion, in a smuch as the nature of indigenous political traditions are which is be-throated to communal life as against the

Foreign racial life, political institutions, electoral institutions, administrative institutions should be structured on the communal lifestyle.

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