

Post-Covid 19 Nigeria and the 2023 General Elections

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Abstract

The experience of the Nigerian masses during the 2019 Corona Virus period and the October 2020 youth protest popularly called ENDSARS yet again reflected that the political class cared less for the welfare of the ordinary Nigerians. The governance deficit within the government circle was brought to the fore. This paper examined democratic engagement in Nigeria's post-COVID-19 general elections, 2023 to interrogate how their experiences in the two events have impacted their response, especially regarding their voting pattern and other fronts of participation. The paper adopted the participatory democratic theory, which espouses that democracy is a model that allows the citizens to make political decisions. It employed both primary and secondary sources of information to gather the required data. The primary data was analysed using simple percentages. The major argument is that bad leadership and failure to be accountable to the citizens led to the protests and civil disturbances that shaped the voting pattern. Democracy gains more credibility when the leaders are accountable to the governed. The lack of it, on the other hand, breeds frustration and rebellion among the populace, hence, the emergence of violence and protest of different forms exemplified by the #EndSars protest in October 2020. It also argued that participation of the electorates in the 2023 general elections tilted toward candidates across party lines rather than strictly political parties' candidates. That is, voters considered voting for candidates, not minding their political party affiliations, in their choice of leaders. It concluded that rather than having core party politics, candidate politics was the order of the day. It recommended inter alia that poverty should be reduced to its barest minimum to curtail vote buying and selling.

Keywords: Democracy, Elections, Engagement, Candidate and Party Politics

Introduction

The adoption and practice of democracy in Africa and indeed, Nigeria, has become attractive to citizens because of the assumption that it promotes participation in elections and political decision-making. Impliedly, the authority to make political decisions resides with the majority of the people (Arugu & Pabon, 2018:45). The other assumption associated with democratic ethos is the concept that it

encourages good governance, which entails accountability, transparency, participation and efficiency in the handling of scarce national resources to effect service delivery (Udoms et al., 2020; Obaidullah, 2001). It is against this background that democracy appears to be considered the “best” form of government by its admirers. This notion has intensified the acceptance and practice of democracy in Nigeria, among other African states. At one time or the other, Nigeria has practised democracy in a bid to ensure that the citizens enjoy expected dividends as it is assumed democracy is imbued with the magic wand to either eliminate or minimize income and human poverty. Thomas (2000) explains human poverty to mean illiteracy, short life expectancy, inability to participate in governance, as well as exclusion from socioeconomic and political processes based on unnatural class stratifications. On the other hand, income poverty relates to the purchasing power at the disposal of the individuals in the state (Udoms & Atakpa, 2021). When income and human poverty are at the barest minimum in any society, that speaks of development, going by the definition of development according to Dudley Seers. The scholar averred that for a society to be seen as developed, three fundamental questions such as what is happening to poverty, unemployment and inequality need to be asked and answered in the affirmative (Jhinghan, 2007). Above others, both the governed and the governors of each society are engaged in finding the answers to the afore-raised questions that are representative of the myriads of cares of the society (Udoms & Atakpa, 2021; Udoms et al., 2017, Udoms & Ibiamu 2012).

Democracy has brought to the fore the notion that citizens’ rights, involvement in decision-making, active participation in elections and accountability are promoted. However, ethnicity, political corruption and indeed, bad leadership and lack of accountability have been the major challenges confronting Nigeria’s democracy. Not only has ethnicity fuelled political corruption but also its abuse, over the years, and has become the greatest obstacle to the country’s democratic experience. Besides, accountability is absent within the governmental system which has encouraged political corruption. This is so because the government officials have failed to be accountable to the citizens. When no account of stewardship is rendered, political corruption increases in dimension and is further entrenched. This political corruption more than any other factor, impoverishes the majority of Nigerians (Yagboyaju, 2005). This trend lingered for so long in Nigeria and culminated in one protest or the other not excluding the #EndSars.

In any democratic setting, elections have been viewed as the central focus in consolidating and sustaining democracy. This is, in part true because it paves the way for the election of candidates to represent the people, during elections. In addition, should the choice of the electorates prevail, elections can be said to be one and not the only central focus of democracy; democracy is beyond the conduct of elections (Chikwem, 2012). While acknowledging the critical role of election in promoting and sustaining democracy, suffice it to say accountability on the part of the elected officials/officers is also very important for the consolidation of democracy. Accountability entails that the people know the details of the happenings within the government circle, which has direct bearing on their lives. Thus, the focus of this paper is on accountability in democracy, with particular reference to Nigeria and its concomitant effects on the country in the post-COVID-19 era as it relates to democratic engagements. This paper is divided into five sections: introduction, review of literature, method of study, results and discussions, conclusion and recommendations.

Theoretical Foundation

For this paper, the participatory democratic theory is adopted with emphasis on democracy as a form in which the citizens are given the chance [chances] and authority to put political decisions together. It entails both modes, articulated (by way of political action), and sectors, (which comprises the physical surroundings or locations at which participation occurs) of participation and therefore, has shown to be the main useful way for unscrambling the strengths, as well as the weaknesses of actual participatory democracies (Hilmer, 2010:43). Nna & Pabon, (2019) citing Terchek & Conte (2001) insist that the actual gain of democracy can be appreciated and sustained through a high level of participation in the governance processes. Participating actively in politics enables the electorate to accomplish self-

development, as well as bring about positive mental benefits, including feelings of political importance. Participatory democratic theory has many gains which include realizing the complete potential of the general public. For Hilmer (2010), through participation, the people will be empowered politically and have the understanding and consciousness to break away from political indifference.

The Concept of Democracy

Scholars, relying on their standpoints, have variously and severally defined and or described democracy. Oluwaseun (2017), Gyong (2012) cited in Nna & Pabon (2019) assert that democracy is the “most powerful avenue to deliver human rights, justice, rule of law and equality to all”. For Ake (1992:29), it is the democratization of disempowerment, in which elections become a matter of vote buying and selling. For Schumpeter (1947) cited in Nwokeke & Jawan (2011:129), democracy is the opportunity the people have to accept or refuse the men who are to govern them. According to them, it is a system where “most popular candidates are chosen through fair, honest and periodic elections, in which candidates freely compete for votes” and where almost “all the adult population are qualified to vote”. The import of this is that the people are privileged to make their best choices from among the contestants in any election. Against this background, Pericles insists “it is a democracy because the constitution favours the many instead of the few”. Considering the foregoing, it can be affirmed that the citizens are the nucleus of democracy because it puts their welfare into consideration.

Democracy has, therefore, been viewed as conducting elections and choosing leaders that will represent the majority. Democracy has also been taken to mean the power of the people as it manifests in ways of thinking, behaving and organizing that enhance participation in and persuasion over the decision touching their everyday lives (Nwokeke & Jawan, 2011:130). It is worthy to mention that the decisions taken within any democratic setting have a direct impact on the lives of the general populace. In light of this, such decisions are taken with utmost care, either in the choice of candidates or policies.

Diamond et al., (1995:7), have argued that democracy is a governmental system that provides civil and political liberties. Such includes freedom of thought and expression, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and demonstration, freedom to form and join organisations, freedom from terror and unjustified imprisonment secured through political equality under a rule of law, sufficient to ensure the citizens can develop and advocate their views, interests, contest policies, and offices actively and autonomously. From the foregoing, it is discernable that the citizens will hold the rulers or leaders accountable for their actions to the public.

Howbeit, the most popular definition of democracy put forward by Abraham Lincoln is “the government of the people, by the people and for the people (Odo, 2015). The implication here is that the people serve as the nucleus of democracy as everything revolves around them. From the onset, the people ought to be at the centre or mainstream in political activities such that their voices and choices would be heard and considered in decision-making. Simply put, the people are at the centre of democratic activities or practices; they get involved, follow through the processes and enjoy the gains therefrom. Getting involved portends that the people are important; following through the processes implies they must be aware of the happenings and be part of the decision-making (participation) and enjoying the gains entails benefitting from the actions taken for the good of all. Nwokeke & Jayum (2011:129) assert that democracy is a political system viewed as democratic because “most popular candidates are chosen through fair, honest and periodic elections, in which candidates freely compete for votes” with almost “all the adult population are qualified to vote”.

Democracy is characterized by three important features namely: healthy competition among political parties, political participation in the election of leaders by the populace and a credible election process (Abiodun, 2014:25). Regular and free elections are some major uniqueness of democracy, which entails competition for political positions via the ballot box assured by a variety of political and civil rights. Abiodun cites Odo (2015:23) as saying democracy is heralded by separation of powers, freedom of speech and adult suffrage, free press, independent judiciary, right of dissent and equality before the

law. Indeed, democracy is ‘people-centred’ and involves the participation of a crowd of people, as well as the freedom of the individuals. It entails that the citizens should be governed arising from their permission and authorization that is freely given for the establishment of a government, elected to be responsible, responsive and accountable to the people (Odo, 2015:4).

Abiodun (2014) indicates that democracy entails “the ability of the people to control the decision-making process”. Furthermore, the average citizens exercise a comparatively soaring degree of control over leaders in a society. This control can also come in the form of voting out leaders, who are not performing expectedly.

The Concept of Election

The concept, of election quickly runs on one’s mind the moment democracy is mentioned. This is because elections are very critical in any democracy. It is through elections that political officeholders are elected into different offices for governance in any given state or country. In light of this, elections are expected to be free, fair and credible to produce the right candidates and choices of the citizens. It is the expectation in a democracy that there is a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, such that no major (adult) social group is prevented from exercising the rights of citizenship. Again, there is meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organized groups (especially political parties) for all effective positions of government power through regular, free and fair elections that exclude the use of force (Diamond et al., 1995).

In democratic settings, viable political parties and credible elections constitute or are components in the process of democratization. Hence, it is often described as the hallmark of democracy. The electoral system admits the co-existence of diverse units, tribes, nations, ideologies or schools of thought, and religious beliefs to stay in harmony and peace by offering or giving out their rights to the elected representatives, who govern and manage the resources of the state on their behalf for a certain period (Abiodun, 2014:25). Abiodun reveals, “an effective democracy and electoral system is founded upon the ability to hold free and fair elections, independent and effective electoral umpire, effective policing and incorruptible and responsive judiciary”.

Abiodun further avers the Nigerian experience has shown “a horrific cycle of corruption, inept and despotic civilians and pseudo-civilian rules” as the political leadership takes political power through a weak electoral system, exemplified by a poorly structured and ill-prepared process. This process, according to Abiodun, has widespread irregularities, lots of electoral fraud, and lacks transparency, with the inability to provide a level playing field for all participants (contestants). More often, candidates see themselves disqualified from running as candidates or results are announced to favour a defeated candidate without justifiable reasons but based on bias. The case of Adamawa state where an electoral officer declared the APC Guber candidate as the winner is still fresh in our minds. Thanks to the Judiciary for upholding the electoral victory of the PDP candidate in the 2023 election, governor, Ahmadu Umaru Fintiri.

Democracy and Election

To many, democracy is synonymous with election. However, an election is one of the aspects of bringing democracy into play because it gives the people the right to choose their representatives. Through elections, the people can make preferred choices of candidates that will represent their interests at all levels of governance. Thus, an election is one important ingredient of democracy; a lubricant of democracy. In a democracy, few elected persons through elections that are fair and honest, with votes cast freely, make decisions on behalf of the people (Agara, 2024, Miftaudeen, 2022).

It is therefore expected that all democratic societies should have an electoral process and system that is reliable, trustworthy and fair sufficiently to maintain the decisions of the electorate articulated through the process of voting. Therefore, the electoral process or specifically, the election is a means whereby political office holders are elected into public offices. Impliedly, for a person to be elected into

office, certain processes must be followed. For any election to be conducted, a body responsible for the conduct of such elections is established to perform certain specified functions to ensure its success. In Nigeria, the Independent Electoral Commission is put in place to manage the processes that begin with the registration of those eligible to vote. They, in turn, publish or display the names of these voters in an attempt to make corrections where errors are noticed. More so, they carve out constituencies to ensure the populace is captured into each for appropriate data management (Agara, 2024).

Method of Study

The paper relied on primary and secondary sources of information for the gathering of data. The primary source is the use of the questionnaire and interviews while the internet, speeches, and documentaries served as the secondary source of data. The questionnaire instrument was drawn and distributed on social media platforms such as WhatsApp, and Facebook, as well as physical distribution to respondents. Responses gathered from the copies so retrieved were analysed using simple percentages. The questionnaire instrument was not targeted at any individual; hence, the respondents answered the questions randomly across the states of Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Imo and Rivers States.

Post-Covid-19 Nigeria and the 2023 General Elections

Consolidating democracy depends on the consent of the majority of those governed and democratic stability is derived from the performance and accountability of government to its citizens. The more successful a regime is in providing what the citizens want, the greater and more deeply rooted its legitimacy will be. Similarly, the more accountable a government is to people, the more acceptable and stable democracy will be. In Nigeria however, democracy has been painful since the attainment of independence in 1960 (Chikwem, 2012:2).

The Nigerian state under democracy, like the colonial state, remained alienated from the people. There is a lack of accountability to the people, portraying a missing link between them and the government. The people, therefore, are excluded from the system by being denied access to information about the day-to-day activities of government. The inability of the government to provide the needed dividends had culminated in the rise of dissenting voices from different parts of the country. For instance, there have been mounting pressures from the Niger Delta region that led to agitations and violent campaigns, calls and demonstrations for the sovereign national conference from the South-West and complaints of marginalization and calls for secession from the South-East. All these have manifested because the citizens have complained of lack of accountability and insensitivity to their plight by the government, over the years. This alienation of the people led to a continuous decline in the feeling of belongingness and a loss of faith in the legitimacy of the Nigerian political system (Udoms, Atakpa and Ekanem, 2020).

The experiences of the citizens during the COVID-19 period were such that revealed the 'emptiness' of Nigeria in terms of the availability of critical infrastructure and medical facilities to cater for her citizens. The hospitals were not adequately equipped before the outbreak of the pandemic. In addition, the citizens were denied freedom of movement, in a bid to prevent the spread of the pandemic. Many states of the Federation enforced lockdowns, both intra and inter-state, while some imposed curfews. Movement of goods and services was restricted, which affected the livelihoods of the people. Most citizens could hardly survive, prompting the government to make provision for palliatives as a way of meeting the needs of the 'commoners' in the society.

These palliatives did not reach the expected beneficiaries thereby throwing up uproar among the people. For example, the citizens discovered that the palliative due for distribution were stored in hidden places. Upon the discovery of these hidden places, there was massive looting and carting away of the goods stocked in warehouses across the country. States where such looting took place included Cross River, Abuja, and Anambra states, among others. This event led to harassment by security agents and even the killing of some innocent Nigerians. The anger caused by the actions of the political leaders and

indeed, the government, accompanied by incessant police harassment and brutality on the members of the public prompted a protest on October 20, 2020, that took place in almost all the states in the federation tagged #EndSars (Udoms & Atakpa, 2021).

This protest is one typical example of an expression of the feeling that the people were tired of the political system and needed to draw the attention of the government to their plight, under the guise of “End Police Brutality”. It was an outcry expressing displeasure, discomfort, loss of faith and trust in the Nigerian state; a pointer to the very fact that Nigerians were no longer comfortable with the government and decided to let their feelings known.

Most Nigerians have attributed this displeasure expressed by the youth against the government to the massive call for change and the subsequent support for candidates that can redeem the country from her present economic and political quagmire or woes in the post-COVID-19 era. Mr Peter Obi and his running mate Ahmed Datti received ‘massive support’ from the youth via a movement popularly called ‘ObiDient Movement’ or the ‘ObiDatti movement’, as some have called it. Besides these candidates, some views suggested that the electorates were gunning for credible candidates for whom they found confidence, all in a bid to produce young and vibrant persons to man the affairs of the country. For instance, Wike, though a PDP member, promised to provide logistics for Peter Obi and Kwankwaso whenever they came for the campaign in Rivers State. He, however, supported the APC Presidential Candidate, Bola Ahmed Tinubu. This action expresses a preference for candidate over party consideration. (Okoye & Esomchi, 2024).

The post-Covid-19 political activities revealed that the electorate sought for and voted leaders of their choice, not minding their political party leanings or affiliations. Most card-carrying members of the two major political parties – the All-Progressives Congress and Peoples’ Democratic Party – were not comfortable with the happenings and situations within their parties and of course, the country took a stand to vote for any candidate of their choice. Impliedly, credible candidates for the 2023 General elections were supported no matter their party platforms.

Interestingly, all those who campaigned for Mr Peter Obi, as a candidate among others, may not have been card-carrying members of the Labour Party but because they desired change and a positive one, indeed. In Rivers State for example, the candidate of the Labour Party for the South-East Senatorial District had lent his support to the governorship candidate of the Social Democratic Party in the state. The implication here is that despite his party’s governorship candidate, his choice of the SDP accounted for his interest and desire for a competent person to govern the state. Similarly, some stalwarts of the APC in the state opted for the SDP candidate and others, on other party platforms (Okoye & Esomchi, 2024). The indication is that candidates became their priority and not the political party, per se. That is to say, even though parties presented candidates for the elections, the electorates were willing to vote their conscience based on their assessment of whom they deemed fit and credible to serve them.

Data Presentation and analysis

Table 1 Showing Sex Distribution of Respondents

Sex	No. of respondents	Percentage (%)
Male	219	67
Female	109	33
Total	328	100

Source: Survey, 2023

The sex distribution of the respondents indicates two hundred and nineteen (219) males and one hundred and nine (109) females.

Table 2 Showing Age Distribution of Respondents

AGE RANGE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
18-28	66	20
29-39	111	33.8
40-50	105	32
50 & Above	46	14
TOTAL	328	100

Source: Survey, 2023

For the age of respondents, sixty-six (66) were between 18 – 28, one hundred and eleven (111) were between 29 – 39 (33.8%), and one hundred and five (205) respondents were between the age range of 40-50 (32%) while forty-six (46) represented those within fifty (50) (14%) years and above.

Table 3: Showing Responses and Analysis

S/NO.	QUESTION (S)	YES	%	NO	%	TOTAL
1.	Do you think Nigerian leaders have been accountable to the people?	27	8	301	92	100
2.	Do you think the leaders have failed the citizens?	320	98	8	2	100
3.	Do you think the #EndSars was a product of bad leadership?	303	92	25	8	100
4.	Was the #EndSars a result of lack of accountability?	299	91	29	9	100
5.	After the #EndSars protest, do you think Nigerians were eager to change leaders in government?	276	84	52	16	100
6.	Do you think the consciousness among the youths influenced the voting pattern in the 2023 general elections?	260	79	68	21	100
7.	In your opinion, do you think the electorate voted indiscriminately not minding political party?	288	88	40	12	100
8.	Do you think youth engagement in the 2023 election was massive?	305	93	23	7	100
9.	If yes, do you think their engagement favoured credible candidates no matter their political parties?	302	92	26	8	100
10.	Are you a member of a political party?	102	31	226	69	100
11.	Do you have your PVC?	296	90	32	10	100
12.	Did you strictly support your party candidate in the 2023 general elections?	78	24	250	76	100
13.	Did you support candidates of other political parties?	238	73	90	27	100
14.	Do you think your party did not present credible candidates?	99	30	229	70	100
15.	What level of election was of the most concern to you?	A. Presidential - 195* B. Gubernatorial - 88* C. National Assembly - 45*				

Source: Survey, 2023

Indications from Table 3 show most of the respondents affirmed that Nigerian leaders had failed the people (92%) and bad leadership (98%) and lack of accountability (91) culminated in the #EndSars protest. 276 (84%) responses stated the willingness of the people to change leadership in government. While 260 (79%) affirmed influencing the voting pattern in the 2023 elections, 288 respondents representing 88%, affirmed voting was done without recourse to party lines. 305 responses, representing 93% indicated that engagement in the 2023 election was massive and 302 affirmed such engagement was in favour of credible candidates.

While 226 (69%) answered they are not members of political parties, 296 affirmed they have PVCs. For party support, 78 representing 24% indicated they strictly supported their parties while 250 representing 76% showed they did not strictly support their political parties. On the other hand, 238 respondents, representing 73% showed they supported candidates of other political parties.

From the foregoing, there appears to be a departure from the norm, which is core party politics to candidate politics. Before now, party members were always bent on supporting their party's standard bearers, no matter the non-acceptance or otherwise of their candidates by some party faithful and the citizens. In 2023, those who witnessed the bad economic situation and political strangulation caused by bad leadership tended to wake up to see to it that they voted credible candidates as leaders in the country.

The zeal among Nigerians to participate massively and actively in the 2023 elections was, however, determined by the collection of their Permanent Voters' Cards (PVCs) to vote. An examination of the Continuous Voter Registration, which served as an opportunity for eligible voters to get involved in the electoral process, revealed the registration of over 12 million Nigerians. The process terminated on July 31, 2022. The Independent National Electoral Commission (2022) indicated that the total number of voters eligible for the 2023 General elections was 96, 303, 028. It went further to state that 12, 298, 944 Nigerians were successfully registered in the 2022 Continuous Voter Registration (CVR). Indications were that 6, 074, 078 were males while 6, 224, 866 were females, with people living with disability amounting to 87, 083 and youths 8,784, 677 (Ajayi, 2022:2).

Table 4: Showing New Registrants during the Continuous Voter Registration (CVR) 2022

S/No.	Geo-Political zone (s)	No. of New Registrants (2022)
1.	North-West	2, 514, 273
2.	South-South	2, 458, 095
3.	North-Central	2, 314, 368
4.	South-West	2, 039, 982
5.	North-East	1, 531, 070
6.	South-East	1, 441, 156

Source: www.inecnigeria.ng.org; www.infomediang.org; www.vanguardngr.com

According to Table 4, the North-West had the highest number of voters registered within the period followed by South-South, North-Central, South-West, North-East and South-East.

Table 5: Showing Age Distribution of the New Registrants

S/No.	Age distribution	No. of voters with complete registration
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1.	18 – 34	8, 784, 677
2.	35 – 49	2, 430, 709
3.	50 – 69	956, 017
4.	70 and above	127, 541

Source: www.infomediang.org; www.inecnigeria.ng.org

Table 6: Showing Occupational Distribution of New Registrants in 2022

S/No.	Occupation	New registrants
1.	Business	2, 240, 124
2.	Student	4, 501, 595
3.	Housewife	1, 466, 612
4.	Farming	1, 541, 841
5.	Trading	667, 345
6.	Civil Servant	381, 256
7.	Public Servant	125, 027
8.	Others	734, 506

Source: www.infomediang.com

Conclusion

The country has witnessed bad leadership and lack of accountability, which led to protests and of course, insecurity. It has become imperative to state here that indications show that Nigerians mostly voted across party lines without focusing on their political parties; ‘a candidate politics than party politics’. Since elections provide the opportunity to change a government, it became expedient for Nigerians to use the 2023 general election to showcase their desire for change by playing according to the rules of the game. Election is one credible way of actualizing the sovereign power of the masses. Expectations were high that the elections in 2023 would take a different pattern in favour of the preferred candidates and the choices of the masses, but for some manipulations and irregularities. Some were interested in particular elections without due consideration for the other. For example, some were concerned about the presidential election and thus, focused on that to ensure their desires were met. The result, however, showed that candidates of the presidential election secured their vote even in other states apart from theirs. In Taraba, Lagos, Nasarawa, Plateau, Cross River states and the Federal Capital Territory, for example, the Labour Party made impressive results.

The electoral umpire that promised to ensure fairness during the general elections, reneged on its promise that “results will be transmitted in real-time”. This led many to doubt the process and indeed, the outcome of the 2023 General elections.

Recommendations

From the discussions and findings of the research, it is recommended that:

- i. Managers of the electoral process should be upright and do that which is required to ensure a free, fair and credible election to build confidence among Nigerians.
- ii. The use of the BVAS is a welcome development in Nigeria’s election as it could lead to the minimization of fraud if political leaders allow its proper use and for the purpose for which it was deployed in the process.

- iii. The issue of political corruption and irregularities requires adequate attention as these have caused a lot of havoc or damage to the country's democratic processes. Vote buying and selling should be reduced to the barest minimum.
- iv. Lastly, the reduction of poverty is very important to curtail the excesses of the political class. They have impoverished the masses to such an extent that they are compelled to collect money from them during electioneering campaigns as an inducement before the election or during voting.

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Appendix A
Presidential elections on state basis

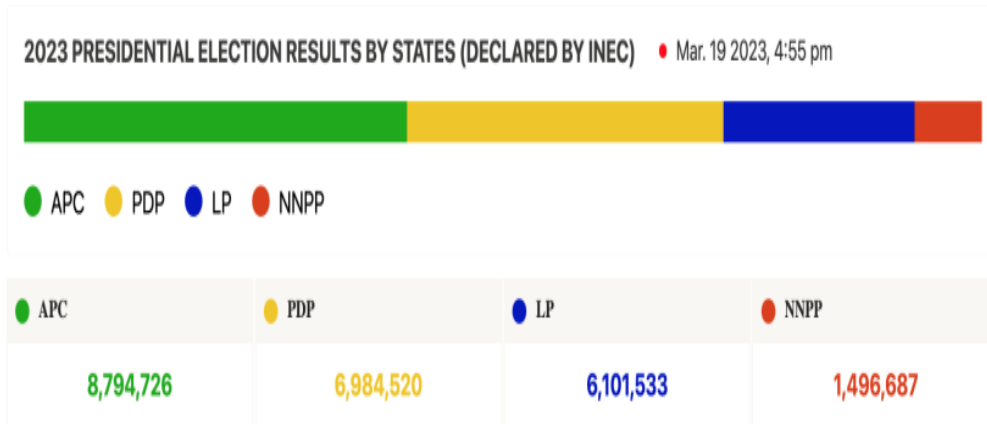
STATE	APC	PDP	LP	NNPP
EKITI	201,494	89,554	11,397	264
KWARA	263,572	136,909	31,166	3,142
OSUN	343,945	354,366	23,283	713
ONDO	369,924	115,463	44,405	930
OGUN	341,554	123,831	85,829	2,200
OYO	449,884	182,977	99,110	4,095
YOBE	151,459	198,567	2,406	18,270
ENUGU	4,772	15,749	428,640**	1,808
LAGOS	572,606	75,750	582,454**	8,442
GOMBE	146,977	319,123	26,160	10,520
ADAMAWA	182,881	417,611	105,648	8,006
KATSINA	482,283	489,045	6,376	69,386
JIGAWA	421,390	386,587	1,889	98,234
NASARAWA	172,922	147,093	191,361**	12,715
NIGER	375,183	284,898	80,452	21,836
BENUE	310,468	130,081	30,8372	4,740
FCT	90,902	74,194	281,717**	4,517
AKWA IBOM	160,620	214,012	132,683	7,796
EDO	144,471	89,585	331,163**	2,743
ABIA	8,914	22,676	327,095**	1,239
KOGI	240,751	145,104	56,217	4238
BAUCHI	316,694	426,607	27,373	72,103
PLATEAU	307,195	243,808	466,272**	8,869
BAYELSA	42,572	68,818	49,975	540
KADUNA	399,293	554,360	294,494	92969
KEBBI	248,088	285,175	10,682	5,038

STATE	APC	PDP	LP	NNPP
KANO	517,341	131,716	28,513	997,279
ZAMFARA	298,396	193,978	1,660	4,044
SOKOTO	285,444	288,679	6,568	1,300
CROSS RIVER	130,520	95,425	179,917**	1,644
DELTA	90,183	161,600	341,866**	3,122
EBONYI	42,402	13,503	259,738**	2,661
ANAMBRA	5,111	9,036	584,621**	1,967
TARABA	135,165	189,017	146,315**	12,818
BORNO	252,282	190,921	7205	4626
RIVERS	231,591	88,468	175,071	1,322
IMO	66406	30,234	360,495**	1,552
AGGREGATE	8,794,726	6,984,520	6,101,533	1,496,671

Source: <https://inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/2023-GENERAL-ELECTION-REPORT-1.pdf>

Appendix B Cumulative result of the 2023 presidential election

2023 Presidential Election Results By States (Declared by INEC)



Source: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/592686-data-what-the-voting-pattern-in-2023-presidential-election-is-telling-us.html>