

# DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Faculty of Social Sciences, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria



Beyond Sustainable Elections: Interrogating the Challenges of Leadership and Governance in Nigeria

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

# DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (DPSIS)

### 3<sup>rd</sup> INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

### **BOOK OF ABSTRACTS**

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### PANNEL 1: THEORETICAL/CONCEPTUAL ISSUES ON ELECTIONS AND LEADERSHIP IN NIGERIA

### IMPLICATION OF ELECTIONS ON DEMOCRATISATION AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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#### **Abstract**

The extant argument on the nexus between elections and democracy has been the linchpin of the conception of democracy by those in scholarly and policy cycles, particularly those that deemed to be minimalist or procesualist. This is based on the assumption that democracy is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote, or a political system that exists to the extent that its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes. However, election has been regarded as a precondition for democracy, yet mere elections at periodic interval is not the sole requirement for democracy. Therefore, the paper will examine the extent to which periodic elections has impacted on democratisation and democratic institutions in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The paper will employ middle-range democratic theory as analytical framework which holds that, in middle-level democracies, political violence is very common due to the absence of effective governance in post-transition societies, and democracy does not go beyond the conduct of multiparty elections but involves profound institutional transformation. Using qualitative method through which secondary source of data will be employed, the paper will conclude that, mere conduct of elections does not impact on democratisation and profound democratic institutions in Nigeria.

Key Words: Elections; Democratisation, Democracy; Institutions; Fourth Republic

### HYBRID VOTING MODEL FOR TACKLING VOTER'S APATHY IN NIGERIAN ELECTIONS: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

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### **Abstract**

It is obvious that the fairness of any electoral process hinge on fundamentally on the extent of providing peaceful atmosphere for a popular participation of qualified adult citizens to actively take part in the electoral process. To this extent thus, Voters' turnout to their respective polling zones in the days of election become important segment of political participation of the electoral politics in the global world. In Nigeria for instance despite the improvement of the electoral system, the voters' apathy turn out to be the order of the day. In the recently concluded poll of 2023 in Nigeria, only 24.9% of the electorate voted in the presidential poll. To make

voting more stress-free and comfortable largely to improve the voters turnout, this study proposed a robust model with a hybrid approach that comprise the conventional (manual) voting and electronic voting that could allow voters to use their cellphone, tabs and computer to cast their vote from the comfort of their home. Thus, instead of relying solely on the traditional manual voting system, a certain level of blockchain e-voting will be employed to augment the existing voting system. The study will be underpinned by two theories: Systems Analysis theory of David Easton that is very useful in providing ground for voters to give input to support the political system using e-voting technology and Social Action Theory that postulated by Marx Weber. A multistage sampling technique will be used for this study to select six state one each from geopolitical zone to sample the opinion of voters and INEC officials. Key Informant Interview will also be organized with the cyber security experts from NITDA in order to assess their capacity in receiving, transmitting and storing the data receive from the voters via internet device.

Keywords: Hybrid Voting System, Electoral System, Traditional Manual Voting, Blockchain e-voting, Cyber Security Experts.

### DEMOCRATIC STATE, MAJORITY RULE AND THE PROMOTION OF PUBLIC INTEREST: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

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#### **Abstract**

Since it is impossible for everyone to take a hand in running a country, citizens elect representatives to act on their behalf in any democratic state. In Nigeria, elections are usually held periodically in order to give citizens the opportunity to cast their vote for the candidates from the political parties that best represent their views at various levels. The representatives are elected to scrutinize government activities, set developmental policies, and to take responsibilities in the conduct of public affairs and management of public resources in general. Therefore, they choose representatives they feel will promote their interests. This paper applies theories and methods – game theoretic framework and statistical models - of economics to the analysis of political behaviour. The key conclusion of this study is that changing the identities of the people who hold public office will not produce major changes in policy outcomes. And, electing better people will not, by itself, lead to much better government. Given the problems endemic to majority-rule voting, the study also suggests that care must be exercised in establishing the domains of private and collective choice; that it is not necessarily desirable to use the same voting rule for all collective decisions; and that the public's interest can be best protected if exit options are preserved by making collective choices at the lowest feasible level of political authority.

Key Words: Democratic State, Majority Rule, Public Interest, Nigeria

**JEL Classification: A10, B52, H00** 

### ELITENOCENTRISM: UNDERSTANDING LEADERSHIP AND STABILITY EQUATION OF NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

This paper focuses on the critical analysis of leadership, Governance, peace and stability of Nigeria. It essentially attempted to theorized the political and security center points of country; thus, the introduction of a frame work for a more systematic analysis of the central challenges of the Nigerian nation. An in depth understanding of these complex and complicated challenges requires more intellectual oriented approach that guarantees proper restricting of the challenges as a path way to making a viable panacea to the puzzles in question handy. However, the existing approaches for perception to such challenges appeared less systematic as they lack critical and logical substances. Consequently the existing perceptions or approaches remain unproductive having failed to provide a convincing or reliable path to understanding the challenges, which also lead to having the challenges unfixed. This paper uses qualitative tools of analys source of information as well as its processing. It is the discovery of this paper that the central challenges of leadership, governance and stability is elite centrism rather than the existing perceive puzzles as ethnicity, religion bigotry, regionalism and related challenges. The new approach if adopted will serve a reference frame work for the state craft and the academe.

Key Words: Analysis, challenges, Elite, Leadership, Stability.

### NIGERIAN ELECTIONS AND THE SISYPHEAN'S TASK: A HISTORICAL REAPPRAISAL

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#### **Abstract**

A people's successive quest for responsible leadership relies much on the process of selecting or electing their leaders. Legitimate and responsible democratic leaders, in particular, depend on the level of acceptability of the electoral process they emerged from. The year 2023 election makes it a century Nigerians have been voting to select their leaders in a Europe-American democratic model. For the over ten (10) times Nigerians have voted (under colonial, military, and civilian rulers) including the five consecutive times Nigerians have voted over the past two decades, elections have been questionable. The 2023 election is more significant because of the technological innovation and the raised standard the electoral laws made, yet, the outcome is not different from the previous elections. Based on the foregoing, cogitating minds would ask: can elections be ever transparent in Nigeria? An affirmative answer generates further questions of when and how, while a denial generates the question of why. To interrogate the above, this paper uses the analytics method to examine the Nigerian electoral system, with particular emphasis on the 2023 general election. It links Nigerian elections with the human existential predicaments symbolized by the Sisyphean's task. It argues that for elections to be

transparent in Nigeria, every player must make concerted efforts to revolutionalise the way elections are conducted to a sincerity foundation.

Keywords: Election, Nigerian election, Sisyphean's Task, 2023 General Election.

### DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND THE FULFILMENT OF SOCIAL CONTRACT IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

Over the decades, there has been a recurrent and sustained argument that the Nigerian state underperforms in fulfilling the social contract. Sadly not surprising the core of the social contract, including the security of life and property, provision and effective access to a set of entitlements that make a dignified and meaningful life possible have not been wholly fulfilled. This has orchestrated dwindling trust in democratic governance. This study examines the state of governance towards the fulfilment of social contract in Nigeria. The social contract theory would best served as a framework meant to explain and justify the existence of governments. The study draws data from secondary and primary sources, which include the researcher's close observations of events in Nigeria. The Nigerian state has failed in three major areas: security of lives and properties and provision of basic needs and services to the people. Therefore, the nature and characters of the political leadership explains the Nigerian state incapacity for effective governance. To achieve good governance, Nigerian government needs to ensure transparency and accountability which are crucial to the fulfilment of the social contract between the government and citizens.

### DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA AND THE MAICIBI'S FORMULA FOR FIGHTING CRIME

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### **Abstract**

The study assesses the democratic governance of Nigeria and questions the operationalization of the democratic tenets of free and fair election, respect for the rule of law, accountability, transparency and control of corruption in the country's governance structure. The study also offers insights into and adapts Maicibi's (2015) generic formula for fighting crime (B1-4<C1-4) to the democratic governance of Nigeria; while revealing the motivation for undemocratic behaviours by public officeholders and offering strategic - preventive and combative - measures for electoral malpractice, corruption, political violence, mismanagement of funds and unaccountability in governance. Adam Smith's (1776) Rational Choice theory provides the theoretical base for the study. Geared towards strengthening democratic governance, the recommendations in the study are twofold: first, to address institutional loopholes that motivate actors' undemocratic actions in governance, and second, to strengthen the rule of law and the independence of institutions that prosecute offenders.

Keywords: Democracy, Governance, Democratic governance, Maicibi formula

## CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND THE ENTRENCHMENT OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA: A STUDY IN LEADERSHIP STYLES IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

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#### **Abstracts**

Since the return of Nigeria to democratic rule, the country has been confronted with a number of challenges that revolve around ethical leadership deficiency at various levels. The corruption scandals that have punctuated the political history of the fourth republic leaves much to be desired. As such stakeholders in the Nigeria project have attempted to stem the tide of some of these malfeasances using available legal and social instruments. One of the stakeholders in ensuring good governance in Nigeria are the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) that champion the cause of good governance. Therefore, this paper examines the role of these organisations in Nigeria's democracy, leadership and governance during the Fourth Republic. It analyzes the changing dynamics of civil society, the influence of political parties, and the effectiveness of the government's policies, programmes, and institutions. It discusses the political challenges faced in developing strong democratic systems to ensure inclusive governance, reduced corruption, and provide citizens with improved services. It uses the content analysis of secondary archival data, as well as key informant interview (KII) of some CSOs to analyse the role of civil society organizations in the entrenchment of ethical leadership styles in the fourth republic of Nigeria's democracy. The paper concludes by highlighting the successes and failures of civil society organization in the sustenance of Nigeria's democratic governance and how future efforts can be improved. It recommends that for the role of civil society organisations to be meaningful in enhancing ethical leadership, the citizens of Nigeria must give necessary support to the expansion of role for the civil society organisations.

**Keywords:** Democracy, Leadership, Ethical governance, Civil society organisations

### PANEL 2: NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

### A PRICEY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA: AN IMPLICATION FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE

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#### **Abstract**

The yearning for democracy as against military autocracy in Nigeria is predicated on the assumption that democracy promotes good governance and puts the nation on the tract of sustainable development. However, after two decades of experimenting uninterrupted democratic rule in Nigeria, most of the attributes that characterized militarism are still very conspicuous. Despite the poor performance of democratic governance in Nigeria, its pricey nature also constitutes another impediment to good governance. Our democracy is not only expensive but it has also become intractable. The exorbitant cost of managing the democratic structures and institutions of the states and the people that run them is alarming and this constitute an impediment to good governance. This paper utilizes secondary data to unearth how pricey our democracy is, and how this style of governance has enriched the elites and impoverished the poor. The paper concludes that our democracy has not delivered much because the cost of running it is high and until it is less expensive, good governance may continue to be an illusion.

Key words: Democracy, Democratic Governance, Good governance, Nigeria, Pricey.

### UNLOCKING DEMOCRACY: EXPLORING THE CASE FOR DIASPORA VOTING RIGHTS IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

This paper delves into the contentious issue of diaspora voting rights in Nigeria, examining the potential benefits, challenges and implications of extending voting rights to Nigerian citizens living abroad. It explores the arguments put forth by both advocates and opponents of diaspora voting, highlighting the importance of inclusivity, representation and democratic participation. The article also analyses the current electoral process in Nigeria and its limitations in engaging the diaspora community. The study adopts transnationalism as a theoretical framework, the theory is a sociological concept that recognizes the existence of social, cultural and economic connections that transcend national boundaries. It suggests that individuals and communities maintain multifaceted ties and engage in activities that bridge their home country and country of residence. Additionally, it discusses international examples and best practices in diaspora voting to provide valuable insights and potential models for Nigeria to consider. Through a comprehensive examination of the topic, this article aims to contribute to the ongoing discourse surrounding diaspora voting rights and its potential impact on Nigeria's democratic landscape.

**Keywords: Diaspora, voting rights, democracy, participation** 

# PRINCIPLES AND PRAXIS OF DEMOCRACY: BEYOND THE CONTRADICTIONS OF ELECTIONS TO GOVERNANCE FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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### **Abstract**

Legitimacy of government in a system of democracy is attained by the principle of 'majority rule'. If this principle is interpreted as the opinion of the greatest number of people within the polity in decision making and election of representatives, then the outcomes of the 2023 presidential elections in Nigeria have opened up new perspectives to the principle and practice of democracy. The votes of Nigerians who gave their mandates to the current President of Nigeria are less than the aggregates votes of Nigerians who preferred other candidates. This scenario exposes and underscores certain inconsistencies or contradictions inherent in the practicability of democracy via elections as a real problem that could threaten social and political stability. This paper attempts to address the relevant and delicate issue of legitimacy of such government vis-à-vis the principle of majority rule espoused in the doctrine of democracy through critical exposition and analysis of literature on principles, theories and practice of democracy and cycles of elections in Nigeria. Relying on the position of utilitarian democracy as a theoretical framework, this paper proposes good governance driven by popular policies, programmes and projects as a viable basis for legitimacy and measure of a successful democracy. It concludes that legitimacy is engendered by improved standard of living, welfarism and promotion of liberties and rights.

Key Words: Democracy, Development, Elections, Governance, Legitimacy, Nigeria

### BEYOND ELECTION: LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

### Alanamu Issa Raheem & Akanbi Oluwaseyi Samuel Kwara State College of Education Oro.

#### **Abstract**

Election has been widely accepted as a tool for resolving leadership issues in democratic society and 2023 election in Nigeria has come and gone with the winner of the election sworn in, but the challenge of governance especially at the local government level is still with us. Local government no doubt plays a very critical role in democratization of any nation. It is one of the most complex and critical institutions of democracy which undoubtedly has either shaped or stagnated its deepening and consolidation. With heavy reliance on secondary data supported by analytical approach, the paper x-rayed the issue of local government governance in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic. In addition, the paper identified the challenges plaguing leadership and governance since the commencement of the fourth republic which include: Inefficient management of single-tier structure, abuse of public trust, palliative justice, patronage consideration, inadequate funding and Bastardization of electoral process. The leadership in the local government is still weak and vulnerable with no visible signs of contributing positively to governance. It is suggested that for leadership to make positive impact on the local government there is need for efficient organizational capacity, effective electoral system, adequate funding and grass root mobilization and linkage.

Keywords: Leadership, Governance, Local Government, Fourth Republic, Democracy.

### THE IMPACT OF CHARACTER AND DIGNITY ON PARTY LEADERSHIP: A CASE STUDY OF PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI FROM 2015 – 2023.

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#### **Abstract**

Political party is made of individuals who organize to win elections, operate government, and influence public policy. The character and dignity of party leaders, especially those of their candidates in a general election play essential roles in shaping the acceptance of a party, its ability to effectively run campaigns programs, win elections and successfully run a government, while in office. This paper "The impact of character and dignity on the prospect of party performance: A case study of President Muhammadu Buhari from 2015 – 2023." It Seeks to examine how Buhari's personality influenced the acceptance of his party in the build up to 2015,2019 elections, the performance of his administration and its effects on the 2013 general elections. The research will adopt a qualitative research design, using secondary sources, through thematic analysis of existing literatures. The paper will use behaviouralism approach to explain the effects of character and dignity on the acceptance and performance of APC within the period identified.

### INSECURITY AND THE DILEMMA OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

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#### **Abstract**

It is paradoxical that Nigeria is a social formation that is invariably defined by failures. This is as a result of non-commitment to the principles of corporate governance and lack of effective political leadership. This paper however, examines the extent to which failure of effective political leadership engendered insecurity in Nigeria. It addresses some of the security sector challenges and the dynamics of political leadership in Nigeria's Fourth Republic with emphasis given to President Buhari's Administration. While the paper employs a Qualitative Research Method where data was obtained mainly from academic literature, think tanks and policy briefs, it adopts some of the ideas of the "Frustration-Aggression Theory" which assumes that aggression is always a consequence of frustration. Findings reveal that, while criminality and intermittent bouts of armed militancy afflicted the Niger Delta region for decades; security crises in the North Central region were marked by long-running competition over land and water resources between herders and farmers. Also, an organised gang of 'Yan Bindiga' operating from ungoverned forests in North Western Nigeria have proliferated, engaging in cattle rustling, kidnapping for ransom and armed robbery. Compounded by the Boko Haram insurgency, thousands of people were killed and hundreds of thousands were forced to flee their homes. The paper recommends that our leaders need to evolve a culture of effective political leadership anchored on honesty, fairness and justice where right political culture and social responsibility must be our guiding principles. An overall security sector needs to be reformed to address the security challenges confronting our dear country.

Keywords: Security Sector Challenges, Political Leadership, Insecurity, Rural Banditry and Armed Ethnic Militia

### ABUSE OF POWER AND ITS CONSEQUENCIES ON LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA (1999-2023).

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### **Abstract**

Over several decades, abuse of politics has remained the key factor that mar development in Nigeria. Abuse of politics encapsulate selfish policies, lack of patriotism, dirty political rivalry, lunatic leadership, lack of vision before occupying a political office, among several others. Inimical politics has stalled Nigeria's development, hence, caused national disaster that need serious and urgent attention. Politics is inevitable in every society, hence, Aristotle stated "man is by nature a political animal". From Aristotle's view, "politics is the interaction between two or more people in a society". Politics, according to David Easton, is the "authoritative allocation of values in the society". To him, politics gives legal backing to those who occupy political offices and saddle with the responsibilities of allocating resources in the society. These values include among others, construction of roads, water, electricity, schools, hospitals and the safety of lives and property. According to Vladimir Lenin, he simply put it as "politics is who does what to whom?". Here, Vladimir Lenin questioned the legitimacy of those who allocate resources in the society and to who or which group are these resources allocated to. Very interested question? Well, we shall look deep into this in the next section. To Harold Laswell, politics is "who get what, when and how". In his view, he is not just interested in "who get" that is, the beneficiary of these resources, but also "when" that is, at what time was these resources allocated to the society? Was it at the time they needed these resources or aftermath? Was their lives and property secure or security personnel are sent after bandit attacked? By "how" Laswell is also interested in knowing the sharing formula that allocate these resources between and among individuals and groups in the society. From the forgoing, we can therefore say that politics is the engine that steer the affairs of man and his environment to a lasting development or mar it. Sequent to the above views, politics has been severely abused in Nigeria. And the consequences of majority abusing politics in a nation, is national disaster. The degree to which manmade disaster through 'abuse of politics' has cause Nigeria's development is beyond measurement. To fully avert these political abuse, Nigeria need a rebirth hence, suggest for restructuring. Restructuring Nigeria and it institutions still stand one of the fastest remedy to the current political brouhaha.

### GOVERNANCE AND DEMOCRATIC RULE IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC, 1999-2022

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#### Abstract

The convention and general subscription to the democratic type of government is for the premium it places on respect for human dignity. The Fourth Republic democratic dispensation did violate the principles of democratic governance in Nigeria thus giving the pedestal for corruption and squander mania. The politicians were very much instrumental in this respect. This paper will interrogates this state of affairs and sheds light on critical elements in the country's democratic experiment that tend to frustrate the enthronement of true democratic rule and good governance. The methodology or source of data will be based on content analysis centred on information derived from secondary sources, as well elite theory will be adopt as the paper theoretical underpinning. The paper may revealed that, governance in today's Nigeria is such that has portrayed and presented a mockery of the acclaimed symptom of good governance, rule of law and constitutionalism; citizens now experience despair instead of hope, insecurity instead of security, tragic and untimely death instead of long life and high life expectancy, illusion instead of expectation. Some of the country's political leaders have stripped naked the rules of civil engagement, jettisoned the constitution and have allowed cacophony to hold sway. Among the recommendations to be proffered are that political leadership in Nigeria must imbibe culture of leadership by example anchored on selfless service to the people with total commitment and sacrifice. They should not see political office as a means of self-enrichment and personal aggrandizement.

Keywords: Good governance, Democracy, Dividend, Development

### PANEL 3: NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

### GOVERNANCE AND DEMOCRATIC RULE IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC, 1999-2022

### Suleiman Abdulrrahman Kawu

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#### **Abstract**

The convention and general subscription to the democratic type of government is for the premium it places on respect for human dignity. The Fourth Republic democratic dispensation did violate the principles of democratic governance in Nigeria thus giving the pedestal for corruption and squander mania. The politicians were very much instrumental in this respect. This paper interrogates this state of affairs and sheds light on critical elements in the country's democratic experiment that tend to frustrate the enthronement of true democratic rule and good governance. The methodology or source of data was based on content analysis centred

on information derived from secondary sources. The paper revealed that, governance in today's Nigeria is such that has portrayed and presented a mockery of the acclaimed symptom of good governance, rule of law and constitutionalism; democracy the official governmental practice has been hijacked by military apologies to the extent that citizens now experience despair instead of hope, insecurity instead of security, tragic and untimely death instead of long life and high life expectancy, illusion instead of expectation. Some of the country's political leaders have stripped naked the rules of civil engagement, jettisoned the constitution and have allowed cacophony to hold sway. Among the recommendations proffered are that the political leadership in Nigeria must imbibe the culture of leadership by example anchored on selfless service to the people with total commitment and sacrifice. They should not see political office as a means of self-enrichment and personal aggrandizement.

Keywords: Good governance, Democracy, Dividend, Development

### GOOD GOVERNANCE, NOT GUNS: A STRATEGIC APPROACH TO SECURITY IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

Good governance, principally, promotes transparency and guarantees the rule of law, justice, fairness, equity, and equality. It is marked by inclusiveness, efficient and effective use of the resources to adequately promote collective gains. It fosters unity and national cohesion. It promotes citizens' participation and enhances the sense of patriotism which constrains individual or group interest to reasons of state. It ultimately fosters national development by adequately promoting the living standards and welfare of the people. Where resources are sufficiently adequate, and leadership is met with good governance, the misfortune of poverty, which induces vices that often snowball into security threats, is ultimately contained. On the contrary, poor governance—as well as the alienation and bitterness it fosters, where citizens are marginalized, government services are limited, corruption is rampant, extremism, banditry, and maritime crime are often proliferated. This has been the unfortunate tragedy of governance in Nigeria. The paper, objectively, investigated how good governance can profoundly promote security. The paper adopted the qualitative method, content, and thematic analysis. The paper argued that for the Nigerian state to reverse the unholy and inglorious security threats plaguing the country, good governance, rather than guns, should be strategically deployed. The paper recommended that as a strategy, infusing new dynamism that will holistically reconfigure the style of governance in Nigeria, to that which will adequately enhance the quality of life of the populace should constitute the priority.

Keywords: Good Governance, Guns, Strategic Approach, Security

# ELECTION MANAGEMENT, DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA: REFLECTIONS ON THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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### **Abstract**

Election is a vital ingredient of representative democracy that avails citizens the opportunity to choose leaders who will represent them at all levels. Where elections are transparent, free, fair, and credible, citizens are empowered to choose the best crop of people that would deliver the dividends of democracy. Sadly, in Nigeria- like most sub-Saharan African states, elections are fraught with irregularities and malpractices that ultimately subvert the will of the masses and enthrone an opportunistic set of people serving the pecuniary interests of their anointed godfathers. Unfortunately for the masses, democratic institutions that would hold electoral bodies accountable to the citizens such as the judiciary and the media are part and parcel of this prebendal set-up and grand conspiracy to subvert the will of the masses. The masses are, thus, helpless in their bid to reclaim their stolen mandate. The result in this scenario is easily predictable: gross underdevelopment, endemic poverty, perversive corruption and every other index that points to bad governance, thereby rubbishing the promises of democracy. Using qualitative case study approach, this study reviews the Nigerian 2023 general elections to demonstrate the prevalence and manifestation of this unfortunate scenario in Nigeria, and the concomitant implications on the quest for democratic consolidation, good governance, and sustainable development.

Key words: election management, INEC, democratic consolidation, good governance, 2023 general elections and Nigeria.

### INTERROGATING THE CHALLENGES OF LEADERSHIP IN THE GOVERNANCE QUESTION IN NIGERIA (1999-2023)

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### Abstract

That the Nigerian society is crises ridden is a bit of understatement considering the spate of political crises, insecurity, economic downturn and social upheavals that have characterized the nation in the past decades. Without controversy, the Nigerian saga is a case of leadership

failure Corroborated by followership mischievous and mis-de-meanour act. Since creation of the Nigerian nation, the leaders have failed in fixing the economy due to egocentrism and Maladministration. Funds meant for social development were either mismanaged, misappropriated or siphoned. The objective of this paper is to investigate factors responsible for leadership failure. By applying the structural functionalist theory, the paper reveals institutional collapse and discovers the hijack of the polity by political opponents. However, the paper recommends a system of check and balance of incompetent leaders by the electorates through recall and public complaint commission. Finally, strict enforcement of the rule of law should be practiced as in the case of Ike Ekwerenmadu so that competent, capable and honest leaders will start exhibiting the act of governance as in ideal and democratic societies of the world.

Keywords: Leadership, Social Development, Insecurity, Political Crises

### RURAL BANDITRY AND CHALLENGES OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF ZAMFARA STATE

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#### **Abstract**

This paper examines the menace of rural banditry and challenges of good governance in Zamfara state. In recent years, Zamfara state has been bedeviled by the rising incident of rural banditry which has continue to pose serious challenge to good governance in the state. The outcome of the activities of the bandits is usually unimaginable and occasionally attended by needless harvest of deaths and destruction of economic goods. Hundreds of lives and properties worth billions of naira have been reportedly lost and destroyed in the state. The objective of this paper is to interrogates the the menace of rural banditry and how it pose serious challenge to good governance in Zamfara state. The paper posits that unemployment, poverty, social injustice and above all state failure are largely responsible for the menace of rural banditry in Zamfara state. Hence it is recommended that government at all level must show strong commitment by living up to its responsibility of protecting lives and properties of its citizens, and channeling more attention and resources to bring an end to the menace of rural banditry so as to deliver good governance to the people of Zamfara state. Government should address the issues of unemployment, poverty, neglect of the rural communities and social injustice with a view to improving the socio-economic conditions of the residents and, also reducing the tendency to turn to crime as an alternative to survival. The paper utilized secondary data and was anchored on routine activity theory.

Key words: Rural Banditry, Good Governance, Government, Zamfara State

### POLITICAL ELITE AND THE CRISIS OF GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

### Suleiman Abdulateef

#### **Abstract**

This paper examines the role of elite consensus in the crisis of Nigerian democracy. The study adopted content analysis relying basically on secondary sources of data. Following an analysis

of the country's political history, the study adopted elite theory to analyze the tensions between the state and the elites, and the impact of this tension on the democratic processes of the country. In particular, the paper focuses on the ways in which elite factions have both enabled and impeded the development of a strong, legitimate state. The paper argues that the failure to establish effective consensus between the state and the elites has underpinned many of the crises experienced by the country, and that without a more effective consensus between these groups, democracy in Nigeria will remain vulnerable. The paper concludes by exploring potential avenues for building a more robust consensus between the state and the elite, and ultimately, improving the prospects for democratic governance in Nigeria.

### THE CHALLENGES OF LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE ON DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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### **Abstract**

The successes associated with leadership and governance in Nigeria have been obliterated by endemic corruption at all levels of government, in addition to insecurity of lives and property, abject poverty, kidnapping and armed robbery, largescale collapse of infrastructure which has undermined sustainable development leaving the political environment in a state of uncertainty which has fettered Nigeria development. With the return of civil rule in 1999, the celebrated economic growth has not translated into improved economic and social welfare for the populace since the state has been managed by elected leaders who have made the state an instrument of capital accumulation to the detriment of the citizenry. This paper examines the relationship between leadership and governance in Nigeria. The objectives of the paper among others, is to examine how the performance of leadership has affected Nigeria's development. The paper is situated within the prism of the elite theoretical framework. The paper relies on secondary data drawn from books, journal, and internet materials and complemented with official documents from National Bureau of Statistics. The paper concludes that Leadership in Nigeria has affected governance thereby compounding Nigeria's development challenge. The paper finally recommends that with good Governance and committed leadership, Nigeria can attain her development goals.

Keywords: Conundrum, Development, Governance and Leadership

### PANEL 4: POLITICAL PARTIES, PARTY PRIMARIES AND PARTIES' INTERNAL DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

### DEMOCRACY AND CHALLENGES OF PARTY IDEOLOGIES IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH PUBLIC – 1999 - 2023.

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#### **Abstract**

Democracy in Nigeria has been challenged by the lack of clear and consistent ideologies among the political parties that emerged since the return to civilian rule in 1999. This article examines the nature, structure, and ideology of major parties that dominated the political landscape of Nigeria for two decades: the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the Action *Group (AG), and the All-Progressive Congress. The article traces the origins and evolution of* these parties, their ideological orientations, their internal organization and cohesion, and their electoral performance. The paper used the systems analysis approach and argued that parties failed to develop and adhere to coherent ideologies that reflect the interests and aspirations of the Nigerian people. Instead, they were driven by personal ambitions, ethnic sentiments, and opportunistic alliances that undermined their credibility and legitimacy. The article also discusses how the lack of internal democracy and discipline within these parties contributed to their decline and defeat in the 2023 general elections. The article concludes by highlighting the implications of party ideology for democratic consolidation and development in Nigeria. The article recommends that there are lessons for parties and their leaders in electoral success and continued political relevance should not be taken for granted by parties. Rather, party leaders need to continue to uphold an ideology, that will work to achieve development. Through, respecting principles of the rule of law, internal democracy, and the adoption of coherent policy blueprints for the growth of their societies.

Keywords: Democracy, Party Ideology, Electoral Process, Rule of law

### THE CHANGING CONTEXT OF PARTY SOLIDARITY BASE IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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### **Abstract**

Political parties, as objects of democratic engagement, pursue their objectives through mobilization of people and resources. In Nigeria, studies of the First republic political parties focused on the communitarian party solidarity base. Communitarian solidarity entails mobilization of people and resources based on common affinities such as, cultural background, ethnicity and religious support. No doubt, the First Republic parties evolved from community associations and hence, seen as communal representative organization. Whereas, the analysis of political party communal solidarity type has extensively been examined, the transformation to associational solidarity type has not been fully examined. This paper therefore, examines the transformation of party solidarity from communitarian to associational type. The objective is to establish the new context of party solidarity in the fourth republic. The paper adopts the theory of participatory democracy. The data for this paper was generated using secondary sources. The data was analysed using the simple technique of descriptive narration of events laced with logical arguments and inferences. The paper establishes the associational basis of party solidarity, which is characterize by individualism, appeal towards populism and pursuit for office side payments.

**Key Words: Associational, Changing Context, Communitarian, Party, Solidarity Base, Fourth Republic** 

### ELECTORAL REFORMS AND THE 2023 CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESSES IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

Nigeria has so far conducted seven successful elections circle. Each election circle came with its unique challenges, which necessitated reforms. One of the problem areas has to do with the candidate nomination process. By nomination, we refer to the processes through which candidates for elective positions are pushed forward by political parties. It also include the process of presenting the candidates by political parties to the Independent National Electoral Commission and how the Commission compile and process the nomination. While the processes of candidates selection has received scholarly attention, little or nothing is known about the process of the management of the nominated candidates by political parties and INEC. This paper therefore, evaluate how the 2022 electoral reforms introduced by INEC impact on the effectiveness of the nomination processes for the 2023 general elections. The objectives of the paper are; to examine the impact of the online submission of candidates' particulars by political parties; to evaluate the impact of holding new primary elections for candidate substitution or replacement by parties; and finally; to examine new emerging challenges in the nomination process. The data for this paper was generated using Key Informant Interview and participant observation. The data was analysed using the simple technique of descriptive narration of events laced with logical arguments and inferences. The paper established that the online submission of candidates' particulars by political parties as well as the requirements for fresh primary election to replace dead candidates partly, introduced transparency in the process of candidate replacement. However, the paper further finds that making submission of claimed qualifications optional for substituted candidates opened floodgate for pre-election litigation.

Key Words: Candidate, Election, Electoral Reforms, Nigeria, Nomination Process

# THE COST OF NOMINATION FORMS IN POLITICAL PARTY PRIMARIES: A CHALLENGE TO INCLUSIVE PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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### Abstract

Contesting for public offices is one of the fundamental rights of citizens. Over the years, these rights of citizens are being deprived by the cost of nomination forms pegged by political parties in Nigeria. This study is an interrogation of how high cost of nomination forms poses a challenge to inclusive political participation thereby denying bulk of Nigerians opportunity to contest public offices. The study relied on documentary content analysis to gather and analysed

data from the secondary sources. The study also adopted Structural Functionalist Theory as a theoretical framework to explain that a moderate cost of nomination forms by political parties would encourage competition and inclusive political participation of party members to contest public offices. The study argues that the cost of nomination forms for the two major political parties has grown outrageously in 2023 General Elections. For the office of the President, for APC, it cost N100 million, for the opposition PDP N40 million, for Governorship - APC N50 million, PDP N21 million, for Senate - APC N20 million, PDP N3.5; House of Representative – APC N10 million, PDP N2.5 million and State Assembly – APC N2 million, PDP N1.5 million. This is a threat to political inclusion in a country where over 130 million citizens are wallowing in an abject poverty. This study recommended for putting a cap to regulate cost of purchasing nomination forms of all political parties in Nigeria.

Key Words: Political Parties, Nomination, Inclusive Political Participation, Public Offices

# THE PROBLEM OF INTERNAL DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA'S POLITICAL PARTIES; A CASE STUDY OF THE ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS (APC) IN KOGI-CENTRAL SENATORIAL DISTRICT

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#### **Abstract**

Adherence to democratic principles in the choice of party candidates is very germaine to the growth and sustenance of any democratic system as violation of such inhibits the growth of democracy and causes distrust among party members with bad governance being the end product of impositing candidates against popular will. This study sets out to examine the lack of internal democracy in Nigerian political parties using the 2018 Senatorial primaries of All Progressives Congress (APC) in Kogi-central Senatorial District as a case study. The study relies on secondary data with literatures relevant to the topic under study interrogated. The elites theory was employed as a theoretical framework to explain that the ruling class in their continuous desire to dominate party politics resorted to imposing their preferred candidates for election rather than following the democratic process of electing party candidates. The study finds out that the problem of bad governance as currently faced by the Nigerian society is the end product of imposing and electing unpopular and inexperienced candidates to positions of power and therefore recommended that internal party democracy should be strengthened to achieve more development and dividends of democracy for the populace.

### CLASS ALIGNMENT AND PARTY DE-ALIGNMENT IN NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY, 199-2023

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#### **Abstract**

Studies have shown that viable opposition parties are crucial to every democracy because of the watchdog function they play. Concern among those involved in elections has grown since the inception of Nigeria's fourth republic due to the rising degree of class and party alignment. Therefore, this study seeks to investigate the factors responsible for class alignment and party the alignment in Nigeria's democracy. Also, examine the implications of class alignment and party the alignment, on Nigeria's quest for viable opposition parties. Moreover, this study is situated with the elite theory. Again, the historical research design will be adopted the data to be collected from secondary sources such as textbooks, journals, and other internet materials while content analyses will be used to analyze the data collected. This study argues that class alignment is necessitated by the interest of the political elite to capture and retain political power. Besides the nearly absence of party ideologies in most political parties in Nigeria is responsible for party days alignment. Moreover, one of the implications of class alignment and party dealignment in the weakening of existing party institution as a result of continuous switching of political loyalty and alliance amongst political elites. Lastly, developing political party with strong ideology and national re-orientation of the political leadership remains key to solving the problem of class alignment and party dealignment.

Keywords: Political Parties, Elites, Democracy, Election, Nigeria

### POLITICAL PARTIES, SOCIAL MEDIA AND YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOKOTO STATE

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#### **Abstract**

Youth political participation is indispensable to stable democratic process and governance. Comprehending its dynamics could help in scientific characterisation of different political entities in being responsive administratively. Specifically, today there is in broader, albeit, vague ways, a general resurgence in youth political crusading in political parties, social media political engagement, etc. This paper focusses on probing the role of political parties and social media, in explaining the general resurgence in youth political activism, especially within the context of increasing party mobilisation and voter turnout in Sokoto state. Social psychological and mobilisation theories will be employed to achieve this. Methodologically, both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection will be used. Based on presentation and analysis of the empirical data, the study among other findings establishes that political parties as the important pillars of political activities are the platforms for youth political participation in Sokoto State. Majority of youth in the state identify with political parties as registered members and supporters and in participating in party activities such as party primaries, congresses, and membership mobilisation and election campaigns. However, despite their overwhelming support to political parties, youth could not participate as party candidates during elections. This limits the role of parties in driving youth political participation in Sokoto. The media also was found to play a significant role in youth political activism in the state. The study thus recommends that parties' activities should be professionally strengthened in order to ease the tension of dominance and excessive monetisation of Nigeria's political space.

### POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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### **Abstract**

Since the return of Nigeria to democratic rule in 1999, her democratic experiment has experience varied dimensions. One constant dimension is the role played by the political parties. Political parties are critical and integral component in the democratisation process of any society such that the progress and downturn of the entire democratic journey is dependent on the activities of political parties. However, political parties in Nigeria, since the return to democracy, has been bedeviled with problems weak party system, lack of internal democracy, godfatherism, lack of ideology, personalisation of political parties, etc. At the end of the day, the desire of every transitional democracy is to consolidate. Democratic consolidation is largely dependent on the character and conduct of the country's political parties, it is against this background that this paper seeks to examine the interplay between political parties and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The paper adopts group theory, with descriptive analysis based on qualitative data from secondary sources, through which cogent deduction will be made that will serve the basis for recommendation.

**Keywords**: democracy: democratic consolidation: political parties: group theory

### PANEL 5: INEC, ELECTORAL REFORMS AND THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

### HUMAN AND SOCIAL CAPITAL AND ITS IMPACT ON THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

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### **Abstract**

It is noticeable that the development of social capital and human capital is a huge advancement in the conduct of election in developed countries, but reverse is the case in countries like Nigeria where the ruling elites always scheme power access using religion, ethnic identity and region to gain the support of the electorates. The ruling elites in Nigeria and most of the developing countries always take advantage of the poor human capital and poor social capital development of the electorates. It is evident that most of the pre-election, election and the post-election violence in Nigeria are simply as a result of distrust, poor communication skills, poor

mental development, poverty, division and poor education among others, which characterizes the electorates, the ruling elites and the electoral body in Nigeria. The paper recommended that a serious and deliberate action should be taken by leaders and followers to improve the social capital and human capital in Nigeria, which will have a positive impact on the conduct of election. In conclusion, poor social capital and human capital development are to a larger extent responsible for election violence in the Nigerian polity. The machinations of the ruling elites to access power through crude means shall be reduced to a bearable level if the masses are robust in social capital and human capital development, this will go a long way in reducing the impact of identity politics along ethnicity, religion and regional divide to help Nigerians in reasoning along the line of infrastructural development, human rights, education, healthcare and security among others, before, during and after election.

Keywords: Human Capital, Social Capital, Identity Politics, Election and ruling elites.

### DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS IN NIGERIA: THE PATH TOWARDS ELECTORAL AND DEMOCRATIC MATURITY, 2015-2023

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### **Abstract**

This paper examines the factors that can contribute to smooth democratic transitions in Nigeria, with a focus on the period between 2015 and 2023. The paper argues that character and dignity are essential components of a successful democratic transition, and that these qualities can help to promote electoral and democratic maturity in Nigeria. The key hypothesis here is that leaders who exhibit a mature attitude set the precedents for a change in character by the citizens and hence on promote this via electoral and smooth transition of power from one regime to another. The paper draws on a range of theoretical frameworks and *empirical evidence to support its arguments. The first theory is that of constitutional democracy* as an avenue towards the good life, this is buttressed by the institutional theory and finally modernization theory. The argument is that the combined availability and assimilation of the good life, strengthening of institutions such as the electoral system and its modernization via technological development and human development are necessary ingredients that will be needed to further democratic maturity. "Character and dignity" are the catch phrase for attitudinal change that will propel Nigeria out of its shell, hence facing its challenges head on in pursuit of democratic maturity.

**Key Words: Democratic maturity, Electoral Maturity, Institutional strengthening, Democratic transitions and Constitutional democracy** 

### ELECTION STAKEHOLDERS AND THE DEEPENING OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA: AN ANALYSIS OF THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS.

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#### **Abstract**

The paper examined the role of free and fair elections in Nigeria and how it can help in deepening democracy. With the just concluded 2023 general elections in Nigeria, it is obvious that the electoral process was flawed with a lot of irregularities on the part of the electoral body (INEC), the electorates and those vying for different political offices. These irregularities in no small way affected Nigeria's struggling democracy. Using secondary sources of data collection and relying on rational choice theory and structural functional theory, the paper seeks to address the significance of having a free and fair election in Nigeria and how this will further help in enhancing democracy which still serves as one of the pertinent tools in having a sane society built on the rule of law. The paper identified factors such as high level of corruption, poverty, illiteracy, incessant government interference, misappropriation of funds as some of the obstacle to credible and transparent elections in Nigeria. The paper recommends that the electoral umpire (INEC) should have full autonomy in the discharge of their duties and that when this is done, Nigeria can begin to boost of having free, fair and credible elections that will deepen the nation's democracy.

Keywords: Free, Fair, Election, Voting and Democracy.

### AN EXAMINATION OF THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE CONDUCT OF A CREDIBLE ELECTION IN NIGERIA

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### **Abstract**

Elections are a critical component of democracy and the electoral process is the cornerstone of the democratic system in Nigeria. The conduct of a credible election in Nigeria is essential for the promotion of democracy, the rule of law, and the protection of human rights. The legal framework is designed to ensure the transparency, fairness, and credibility of the electoral process. There has been a lot of controversies, Irregularities and challenges with the conduct of elections in Nigeria from the first republic till date. Before the amendment of the 1999 Constitution and prior to the repeal of the Electoral Act 2006 by the Electoral Act 2010, there were clamors for a reform of the Nigerian electoral system and the need to address the shortcomings of the legal framework that was subsisting as at that time with a view to addressing the problem. There has always been an attempt after every general election to amend the legal framework in order to take care of the irregularities noticed in the previous election. Yet, despite the existence of the legal framework for the conduct of elections in Nigeria, there have been several challenges with the conduct of elections. Some of these challenges include voter apathy, political violence, vote buying, and irregularities in the electoral process. Therefore, this paper examines the legal framework for the conduct of a

credible election in Nigeria with a view to proffer solutions to this challenges. The research finds out that the problem of election in Nigeria is not just about inadequacy of the law but lack of implementation and voters awareness. This research recommend that there should be calls for the reform of the electoral process. Some of the reforms proposed include the use of technology to enhance the transparency and credibility of the electoral process, the establishment of an electoral offences commission, and the improvement of voter education and participation.

### ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND THE CHALLENGE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIA: A REVIEW OF THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTION

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#### **Abstract**

The management of electoral process has over decades constituted bane in African states, without Nigeria as an exception. In most cases, countries come out of election extremely wounded, some ending up in ethnic, tribal, religious and party crises and wars. This paper reviewed the electoral management and its implication on political participation focusing on the 2023 general elections. It examined the fundamentals of good electoral management practices and the need for political participation by the citizens. Emphasis was laid on the importance of electoral integrity in the election process, as well as identifying the various challenges related to electoral management. The paper adopted system theory as a heuristic device. It revealed that poor management of electoral process discourages citizens from participating in election. The paper concluded that electoral management is important as it enthrones free, fair and reliable electoral process, thereby making the process interesting for participation. The paper recommended amongst others for strict penalties against irresponsible electoral officials.

Keywords: Election, electoral management, political participation, system theory

#### CORRUPTION AND ELECTORAL PROCESSES IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

This paper examines the complex relationship between corruption and electoral processes in Nigeria. It explores the methods in which corruption undermines the integrity of electoral systems and hinders democratic consolidation. An overview of the historical context of corruption in Nigeria and its effect on electoral processes, which includes voter suppression, manipulation of results, and the erosion of public trust. The role of various stakeholders, such as politicians, electoral management bodies, civil society organizations, and international actors, in perpetuating or combating corruption in elections is analyzed. Furthermore, it explores the existing legal and institutional frameworks in Nigeria aimed at curbing corruption during elections and evaluates their effectiveness. It concludes by recommending the

strengthening of electoral integrity and combating corruption in Nigeria's democratic processes.

# CORRUPTION AND ELECTORAL PROCESSES IN NIGERIA: EXAMINING 2023 GENERAL ELECTION

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#### **Abstract**

This paper seeks to explore the role of corruption in the Nigerian electoral process while analyzing the implications of the 2023 general election. The 2023 general election will have far reaching implications for Nigeria as the country looks to secure a peaceful and effective transition to a new government. Examining the relationship between corruption and the Nigerian electoral process is essential to gaining a holistic understanding of the country's current political climate and how it may be impacted by the upcoming election. To assess the problem, this paper reviews existing literature on corruption in Nigeria and its relationship to the election process, as well as examines available data from past election cycles in the country. Through a qualitative analysis, the paper seeks to uncover the various ways in which corruption has impacted the Nigerian electoral process, in particular, the 2023 election cycle. The paper also aims to identify potential solutions to this problem, which can be implemented to ensure a fair and equitable electoral process in Nigeria. The paper concludes by discussing the findings of the study and providing insights into the issue of corruption in the Nigerian electoral process. It further advocates for the implementation of strategies to combat corruption in the country in order to ensure the effective execution of the 2023 elections. Ultimately, understanding the role of corruption in the Nigerian electoral process is vital to securing an effective transition of power in the country.

Keywords: Corruption, Electoral Process Election, Nigeria

# PANEL 6: VOTER APATHY, POLITICAL REPRESSION, ELECTION RIGGING, AND CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA

### EFFECTS OF VOTERS APATHY ON THE 2019 AND 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN ZARIA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KADUNA STATE

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#### **Abstract**

Democracy today is seen as one of the most widely accepted form of government. It is sometimes equated with or as synonymous with good governance that ensures socio-economic and political development. It is a political framework from which public policies are propelled by members of a political class open to recruitment and exit to possess the confidence of the entire citizens of a political system. Voters Apathy on the other hand affects democracy in many ways since it has been viewed as the deficiency of love and devotion to a state. It is the indifference on the part of citizens of any state as regards their attitudes towards political activities such as elections, public opinions, and civic responsibilities. Thus, an apathetic citizen lacks interest in the social and political affairs of his country. The aim of this paper is to examine the effects of voters' apathy on democracy in Nigeria. The paper relies heavily on the secondary source of data. It recommends that a vibrant civil service and state institutions is a prerequisite for the success of the democracy. Not only that, the success of democracy hinges on the ability of the government and the people to meet expectations. The people expect the government to put in place basic social amenities and the government in turn demands civic responsibility from the people. The failures of government to meet up its expectations normally leads to voters' apathy.

Keywords: Voters' Apathy, Democracy, Civic Responsibility, Nigeria, Presidential Elections.

### VOTER APATHY AND THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA: IMERATIVES OF A NEW APPROACH

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#### **Abstract**

The democratic tradition is an all inclusive phenomenon that draws on the collective involvement of the people in its entire process to ensure that the end products accurately reflects their expressed will devoid of any strand of marginalization in the process. Democracy has all along been adjudged as government of the people by the people and for the people. The people therefore embraces the participatory involvement of the greater majority in this leadership recruitment process. The concept of voter apathy in Nigeria is therefore an albatross; an enigma that defies logic as it has continuously and persistently impinged on the entrenchment of the democratic tradition of popular consultation and popular participation of Nigerians in this governance framework called democracy which has become the standard for political legitimacy in the contemporary global community. The 2023 general elections present a horrible spectacle to the challenge of voter apathy. With a total of 93.46 million registered voters from the estimate of 200 million Nigerians, only about 28.63% of the registered voters participated by casting their votes in the elections (INEC, 2023). This paper explores the dynamics of voter apathy to establish how it obstructs democratic consolidation in Nigeria. It shall apply itself to the qualitative approach in interrogating the causative factors to this ugly trend, using the systems theoretical praxis. The imperatives advanced in this study are models intended to address the inhibiting factors towards entrenching the democratic tradition in Nigeria moving forward as a nation-state in this  $21^{st}$  century.

Keywords: Voter apathy, challenge of democratic consolidation, imperatives, new approach.

# AN EXAMINATION OF THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE ON VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF NIGERIAN ELECTORATE

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#### **Abstracts**

Voter apathy is manifested by low voter turnout, and is compounded by factors such as violence, political thuggery, lack of trust in the electoral process, and lack of access to information. It is a problem to the phenomenon of democracy because it can affect the legitimacy of elected government officials. The paper examines voter apathy and democratic consolidation in the Nigerian's fourth republic. It focuses on the extent to which voter apathy induced by political elites through thuggery and political violence affects the prospects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria and the implications of voter apathy before outlining the various measures that can be taken to ensure democratic consolidation. Drawing on available data from previous elections, it shows that voter apathy is a major issue in Nigeria and has been a contributing factor to the lack of democratic consolidation. Using the elite model, the paper also looks at the role of political elites on voter apathy and democratic consolidation. It argues that Nigeria's political elites have played a major role in perpetuating voter apathy and preventing democratic consolidation. It outlines the various strategies employed by elites to undermine open competition and hinder the progress of Democracy. It concludes that to ensure successful democratic consolidation, Nigeria must address the issue of voter apathy and that this can be best achieved through the implementation of policies focused on enhancing civic education, improving electoral infrastructure and increasing public trust in the electoral processes. In addition, it suggests the need for a more transparent, free and fair electoral process and legal oversight of the electoral process.

Keywords: Political elite, voter apathy, democracy, democratic consolidation, fourth republic.

# THE NEXUS BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND CONFLICT IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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#### **Abstract**

The euphoria and excitement that greeted Nigerians in 1999 when the country returned to democratic rule seemed to have slumped. This is because the issues that characterized the military era such as poverty, corruption, rising unemployment, infrastructural decay and

violation of basic human rights are still very palpable. In addition to all these glitches, the ubiquity of violent conflicts in almost all the regions of the federation has triggered interrogation whether there is a nexus between democratic governance and conflict in Nigeria. In recent time, there is no region in Nigeria that has not experienced conflicts in varying degrees; be it political, communal, ethnic, religious, and economic. Relying on secondary data and analytical approach, the paper investigates the nature of democratic governance in Nigeria and how it triggers violent conflict. The paper concludes and recommends that until our democracy is centred on the people and not the few elite, peace will continue to be a phantasm.

Key words: Conflict, Democracy, Democratic Governance, Nigeria

# VOTER APATHY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

Democracy has been a widely contested concept since the wake of the 19th century. It is an encompassing system that gives equal opportunity to all citizens, but yet it faces lots of challenges, especially in Africa and Nigeria in particular. The practice of democracy is yet to be consolidated in line with the tenant of a democratic system. The military rule in Nigerian history that distorted all democratic processes in Nigeria, corruption, presidential monarchism, and so on are the bedrock for the lack of democratic practices in the country. Democracy consolidation is complex and multifaceted that involves the institutionalization of democratic norms, values, and practices in society. Voter participation is a critical component of democratic consolidation, it helps to legitimate democratic governance and ensure accountability. However, in Nigeria, voters' apathy remains a persistent challenge that threatens the country's democracy. Voter apathy has emerged as a significant challenge to democratic consolidation in Nigeria despite the country's growing democratic culture and successful electoral transitions. This paper aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the dynamics of voters' apathy in Nigeria and its implications for democratic consolidation. This paper adopts institutionalism theory to explain the dynamics of voter apathy and its implications on democratic consolidation in Nigeria. To address the challenges, the paper suggests several strategies for enhancing voter participation and democratic consolidation in Nigeria such as strengthening electoral institutions, voter awareness, improving the teaching of civic education in our schools and colleges, and addressing socio-economic factors that contribute to voter apathy.

Keywords: democracy, democratic consolidation, voter apathy, political participation, and good governance.

# VOTER DISSATISFACTION, LEADERS' PERFORMANCE EVALUATION, AND VOTERS TURNOUT IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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#### **Abstract**

Over the years, cumulative voter registration and turnout during elections across the constituencies show significantly a steady increase from the previous election records. This is due to the presumed increasing voters' interest and political awareness orchestrated by media engagements, increased demands for good governance, and the need to reverse the persistent political and socio-economic challenges plaguing the country almost geometrically. Recently, election results indicate a decline in the voters' turnout, especially in the 2023 general elections. A significant assumption is that voters turn out and massively vote for the incumbent government when they have a positive view of their leadership style. Predicated on the psychosocial model, this paper tries to conceptualize and demonstrate the connection between voter dissatisfaction with leadership performance and voter turnout trends in Nigeria's fourth republic. The paper adopts a qualitative methodology relying majorly on secondary materials, such as published articles and reports. It adopts a thematic analysis generated, complemented by descriptive statistical analysis. The study shows that politically informed voters' decisions are influenced by their unhappiness with the performance of their elected officials, which dramatically lowers their participation in outbursts of rage during elections.

Keywords: Voter Dissatisfaction, Leaders' Performance, Election, Voter turnout, Political Awareness

# ANALYSIS OF THE DETERMINANTS OF VOTERS CHOICES IN THE 2023 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN NASARAWA STATE

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#### **Abstract**

Political apathy in elections in Nigeria's fourth republic negate to the democratic process, engender mistrust in political institutions, and enthrone unaccountable leadership. This is why voter turnout and choice are a crucial aspect of electoral Research and development. Even though Nigeria has successfully undergone two decades of uninterrupted democracy, she may not be too fast in imbibing the tenets of electoral democracy which presupposes active people's participation in the electoral process. This is because there was a conspicuous increase in voter turnouts in Gubernatorial election in Nasarawa State during the 2023 state elections. There are several factors responsible for this increase in political participation. This paper analyzed three key variables — Political Awareness, voters Choice, and candidate's popularity, The study adopts system theory to established connection between voters' choice and the popularity Gubernatorial candidates, The study, therefore, finds that of the three variables,

candidate's popularity as indicated by voters' preferences for candidate's/running mate's tribe, political party, and trust in candidate's abilities provide stronger evidence of the declining turnouts in the Gubernatorial elections.

# PANEL 7: VOTER APATHY, POLITICAL REPRESSION, ELECTION RIGGING, AND CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA

# POPULAR PARTICIPATION AND ELECTORAL MALFEASANCE: "GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY" IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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#### **Abstract**

This paper seeks to understand Nigeria's over two decades democratic leadership and governance journey, which was characterized by seven successive General elections and change of batons at both states and Federal levels. It shall deploy James Cable's theory of 'gunboat diplomacy' to particularly give a historical overview of the downsides of Nigeria's electioneering and governance since 1999 with emphasis on popular participation, electoral violence and rigging amongst others. As an international politics theory, 'gunboat diplomacy' involves the use or threat of limited (naval) force, a mechanism designed to gain advantage and sending of a political message. The paper shall reveal how the show, and, or utilization, of force has been a major feature of Nigeria's democratic experience, which encompasses the use of state security forces and resources to capture power. This is evident in political parties' primary elections, propaganda, new media, voter apathy and intimidation. It will also demonstrate the role of 'gunboat diplomacy' exercised by the West with threat of travel restrictions on politicians' that attempt to obstruct peaceful, free and fair elections, and how that has influenced political participation and governance. Qualitative method involving the collection and processing of primary and secondary sources is adopted. The data shall be sourced from official government record, newspapers, memoirs, journal articles and books amongst others. It is concluded that Nigeria's major bane of democratic governance is the internal gunboat diplomacy, while the external which carries threats of sanctions have also played a role in recent time.

Keywords: electioneering, governance, gunboat diplomacy, electoral violence, democracy, Nigeria

### INTERROGATING THE CHALLENGES INHERENT IN POWER ROTATION, ELECTIONS AND SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

Six decades after political independence from the United Kingdom, the Nigerian state is apparently still struggling to unite its people and stabilize its democracy. After a civil war and two lengthy periods of military interregnum, constitutional democracy was restored in 1999, and since then Nigeria has had a non-interruptive twenty-four years of constitutional democratic rule. However, as democracy consolidated in Nigeria, the challenges of inclusivity and national unity emerged. Leaders of some ethnic nationalities and geopolitical zones began to agitate for some form of power sharing and rotating formular. They insisted that for the sake national unity, inclusivity and sense of belonging, political power should be rotated between the major ethnic nationalities and regions (or geopolitical zones) in Nigeria. However, other actors opposed political power rotation in Nigeria on the grounds that it is too restrictive and undemocratic. These disagreements have repeatedly threatened the peace, unity and sustainability of the Nigerian democracy. It is against this background that an effort is made in this work to interrogate the challenges to Nigeria's democracy as it relates to political power rotation and the credibility of elections. It is the submission of this work that, power rotation would significantly enhance national inclusivity, unity and sustainable democracy. However, the study observes that the practice of power rotation in Nigeria is problematic as those ethnic nationalities and regions with numeric advantage are reluctant to cede their powers to minority groups. Liberalism is the theoretical basis of analysis. Data for the study is generated from a combination of secondary and qualitative data sources.

Keywords: Power Rotation, Inclusivity, Election, Sustainable Democracy, and Geopolitical Zones.

### THE IMPACT OF VOTER APATHY ON DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA.

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#### Abstract

This paper examines the impact of voter apathy on democratic consolidation in Nigeria. Voter apathy refers to the lack of interest, enthusiasm, or participation in the electoral process. The study analyzes the reasons why voter apathy persists in Nigeria and its consequences on the consolidation of democracy in the country. Drawing on both primary and secondary sources, the paper examines how voter apathy has affected democratic consolidation in the country, and delves into the underlying causes of such apathy. Findings indicate that voter apathy is a significant challenge to democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The reasons for voter apathy include a lack of trust in the electoral process, corruption, and a sense of disillusionment with the political system. The consequences of voter apathy on democratic consolidation include low voter turnout, reduced legitimacy of elected officials, and undermined accountability. The paper concludes by highlighting the need for electoral reforms, civic education, and increased

political participation to address the issue of voter apathy and promote democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

Keywords: Democracy, Voter Apathy, Democratic consolidation

### POLITICS OF VOTE-BUYING IN NIGERIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF 2019 AND 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN BAUCHI STATE

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The incessant nature of vote-buying phenomenon during the conduct of every election in Nigeria since the emergence of the forth republic in 1999, has engaged scholars of social sciences for inquiries. The outcome connotes vote-buying as mostly a pre-voting matter. The 2019 and 2023 general elections in Bauchi state provides glaring cases in point where the activities of the politicians in vote-buying was referred to as "see and buy" phenomenon. Symbolically, this means that voters displays or surrenders their voter cards or even ballot papers before proceeding to collect money. Qualitative method is employed to collect data, which was sourced from secondary materials such as reports of local and international election observers and media sources. High incidence of poverty, desperation of politicians and complacency of the security operatives have been adjudged as the major findings. The implications of vote-buying in democracy is that it has the capacity of truncating the electoral process paving way for the emergence of incompetent rulers or illegitimate leadership in government. The paper concludes with the recommendations that perpetrators of vote-buying (no matter their positions) should be prosecuted based on the established law to serve as deterrence to others.

Key words: Vote – Buying, Election, Politicians, Contemporary Nigeria.

### THE IMPACT OF VOTE BUYING DURING ELECTIONS IN THE NORTH-WEST ZONE OF NIGERIA: A SOCIOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT

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#### **Abstract:**

Vote buying is a widespread phenomenon in Nigeria. It involves an exchange in which the voters sale their votes to the buyer for money during election. This phenomena has impacted negatively in the Nigeria's free and fair election processes. The ill competent ones occupied elective political positions because they used money to secured votes, while the qualified ones were left behind hence they were unable to use money during primary and secondary elections. The objective of the study was to find out the impact of vote buying on electing people to various

political positions in North western states of Nigeria. The theory of Collective Action was used in explaining the study findings. Using Questionnaires and literatures on the subject matter obtained from books, articles, papers etc, were reviewed and interpreted according to study objectives. The findings revealed among that; sometimes credible candidates were denied opportunity to even contest, that many of those that were abled to buy their ways were not been able to perform to expectations, etc. The study recommended among others; that more political awareness against vote buying should be put in place, that laws prohibiting votes buying should be implemented accordingly etc

Key Words: Assessment, election, impact, Sociological, vote buying.

### AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF THE NATURE OF VOTE SELLING AND VOTE BUYING IN KEBBI STATE DURING THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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#### **Abstract**

Literature on vote buying in the Nigeria's democratic process and other democracies abound. However, its dynamic nature has shown that the existing studies have neglected some fundamental aspects of its metamorphosis. This is in spite of the fact that the reality on the ground goes beyond vote buying by including selling, retailing and wholesaling of votes. These are part of the conceptual gaps in the literature. Besides, the leading theoretical debate in the extant literature is whether what we witness in the electoral process is a vote buying or turnout buying. This debate has led to the emergence of two competing theoretical models that need to be subjected to empirical evaluation. Therefore, this paper intends to empirically study the phenomenon of vote trading in Kebbi State, Nigeria during the 2023 general elections. The paper argues that the Kebbi State experience in the 2023 election went beyond mere vote buying and had transformed into a more widespread market type selling, retailing and wholesaling of vote by the electorate and interested politicians. This paper utilizes mixed methods to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. While quantitative data will be collected using survey technique through questionnaire administration to randomly selected respondents, qualitative data will be collected from key stakeholders in the electoral process using in-depth interview. In the data analysis, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) will be used to analyse the quantitative and Atlast ti Computer Assisted Software will be used to analyse qualitative data. Both the data will be triangulated to draw conclusion and recommendations.

Keywords: vote trading, vote buying, sub-national level, empirical study, Nigeria

### VOTING BEHAVIOUR IN 2023 GENERAL ELECTION: ANALYSIS OF CHIKUN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA

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#### **Abstract**

There is a lot of effort that goes into political campaigns. Such as door knocking, appearance on Newsnight, even social media campaigns. All these efforts are exerted in the hopes they will be successful in convincing people to vote for a particular candidate or party. But what if these efforts were in vain, what if people did not regard party programmes or manifesto to determine whom to vote for but who to vote for was pretty much predetermined by factors such as candidate's wealth, ethnicity, religion or regional affiliation? Analysis of voting behaviour enables us to understand how people vote and the factors that affect their decision. This paper therefore analysed voting behaviour in Chikun Local Government Area of Kaduna State. Data were obtained from primary and secondary sources, using qualitative analysis. Rational Choice Theory was adopted as a guide. The paper established that factors such as ethnicity, religion, regional affiliation, monetary inducement among others have played role in shaping voters' choices during 2023 general election in Chikun. Also, the paper recommended for voters' education and patriotism.

Keywords: Chikun, Voting Behaviour and General Election

# PANEL 8: ELECTION OBSERVERS, MEDIA, AND THE CHALLENGES OF SUSTAINABLE ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

#### THE CHALLENGES OF FOREIGN ELECTION OBSERVATIONS IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

Since 1999, elections have become regular in Nigeria. From 1999 to 2023 the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) had conducted six consecutive elections. During each of these elections foreign observers trooped into the country in order to study and monitor the electioneering process from campaign to elections. This paper examines the challenges of foreign election observations within the context of how such observations improve or undermine the credibility of these elections. The paper thus argued that credible elections are the hallmark of democratic society, and foreign observations, despite its controversiality helps to improve the credibility of Nigeria's elections through identification of areas of strengths and weakness or problems to be address. Often, INEC has been responding to their observations, which accordingly improves the effectiveness and efficiency of the electoral process in the country.

### MEDIA COVERAGE OF POST 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS AND REACTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA

# Lukman Abdulkarim, Hammed Adeagbo & Hayatuddeen Muhyiddeen Muhammad

#### **Abstract**

Media coverage of post-election reactions of political parties is an important issue as it can significantly impact public perceptions of the election results and the political landscape. To allow the public form their opinions about the political situation and make informed decisions based on factual information, it is crucial that the media provide unbiased coverage of the reactions, actions and statements of political parties accurately. Information is very important to democratic processes and its sustainability. Newspaper is a significant source of information to the citizens on electoral and other democratic process. The significance and meanings attached to issues by newspapers affects general understanding of such issues and possible reactions. Newspaper coverage of the post-election reaction in the 2023 general election by major political parties is very important to the development of democracy. This paper seeks to investigate how selected newspapers reported the post-election reactions of major political parties in the 2023 general election. The objectives of this study are to (i) find out the frequency of reports covered by the selected newspapers, (ii) identify the frames given to the reactions of major po and, (iii) examine the frequency of such media coverage. Also, using mixed method of quantitative content analysis and quantitative survey, the study is anchored within the frameworks of Agenda-setting and Media Dependency theories. The expected finding of the study is that media coverage of political parties plays a crucial role in shaping public perception of the election results and the political climate.

Keywords: Media Coverage, Political Parties, Post-election, Reactions

### HATE SPEECH AND GROUP IDENTITY IN NIGERIA'S 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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#### **Abstract**

Hate crime is an act of perceived condemnation and reductivism of an identified group of people. It is a crime committed as a result of prejudice motivated intent targeted on victims as identified groups because of their membership of a social, ethnic, religious or racial group. Hate crime usually originate from derogatory statements known as hate speech that are frequently referred the victims. Nigeria's 2023 General Elections was fierce and almost combative. Voting opinions were divided along ethnic and religious colorations. Along these were intimidations, killings, destruction of people's property. Derogatory words such as indigene/settlers were wide spread. This paper will utilize the Gottefredson and Hirschi's "A General Theory of Crime" (1990) that was developed from Merton and Anew's Strain Theory. The Gottefredson and Hirschi's theory has the capacity of explaining the phenomenon of hate crime and group identity in Nigeria's 2023 General Elections. This paper will also utilize content analysis. Data for illustration will be secondary data sought from the internet, journals and books. This paper will find out the influence of hate crime and group identity in the 2023 Nigeria's General Elections. The study will recommend that organisations like the National Youth Service Corp (NYSC) etc should be sustained and strengthened in order to foster unity

and eliminate hate crime amongst the youths. Laws against hate crime should be strengthened with stiffer punitive measures on perpetrators. Let an offender serve as general deterrence.

Keywords: Crime, Group, Hate, Identity, Violence

### ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSIONS IN AFRICA: A STUDY OF AU-EU ASSISTANCE TO NIGERIA IN THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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#### **Abstract:**

While the African Union (AU) and the European Union (EU) have been cooperating closely for several years on election observation methodology, the 25 February 2023 Presidential and National Assembly elections in Nigeria was the seventh successive general election since the return to multiparty democracy in 1999. The elections took place in a complex security dynamics and the economic situation of the country exacerbated by Naira cash and fuel scarcity with extremely challenging election environment. This paper examines the AU-EU Cooperation on Election Observation Missions in Africa with emphasis given 2023 Nigeria's General Elections. While the study uses both qualitative and quantitative research methods, data were collected from officials of the Democracy and Election Assistance Unit of the AU's Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security and technical experts from the EU (EU Delegates to AU). Findings reveal that the EU's support to democracy is conducted within the framework of the Democracy Support and Election Coordination Group, which gives political guidance on and supervises election-related matters. This was complemented by a technical assistance programme which supported the training of AU observers and experts, helped consolidate AU's long-term election observation methodology and developed ITC tools to manage election missions. Within the Nigerian context, the EU EOM deployed 110 observers and visited over 240 polling units in 24 of the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria to observe voting and counting. Thus, the AU Short-Term Observation Mission comprised ninety (90) observers and was supported by a five-member Expert Team. The paper recommends that a comprehensive and accurate assessment of electoral processes (nonpartisan) can only be made if the right blend of expertise is deployed and if observers have enough time and resources to discharge their responsibilities.

**Key Words: Credible Elections, Electoral Processes, Observation Missions, African Union and European Union** 

### THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON SUSTAINABLE ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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#### Abstract

Social media is just an advanced tool that communicates and connects with people around the world. As we evolve, it is totally normal to adopt smart tools and technologies. The focus of this paper is to highlight the central role the social media plays in facilitating the electoral process. Be it negative branding or false propaganda or publicity campaigns, everything existed in politics long before even the internet was invented. Word of mouth and physical elements such as radio and television happened to be the medium during those times and were popular to gain support, and now, with the social media platforms, the way election campaigns are run has changed. The advent of social media in the political arena has drastically impacted the politicians and voters alike. Social media takes all the information to the public and it always boils down to the voters or public and their decision. Social media plays a crucial role to spread awareness regarding the election and the parties involved with them. However, despite all these, attention must be drawn to the conscious and unconscious influence that these social media exert. In fact, every kind of technology which comes to our real world generally has some negative and positive points which are undeniable. This paper therefore discusses in a two-folded way the impact of social media on elections and points out its good or downsides, as well as possible methods to resolve them.

Keywords: Impact, Social Media, Sustainable, Elections.

# ROLE OF THE PRESS IN THE RELIGIOUS COLOURATION OF NIGERIA'S 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: A STUDY OF *THISDAY* AND *DAILY TRUST* NEWSPAPERS

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### Abstract

Media as channels of information dissemination play a vital role in setting agenda for the public, especially during electioneering. Nigerian media, the press in particular, as one of the three major actors in political communication, has over the years been used for agenda setting, particularly in instilling the venom of religious and ethnic sentiment in order to influence voters' judgement and discernment that would make them vote along ethnic, religion or regional direction. This paper, therefore, attempts to unearth the role played by the Nigerian press in portraying the 2023 elections, particularly the presidential, as a religious battle between the faithful of the major religions in the country, Islam and Christianity. The framing of the front-page stories of the Daily Trust and Thisday newspapers three months before the 2023 presidential election will be content analysed to determine their religious intonation. This will help to establish the involvement of each of the two newspapers in supporting a particular candidate on the basis of his faith. Therefore, front-page stories of the Daily Trust and Thisday newspapers from December 2022 to February 2023 will be the unit of analysis of the paper,

while religious framing of the front-page stories will be the content categories. The theory of media politics and conspiracy theory will be utilised to give direction to this paper. The media politics theory is premised on the fact that, many interests, especially those of the politicians, journalists, and citizens, determine the news disseminated by the media, while conspiracy theory centres around the plot often staged by the media in order to manipulate certain events or occurrences for a given political interest. The findings of the study will be determined by the data that would be collected, upon which recommendations will be proffered.

Keywords: Press, religious colouration, election, framing, agenda setting

# PANEL 9: ELECTION OBSERVERS, MEDIA, AND THE CHALLENGES OF SUSTAINABLE ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

#### EU OBSERVATION MISSION AND NIGERIA'S 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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#### **Abstract**

Election, which represent a modern and universally accepted process through which individuals are openly and methodically chosen to represent a body or community in a larger entity or government, is one of the cardinal features of democracy. Elections are properly regarded as the central institution of democratic government. So any good election would characteristically be competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive, free and fair. To check whether all these attributes are embedded in an election is the work of election observers whether domestic or external. European Union observation mission is one of the external election observers invited by Nigerian government to monitor the 2023 Nigeria general election. They initially praised the high hopes given by INEC concerning the 2023 general election but were later dismayed by some issues that marred the Nigerian 2023 general election like avoidable deaths, thuggery, intimidations, organised violence, vote buying, attacks on observers and journalists, ineptitude of the police force, political apathy, insufficiently trained technical staff, manipulation or inefficiency of BIVAS and IReV. The EU is a globally recognised and credible actor in international election observation missions (EOMs) in more than 75 countries (Nigeria inclusive). This work chose EU observation mission out of many international election observers because they are made up of many countries and are veteran in election observation, so their observation are judged unbiased. Secondly, some of their member countries are the originators of democracy and so are observing what they know. Thirdly, most EU observation countries have links (political, economic, social and cultural) with Nigeria and so are poised for a free and fair election in the country. Fourthly, they have monitored election in Nigeria since 1999 and so understand well the political terrain of the country. The core problem of this work is to know the EU election observation mission position concerning Nigeria's 2023 general election. Did EU observers give it a pass mark? If yes how can we sustain and improve on them and if no, why and how can we ameliorate or remove them? The work hope to get data through secondary sources like books, Magazines, Newspapers, periodicals, internet materials, journals etc. The analysis will be through documentary evidence while monitoring theory will be used. The expected recommendations will be based on more political education

especially in the usage of election technology, elimination of corrupt tendencies, flawless logistical support, and ensuring adequate security during elections.

# EXAMINING SOCIAL MEDIA AS A PUBLIC SPHERE FOR VOTER ENGAGEMENT IN THE 2023 NIGERIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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#### **Abstract**

This paper examines the potentials of social media to serve as a public sphere for voter engagements in 2023 Nigerian elections. It is argued that social media has the potential to act as public sphere, allowing for increased public discourse and formation of collective opinion. Drawing on relevant literature, the paper analyses the ability of social media to create equal footing for citizens, regardless of access to formal avenues of opinion formation. It examines state of social media in Nigeria, including types, platform activities and platform usage by the political parties that contested in 2023 elections. It considers how social media was used by citizens and candidates to engage in dialogue, foster meaningful deliberation and build political knowledge in lead up to the 2023 elections. The paper argues that social media provided effective platform for citizens and candidates to engage in meaningful dialogue, foster deliberations and built political knowledge during the 2023 Nigerian presidential elections. The study explores a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods in order to obtain accurate and comprehensive data for analysis. The paper concludes that social media served as a public sphere for voter engagement in the Nigerian 2023 elections and citizens and candidates took advantage of this potential. It calls for further research into the potential of social media in Nigeria and suggests that the platforms be used in conjunction with conventional forms of communication in order to ensure meaningful dialogue, deliberation, and knowledge-building towards a sustainable democratic governance in Nigeria.

# IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AMONG UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS IN KADUNA STATE UNIVERSITY

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#### Abstract

The 2019 Nigerian general elections marked a significant turning point in the use of social media for political campaigns, public awareness, discourse, and even posting of election results. In light of this, this study aims to investigate the impact of social media on political

participation among undergraduate students in Kaduna State University. The study utilize netnographic qualitative research design and Mobilization Theory to understand the impact of social media on political participation. The findings of this study contribute to understanding the role of social media in shaping youth political participation in Nigeria and provide insights that can inform policies and practices aimed at promoting youth engagement in democratic processes.

Keywords: Social media, Election, Youth and Political Participation

### THE ROLE OF FOREIGN OBSERVERS IN NIGERIA'S 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

### <sup>1</sup>Taiwo Abbas Ayodele & <sup>2</sup>Rufai Sani Usman

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#### **Abstract**

The paper examines the role of foreign election observers in democratic elections in Nigeria with a special focus on the 2023 presidential election. The objectives of the paper are to determine the relationship between foreign electoral observers and electoral credibility in the 2023 presidential election, to examine how objective foreign electoral observers are in monitoring elections in Nigeria and the effects of their monitoring on democratic consolidation in Nigeria. It adopts liberal theory of democracy as a theoretical framework to understand the role of foreign election observers in democratic elections in Nigeria. It uses qualitative method to achieve its objectives. The study reveals that the key international observers like those from African Union and Ambassador Johnnie Carson that monitored the election confirmed that despite electoral violence and irregularities observed during the 2023 presidential election in Nigeria, the election met the requirement of international standard. It therefore recommends that government should ensure strict adherence to the rule of laws in order to curb electoral violence and ensure irregularities identified during the election are solved permanently for Nigeria to demonstrate to the world that it is serious about democracy.

Keywords: Role, Foreign, Election, Observers, Democracy

### USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA FOR POLITICAL AWARENESS IN NIGERIA'S 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

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#### **Abstract**

The use of social media has become inevitable in global politics considering its significant role in the political education and mobilization of people in a democratic setting. Social media provided a new form of information dissemination for the consumption of the populace,

increased the level of political education, and serves as a platform through which people express their interest or grievances over government policies or any issue related to the sociopolitical activities of the state. In spite of these important roles of social media, it is an avenue through which fake news with untruth information where people claim to be authors of the story in their write-ups. This paper examines the positive and negative impact of social media on political awareness with an emphasis on Nigeria. The paper employs secondary sources of data collection; the data utilized are largely qualitative in nature and were sourced from written documents such as textbooks, academic journals, newspapers, and internet sources, among others. The study is anchored on the technological determinism theory. The paper argues that technology undoubtedly causes changes in how people think, how society is structured and the form of culture created. With the advent of social media, there have been an increase and diversity in information dissemination and this has shaped and reshaped global politics, particularly Nigerian politics. This paper found that the utilization of social media in Nigeria has not been able to provide the electorates with the needful political education due to its improper utilization by the handlers. Therefore, this paper recommends among others that, for the proper utilization of social media platforms for political education, there is a need to improve sensitization of social media users through the National Orientation Agency (NOA) on the implications of democratization of social media. Equally, there should be more emphasis on the true identity of the social media users for easy tracing for prosecution or otherwise.

Keywords: Social media, Political education, Technology, Web-media

# NAVIGATING THE CHALLENGES OF MISINFORMATION IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN THE ERA OF SOCIAL MEDIA

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#### **Abstract**

Misinformation has become a significant challenge for leadership and governance in Nigeria. The proliferation of social media platforms has led to an increase in the spread of false and misleading information, particularly during politically charged events, resulting in a breakdown of trust between citizens and the government. This study aims to examine the challenges that misinformation poses for leadership and governance in Nigeria. The objective is to explore the ways in which false information has been used to manipulate public opinion and the impact this can have on democratic processes. A qualitative research methodology will be employed, consisting of a review of relevant literature and interviews with key stakeholders such as journalists, social media platform administrators, and government officials. The collected data was analyzed using content analysis to identify key themes and patterns. The findings of this study suggest that misinformation is a significant challenge for leadership and governance in Nigeria. False information is often used to manipulate public opinion, leading to a breakdown of trust between citizens and the government. Additionally, promoting media literacy and transparency is essential for addressing the challenges of misinformation and improving leadership and governance in Nigeria. This study highlights the need for a multifaceted approach to addressing the challenges of misinformation in Nigeria. It recommends the improvement of media literacy among the Nigerian public, promoting the use of factchecking tools, and developing effective regulatory frameworks to govern social media platforms. Furthermore, the study highlights the importance of transparency and

accountability from the government and a willingness to engage with citizens and address their concerns. By addressing the challenges of misinformation, it is possible to build trust between citizens and the government and ensure effective leadership and governance in Nigeria.

Keywords: Misinformation, Leadership, Governance, Nigeria, Social media

### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE MANIFESTOES OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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#### **Abstract**

This paper is a breakaway from the conventional discourse on the politics of Nigeria which has tended to emphasize more on the elitist disposition of political parties without much ado about the most productive population of the country, the working class. It highlights conditions of the Labour movement by looking at the highly contentious and controversial issue of the manifestoes of political parties. The major argument of the paper is that the Labour movement in Nigeria has remained unorganized and demobilized and are as such incapable of taking control of political power in Nigeria, leaving selfish and indifferent politicians to continue to retain power in the country. The paper examines whether or not political parties have clearcut manifestoes towards enhancing a better working relationship with the Labour movement. The paper is qualitative in nature adopting content analysis to gather and analyze data from secondary sources in discussing the continued antagonistic relationship between the Nigerian state and the Labour movement, and by extension, the working-class population of the country. The findings of the paper indicate that while, on the one hand, the elite-dominated political parties have little or no concern for the Nigerian workers given their insignificant prominence in their programme, the Labour movement, on the other hand, have operated politically without coordination and strategic planning leading to their inability and incapacity to take control of political power in Nigeria. This is the bane of development, prosperity and equity in Nigeria. It concludes that only a revert to the political left by building political platforms and supporting comrades in the struggle to access political power can provide alternative systems that will seek to change the present exploitative order.

Keywords: Labour, Movements, Unions, Parties, Manifestoes

# PANEL 10: CORRUPTION AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PARTY FUNDING AND ELECTIONEERING CAMPAIGNS

# THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PARTY FUNDING AND ELECTIONEERING CAMPAIGNS

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#### **Abstract**

This paper examined the political economy of party funding and electioneering campaigns in Nigeria. The objective of this paper is to investigate the political economy of party funding and electioneering campaigns and its implications on democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The paper used the descriptive research method to examine the political economy of party funding and electioneering campaigns in Nigeria. Methodologically, the study adopted secondary sources of data collection. Data were obtained from relevant books, journal, magazines, newspaper publications, articles, internet sources and so forth. The study used the rent-seeking theory as theoretical framework and basis for explanations of the political economy of party funding and electioneering campaigns in Nigeria. According to the theory, rent-seeking can refer to efforts by politicians and interest groups to obtain economic benefits or influence through the political process, rather than through productive activities. In Nigeria, the rentseeking behavior is evident in the way political parties and candidates seek funding for their electioneering campaigns. The findings of the paper revealed that the political economy of party funding and electioneering campaigns in Nigeria is complex and multifaceted. The country has a long history of corruption, which has permeated all levels of society, including the political system. This has had a significant impact on the way political parties are funded and election campaigns are conducted. The paper also found that in Nigeria political parties are funded by a combination of sources, including donations from wealthy individuals, corporations, and interest groups, as well as state funding. However, the lack of transparency in the funding process has been a major problem in Nigeria's political system, with many donations made in secret and without proper disclosure. The paper recommended that it is crucial to increase transparency and accountability in the political financing system in Nigeria.

Keywords: Political Economy, Political Party, Funding, Election, Campaign.

### THE IMPACT OF ELECTION SPENDING ON INFLATION IN NIGERIA, 2006-2023

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#### **Abstract**

Nigeria has suffered from inflation shocks associated with election periods. This is a common characteristic of developing countries. Spending by ruling governments and other political parties has tended to increase during election period with negative implications for inflation. This study therefore examines the impact of election spending on inflation in Nigeria in the period 2006-2023. The study is underpinned by monetarist theory of inflation which postulates that inflation is purely a monetary phenomenon. Data set on inflation rate, central bank independence, gross domestic product and time dummy were used. Inflation rate and GDP were sources from Central Bank of Nigeria Statistics website, while others were created. We used graphical analysis to examine the trend of inflation years versus inflation rate and regression analysis to examine the impact of election proxied by election dummy on inflation and other variables. The findings from trend analysis revealed that inflation rate tended to

trend upward in election periods 2006-2007, 2009-2010, 2014-2015, 2019-2020 and 2022-2023. Regression analysis also revealed that election dummy had a positive impact of inflation rate in Nigeria in the period under study. The findings tend to suggest that monetary authorities would need to harmonize their policy with the fiscal arm and also to ensure that interest rates are investment driven and inflation reduction, and money supply is appropriate in managing inflation.

Keywords: Election Spending, Inflation, Political Parties and Nigeria

### IMPACT OF ELECTION SPENDING ON EXCHANGE RATE IN NIGERIA, 2009-2023

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#### **Abstract**

Election spending by various political parties and government in Nigeria has tended to exert pressure on Naira due to increased demand for dollar during election period. This was perceived to have negative impact on exchange rate and on the economy as a whole. This has been the case with the elections conducted in Nigeria from 2009-2023. Therefore, this study examines the impact of election spending proxy by election spending dummy on exchange rate in Nigeria in the period 2009-2023. This study is situated within the monetary theory to exchange rate determination which postulates that exchange rate is determined through the balancing of total demand and supply of national currency in each country. Data set on dollar exchange rate and other control variables was collected from Central Bank of Nigeria Statistics website for the period 2009-2023. The study uses trend and regression analysis to achieve the objective. The trend analysis findings revealed that exchange rate was misaligned during the election periods 2014-2015, 2019-2020 and 2022-2023. In addition, regression analysis also indicates that election dummy (election spending) leads to depreciation of the exchange rate in Nigeria in the period under study. The findings suggest that monetary authorities would need to articulate a better policy that would reduce the demand for dollars during election periods if exchange management is to be achieved in time of election.

Key words: Election Funding, Exchange Rate Misalignment, Nigeria and Political Parties

# THE MARXIAN THEORY OF THE STATE AND THE PLIGHT OF NIGERIANS IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

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#### **Abstract**

The study examines the state of Nigeria as a federation and its impact on Nigerians as citizens – electorate within the context of theories of emergence of states, focusing on the Fourth Republic. It adopts Ex-post-facto descriptive analysis and rests majorly on secondary sources to access data. Marxian theory of State services as its theoretical framework understanding the relevance, the extent to which the state, through the governments under the period assessed, were able to provide what constitute good governance to the citizen from the natural endowment. Documentary method of analysis was employed and it concludes among other observations that the Nigerian state continuously grapples with issues, such as systemic corruption, election quagmires, distrust among the social configuration, travails of marginalization, secession and insurgency as threats to national development and civil society. It therefore, recommends that corruption should be objectively/sincerely mitigated and the political class be prosecuted and punished with imprisonment for a period of one year without fine option for anti-democratic behavior.

**Keywords: Anti-democratic behaviour, national development, natural endowment, and systemic corruption.** 

# UNEARTHING THE NEXUS BETWEEN CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFERS (CCTS) AND VOTERS' ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

Conditional cash transfers (CCTs) have become one of the dominant strategies of governments in developing countries to deliver social safety nets for the poor. These programmes generally aim to alleviate poverty both in the short and long term, the former through cash transfers and the latter through increasing investments in human capital. Emerging literature however reveals that, apart from meeting the aims for which it was established, CCTs have shown to influence household behavior in other ways including political preferences. The study attempts to examine the impact of CCTs on voters' electoral behavior in Nigeria. The rational choice theories of Anthony Downs (1957) and Kenneth Arrow (1951 & 1986) were used as the theoretical underpinnings of the study. A mixed research methodology, combining both survey and documentary research designs, was adopted. Thus, data collection involved the use of both primary and secondary sources. Data analysis was done using descriptive statistics and content analysis. Findings of the study revealed that the CCT programme plays a significant role in influencing political behavior of beneficiaries in the form of interest to vote; enrolment and turnout; voters participation in the electoral process; incumbent support; and satisfaction with public services among others.

Keywords: Cash transfers, conditional cash transfers, elections, electoral behavior, politics, poverty, voters.

### CORRUPTION AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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#### **Abstract**

Corruption and the electoral process are closely intertwined, with corruption posing significant challenges to the integrity and fairness of elections. Corruption can occur at various levels, including grand corruption involving high-ranking officials and systemic corruption that permeates institutions, as well as petty corruption that occurs at the grassroots level. Similarly, the electoral process involves not only the mechanics of voting but also broader elements such as political parties, campaign financing, media coverage, and the role of electoral management bodies. This paper provides an overview of the issue, highlighting the challenges posed by corruption in Nigeria's electoral process and its broader implications. The paper also provides policy recommendations in addressing the challenge of corruption in Nigeria's electoral processes. Using secondary source and a quantitative research design, this paper found out that in order to enhance transparency, accountability, and integrity in the electoral process, several solutions and reforms are needed to be considered. Strengthening the legal framework by enacting comprehensive electoral laws and regulations that explicitly address corrupt practices is crucial. Also, enhancing the independence and capacity of electoral management bodies, such as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), is vital for their ability to conduct free and fair elections. Meanwhile, implementing robust oversight mechanisms, including independent monitoring and auditing of campaign financing, can help curb illicit financial flows in election. This is in addition to promoting civic education, raising public awareness about electoral rights and responsibilities, and encouraging active citizen participation. These, if done properly can foster a culture of accountability and reduce tolerance for corruption in Nigeria's electoral process.

### WHO PAYS THE PIPER, DICTATES THE TUNE: POLITICAL PARTY FUNDING AND INTERNAL DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

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#### Abstract

This chapter provides an overview of a comprehensive study on the relationship between political party funding and internal democracy in Nigeria. It explores the intricate dynamics of financial support within political parties and their influence on the democratic processes and structures within the Nigerian political landscape. The study adopts a multidimensional approach, combining both quantitative and qualitative research methods to provide a nuanced understanding of the subject matter. This chapter investigates the sources and patterns of political party funding in Nigeria, taking into account the role of both legal and illegal sources. It explores the impact of these funding sources on the internal democratic processes within

political parties, focusing on candidate selection, internal elections, decision-making, and policy formulation. The study also examines the effects of party funding on party members' engagement, participation, and representation, particularly concerning marginalized groups such as women, youth, and ethnic minorities. To gather empirical evidence, the research utilizes a combination of surveys and archival data analysis with adoption of political elite theory. The findings of this research will contribute to the existing literature on political party financing and internal democracy in Nigeria. It will shed light on the intricate interplay between money, power, and democratic processes, identifying potential challenges, loopholes, and opportunities for reform. The research aims to provide evidence-based recommendations to enhance transparency, accountability, and fairness in political party financing, ultimately strengthening the internal democratic systems of Nigerian political parties.

Keywords: Political Party Funding, Internal Democracy, Candidate Selection, Decision-Making, Political Participation, Marginalized Groups, Campaign Finance, Transparency, Accountability

# CORRUPTION, GOOD GOVERNANCE AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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#### **Abstract**

Ordinarily, election is expected to signify hope, peace and confidence for the electorates being that it affords them opportunity of replacing incompetent and unqualified incumbents. However, the electoral process which was characterized by corruption dampen the intentions of the electorates and the corrupt candidate end up occupying the position thereby trading democratic dividends for misappropriation and mismanagement of public funds. This paper questions the independence of the electoral body in conducting free, fair and credible elections that results in the emergence of the qualified and capable candidates elected by the electorates. By applying the role theory, the study reveals that the entire stakeholders are corrupt ridden. They include the government, contestants, electoral officials, the electorates and the security officials. The aggregate of these collaborative efforts that produce the wrong incompetent candidate cost the society social degradation, hence economic woes. The paper recommends that the constitution should upgrade the empowerment of the electoral body in taking full control of electoral process for the deliverance of the ideal candidate by the electorates.

Keywords: Corruption, Electorates, Development, Electoral body

### PANEL 11: ELITE MANIPULATIONS, ELECTORAL VIOLENCE, AND THE CREDIBILITY OF THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

# THE CENTRAL BANK OF NIGERIA'S CURRENCY REDESIGN POLICY AND THE QUEST FOR ELECTORAL CREDIBILITY IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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#### **Abstract**

The paper interrogates the nexus between the Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) redesign and swap policy affecting the highest denominations of the Naira (N200, N500 and N1000) and the quest for electoral credibility under Buhari's watch. Methodologically, the paper uses secondary data to generate the needed information for the study and employs the assumptions Easton's system theory for its analysis. The study finds out that the policy consciously or unconsciously checkmated the practice of vote buying which has been a dominant feature of the Nigeria's electoral history in the fourth republic. The enforcement of the policy few months to the 2023 general election reduced the currency in circulation. The policy according to the CBN was not only targeted at curbing corruption and fraud, tackling the growing menace of kidnapping for ransom, lowering inflation and addressing the incidence of too much cash in circulation but above all reduce the capacity of Nigerian politicians to perpetrate the practice of cash politics in the 2023 electioneering process. The Naira scarcity based on the available data checkmated the rate of vote buying in the 2023 general election when compared to the previous elections in the fourth republic Nigeria and by implication deepens the credibility of Nigeria's electoral process.

Key Words: Naira, Redesign, Electoral Credibility, Vote Buying, Cash Politics and Electoral Process

# THE CENTRAL BANK OF NIGERIA NAIRA REDESIGN POLICY AND THE OUTCOME OF THE 2023 PRESIDENTIAL AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: LESSONS FOR NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY

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#### **Abstract**

The abusive use of money in politics in Nigeria has often been considered as the bane of Nigeria's democracy. Right from the onset of the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic in 1999 politicians have indulged in the use of money to buy votes from the electorates. Instead of selling their manifesto to the

people, Politicians hoard money which is then used to buy votes. The 2023 election however was different especially the presidential and national assembly elections. In his bid to do away with vote buying and other uses to which money is often put to during elections, the government of President Buhari introduced the Naira redesign policy. The policy made it difficult for politicians to use the stock pile of accumulated monies to induce/buy votes and hire thugs. The absence of money meant that the electorate's genuine votes become the decisive factor in determining the outcome of the election. Especially the Presidential and National Assembly elections, many political heavy weights vying for various elective posts lost out. Indeed, many political parties lost their erstwhile traditional strongholds. This paper therefore examines the CBN Naira redesign policy and its effect on the outcome of the 2023 presidential and national assembly elections. The paper noted that if emphasis in our electioneering processes are devoid of money then the true wishes of the electorates will be guaranteed and true democracy will prevail. It therefore recommends among other things, the establishment of an Electoral Service Commission that will work closely with the Independent national electoral commission to oversee the conduct of electioneering process including the powers to prosecute persons using money to influence votes. Furthermore, a specified amount of money should be approved as the maximum amount of money that political Parties can use for the electioneering process. Political parties that exceed that limit should be investigated and sanctioned appropriately. While commending the EFCC in ensuring votes were not battered for money, the paper further advocates for more powers to the commission and the provision of electronic tracking gadgets that will help them in their work.

Keywords: Redesign, Policy, Outcome, Assembly, Election Democracy

# CURRENCY REDESIGN POLICY AND THE CREDIBILITY OF NIGERIA'S 2023 ELECTIONS

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#### **Abstract**

The credibility of Nigeria's election has always been questioned as nearly all the stages and processes were seemingly marred by series of problems. Amongst other issues that often questions the credibility and/or integrity of elections in Nigeria has been the issue of vote buying. Nigerian politicians take advantage of poverty in the country to influence voters' electoral behavior and choice. Perhaps it was in view of this that the Buhari administration introduced Naira Redesign and Cashless Policy at the eve of 2023 elections in order to checkmate the excessive use of money to buy votes and influence voter's choice. However, whereas the policy seems good and well conceived, its timing has created huge challenge, especially as it interfaces with 2023 elections to compound logistical challenges and even condition political actors to reinvent new strategies of compromising voters' choice. Using the qualitative instruments of document review and interview, the paper argues that the Currency Redesign Policy has created huge logistical challenges for INEC, negatively interfaced with the actual conduct of elections and created new frontiers for voter manipulation and instrumentalization of vote buying. Combined together, these issues have eroded the credibility of 2023 general elections.

Keywords: Nigeria, Currency Redesign, Electoral Integrity/Credibility

### THE CASH REDESIGN POLICY, MONEY POLITICS AND THE CREDIBILITY OF THE 2023 NIGERIAN GENERAL ELECTIONS

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#### **Abstract**

This study, the New Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) cash redesign policy and Money Politics: a study of Nigeria's 2023 general elections is aimed at pin pointing the impact of CBN's policy on electoral malpractice and the effect of this policy during the last concluded general elections. The new CBN's policy on the redesign of Naira is one designed to among other things tackle electoral malpractice. The aim of the policy is to regulate financial transaction during an election cycle, prevent corruption, including inducement and ensure transparency in electoral processes. This study adopts Rational Choice theory as guide to understanding this inquisition. In gathering data, the study will rely solely on secondary sources of data. The new CBN'S regulation Policy was implemented according to the former president, President Mohammed Buhari, to fight electoral ills of the past during elections in Nigeria, which include monitization of the entire electoral process, especially monetery inducement during elections. This policy had grave impact on the entire country. Election was held amid hardship with everything about elections not business as usual. Concerns were raised about the impact of the policy on political parties' funding, their ability to finance campaign and run the usual party errands. The study found out that the impact of this policy on the entire electoral process in Nigeria was enormous. Though there were pockets of electoral malpractices but it was not business as usual. Political parties and politicians had it tough, electorate who were used to getting cash inducement during elections witnessed a new dawn. The study concludes that, this new policy, though aimed at curbing electoral irregularities, has also brought some form of hardship, thus, it presented both opportunities and challenges for Nigeria's electoral integrity.

# THE EFFECT OF NAIRA RE-DESIGN POLICY ON VOTERS' TURNOUT IN SABON GARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KADUNA STATE: A STUDY OF THE 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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#### **Abstract**

Naira Re-design Policy is not a new program, it is a program that has to be implemented by the Nigerian Central Bank after every five years to strengthen the value of Naira. Prior to the 2023 presidential election, the Governor of Central Bank of Nigeria by the approval of the Nigeria's President implemented a Naira Re-design Policy, which halted most socio-economic activities of the state. Some businesses suffered a huge lost because most did not operate a bank account, and some people also suffered scarcity of cash. There was scarcity of Naira all over the country, and all the banks were directed by the CBN Governor not to issue more than five thousand Naira cash to customers at the counter. The ATMs were not loaded with enough

funds. The government gave a deadline for the collection of old Naira notes. These were some of the reasons why most Nigerians found it very difficult to participate in the 2023 presidential election. Thus, this paper investigated the effect of Naira Re-design Policy on Voters' Turnout in the 2023 presidential election. It examined how the policy surfaced voters' turnout, and it identified whether the policy has geared toward reducing voters' turnout in the 2023 presidential election. The paper adopted a neo-liberal theory, which explains the relationship that exists between the theory and Naira Re-design Policy. The paper used the multistage sampling, and 150 respondents were selected for the distribution of questionnaire and interview. The study found that Naira Re-design policy has tremendously affected voters' turnout in the conduct of the 2023 presidential election. Conclusively, Naira Re-design Policy has shattered the conduct and elections exercises of the 2023 presidential election, particularly on voters' turnout. It recommended that government should not have initiated the policy close to the election because it has deprived individuals' franchise.

Keywords: Naira Re-design Policy, Voters' Turnout and Election

### ELITE CONSENSUS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: TRENDS AND PATTERNS

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#### **Abstract**

Elite consensus and political development in Nigeria have been important factors shaping the country's political landscape. Nigeria, as a multi-ethnic and diverse nation, has faced various challenges in its political journey since gaining independence in 1960. Elite consensus refers to a broad agreement or understanding among influential groups or individuals in society regarding key political, social, and economic issues. . The objective of the paper was to assess the relationship between the elites and the social and economic crisis affecting the democratic process in Nigeria, identify how the elite's interest entrenched political and economic crises in the Nigeria. Presently, political and economic crises are the most serious problem facing Nigeria, this is because the country has remained largely underdeveloped despite the number of years liberal democracy was entrenched, more than two decades after the country returned to democracy, economic and political crisis has stagnated real development of Nigeria. The paper adopt indepth analysis of literature on elite and political development, using Marxist perspective as a theoretical framework. The paper concludes that the current political crises is the bedrock that entrench current economic and political crises in the country. The future political development is bleak as there is no mechanism to adjust the political structure, while corruption and economic exploitation is in the increase.

Keywords: elite consensus, economic crises, political crises, corruption and democratization

# NAIRA REDESIGN POLICY AND ITS IMPACT ON THE 2023 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN GOMBE STATE, NIGERIA

#### **Yusuf Sani Yusuf**

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#### **Abstract**

One of the major impediments to free, fair and credible election in Nigeria is monetary inducement. The problem has defied several efforts used to curtail it. However, with the implementation of the Naira redesign policy in the eve of the 2023 general election, there was renewed hope that the problem can finally be laid to rest. Many believed that it would reasonably eliminate vote buying and other forms of financial inducement, that hitherto influenced the behaviour of voters, INEC officials, party and security agents, during elections in the country. This research, therefore, aims to investigate the impact of the Naira redesign policy on money politics during the 2023 Gubernatorial Election in Gombe State. The study used mixed method to generate the data for the research where questionnaires were distributed to the 381 randomly sampled voters that cast their votes in the election in Gombe State and 10 in-depth interviews conducted with judgmentally selected stakeholders among which include INEC officials, election observers, media house reporters, party and security agents. Consequently, the research discovered that there was excessive use of money and its equivalents to influence the behavior of voters, security and party agents during the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Gombe State despite the Naira redesign policy. Thus, the paper concludes that money politics still impede free, fair and credible elections in Nigeria despite the Naira redesign policy. The research recommends that the government, through its regulatory agencies, should be tactful in apprehending offenders and aggressive in sanctioning politicians that engage in this evil act to serve as deterrent to others.

Keywords: Election, Money Politics, Naira Redesign Policy

# SUSPENSION OF SOME LAWMAKERS IN NIGERIA'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: EXAMINING THE POLITICS INVOLVED (1999-2019)

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#### **Abstract**

Since the return of democracy to Nigeria in 1999, after almost 30 years of military rule, the business of lawmaking has become glaringly greeted with the suspension of lawmakers by the leadership of the nation's legislature to whip 'irritant' members into line. This consequently violates the constitutional rights of the affected constituents to representation. This paper interrogates the politics of suspension of lawmakers from performing their legislative businesses leading to the settlement of political scores in Nigeria's National Assembly between 1999 and 2019. The qualitative approach was adopted as a methodology for this paper; it used data obtained from secondary sources such as textbooks, journal articles, newspapers, etc. The

hegemony theory was adopted as the framework of analysis. The results showed that the leadership of the National Assembly used whatever crooked means to suspend 'erring', vocal lawmakers to enable them to always have their ways. It was also observed that most of the embattled lawmakers would have to embark on litigations to regain their seats, and of course, they usually get justice. Based on the findings, the paper recommends that the nation's constitution and its subsidiary standing rules of the National Assembly should be reviewed to clearly emphasize that the suspension of any lawmaker is illegal, and therefore should be discouraged. Finally, the paper argues that the citizens should be more participatory in the political affairs of the National Assembly by airing and publishing their opinions in conventional media and social media platforms.

Keywords: Democracy, Intolerance, Lawmaker, Politics, Suspension

# THE IMPACT OF NAIRA REDESIGN ON THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

Currency re-designation is a global practice directed to rejigging economy and stimulate development. It is a fiscal policy response to combat identified economic problems. Thus, with the Central Bank of Nigeria initiated Naira re-designation policies in 2023 under the above highlighted reasons, the study "The Naira re-design: Impact on the economy and 2023 general elections in Nigeria". Conversely, this fiscal measure has generated criticism from members of the public, entrepreneurs, economists and politicians, given that the policy was initiated in a tensed electioneering year. The paper adopted qualitative method, with the use of secondary data sourced from relevant journals, case reports, textbooks, online sources and textbooks. The study also explored Marxist monetary theory as explanatory framework to analyse Naira redesign implication on Nigeria's economy and 2023 general election. The study finds out that the policy aggravated citizens' hardship, retrogressed economy and failed to curb vote-buying. The study recommends for public oriented fiscal policy, prosecution of economic saboteurs and strong legislation to protect Nigeria's economy from further ruination and electoral malfeasance that are capable of threatening democratic sustainability.

Keywords: Economic development, elections, electoral malfeasance, fiscal policy, votebuying

# NAIRA REDESIGN POLICY AND THE EMERGENCE OF DIGITAL VOTE BUYING IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

Nigeria got her independence from British colonial administration in 1960 and became a republic in 1963. Since the return of Nigeria to democracy in 1999, the electoral process has been plagued by high monetization. Therefore, while vote buying has served as a powerful and recurrent electoral challenge in Nigeria as shown in the just concluded 2023 general elections, the prospect of digital vote-buying shows a new dimension in our electoral politics. Thus, the paper interrogate the potentials and possible challenges of naira redesign on vote buying and electoral politics in Nigeria and it implications on the emergence of digital vote buying. The paper been a qualitative one adopt the secondary source of data collection and analyzed through content and historical analyses. The paper revealed among other things that there is prevalence of monetization of the Nigerian electoral process and increased demand for electronic vote buying. It thus conclude that if the trend is allowed to continue, it poses a great danger to the country's nascent democracy by sacrificing legacy in sustainable development for a short-term goal of meeting the peoples' mundane needs which has the potential of negatively affecting the possibility of a free, fair and credible elections. Hence, it recommends among other things that there should be a proper and regular voter education and enlightenment programs that will discourage citizens and prospective voters from selling or monetizing their votes.

Keywords: naira redesign, electronic vote-buying & election.

# PANEL 12: ELITE MANIPULATIONS, ELECTORAL VIOLENCE, AND THE CREDIBILITY OF THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

# MITIGATING ELECTORAL VIOLENCE, INSECURITY AND ENSURING CREDIBILITY IN ELECTIONS: LESSONS FROM THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

Elections are a critical component of any democratic process, providing citizens with the opportunity to exercise their right to participate in governance. However, electoral violence, insecurity, and the lack of credibility remain significant challenges that hinder the democratic progress of many nations, including Nigeria. This paper aims to investigate the lessons learned from the recently concluded 2023 General Elections in Nigeria, with a focus on mitigating electoral violence, addressing security concerns, and ensuring the credibility of the electoral process. Drawing upon the qualitative data collection technique, a comprehensive review of existing literature and official reports on electoral violence and insecurity in Nigeria was conducted, and a review of relevant literature. The paper reviews the root causes of electoral violence and insecurity in Nigeria, including poverty, unemployment, ethno-religious conflicts, and political polarization. The paper identifies actionable measures to mitigate these challenges, including improving security measures, promoting peaceful electioneering,

electoral reforms, and transparency. Additionally, the paper underlines the importance of citizen participation, media coverage, and international support in ensuring credible and peaceful elections. The lessons learned from the 2023 general elections in Nigeria will serve as a practical guide for other nations facing similar challenges, contributing to the spreading of democracy and good governance across the globe. Overall, the paper emphasizes the importance of credible and transparent elections in nurturing a stable democratic system, facilitating a peaceful resolution of political disputes, and promoting national development.

Keywords: Elections, Electoral violence, Insecurity, Election Credibility.

### ELITE CONSPIRACY AND CITIZENS' EXCLUSION IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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#### **Abstract**

One of the fundamental principles of democracy is citizens' inclusiveness towards popular participation and good governance. In spite of the unbroken civilian administration (1999 to date), the average Nigerian citizens' have been cut off from governance and the attendant democratic dividends through the manipulations of the privileged elites. This paper therefore x-rays the challenges that politics of exclusion pose on good governance in Nigeria. Utilizing secondary source of information, the paper argues that Nigeria elite use the citizens (electorates) to achieve their selfish political agenda and that politics of exclusion is responsible for poor democratic outcomes in the country. In specific terms, elite conspiracy coupled with their influence in the Nigeria's democracy has led to poor citizens' participation in political processes, lack of accountability and bad governance on the part of those saddled with responsibilities and authorities. The paper is anchored on the elite theory developed by Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) to provide explanations to the subject matter. The paper concludes that beyond the mobilization of the citizens' for the purpose of securing votes for the elites, democratic project is expected to advance public interest towards the promotion of basic needs and interests of the citizens.

Key Words: Democracy; Elite; Exclusion; Good governance; Inclusiveness

# DEMOCRATISATION AND ELECTORAL VIOLENCE: THE NEED FOR SECURITISATION IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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#### **Abstract**

The rising incidences of electoral violence has been the enduring feature of Nigeria's current political landscape. This can directly be traced to transition to civil rule in 1999. A trajectory of elections violence in Nigeria's fourth republic paints a bleak and gloomy picture of the state of democratisation and profound democratic institutionalisation. This is particularly so due to the recurrent phenomena of electoral violence. This article examines the relationship between democratisation and democratic institutions in relation to recurrent explosion of electoral violence in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The article employs qualitative method of analysis and solely relies on secondary data. The paper draws insight from middle-level democratic and securitization theories. The paper concludes that democratisation and by implication democracy open a room for electoral violence in the country. Also, lack of robust democratic institutions in Nigeria provides avenues for electoral violence, and the failure by the government to securitised election violence. The paper recommends that, democratic institutions should be strengthened and the issue of electoral violence should as a matter of urgency be securitised.

Keywords: Democratisation; Democracy; Institutions; Elections; Violence; Securitisation

### ELECTORAL VIOLENCE, EARLY WARNING SIGNALS AND NIGERIA'S 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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#### **Abstract**

Elections conducted in Nigeria since fourth republic have been fraught with violence which is threat to democratic consolidation. Nigerian elections are conducted within the interval of four years which is enough time to develop early warning mechanisms to checkmate electoral violence but the problem seems intractable which 2023 general elections was no exception. This study is set out to find out early warning mechanisms put in place to checkmate electoral violence in Nigeria, to investigate the factors that are responsible for difficulties in curbing electoral violence and to discover how electoral violence can hinder democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The study is hinged on elite theory of Pareto and Mosca to elucidate the subject matter understudy and adopted qualitative approach in Social Sciences with primary data in form of interviews. Also, purposive sampling technique and thematic and content methods of data analysis were utilised. The study finds out that do or die politics of the elites, over centralization of political power at the centre, systemic corruption among others made electoral violence to persist in Nigeria with resultant effects of emergence of bankruptcy leadership. The study discovered that when early warning signs is neglected; no early actions will be instituted to curb electoral violence which is a bane to democratic consolidation. The paper recommends that electoral violence early warning and early response mechanisms be institutionalized thereby spate of electoral violence will be curtailed and democracy consolidated.

Keywords: Democratic Consolidation, Election, Early Warning Mechanism, Electoral Violence, Nigeria

### POLITICAL THUGGERY AND NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA: A NURSERY DEN OF BANDITS

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#### **Abstract**

Government of various nations across the world has been in various forms prior to contemporary times. Democracy has become an acceptable form of government which defines that it is determined by the people. Nigeria has had series of democratic dispensations which has continuously been marred by the unleashing of political thugs whose mission have remained to kill, maim, disrupt and ensure the accomplishment of their political masters. Their actions have remained in consonance with those of bandits, thus, they are seen as the early or nursery stage of having bandits in the society. It is not new that once the thugs conclude their gangsteric responsibilities with their political masters, who pay them with much money and arm them with sophisticated weapons, they are dumped after winning to survive on their own, thus they become marauding bandits. Political thuggery thus becomes the breeding stage of becoming bandits which if nibbed in the bud as thugs would eliminate the existence of bandits. The concept of political thuggery, democracy and bandit were conceptualised while exploring the elite theory. Key interviews were conducted with selected personalities as well as robust input from secondary sources. The paper revealed that curbing of political thuggery could be faced with some challenges, however, it was discovered that redefining democracy would enhance the provision of good governance, provision of peaceful electoral process devoid of thuggery would enhance a service oriented governance and the reinvigoration of law enforcement agencies and the judiciary would aid the curbing of the menace.

Keywords: Political thuggery, bandits, democracy, national security, election

# ELECTORAL VIOLENCE, INSECURITY AND THE CREDIBILITY OF THE 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN NIGERIA

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#### **Abstract**

This paper will examine the issue of electoral violence, insecurity and credibility in sub-Saharan Africa, with a focus on the February 25, 2023 presidential election in Nigeria. This election was marked by incidents of violence, intimidation, and other forms of electoral malpractice, which raised concerns about the legitimacy of the process and the ability of the electoral system to ensure a free and fair election. The study will also explore the causes of electoral violence and insecurity in sub-Saharan Africa and examine the impact of these factors on the credibility of the electoral process, using the February 25 election in Nigeria as a case study. A qualitative research design, data will be adopted and analysed using content analysis. The paper will identify various factors that contribute to electoral violence and insecurity and credibility of the election umpire, process and the media roles. The conclusion of this paper will offer recommendations for improving the credibility of future elections in Nigeria and other sub-Saharan African countries.

Keywords; Electoral-violence, Insecurity, and Credibility, sub-Saharan Africa, 2023 Presidential election and Nigeria

# ELECTION VIOLENCE, INCONCLUSIVE OUTCOMES AND ELECTORAL CREDIBILITY IN SOKOTO STATE

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#### **Abstract**

Election is one of the major feature of democracy as many scholars sees it. It is like money to the economy for it plays a vital role in consolidating democracy. Power shift is not possible without a credible election. But since the return of democracy in 1999 many factors evolved which played role in thwarting the democratic processes among which is violence which some politicians employ especially where they expect defeat among polling units which warrants INEC to cancel the polling units affected, if such polling units are many the inconclusive election may be inevitable as witnessed in 2019 gubernatorial election in Sokoto and some parts of Nigeria and also in 2023 on senatorial and house of representative elections. This study examines the causes, effects and solutions to the inconclusive elections which is virtually caused by electoral violence in Sokoto state. The study employs a qualitative approach of inquiry through the use of interviews, and data collected were analyzed through content analysis. The study reveals that youth are the fore-front actors in championing electoral violence due to their vulnerability and little or no educational background couple with their engagement in abusing drugs and incentive they usually benefit from their masters. Therefore, the study recommends among others, that government as a matter of urgency deploy enough security personnel at the polling units and equip them with enough materials needed for their services.

### THE DISOBEDIENCE OF THE "OBIDIENTS" MOVEMENT AND THE CREDIBILITY OF THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS.

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#### **Abstract**

2023 election saw Nigeria's political atmosphere replicating the happenings of June 12, 1993 general elections. However, of fundamental deference was the emergence of Peter Obi as the Presidential candidate on the ticket of Labour Party. Within shortest possible time, Obi woo youth to his wing, with his supporters starting "Obedient" campaign movement. The "Obedients" were radicals, critical and berates anybody, perceived to be political enemy of their principal. Contrary to the opinion polls, expectations and aspirations of the "Obedients", Peter Obi loses the 2023 election to the APC's Presidential candidate, Bola Ahmed Tinibu who polled 8,794,726 votes to defeat Atiku Abubakar of PDP, who came second with 6,984,52 votes. To "Obedients", credible election implies Obi emerging victorious. Anything short of that, is tantamount to electoral rigging, manipulations and compromise by INEC. Hence,the incredibility of the 2023 election. This paper examines the "Obedients" movements and the incredibility of disputing the 2023 election outcomes by the losers. Quantitative and Qualitative method would be use in collecting and analyzing the research data. Findings reveal that 2023 general elections is the most credible, though not perfect, election ever in the fourth republic.

# PANEL 13: DEMOCRACY AND THE POLITICS OF GENDER AND EXCLUDED CATEGORIES IN NIGERIA

#### DEMOCRACY, POLITICS OF GENDER AND THE 2023 ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

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#### Abstract

Women's inclusion in politics is one of the dominant academic discourses of the 21st Century. This development is underlined by the underrepresentation of women in power structures and institutions despite the universal acknowledgement that women constitute a significant demography and are indispensable to the development of society. The political history of Nigeria shows that women have had little representation in politics and governance since the return to civil rule in 1999. This paper, underpinned by the liberal feminist theoretical framework in the context of unequal power relations between men and women, explores the challenges to the adequate representation of women in Nigeria following the underwhelming performance of women candidates in the 2023 general elections. This paper draws qualitative data from speeches and interviews published in grey literature on gender-centred political concerns in Nigeria and secondary data from academic studies. It adopted documentary and descriptive methods to analyse the relevant data. This paper found out that the political

marginalisation of women in Nigeria contrasts with the high level enthusiasm and participation women demonstrate during electioneering campaigns, voter registration and voting processes. It also discovered that women's underrepresentation and exclusion from power are linked to the violent, monitised and discriminatory nature of politics in Nigeria. This paper recommended that strong political will on the part of the leadership in promoting affirmative political actions, improving internal democracy in party politics and enhancing peaceful democratic culture are necessary to promote adequate representation of women in politics in Nigeria.

Keywords: Democracy, Elections, Gender, Politics, Women.

# POLITICAL INCLUSION IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AMONG INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDPs) IN ABUJA: AN INSIGHT FROM THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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### **Abstract**

Democracy is dependent on the participation and representation of all citizens in the democratic process. Underpinning all this is political inclusion. Thus, the idea that all citizens, regardless of class, age, gender, ability, group, culture, and ethnic or religious affiliations should have equal rights and opportunities to engage and contribute to the functioning of these institutions and processes. In view of this, the internally displaced persons (IDPs) who have been forced or obliged to flee their homes or places of habitual residence have a legitimate right in influencing the decisions that affect their lives by participating in elections. However, this is not always the case as around the world, Nigeria inclusive, IDPs face a number of obstacles to exercising their right to political participation. However, the idea of political participation for IDPs is yet to be fully examined following the 2023 General elections in Abuja, Nigeria. The disenfranchisement of the IDPs not only infringes on their rights but can also exacerbate the social, political, and economic marginalization they typically experience. Hence, this study investigates barriers to political inclusion in the democratic process among IDPs in Abuja during the 2023 General elections. The paper draws on information from primary and secondary sources of data from books, journals and published works on the internet in examining relevant issues and aiming at the conclusion. For proper analysis the theory of democracy which sees universal suffrage and representative electoral process as a precondition for any conception of modern democracy is adopted for the study. Hence, the study submits that strategies should be employed that will encourage IDPs to register, vote and run for office in their current constituency of residence, thereby promoting engagement and integration and further improving the quality of democracy.

Keywords: IDPs, Political Inclusion, Democracy, Election

### GENDER AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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### **Abstract**

The participation of women in the Nigerian politics has been a contentious issue since the commencement of the fourth republic. Various social, cultural and religious factors have resulted in the marginalization of women within the Nigerian politics, thus resulting in low participation. The Nigerian society has become patriarchal and this has completely eliminated the chance of women participating in politics. Although there has been better awareness on the participation of women in political, social and economic sectors, there is no doubt that the idea of equal political participation is a mere mirage. However, recent evidence has shown that women activism and advocacy is getting a lot of positive energy, and there is the possibility of women becoming active participants in Nigerian politics. This paper will trace women participation in politics from the pre-colonial era to understand the reason for the weak participation in the fourth republic. The study will use the feminist theory to explain the issue. The research will adopt the qualitative research methodology, using the positivist research paradigm to gather reliable, accurate and genuine information on the topic. Furthermore, the inductive and interpretivism research approach will be adopted for the study. Since there is a dearth in research on the selected topic, the researcher will adopt the exploratory research design. Data for the study will be collected using secondary sources such as peer-reviewed articles, journals, books, ministry publications etc. Finally, the content analysis method would be used to analyse the information before arrive at a generalisable conclusion.

# THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AT THE NIGERIAN FEDERAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES; A CASE STUDY OF AJAOKUTA FEDERAL CONSTITUENCY

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### **Abstract**

The political underrepresentation of women in Nigeria has remained a major feature of Nigerian democracy since the restoration of democratic rule in the country in1999 after decades of military rule. This study sets out to examine the political underrepresentation of the female gender at the Federal House of Representatives using Ajaokuta Federal Constituency as a case study. The study relied mostly on secondary data with relevant literature related to the research topic under study reviewed. The study argued that women play more of participatory role in the voting process than being elected to power to represent the Federal Constituency in order to perform legislative functions at the National Assembly seriously inhibited. The study finds out that factors such as religion, domestic responsibilities and cultural beliefs of the area under study serves as major obstacles on the path of female politicians to being elected to power. The study employed the elites theory as a theoretical framework to explain that the elites, the male ones in particular have continued to manipulate the democratic process to favour their gender against their female counterparts because of

their desire to continue to dominate. The study therefore suggests that for the problem of female gender underrepresentation in Ajaokuta Federal Constituency to be adequately addressed, stakeholders in the polity such as leaders of political parties, pressure groups and civil society organizations should embark on a more proactive measures that can close the gaps identified with political representation in the area. Nigeria's political setting should provide a more enabling environment for female politicians to excel in politics and part-take in the decision making process that affects their lives.

Keywords: Democracy, Election, Politics, Gender equality, Female underrepresentation, Parliament.

### WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIA: CHALLENGES AND **PROSPECTS**

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### **Abstract**

The challenges of women participation in politics cannot be over emphasised, this is because of the rising concern of women involvement in political activities in Nigeria which has become so saddening as a result of the low turnout. This contradict what was stated in the constitution which gave both men and women equal opportunities to participate actively in all levels of political process. Despite the fact that gender equality is being promoted and also, there are growing interest of more women interested in joining the political train, however, there is no gain saying the fact that, Nigerian women are still being marginalized on the bases of social, cultural and religious background in participating actively in political activities. It is against this backdrop that, this paper examined some of the challenges and prospects of women participation in politics in Nigeria with a focus on the recently concluded 2023 general elections. The paper relay on secondary sources of data and uses feminism theory as a basis in analysizing women involvement in politics in Nigeria. To this end, the paper recommended that; government should device means through policies and programmes that will encourage women participation in politics, stronge collaboration, advocacy and campaign between relevant bodies such Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), traditional and religious institutions, and political parties is needed in an attempt to deepened and strengthened women to participate in political activities in the country.

Keywords: Women, Election, Participation, Challenges, Prospects

### PANEL14: DEMOCRACY AND THE POLITICS OF GENDER AND EXCLUDED **CATEGORIES IN NIGERIA**

### POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN MATAZU AND MUSAWA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS OF KATSINA STATE: A STUDY OF WOMEN AND **YOUTHS**

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### **Abstract**

Nigeria returned to democratic governance in 1999. The level of women and youths' active participation in the political architecture of Matazu / Musawa local governments has been very gloomy. The current global political waves had given all citizens in a part of a country equal opportunity to participate actively in all democratic journey at every level (s). However, in Nigeria, specifically in Matazu/Musawa local government areas the case is the reverse. The wings of women and youths appeared tactically clipped in elective politics and political appointments rendering them to mere benchwarmers, to say the least, just mere supporters of the political "kidnappers". Where even such attempt is made by women and youths, it is often met with stern resistance by the "merchants of politics", who do not allow the participation, contributions, dreams, hopes and aspirations of women and youths political setting, see the light of the day. This gap has kept widening despite dogged agitations and clamor for a new chapter, generally, in the Nigerian political structure. Given the above development therefore, the Nigeria's political system remains seemingly unsafe and fractured due to poor representation of the large members of the society in terms of policy design, implementation and programs that affect their lives in a larger scale. This showered multiple problems faced by this class of people ranging due to their non-partisan role from maternal health issues, girl child trafficking, out of schoolchildren, youths' joblessness, involvement in crimes and criminality and other social vices bedeviling our society today. This paper therefore aimed to make a determined and unbiased effort in identifying some of these challenges, its resultant effects and proffer suggestions towards laying foundation for a positive political and social change in our society especially as it affects youths and women.

**Key Words: Political Marginalization, Political leadership, Merchants of politics, Elective leadership** 

### THE IMPACT OF 'NOT TOO YOUNG TO RUN ACT' ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTHS IN NIGERIA

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### **Abstract**

Inclusive participation in governance and quality leadership are cornerstone to democratic rule. The more different strata of the society are allowed to participate in power sharing, the less agitations and instability are experienced. This study examined the impact of Not Too Young to Run Act and the challenges faced by young people who contested electoral offices in 2019 and 2023 General Elections in Nigeria. The study sourced it data from secondary sources and adopted advocacy theory as theoretical framework to explain young people desire for political inclusiveness in decision making. The study found out that the young people benefited directly from the not too young to run act via contesting and winning electoral offices as members of State Houses of Assembly and Federal House of Representatives. It also found out the challenges faced by those who contested various elective offices to include: high cost of nomination form, inexperience, weak financial base, godfatherism, lack of strong political party structure and election rigging. The study recommended that the young people should form, register and build a strong political party that is young people oriented and friendly instead of relying on the older political parties.

**Key Words: Political Participation, Inclusive Governance, Young People, Not Too Young to Run** 

# AN ANALYSIS OF THE KEY BARRIERS TO WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN IRAN AND NIGERIA

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### **Abstract**

This study examined women in politics, from the perspective of barriers to women political participation in Iran and Nigeria, using qualitative secondary method. The purpose of selecting these two countries is to examine whether there are common trends on the barriers between Iran as an Islamic state and Nigeria as non-Islamic state. The study was built on Gender Different Theory (GDT). The findings revealed that both Iranian and Nigerian women faced cultural (gender stereotypes and patriarchal culture) and structural (Financial, Educational and media) barriers to their entrance into political position. The study recommend the need for both countries to address such challenges so as to increase women participation. The study contributed in advancing the theoretical knowledge in the area of women political participation and comparative politics in women studies.

Keywords: Barriers, Women, Political Participation

## POWER ROTATION AS A PANACEA FOR NIGERIA'S NATIONAL INTEGRATION

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#### **Abstract**

Nigeria is a country with major differences in religion and ethnicity. These blessings were turned into curse by citizens of the country to the extent that the country is now facing a great disintegration. However, different techniques or measures were employed by governments in order to integrate the citizens of the country. A well known among the techniques or measures is "Power Rotation" among the six geo-political zones of the country. The paper therefore, analyzed this technique or measure towards Nigeria's National Integration. The paper adopted "Integration Theory" as a guide in this undertaking. Empirical information was extracted from the secondary sources of data. The analysis reveals that rotating the power, though it is not an idle practice in a democratic setting, to some extent integrated the citizens of the country. The paper concluded that other techniques or measures should be incorporated in order to achieve absolute results.

### PANEL 15: RELIGION, ETHNICITY AND REGIONALISM IN NIGERIA'S ELECTIONS

### ADDRESSING RELIGION AND ETHNICITY IN NIGERIA'S ELECTORAL PROCESS: A PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

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### **Abstract**

Every democratic government entails the rule through the human beings for the accurate of all the people; that is to say, the humans willfully pick their leaders/representatives to pioneer their affairs in government. The manner whereby a given populace selects a few persons to characterize them wants to be guarded so that the will of the people/population would not be jeopardized or truncated. With necessary tools put in place, election system ought to be transparent, free, very fair to all events and then credible sufficient to the satisfaction of both residents and even the overseas observers of the elections. This findings spells out the effect on ethnicity and religion on the balloting patterns of the Nigerian electorate. Hence the paper employed the content material evaluation approach being the research method to consider the 2015/2023 presidential election. The preference is determined and chosen from a set of preferences regarded to the voter. The voting ought to both be picked as a result of the elegance of a party's manifestoes, or as a result of the personality of one of the contestants among other factors. Using decision making theories, this paper looks at the role(s) selections at critical moments play in winning or losing elections. The findings of the study confirmed that ethnicity and faith negatively and drastically impacts country wide development in Nigeria. On the basis of these findings, the find out about recommends amongst others that the state wishes a purposeful leadership that has a vision of how to vicinity its citizens at the centre of political venture barring recourse to ethnic or religious chauvinism.

Keywords: Nigeria, ethnicity, election, religion

# THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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### **Abstract**

This paper examined the influence of socio-cultural organizations on political trend in Nigeria. Nigeria is today at a crossroad due to vigorously socio-cultural trends that resulting in parochial political culture that posed challenges to political stability, innovation, national development among others. The paper adopted Identity Construction Theory developed by Tajfel and Turner in 1979 as the theoretical framework. This theory adequately explained the phenomenon of socio-cultural organizations on political trend in Nigeria. The paper revealed that the influence of socio-cultural organizations on political trend in Nigeria has automatically lead to political instability and less-development of the country. This also affect policy formulations, implementations, growth and development of the country. These sociocultural organizations such Arewa constitutive forum, Afenifere and Ohanize Ndi Ibo which determine the trend of political participation in Nigeria has greatly done harm than good in Nigeria. This culture has led to potential threats, crippling the country into political unrest, ethnic chauvinism, youth restiveness, corruption, religious bigotry extremism, and other social vices that undermine national development. The paper recommends that the National Assembly should make law that will abolish socio-cultural organizations on participation in Nigeria. The National Orientation Agency (NOA) should carry out mass campaign advocacy that will educate the masses on changing their mentality about socio-cultural organizations. The paper concludes that, socio-cultural organizations only plays a vital role in fuelling parochial political sentiment in country. Nigerian should imbibe the culture of promoting national unity in order to ensure development and progress of the country. No country, will progress with the phenomenon of socio-cultural organizations resulting in political unrest, ethnic chauvinism, youth restiveness, corruption and under development in contemporary times.

Keywords: Influence, Socio-Cultural, Organizations, Political and Trend

# RELIGION AND ELECTIONEERING IN KADUNA STATE GOVERNORSHIP ELECTIONS: 2019 TO 2023

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### Abstract

Since the inception of an All Progressive Congress (APC) lead government in Kaduna state, the process of establishing a governor has redefined the electioneering processes and activities in the state. The paper tries to understand the manipulation of Islamic sects in order to achieve power. The statements by different clerics and oppositions during the electioneering period and why politicians have been able to divert citizen attention and pave the way for the use of religion is the purpose of this research. The introduction of a Muslim-Muslim ticket by the All-Progressive Congress has introduced a new dimension to politicking in Kaduna state which has led to a different religious outlook from the previous Muslim-Christian administrations. However, political elites and party members have all used such mediums to achieve their goals in Kaduna state. The elite theory is used to discuss the paper. While secondary data were

accessed for analysis. It was revealed that various clerics were channels used by both parties to achieve political power. Sentiments and the use of religious followers to maintain the status quo were visible. Religious leaders and clerics should be encouraged to bring about harmony and not heat up the polity.

Keywords: religion, Islamic clerics, electioneering.

# IDENTITY POLITICS AND POLITICAL OBLIGATIONS IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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### **Abstract**

Identity politics as a political movement signifies the struggle for recognition, social justice and political participation by groups or communities who collectively have been neglected, subjugated or ignored within a democratic system. The factors necessitating the emergence and sustenance of such a movement vary across societies and historical epochs. Nigeria's democracy has historically been plagued by claims of subjugation and neglect by many of cultural groups and ethnicities that constitute the Nigerian state; these claims have fueled secessionist movements in virtually all six geopolitical regions of the country. Ethnic and religious interests have had a prominent place in our politics as the issues which plague us continue to defy solutions and remain recurring themes of our nascent democracy. The 2023 General Elections in Nigeria once again tests our unity as a country; ethnicity and religion have once again taken centre stage where national issues should and the result is a country even more divided along ethnic and religious lines. Employing the hermeneutic method, this paper examines the philosophical literature on identity politics and political obligation; it analyses how the version of these concepts and the versions of their movements utilized in the Nigerian state has been the bane of its political progress.

Keywords: Identity Politics, Political Obligation, Democracy, Nigeria

# THE ROLE OF GROUP IDENTITY IN SHAPING THE OUTCOME OF THE 2023 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN PLATEAU STATE.

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### **Abstract**

Nigeria is a multicultural and multi-religious country, almost every election boils down to ethnic and religious groups converging for larger interest and often polarise the country. The 2023 elections was no different and most importantly with the Muslim-Muslim ticket of the ruling party, it further polarised the country. This went down to state's elections and one of the most identify sensitive state is Plateau, this becomes a problem when JIBWIS leadership openly declared support for the ruling party in Plateau State and the CAN declared support for the opposition party, this further polarised the polity and eventually shaped voting pattern on the Plateau. Therefore, the paper attempts to investigate the role of group identity in shaping the outcome of 2023 in general and particularly in Plateau state. These raised questions whether

group identity played a role? How has it impact on the voting pattern? And how has it shaped the outcome of the election? The paper will be anchored using the rational choice theory in attempt to answer the questions raised and why groups make certain choices. The paper will draw conclusions from secondary data obtain from reports and election results and tentatively find out that group identity like religion and ethnicity were factors that shaped voting behaviour during the 2023 elections in general and particularly Plateau state.

# THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON VOTERS' BEHAVIOUR IN GIWA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KADUNA STATE: A STUDY OF THE 2023 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

# Kabir Rufa'i, Rilwan Abdullahi Aliyu & Hamisu Ibrahim Alkhamees

### **Abstract**

Religion has become a phenomenon since the returned of democratic government in Nigeria. It was quite certain that religion has sharped most political activities in the 2023 presidential election in Nigeria. The Muslim-Muslim ticket was a strategy adopted by the APC to mobilize the voters to vote in line with religious inclination for the party. The other candidates picked their running mates from other religious group that are different from theirs, so as to show respect on non-marginalization. This issue has sharped the conduct and exercises of the 2023 presidential election in 2023 gubernatorial election of Kaduna State. The study; therefore, examined how religion has sharped the 2023 gubernatorial election of Giwa Local Government Area, it investigate the role of religious leaders in mobilizing the electorates to vote in line with religious inclination, and lastly, the indicators that were used by the religious leaders to mobilize the electorates to vote in line with religious inclination. The paper adopted a pluralist theory to explain how the pluralist nature of a society is used by some group of people to mobilize people during a political events. A multistage sampling was adopted, and 150 respondents were selected for the distribution of questionnaire and interview. The study found that religion has influenced the electorates during the 2023 gubernatorial election of Kaduna State. In conclusion, religion has become an endemic factor that has been influencing voters in most election of Kaduna State. the study recommended that voters should be enlighten on the dangers in voting in line with religious inclination because religion has never been a solution to our problems, rather a problem that allows for electing corrupted leaders to power.

Keywords: Religion, Mobilization, Voter, Voters' behavior and Election

# THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN ACHIEVING SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

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#### Abstract

The diversity of human existence continues to foment tensions along cultural, sectional and tribal lines in the Nigerian politics. Ethnicity, tribalism and religion differences guided by self-

interest are continuously shaping the political struggle in Nigeria. Ethnicity cannot be fruitful unless it is based on a process which is unbiased. Nigerian politics have presented an image of a struggle among the various ethnic groups for a contentious of national power. Most Nigerians have come to believe that unless their people are in political power, they are unable to secure those socioeconomic amenities that are disbursed by the government. One of the instruments for manipulation has been religion and ethnicity. By presenting politics as an interethnic struggle for socioeconomic development. This paper titled the role of Islam as cultural force in achieving multilateral system is aimed to elucidate the divine wisdom of the essence of human diversity in addressing tribalism and sectionalism and religion bigotry. The pluralism theory was employed which is relevant to explain the research question on how does the divine wisdom of the existence of human diversity can be solved much problems in the Nigerian politics. In order to achieve the objective of the paper which reveals that the religion and cultural diversity are laws that are inseparable in terms of seeking for worldly affairs which cannot be changed, and their understanding will bring peace, stability and development.

### IMPLICATIONS OF RELIGION, ETHNICITY, AND REGIONALISM ON ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA.

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### **Abstract**

Nigeria's electoral processes have continually faced significant challenges attributed to religious, ethnic, and regional divisions that affect the country's stability and ongoing democratic development. Thus, this study examines the essential implications of these factors on Nigeria's electoral landscape, and seeks to ascertain the degree to which they affect voting patterns and election outcomes. It examines the theoretical and conceptual framework that underpins the relations between religion, ethnicity, and regionalism and political behaviour during election periods. Using the 2023 Presidential elections as its point of focus, available literature and empirical evidence are drawn upon in exploring how religion, ethnicity, and regionalism shaped the political behaviour of Nigerians during the elections. This study goes further to analyze the role of political parties and their exploitation of these factors to gain electoral advantage. The study employs a qualitative methodology that includes the analysis of available literature and empirical evidence from secondary sources, undertaking a thematic analysis of related literature and critical content analysis of the information gathered from the secondary sources. By highlighting the challenges posed to Nigeria's electoral integrity and legitimacy by religion, ethnicity, and regionalism, the paper brings to the fore, the potential impact on national unity and stability. Ultimately, this paper provides an insight into the significance of religion, ethnicity, and regionalism in Nigeria's electoral processes and the need for electoral reforms that ensure fairness, transparency, and inclusiveness for all Nigerians.

Keywords: Nigeria, Electoral processes, Religion, Ethnicity, Regionalism, Political parties, National unity.

### THE NEXUS BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS IN NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY SINCE INDEPENDENCE

### Isma'il Ibrahim Assalamualaikum

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#### **Abstract**

Due to how religion play a significant role in shaping the society and its aspirations, peoples, especially in developing states, employ different subterfuge and instrumentations in order to achieve some certain predetermined objectives. One of these instruments is politics. This is quite evident in Nigeria where religion is so pronounced, so also its practice. The paper argues that, religion and politics in Nigeria are inextricably tied up to the extent that whatever the political dimension the country takes must inevitably be associated with religious connotation. Religion thus, shaped the political lexicon of our country so much so that politicians often used religion to gain power. It is against this background that the paper examines the interface between religion and politics in Nigeria with emphasis from 1960-2023. Religion as argued by many, is intended to serve as a moral code of the societal affairs – politics, economics, and socio-cultural. It has been discovered that, religion has been making an alarmingly role into the political landscape of Nigerian-state. Data for the study were generated from secondary sources while analysis of data was done through qualitative method using content analysis. Structural functionalism was adopted as a theoretical underpinning to back up the paper. It is recommended among other things that the religious belief should be used to foster understanding among the citizens of our dear country.

Key words: Religion, politics, Islam, Christianity, Nigeria

# PANEL 16: TECHNOLOGY AND THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: A FRAMEWORK FOR FREE, FAIR AND CREDIBLE ELECTIONS?

### BIMODAL VOTER ACCREDITATION SYSTEM (BVAS) AND ELECTORAL INTEGRITY IN NIGERIA

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### **Abstract**

Elections in Nigeria have been described as lacking integrity and credibility in spite of the various measures taken to ensure electoral integrity. Various authors have x-rayed the situation but the introduction of the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System has opened a new vista to be explored. It is against this background that this paper examined the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System and the integrity it has brought to bear on the conduct of elections in the country. The analytical research method was employed for the study and the diffusion innovation theory was adopted as a framework of analysis. The study found that the introduction of the device has reduced electoral violence and fatalities, post-election

litigations, and it has ascertained actual voter turnout. The paper also revealed that it has reduced rigging and ensured transparency and accountability and it has increased voter confidence in the country's electoral process. The paper concludes that continuing with the use of the device without human interference will further increase Nigeria's election integrity. The paper recommends addressing operational failures that are associated with the use of the device and constantly upgrading it to beat aberrant politicians and their collaborators' plans to have an updated knowledge of the working of the device and leverage it to rig.

Key Words: Democracy, diffusion innovation, electoral integrity, Nigeria, technology

# TECHNOLOGY AND THE ELECTION ADMINISTRATION PROCESS IN NIGERIA (1999-2023)

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### **Abstract**

The use technology is increasingly becoming a significant factor in the election administration process across the globe particularly; as concerns have surged over the imperatives of efficiency and credibility in the electoral management process. In Nigeria, the imperative of the use of technology in the electoral process derives from the country's history of fraudulent elections and the huge logistics involved in the conduct of elections. Thus, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has since 2011 sought to improve the credibility and efficiency of the electoral process through the adoption of technology particularly; in the areas of voter registration and the collation of results. This paper critically examines the role of technology in Nigeria's electoral management process. The paper examines the case and context for the use of technology in the electoral process in Nigeria. It then goes on to document the various forms of technology that have been deployed in the electoral process, as well as its implications for the country's democratic development. The central argument of the paper is that the incremental approach adopted by INEC in deploying technology for election purposes in Nigeria represents a pragmatic response to the urgency of the use of technology as a sine qua non for credibility and efficiency in the electoral management process. It is however also noted that deliberate efforts has to be made by INEC to sway public opinion on the use of technology to its advantage for the overall success of the initiative.

**Keywords: Technology, Elections, INEC** 

# BIMODAL VOTER ACCREDITATION SYSTEM AND ELECTION CREDIBILITY IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF THE 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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### **Abstract**

This study examines the relationship between Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) and election credibility in Nigeria with a focus on the 2023 presidential elections in Katsina State. The study seeks to ascertain the various control mechanisms inbuilt in the BVAS and the extent

to which its application influenced the credibility of the 2023 presidential elections in the study area. The study will employ the descriptive survey design. The population of the study consists of people from three Senatorial Districts of Katsina State. Questionnaire will be used as the major instrument of data collection. The data will be descriptively analyzed using SPSS. Results obtained will be discussed on the basis of which conclusion can be drawn as to the influence of BVAS on the credibility of Nigeria's Presidential elections in Katsina state. Since the BVAS was introduced to limit and control the extent of interference in the voting process, particularly voter identity and accreditation, validity of votes cast and electronic transfer of results, this study assesses the impact of BVAS on the credibility of the Presidential elections in Katsina state.

Keywords: BVAS, Election, Credibility, Senatorial District.

# BIMODAL VOTER ACCREDITATION SYSTEM (BVAS) AND THE 2023 NIGERIA'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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### Abstract

The electoral process in Nigeria since the return of democracy in 1999 has been fraught with high-level of electoral frauds and violence. To mitigate these irregularities, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) decided to deploy electronic technology in conducting elections in the country. In the 2015 and 2019 general elections, INEC deployed the Smart Card Reader (SCR) machines to guard against electoral frauds. These machines were however fraught with challenges such as its inability to authenticate Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) and verify voters' biometric data among others. To address the inadequacies of the SCR machines, INEC further introduced Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) machines in the build-up to the 2023 general elections. Relying on data generated using the mixed methods approach and deploying Innovation Diffusion Theory (IDT) as a framework of analysis, this paper assesses the role of BVAS machines in Nigeria's electoral process using the 2023 presidential election as a reference point. The paper found INEC's failure to upload the presidential election results on the INEC Result Viewing (IREV) portal in real-time as a major setback, which led to the erosion of its credibility. This failure was not only a breach of the 2022 Electoral Act, but also a breach of INEC's own guidelines. The paper therefore recommends, among others, the need for an improvement and strict adherence to electronic technology-based devices in Nigeria's electoral process as a panacea to the menace of electoral frauds, violent electoral politics and irregularities.

Keywords: BVAS Machines, Democracy, Electoral Process, Electoral Fraud, Presidential Election

### BLOCKCHAIN TECHNOLOGY AND TRACEABILITY OF ELECTION RESULTS IN NIGERIA: A PROPOSAL FOR IMPLEMENTATION

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### **Abstract**

Nigeria as a country, over the years has not gotten its voting system right. when elections are conducted, the fear to come and express individual franchise is there, because most elections are marred with irregularities and violence which in turn leads to loss of life and property. Election is an integral part of a country where it is important to get its voting system right, because it will determine who governs, makes decision and this decision affects the gross domestic product, standard of living and cost of living of its citizens. The present system of voting in Nigeria is manual (ballot papers) voting system, which has been greatly influenced by human factors by being rigged, ballot boxes carted away and leaders forcefully impose their successors without a transparent voting system. Blockchain technology is a smart system which is imputable, transparent, requires no third party inference and serve as a database that will store every event taken place in the network. Nigeria election at this time requires the use of Blockchain technology where the methodology to use will be a smart contract Ethereum system and the expected contribution will be to provide a tamperproof election results.

# TECHNOLOGY AND THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: A FRAMEWORK FOR FREE, FAIR AND CREDIBLE ELECTIONS

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### **Abstract**

A variety of new and existing technologies are continuously integrated into elections around the world, affecting each step and procedures of conduction elections. Technology gadget electoral process in many countries (ICT)has motivated its use in over the world. It has also been proven to be more efficient and reliable in achieving viable, credible and free election than the traditional way of conducting and voting elections. The traditional electoral processes is associated with numerous problems ranging from voters registration, rigging of elections; printing of ballots, electoral logistics movement, voting in polling units; counting of votes, transmission of results, and final announcement of results. However, the paper aimed at finding out; the role of technology in conducting election, the role of technology during voters registration, the role of technology during collation and announcement of results, and the role of technology in election management by electoral umpire using electronics devices or technologies in organizing elections, and execution of electoral tasks. The paper adopts modernization theory of political science in order to explore

the importance of adopting technology in managing and conducting a free, fair and creditable election in Nigeria. Thus, the paper adopts secondary sources for data collection. The paper findings show that; technology enhanced efficiency and reduce the risk of human error. It promotes digitization of voter's registration and improve accessibility of data referencing. It also promotes transparence, and transmission of results, reduced cost of printing of ballot paper and enhanced verification of election results.

Key words: Traditional electoral, Technology, Conduct of election, Free, Fair and Creditable Elections

# PANEL 17: TECHNOLOGY AND THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: A FRAMEWORK FOR FREE, FAIR AND CREDIBLE ELECTIONS?

# IMPACT OF BIOMETRIC TECHNOLOGY ON ELECTION ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA

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### **Abstract**

Application of biometric technologies in the administration or conduct of elections all over the world especially in Africa is gathering momentum. It is currently sweeping across developing countries and most African countries which Nigeria is not an exception. The need for the use of biometric technology is as a result of the cases of irregularities occasioned by political apathy, corruptions and the likes. Biometric technologies are innovative devices adopted into the election process to create confidence in the voters and increase political participation. Does the use of biometric technology in the conduct of elections reconstruct voters' behavior amid prevailing social and political challenges in Nigeria? The link between these realities and their consequences are currently less understood, and lacking in supporting literature. My line of argument is that, public perception of biometric technology, the availability and workability of these devices and the distance between these devices and polling stations, epileptic power supply to power the devices to work for long hours and poor communication network for internet connections affect the adoption of biometric technologies in electoral process. These interactions combine to produce specific modalities that shape voting or electoral process and general political culture. The paper adopted secondary data from INEC documents, Journals, election publications and other secondary documents to predict the implications and consequences of glossing over the dimension and magnitude of the biometric technology adaptation challenge of policymakers. The paper concludes by reflecting on how the interplays and interactions create "spatial differentials" in election administration; outcome and credibility, and proffer possible strategies for institutional intervention.

Keywords: Biometric Technology, Election, Election Administration, Voters' Participation, election credibility

# AN ASSESSMENT OF BIMODAL VOTERS ACCREDITATION SYSTEM IN CONDUCTING CREDIBLE ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA. A STUDY OF THE 2023 STATE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN JIBIA LOCAL GOVERNMENT, KATSINA STATE.

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### **Abstract**

This paper is aimed at exploring the role of Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) in conducting credible, free and fair election in Nigeria by using Jibia local government Katsina state house of Assembly 2023. Election which is one of the core pillars of democracy faces serious challenges in Nigeria such as riggings, fraud, violence and other electoral malpractice. In order to prevent or minimize such abnormalities the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) introduced BVAS which is electronic voting system. The study uses both qualitative and quantitative means of collecting data devoid from sentiment. The study also adopts Technology Acceptance Model to explain how the introduction of technology in Nigeria electoral system boost and restore confidence in the electorate. The study revealed that BVAS has impacted positively in conducting credible, free and fair election. The study recommends among others that the usage of BVAS in subsequent election should be maintained, also there is need to provide adequate training to the adhoc staffs to use BVAS effectively.

Keywords: BVAS, Election, Government, Katsina, Jibia.

# IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF BIMODAL VOTER ACCREDITATION SYSTEM ON ELECTION CREDIBILITY IN NIGERIA: CASE STUDY OF 2023 GOVERNORSHIP ELECTIONS IN KWARA STATE

## <sup>1</sup>Ameen Abdulkadir (Ph.D), <sup>2</sup>Farid Illo, <sup>3</sup>Elisha Nyam Yakubu & <sup>4</sup>Abioye Festus Olalekan

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### **Abstract**

Election rigging, godfatherism, ballot box snatching, voter intimidation, vote buying, underage voting, and falsification of results were among the electoral vices that characterized Nigerian elections prior to 2023. Stakeholders sought to find solution to the incongruity by deploying technological provisions. The step enjoys constitution backing through the Nigerian Electoral Act 2010. Hence, the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS), was birthed to salvage the integrity of the voting process and also to reduce electoral anomalies. The work seeks to examine the impact of Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) on the credibility of election in Nigeria with particular focus on the 2023 gubernatorial election in Kwara State-Nigeria. The study seeks to; assess the impact of Bimodal Voter Accreditation System in the 2023

Governorship election in Kwara State; examine the level of credibility of the 2023 Governorship election in Kwara State. The study adopts mixed research method in which qualitative and quantitative techniques were used. Four hundred (400) respondents were selected from the three (3) senatorial districts that makeup Kwara State through random sampling, thus the respondents were distributed according to the population size of each senatorial district in the state and nine (9) individuals were interviewed as key informants, three (3) per senatorial district. Findings is expected to show that; the use of Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) could add to the confidence many voters had in the election and its outcome; the level of credibility of the 2023 gubernatorial election in Nigeria particularly in the case study area was enhanced.

Keywords: Election, Electronic voting, Bimodal Voter Accreditation, Election credibility, Democracy.

### ELECTRONIC VOTING MACHINE AND ELECTION IRREGULARITIES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS IN KADUNA STATE: LESSONS FOR INEC

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#### **Abstract**

Since the return of democracy in 1999 to date, the Nigerian democratic system has witnessed the development of technology in its electoral processes. The Direct Data Capturing Machine (DDCM) was introduced in 2007 to eliminate double registration, and the introduction of the Permanent Voter Card (PVC) as well as the Smart Card Reader (SCR) in 2011 were all in a bid to eliminate double registration, to minimize other elections irregularities and enhance the accreditation process during elections. However, the process has taken on a new approach in some advanced countries of the world with the introduction of the Electronic Voting System (EVS). EVS is used to describe an electronic voting process that uses automated digital technology to implement the electoral process. The main objective of this paper is aimed at addressing electoral irregularities using the Electronic Voting Machine (EVM) that has now characterize the elections in Nigeria. The paper was a secondary source based and situated within Technological Determinism Theory,. The findings reveals that EVM is more effective and efficient than manual or paper balloting and reduce the chance for votes buying and other electoral irregularities, the paper recommends that the Independent National Electrical Commission (INEC) take a cue from the Kaduna experience and approve the use of EVM to complement the PVC and SCR.

Keyword: Election, Vote Buying and Electronic Voting Machine.

# TECHNOLOGY AND THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN SOKOTO STATE

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### Abstraction

This study aimed to assess the level of information and communication technology ICT competences on good people of Sokoto State, descriptive survey method was used which involved a questionnaire, interviews etc. on Wamakko local government of Sokoto electorate of one hundred and ten (110) card carrier or PV people served as respondents, the result showed that most of the electorate have a basic knowledge of on ICT, and needs improvements more awareness and political education is hereby needed to PV carriers for them to integrate into ICT compliance and other related talk assigns to them.

Keywords: information and communication technology, ICT competence, Assessment, Social Science, Description Research, Sokoto State-Wamakko Local Government Areas.

### ASSESSMENT OF THE APPLICATION OF BIOMODAL VOTER ACCREDITATION SYSTEM (BVAS) IN THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

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### **Abstract**

The signing of the electoral Acts which was passed into law by former president Muhammadu Buhari, brought about hope and expectations in the political landscape in Nigeria electoral system, with the new innovation of the use of the Biometric Verification Number of the voters to mitigate electoral malpractice in the electoral Process. The study adopted a descriptive analysis using secondary sources of Data. The study is aimed at finding out the challenges of using the BVAS in conducting the general election in 2023the study found out BVAS wasn't deployed in the conduct of the general election, which brought about several legal litigation by political parties and aspirants. The outcome been challenged in the presidential tribunal election. The study recommended that the electoral institution must be strengthened by giving it autonomy to operate so as to allow the electoral Process to be impartial and credible.

### PANEL 18: VIRTUAL PRESENTATION

# DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OUTCOMES IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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### **Abstract**

The study focused on the growing discontent with the poor governance outcomes in Nigeria, characterised by being the poverty capital of the world, a poor healthcare system and some of the highest out-of-school children in the world, since the return of fourth republic democratic

leadership in 1999. This is despite the expectations that democracy will provide improved socioeconomic and human development outcomes, as well as more freedoms. The specific objectives are: to evaluate Nigeria's socioeconomic indices in the fourth republic; to analyse the types of leaders and governance outcomes in the fourth republic; to objectively make informed propositions that can possibly produce democratic leadership for enhanced socioeconomic governance outcomes. The democracy and development framework, which assesses the relationship between democracy, material welfare and development, was adopted for the study. Mixed methods were adopted. While secondary data were sourced through databases; country reports, websites and literature, closed-ended questionnaires provided primary data. Qualitative data was drawn largely from media interviews by successful governance practitioners. The study will conclude with findings on what political parties, which are among the key stakeholders in the democratic project, could do in enhancing democratic governance outcomes. The study will recommend among other things, policy measures on minimum standards for leaders to be tasked with formulating and implementing public policies, as well as managing critical sectors including the economy, infrastructure, healthcare management and education sector. These policies are expected to yield better democratic governance outcomes measured by socioeconomic indices in Nigeria.

Keywords: Democracy, Development, Leadership, Governance, Policy, Leadership

# ANALYSIS OF VOTING BEHAVIOR DURING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF NGURU LOCAL GOVERNMENT, 1999-2023

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### **Abstract**

Elections are peaceful methods of choosing leaders. Elections, therefore, provide citizens of a country the opportunity to express their confidence and or displeasure for a particular set of leaders at regular intervals. Thus, elections are perceived to bring legitimate leaders and governments to power. Elections are also a means of encouraging political participation. The response of voters in a particular election is termed Voting Behavior. The factors that condition voting behavior range from society to society and alternate from one period to another. In some societies, ethnicity, race, religion, party identification, the personality of the candidates standing elections and policy preferences of citizens influence voting behavior. Using survey research design, this paper investigates the factors that have influenced voting behavior in seven presidential elections in Nguru Local Government, Yobe from 1999 to 2023. It is argued that party identification, religion, ethnicity and policy preferences have been major determinants of voting behavior in presidential elections in Nguru local government during the period under study. It is also argued that some of these factors take more prominence than others during different elections under study. Finally, while ethnicity, religion and candidate personality have been major determinants of voting behavior during these presidential elections, policy preferences are now prominent determinants.

Keywords: Elections, Voting behavior, religion, ethnicity, policy preferences, candidate personality, survey research.

### THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECT OF POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

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### **Abstract**

Political and electoral violence has become inherent in Africa, especially in Nigeria. Politics has become an essential feature through which politicians amass wealth for themselves, hence they instigate and sponsor thugs to incest violence for their personal gain especially before, during and after elections. The evidence of this is overwhelming and results in pockets of violence nationwide. This has had an enormous effect on socio-economic development in Nigeria. Political and electoral violence has been expressed in the form of assassinations, loss of lives during elections, bomb-blast, and even destruction of properties. This paper aims to employ the Autoregressive distributed lag (ARDL) model to unravel the socio-economic effect of political and electoral violence in Nigeria. The paper will focus on understanding the ways in which violence during political campaigns, elections, and post-election periods affects various aspects of Nigerian society, including voter participation, political stability, social cohesion, economic development, educational opportunities, and healthcare access. Relevant policy recommendations will be proposed based on the findings of this study and these recommendations will be specific to the findings of this paper.

Keywords: Political Violence, Socio-economic Development, Loss of Lives, Assassinations, Bomb-blast.

