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## Elections in Nigeria: A Select Annotated Bibliography

**Pamela Ogwuazor Momah**

This chapter presents relevant bibliographic sources on elections in Nigeria. It focuses especially on the 1999, 2003 and 2007 general elections at the Presidential, Gubernatorial, House of Assembly and Local Government levels. What was common to all the elections, according to several local and international observers, was that they were characterised by malpractices in the form of vote rigging, ballot box snatching, ballot box stuffing, violence, including use of political thugs to intimidate voters and opponents, registration of under-aged voters and manipulation of results. There was also the issue of poor logistic support on the part of INEC. The voter registration exercise was marred by irregularities while the conduct of the elections was adversely affected by late arrival of personnel and voting materials. The government apparently did not help matters as INEC often complained of late release of funds. All these problems left majority of Nigerians disenfranchised and unhappy with the elections.

In a democracy, periodic elections of the political leaders and legislators constitute the principal means of making sure that government derives its power from the consent of the governed. Therefore, one can reasonably say that elections are central to the functioning of modern day democracies, and voting is the simplest form of democratic participation, as it is a procedure generally accepted as binding within any political society. Voting is a device through which a citizen makes an explicit choice between alternative candidates in an election.

This annotated bibliography points to the fact that the elections under review fell short of accepted democratic standards.

## Elections in Nigeria

Abati, Reuben 2009, 'Electoral Reform and the Federal Executive Council, *The Guardian*, 13, March, p. 51.

The article discusses the decision of the Federal Executive Council on the recommendations of the Justice Uwais-led Electoral Reform Committee (ERC). It concludes that it is important more for what it rejected, rather than what it accepted and in the forefront is the sincerity or otherwise of President Umaru Yar'Adua about electoral reform.

Aborisade, Femi, 2008, 'A Case for Credible Elections in Nigeria: Proposed Agenda for Electoral Reform,' *The Constitution*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 112-123.

The article captures the preponderance of a totalitarian character in Nigeria's electoral process and democracy as practised by the ruling class. It avers that since the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 up to the fourth republic under Olusegun Obasanjo's administration, electoral dictatorship had been foisted on the people.

Abraham, Isaiah, 1999, 'Assessment of the Presidential Election', *Daily Times*, 4 March, p. 7.

The article takes a look at the 1999 general elections and discusses how the country witnessed a massive invasion of international observers, some headed by world leaders. The Carter Centre and the National Republican Institute, led by Jimmy Carter, said that there was a wide disparity between the number of voters observed at the polling stations and the final results that were reported from several states.

Adegbuyi, Ayodele, 2002, 'Nigeria at Cross-Roads over Local Government Election?' *Daily Times*, 20 April, p. 7.

The Article takes a look at the controversy surrounding the elections into local government councils across the country, and concludes that if care is not taken, the entire political process in the country could be jeopardized by this.

Adeniyi, Abiodun, 1999, '21.2 million voters Shun Polls, says INEC', *The Guardian*, 8 March, p. 1.

The article points out that the number of registered voters who stayed away from the four elections held in 1999 averaged 21.2 million, according to statistical analysis by INEC. This underscores the level of voter apathy in the country.

Adetayo, Olalekan, 2007, 'Iwu and the burden of flawed poll', *The Punch*, 30 November, p. 48.

Both local and foreign observers have described the 2007 April polls, as far from being free and fair and the call for Maurice Iwu, the electoral umpire, to quit, was heightened especially, by the upturning of some of the results of the last elections by the election petitions tribunals across the country.

Adeyemo, Ademola, 2009, 'Ekiti Rerun: Any Lessons for Nigeria?' *Thisday*, 15 May, p. 22.

The article sees the Ekiti rerun election as an event that left a dark scar on the Nigerian electoral system. The election could have served as a golden opportunity for Nigeria to re-brand itself and send a positive message to the international community about the nation's determination to reform her electoral system. Instead, intimidation of voters, arson, thuggery, hooliganism, harassment of journalists and snatching of ballot boxes, among other things, marred it. It was an electoral war between the PDP and the AC.

Adegbuyi, Ayodele, 2001, 'INEC and Survival of Democracy', *Sunday Times*, 17 Jun., p.5.

Now that Nigeria wants the democratic culture to stay, people are wondering whether INEC has got what it takes to conduct free and fair elections.

Adeniyi, Olusegun, 2006, 'The Role of the Media in the 2007 General Elections', in Proceedings and Communique of the INEC forum on Nigeria's 2007 General Elections: The Challenges Ahead, Abuja, INEC pp. 150-155.

This paper takes a look at the role of the Nigerian media and concludes that the media is not holding the politicians accountable as regards the welfare of the public. The media do not know what many political parties stand for and what they intend to do to improve the lot of the people.

Aderemi, Adewale, 2005, 'Electoral Commissions and Construction of Democratic Rule in Nigeria, 1979 to Date', in *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, by Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., Lagos: A-Triad Associates, Pp. 326-338.

The paper examines the viability, coherence and complexity of electoral commissions as political institutions in Nigeria's attempt at the construction and reconstruction of enduring democratic rule from the Second Republic.

Aderanti, Adepeju, 2005, 'Women, Politics and Elections in South West Nigeria', in *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, by Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., Lagos: A-Triad Associates pp., 510-533.

The paper explores the level of women's participation in politics in Nigeria using the 1999 and 2003 general elections in South West Nigeria as a case study.

Agbaje A.B. Adigun, Diamond Larry; and Onwudiwe Ebere, 2004, *Nigeria's Struggle for Democracy and Good Governance*. Ibadan, Ibadan University Press. 471pp.

The book focuses on the four cardinal points that signpost Nigeria's perennial struggle for democracy and good governance.

Agbu, Osita, 1996, 'External Pressure and the Quest for Democracy in Nigeria'. *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 22, No. 1 pp. 1-10.

The article examines the international dimensions of Nigeria's democratic crisis, especially since the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential elections.

Agboola, J. A. 2006, 'INEC's Preparation for 2007 General Elections: The Research Perspective', in *Proceedings and Communique of INEC Forum in the 2007 General Elections: The Challenges Ahead*. Abuja: INEC pp. 172-179.

The Research and Documentation department of the Electoral Institute is the third tripod of the Commission which was established principally to address the inadequacies of the past when little or no research was done on the myriad of problems which the Commission and other stakeholder's faced.

Agboola, Jimoh, 2008, 'Political Culture in Nigeria'. *The Nigerian Electoral Journal*, vol. 2, no. 1. Pp. 43-57.

The author says that persistent general failures in the Nigerian polity have always been traced to the inadequacies in the evolution of a virile political culture in the nation. Specific failure of political parties, electoral process, the governments at all three levels and the entire political component of the national system were explained in terms of the poor political culture of Nigerians.

Ahmed, Abubakar, 2009, 'Problems of Elections in Nigeria'. *Daily Champion*, 14 Apr. 11.

The article argues that elections in the country have often been characterised by irregularities and fraudulent activities in which electoral competition amongst political parties or candidates take the shape of a Hobbesian struggle.

Akinboye, Solomon O, 2005, 'INEC and the Management of the 2003 General Elections: Lessons and Prospects', in *Elections and Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria*, by Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., Lagos: A-Triad Associates. Pp. 294-315.

The paper submits that in order to safeguard the nation's democratic system, the electoral process should be completely overhauled, while INEC should be removed from the apron string of the executive arm of government and allowed to carry out its constitutional roles without hindrance.

Akinterinwa, Bola 2008, 'Validation of Yar'Adua's Election: The International Aspects', *This Day*, 2 Mar., p.4.

The article examines the Court of Appeal's ruling on the Presidential elections and the reasons it gave for upholding the elections in favour of President Yar'Adua. It concludes that in future, politicians who will be seeking court adjudication on petitions relating to electoral malpractices will need to find more efficient and tangible ways of proving the case of electoral malpractices.

Akogun, Kunle, 2007 'April Polls: Voting for Another Impasse', *This Day*, 6 Mar., p. 18.

The article examines the real implications of a statement allegedly made by

President Obasanjo's statement that: 'the forthcoming election is a do-or-die affair. Winning in the forthcoming election is a matter of life and death for the PDP. I will not hand over to anybody who will not continue with our reform programme'. The conclusion reached in the article is that, with this kind of statement, it would be impossible for INEC to conduct free and fair elections in the country.

Akpan, Felix, 2003, 'Truth as casualty in 2003 Elections', *Daily Champion*, 8 Jul., p.11.

The article looks at all the controversies that the 2003 elections have generated and concludes that what is most disturbing is that none of our leaders, especially those who stand to benefit from the system, can come out and tell the world the truth about the 2003 April elections.

Ajayi, Kunle, 2005. 'Security Forces, Electoral Conduct and the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria', in *Elections and Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria*, by Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., Lagos A-Triad Associates, pp. 164-180.

The paper investigates the collaborative role of the security forces in allegedly rigging the 2003 elections in favour of the incumbent ruling party.

Arowosegbe, Jeremiah O. 2005. 'Elections and the Politics of Democratic Transition in Nigeria: Lessons from the 2003 Exercise and the Anambra Saga'. In: *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, by Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh. Lagos: A-Triad Associates. Pp. 248-271.

The paper examines the impact of Nigeria's political history, its economic base as well as class property relations in the politics of elections, democratic transition, and the phenomenon of godfatherism in Nigerian politics, especially focusing on the Anambra State saga.

Anifowose, Remi and Babawale, Tunde, 2003, '2003 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria', Nigeria: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

The conduct of the 2003 general elections is assessed and the positive areas of the conduct of the elections highlighted. The positive elements are underscored and recommended for strengthening in the future. Recommendations on the observed imperfections are made and suggestions on how they are to be tackled are given.

2009, 'APSA, PDP: A Maze of Legal Tussles', *The Guardian*, 8 Oct. p.8.

The article focuses on how the courts are running the show in Anambra State. The courts stopped the PDP from holding its scheduled primaries for governorship polls. It also stopped the APGA led by Chief Chekwes Okorie from holding its primaries. INEC in the 2010 governorship election in the state did not expect the law courts to play a central role; at least not at the onset.

2005, 'As Abel Guobodia Retires', *This Day*, 22 May, p. 56.

The article states that Guobadia's tenure was marked by electoral infamy. Politicians colluded with INEC officials to hijack result sheets and enter whatever figures they desired, such that the votes recorded, in several instances, were higher than the total number of registered voters. The article also argued that INEC could not produce and carried on as an institution under the direct control and direction of the Presidency and the ruling PDP.

2005, 'As Guobadia Goes', *Daily Champion*, 19 May, p. 10.

Chairman of INEC, Dr. Abel Guobadia in his farewell speech, said that the Executive, and other government officials subjected INEC to a powerless role as far as the ability to conduct free and fair election is concerned by inadequate and late funding due to direct control of such funds by the Executive.

1999 'As US Commends Election', *National Concord*, 9 Mar., p.7.

This article points out that despite claims by some Nigerians who lost the election, as well as by some US observers that the elections were seriously flawed, the election administrators announced that it was pleased that the elections were conducted in an orderly manner, without the intervention of the military.

Ayorinde, Steve 2007, 'Understanding Election as Art of War', *The Punch*, 19 Apr., p.15.

The article is of the opinion that all rules of war are applicable to elections, and the April 2007 election was a simulated battle, that left behind much casualty. He sees a need to question the electoral umpire, before politicians, especially as INEC was unwilling to discuss stolen votes, or deal with statistical monstrosity of the disproportionate relationship between votes secured and seats won in many states. A war it was, because the ruling party had already declared it a do-or-die affair.

Babawale, Tunde. 2003 'The 2003 Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria', In: Remi, Anifowose, and Tunde Babawale, eds., *2003 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Pp. 208-230.

The article discusses the 2003 general elections in Nigeria with a view to fashioning out how the elections can be used as a building block for democratic consolidation in the country.

Bamgboye, Adelanwa, 2009, 'Anambra: Confusion Halts PDP Guber Primary Election', *Weekly Trust*, 3 Oct., p.5.

The article focuses on the confusion that arose from the 2 October 2009 primaries of the governorship election of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in Anambra State, as the Electoral Panel for the exercise, led by the speaker of the House of Representatives, Oladimeji Bankole, acknowledged being privy to the action stopping the congress.

Bello-Barkindo, Abdulrazaque, 2007, 'A New Head of INEC' *ThisDay*, 22

Nov., p.96.

This report takes a look at how courts around the country continue to dismantle the fraudulent structures that the INEC erected throughout the country. The writer notes that all the toppled Governors and the ones that were let off the hook were of the PDP ruling party. The conclusion is that the umpire of the elections was biased in favour of the ruling party.

Benjamin, Solomon A. 2005, 'Comments on Local Government Elections in Nigeria's Fourth Republic', in *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, by Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., Lagos: A-Triad Associates. Pp. 330-357.

The paper analyses the series of problems, which arose during the conduct of the 27 March 2004 local government elections.

2003, 'Buhari Insists Polls Are a Charade', *The Guardian*, 1 May, p. 6. The report examines the unrelenting attitude of the ANPP presidential candidate, General Muhammad Buhari, who, in his quest for justice, called for the cancellation of the presidential and governorship polls of April 2003.

Chukwu, P.C. 2005. 'The 1999 Constitution and the Independence of INEC in the Conduct and Supervision of the Electoral Process in Nigeria', in *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, by Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., Lagos: A-Triad Associates. Pp. 357-368.

The paper analyses the provision of the 1999 constitution on the establishment, composition, powers and responsibilities as well as the provisions for the independence of INEC.

Commonwealth Secretariat, 2006 'The National Assembly and Presidential Elections in Nigeria 12 and 19 April 2003': The Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 57 pp.

This contains the assessment report of the commonwealth observer group on the National Assembly and Presidential elections in Nigeria.

2008, 'Does Iwu still Have a Face to Save', *ThisDay*, 1 Mar. , p. 14.

The article takes a look at Iwu's first polls as INEC boss, and concludes that they were dismal. Is it a coincidence or an index of his capabilities? Or was he a victim of the mischief of his superiors?

2006, 'Double-Crossed by INEC', *ThisDay*, 16 Mar., p. 72.

The article is of the opinion that if there is any issue that has exposed the fraud in our electoral system, it is the Anambra debacle where a politician, Dr. Chris Ngige, was installed as Governor by a political godfather, Chris Uba, through the complicity of INEC. The so called political godfather then demanded 'returns on his investment'.

Durojaji, Biodun, Eniseyin, Degi, et al, 1999, '50% Votes Fake: BBC

Correspondent'.

Elizabeth blunt, a BBC correspondent who said she saw rigging in progress in Rivers State where she monitored the election said it was uncertain which candidate won, as half of the votes purportedly cast might have been fake. She further went on to say that because of the Abiola experience, when an election was annulled by the military, Nigerians just wanted the military to go, and so people kept quiet.

Ebome, Victor, 1999, 'Nwabueze backs Falae', *National Concord*, 9 Mar., p. 31. A constitutional lawyer, Prof. Ben Nwabueze observed that the rigging that attended the 1999 Presidential election was worse than that of 1983 and therefore called for investigation and documentation of the irregularities, if for no other reason, at least for record purposes.

Edosa, Ikponwosa, 2007, 'Electoral Crimes: What Legacy for Tomorrow,' *ThisDay*, 17 Jun., p.16.

The article asks how criminal are electoral crimes, especially with the escalation of AK 47 and pump action rifles, which were used in large numbers in broad daylight by PDP party thugs, who were even given police escorts as extra measure.

2003, '2003 Elections: Matters Arising', *The Guardian*, 28 Apr., p. 22.

The article looks at the 2003 general elections and says electoral 'sins' like disenfranchisement of eligible voters by denying them voters registrations, covert and open monetary inducement, collusion of party agents and INEC officials, voting of under-aged minors, multiple voting, intimidating and gangster tactics, stuffing of ballot boxes and falsification of results, were all present in 2003.

The Electoral Institute, 2006, 'Voter Education Training Manual: Building Confidence in the Electoral System', Abuja: INEC, 77pp.

The Electoral Act 2006 categorically provides for civic and voter education. This manual is an outcome of the voter education curriculum developed by INEC.

Ekugo, Andy, 2007, 'Opposition Calls for Mass Action', *ThisDay*, 26 Apr., p. 6. The coalition of opposition political parties (COPP) states that Obasanjo and INEC chairman, Maurice Iwu, have jointly robbed Nigerians of their mandates and therefore should be rejected and condemned by Nigerians.

Ekwegbalu, Unoaka and Amaedina, Nnaemeka, 2007, 'Triumph of Rule of Law in Nigeria: Historical Judgments Anambra State', Lagos: UE Communications, 593 pp.

This report chronicles judgments that were given in Peter Obi's numerous journeys to the law court to retrieve and keep his mandate as the elected government of Anambra State.

Emordi, E.C., and Osiki, O.M. 2008, 'The Nigerian 2007, General Elections:

A Balance sheet', *The Constitution*, vol. 8 no. 1 pp. 34-52.

The article examines the April 2007 elections against the backdrop of the country's checkered electoral history. Drawing abundantly from secondary data and personal observation, it argues that the elections were a travesty of Justice.

Eya, Willy, 2007, 'Uncertainty, Apprehension as Tribunals Nullify More Elections', *Daily Champion*, 26 Oct., p. 35.

The article examines the casualties from activities of the election tribunals set up to sift the grain from the chaff and put in place a government that will reflect the true wishes of the people. In Anambra, Kebbi and Kogi, elections have been nullified. It argues that nullification of the elections may not be the solution as those affected are likely to re-emerge if a fresh exercise is conducted, because the structure of the electoral process has not changed and can be manipulated again.

Ezeani O. E. 2005, 'Electoral Malpractices in Nigeria: The Case of 2003 General Elections', In Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: A-Triad Associates, pp. 413-431.

The paper discusses the consequences of electoral malpractices on Nigerians and recommends possible remedies to them.

Fabiyi, Olusola and Soniyi, Tobi, 2007. 'Robbers Hijack Election Materials', 12 Apr., p.2.

Prof. Maurice Iwu raises alarm that three truckload of election materials had been hijacked by robbers. He pointed out that it was the responsibility of the police to make sure that the elections were free and fair. All INEC preparations would amount to nothing if the police did not provide adequate security. It was also revealed that politicians had given their thugs fake police uniforms to use and intimidate their opponents.

Fafowora, Dapo, 2007, 'Electoral Spending Curbs by INEC', *The Nation*, 8 Feb. , p. 48.

INEC put spending limits on all candidates, ranging from N500 million for Presidential candidates to N5 million for states and assembly candidates. This was informed by the fact that money had become the dominant factor in all general elections in Nigeria where poverty has made it easy for voters to be hired by money or some other gifts in kind.

Famoroti, Francis, 'INEC Can't Disqualify Atiku, Others', *The Punch*, 8Mar., p. 2.

A Federal High Court in Abuja declared that the Independent Electoral Commission lacked the power to disqualify any candidate from contesting for political office in the country.

Fawole, Alade, 2005. 'Voting without Choosing: Interrogating the Crisis of Electoral Democracy in Nigeria', In *Liberal Democracy and its Critics in Africa*. Senegal, CODESRIA, pp. 149-171.

This paper traces Nigeria's electoral history from colonial times to the present.

Fidelis, Allen, 2005, 'Electoral Governance in Nigeria: Comparing the Role of the Civil Society and Incumbent Political Parties', In Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: A-Triad Associates. Pp.316-328.

This paper argues that the problem in Nigeria's democracy is that of who determines electoral rules that shape the conduct of elections and their results based on available data on the 2003 Presidential, National Assembly, Governorship and State Assembly and the 2004 local government elections.

2000, Final Report on the 1998-1999 Transition to Civil Rule Elections in Nigeria, Nigeria: Transition Monitoring Group.

The decision to monitor the elections under the Abubakar transition was taken against the background of protracted military rule in the country, and the high public interest in the transition-to-civil rule programme. In response to this, a group of human rights and civil society organisations came together and established the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) to observe the elections.

2004, 'Gathering Storm of Council Elections', *The Comet*, 9 Feb., p. 13.

The article explains that 774 local government councils were arbitrarily created. They were created at the whims of the military in power; in some cases villages of the military rulers were upgraded to local councils. The unfairness in the process can be seen in the lack of equity, which allows one, or two villages to be constituted into a local government while in other areas 10 towns are lumped together for the same purpose.

Garuba, Dauda, 2005, 'Transition without Change: The 2003 Elections and Political Stability in Nigeria', in Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., *Elections and Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria*, Lagos: A-Triad Associates. Pp 181-203.

The paper seeks to examine the threat the 2003 elections pose to transition to positive change and political stability in Nigeria.

2002, 'Guobadia and Election Monitoring', *The Punch*, 10 Jun., p 14.

The article questions the wisdom of any plan by INEC or the federal government to shut its doors to any foreign observers who may be interested in monitoring Nigeria's elections in 2003. It concludes that such a decision would be straining international relations

Human Rights Watch, 2007, 'Nigeria: Polls Marred by Violence, Fraud', *The Guardian*, 19 Apr., p 67.

The report points out that voting on 14 April in key Nigerian states, including Rivers and Anambra States, was so marred by fraud, intimidation and violence that the results in these states should be cancelled and the polls re-run.

Ibrahim, Jibrin, 2006, 'Legislation and the Electoral Process: The Third Term Agenda and the Future of Nigerian Democracy', *The Constitution*, vol. 6, n<sup>o</sup>. 2, pp. 46-74.

The article identifies three key challenges facing democratic development in Nigeria, namely; lack of will and capacity on the part of the National Assembly and the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) to live up their responsibilities, the third term agenda of the incumbent administration, and the electoral integrity of the 2007 election.

Iriekpen, Davidson, 2008, 'The Appeal Court and slow pace of electoral cases', *ThisDay*, 13 Oct., p.20.

The article points out that election petitions were yet to be concluded 17 months after the polls of 2007. It calls on the President and the National Assembly to enact a law to ensure that all election petitions are concluded before the swearing-in of the winner.

Isekhure, Nosakhare, 2005, 'Nigeria's 2003 Fraudulent General Elections, Sowing Seeds of Political Doom', Benin: Oduna Communications Inc. Nig. 536 pp.

The work examines various electoral malpractices, which have done tremendous damage to the credibility of governance in Nigeria in the 2003 general elections.

Iyayi, Festus, 2005, 'Elections and Electoral Practices in Nigeria: Dynamics and Implications', *The Constitution*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 1-32.

The article locates the dynamics of electoral practices in the (1) historical context of state formulation in Nigeria; (2) The nature and character of the Nigerian state; (3) The nature and character of the ruling class; (4) Developments in international economy and politics; and (5) The relative strength of the progressive forces in Nigeria.

Iwu, Maurice, 2008, 'Electronic Voting and Future of the Electoral System in Nigeria', *The Nigerian Electoral Journal*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp 1-29.

The INEC Chairman, Maurice Iwu, explains that the Nigerian electronic voting system is an image-based integrated programme, which consists of the electronic voters' register, eligible voters' authentication, electronic balloting i.e. voting machine and electronic transmission of results.

2005, 'INEC after Guobadia', *The Comet*, 1 Jun., p 17.

Guobadia, the outgoing Chairman of INEC, pleads that INEC should have financial and administrative autonomy, pointing out that it is unfair to criticize it without ensuring that it has both the tools and freedom to carry out the expected tasks.

2005, 'Iwu and Growing Controversies', *The Guardian*, 13 Sept., p 8.

The Anambra Gubernatorial Election Petition Tribunal that voided the 2003 election of Ngige confirmed above other things that there were irregularities in the

election. The removal of Ngige confirmed that. As the embattled state governor headed for the Appeal Court, INEC also faulted the judgment of the tribunal and sought to appeal the judgment of the tribunal.

2006, 'INEC and Baby Voters', *Nigerian Tribune*, 8 Sept., p10.

The article argues that if babies were registered and ballot boxes found in the hands of politicians, INEC officials who supervised the registration and in whose custody the ballot boxes were kept, should be held liable and prosecuted accordingly.

2007, 'For Improved Conduct of Future Elections', *The Guardian*, 3 Nov., p. 60. The article points out that invaluable lessons and experiences garnered from the circumstances of the 2007 elections should lead to improved conduct of 174 elections in the future. It points out the need for electoral reform and perhaps a total overhaul of the nation's electoral machinery.

2007, 'INEC's Barring of Candidates', *The Punch*, 15 Mar., p. 16.

The article wonders why INEC is insisting on barring candidates after an Abuja High Court had ruled that the electoral umpire has no powers to disqualify candidates seeking elective officers. Section 32 of the 2006 Electoral Act only empowers INEC to verify the claims made by candidates. Only the courts can disqualify candidates.

2007, 'INEC and Council Polls', *The Punch*, 18 May, p.16.

Article says that Iwu's meddling in local government affairs is unjustified and uncalled for and it is clear that the state governments provided INEC with the rope to hang them, because there is no reason why SIEC's should rely solely on INEC for the compilation of the voters register.

INEC, 2007, 'The Official Report on the 2007 General Election', Abuja: INEC, 140 pp.

The 2007 General Elections in Nigeria was not an isolated event. The election may have had certain peculiarities and distinct challenges, but it remains, without doubt, one more juncture in the stretched and eventful stride of the country towards political development.

2008, 'In the Court of Appeal Holden at Abuja Judicial Division on Tuesday,

26 February 2008', *The Constitution*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 95-139.

The petitioner, General Muhammad Buhari, is not satisfied with the return and declaration of Alhaji Musa Yar' Adua as the winner of the April 2007 election. The petitioner prayed the court to nullify the election because of many irregularities.

Jega, A. M. et al 2003, 'Strategies for Curbing Election-related Political Violence in Nigeria's North-West Zone', Kano: Mambayya House.

Looks at election-related political violence and proffers solutions for stopping it. Jega, Attahiru, M. 2006, 'Towards a Strategy for Curbing Violence in the 2007 General Elections', in *Proceedings and Communique of INEC National Forum on Nigeria's 2007 General Elections: The Critical Challenges Ahead*, Abuja: INEC pp. 1-9.

The author is of the opinion that violence related to election is a significant aspect of the culture of corruption in Nigeria, saying when or if money fails to provide the desired outcome for the political entrepreneurs, violence is deployed. Violence is used to muzzle opponents in what can be termed as the 'politics of the stomach' i.e. an engagement in politics by the rich to keep stoking their bulging stomachs and for the poor to seek means of assuaging the rumblings of their hungry stomachs.

Jinadu, Adele, 2007, 'Elections and Democratic Transitions in Nigeria', *The Comet*, 6 Aug., p. 32.

The article is of the opinion that before an Electoral Commission can be analysed, it has to be located more concretely in its political environment, complementing desk research with more empirically grounded methodology, like participant observation and survey research, thus looking beyond its formal institutional arrangement and day-to-day operations.

Johnson, E.A., 2006, 'Method of Election', in *Proceedings and Communique of INEC Forum on the 2007 General Elections: The Challenges Ahead*, Abuja: INEC pp. 166-168.

This takes a look at the open-secret system of voting, adopted for the 2007 General Elections, and how it works.

Karunwi, Aderonke, 2003, 'Gender, Politics and the 2003 Elections', in Remi, Anifowose, and Tunde, Babawale, eds., 2003 *General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, pp. 188-207.

The article is of the opinion that if democracy allows for diverse opinion and participation of different groups, then it cannot grow by excluding women, who effectively constitute half of the world's population and half of each and every single national population.

Koleosho, Ogun, 2008, 'OBJ, Iwu and the Evils of 2007 Elections', *Nigerian Tribune*, Feb. 25, pp 16.

The article points out that elections in Nigeria is a most sensitive issue because it cuts across the entire social strata, and is pinned to resource allocation. The bizarre conduct of the April 2007 polls in Nigeria is, however, being remedied by the fearless election tribunals which are rehabilitating the fatal damages that Obasanjo and Iwu inflicted on Nigeria's democratic project.

Komolafe, Kayode, 2009, 'Democracy without Democrats?' *ThisDay*, 29 Apr., p 72.

The article states that the ugly events in the Ekiti rerun election constitute a national embarrassment. INEC leadership, Maurice Iwu, that flaunts its capability to conduct national elections any day, failed to declare results in 64 wards of the state, four days after the exercise. The Nigeria Police, under Mike Okiro who boasted, could not make Oye-Ekiti local government area safe for the elections. So the election in that area is kept at abeyance. The police allegedly looked the other way while some politicians intimidated voters.

Kukah, Mathew, Hassan, 2006, 'The Politics of Money and Elections in Nigeria', In *Proceedings and Communique of INEC National Forum on Nigeria's 2007 General Elections: The Challenges Ahead, Abuja*: INEC, pp. 60-70.

The paper examines the role of individuals in politics, and how they have devolved their resources into politics and consequently affected and influenced political outcomes, and also how money is a lubricant in politics. It concludes that money can take its proper place in the politics of Nigeria.

Madu-West, Augustine, 1999, 'Military Aided PDP to Win Election', *The Punch*, 10 Mar. , p 7.

The article alleges that the military aided PDP to win the 1999 general elections by supporting them with massive military state apparatus and huge sums of money to ensure victory at all cost.

Madunagu, Edwin, 2003, 'Elections as Civil War', *The Guardian*, 17 Apr., p 63. The article takes a holistic look at the Nigerian elections, and concludes that

elections in Nigeria can be seen as a civil war, where power has to be grabbed by all means by politicians.

Muhammed, Safiya, 2006, 'Enhancing Women Participation in Politics and Governance', in *Proceedings and Communique of INEC National Forum on Nigeria's 2007 General Elections: The Challenges Ahead, Abuja*: INEC, pp. 46- 55.

The paper takes a look at the trait and the trend of women's marginalization in party politics, which runs through the political history of Nigeria, and concludes that it is perhaps the most critical factor in the political underdevelopment of Nigerian Women.

2007, 'Nigeria: EU Final Election Report', *The Constitution*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp 79-137.

The report was produced by the EU election observation mission and presents the EU Election Observation Mission's (EOM) findings on the 14 April 2007 Gubernatorial and State House of Assembly Elections, and the 21 April Presidential and National Assembly Elections in Nigeria. A comprehensive assessment of the electoral process in accordance with international standard for democratic elections is reported.

Nigeria Final Report, Gubernatorial and State House of Assembly Elections 14 April 2007, and Presidential and National Assembly Election 21 April 2007. European Union Election Observation Mission.

2003, 'Nigeria's Pretty Good Election', *The Punch*, 25 Apr., p 3.

This article talks about the irregularities recorded in the April elections in Warri, Delta State, where nearly four-fifths of the voters in a particular ward were too frightened to vote because of insecurity, as heavily armed youths, waving sub-machine guns paraded the streets. Some armed youths even drove in their cars to one polling station and demanded for the ballot papers, boxes and result sheets, which were handed over to them.

Nkwachukwu, Orji, 2005 'Civil Society and Elections in Nigeria: Reflections on the 2003 General Elections', In Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: A-Triad Associates pp. 555-570.

This paper discusses the role of the civil society in the electoral process of Nigeria. Nnadozie, Uche O. 2005, 'History of Elections in Nigeria', In Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: A-Triad Associates pp. 112-132.

The paper traces the origin, the development and mechanism of elections in Nigeria, including the analysis of the features of these elections from colonial period to date.

Nwabueze, B. O, 1993, 'Democratisation', Ibadan: Spectrum, 304 pp.

This work argues that democratisation is more than multi-partism, it requires that the society, the economy, politics, the constitution of the state, the electoral system and the practices of government be democratised.

Nwabueze, Ben, 2007, '2007 Elections Violated our Constitution so Nobody can Legitimately Govern us based on them', *Sunday Champion*, 3 Jun., p. 20.

Prof. Ben Nwabueze (SAN), an expert in constitutional law, takes a retrospective look at the eight-year administration of ex-President Olusegun Obasanjo, and insists that the process that produced President Yar' Adua is a subversion of the Nigerian Constitution.

Obegolu, Charles, 1999, 'Free and Fair Elections in Nigeria: Hindrances and Remedies'. Enugu: Jimken, 154 pp.

The work chronicles the author's experience on election malpractices in Nigeria after participating as a member of the local government council election tribunal at Onitsha in 1997.

Oditia, Frank A. 2006, 'The Role of Security Agencies in Ensuring Peaceful Conduct of Elections', in *Proceedings and Communiqué of INEC National Forum on Nigeria 2007, General Elections: The Challenges Ahead*, Abuja: INEC pp. 119-123.

This paper interrogates whether security agents can ensure peaceful elections in Nigeria. The author is of the opinion that they can, only if the others involved in the electoral process – the public, politicians, government and judiciary all

resolve to be respecters of law and politics played according to the rules, thus eliminating the Nigerian factor.

Oji, George Akunna, Chuks et al, 2003 'EU Observers: Police Stuffed Ballot for PDP: INEC Calls for Proof', *ThisDay*, 23 Apr., p 1.

The reports examines the observations of the European Union Election Observation Mission, who alleged that in the 2003 general elections in Nigeria, policemen stuffed boxes with ballot papers. They also alleged that some officials of the INEC were seen thumb-printing ballot papers for the ruling PDP. INEC has challenged the observers to substantiate their claims with proofs.

Okoroafor, Chris, 1999, 'Abubakar Admits Polls Fraud, But... Counsels Obasanjo', *Daily Champion*, 9 Mar., p. 1.

Head of State, General Abdulsalami, Abubakar said that the rigging noticed in the February 27 Presidential election did not make any substantial difference in the entire result, even as he exonerated the federal government from the irregularities.

Okocha, Chuks 2007, 'Elections: Fifty killed, 1093 Offenders for Prosecution', *ThisDay*, 30 Apr., p. 3.

INEC declares 50 people killed during the 14 April elections, while 1093 electoral offenders were arrested and would be prosecuted for their various electoral offences during the governorship elections.

Okolie, Aloysius-Michaels, 2005, 'Electoral Fraud and the Future of Elections in Nigeria: 1999-2003', in Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: A-Triad Associates pp. 432-447.

The study examines the incidence of electoral fraud particularly in the 2003 general elections and the implications for voting behaviour in future elections.

Okoosi-Simbine, Antonia 2005, 'Political Vagrancy and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria', in Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: A-Triad Associates, pp 17-33.

This article highlights the drift of politics in the Nigerian State, and examines some of the factors that encourage carpet crossing, while highlighting some of the adduced reasons for political prostitution and the effects of political vagrancy on democratic consolidation and the negative impact of the phenomenon.

Okwechime, I. 2005 'The West and Politics of Election Monitoring: A Case Study of the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria', in Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: A-Triad Associates pp 534-554.

The paper focuses on the politics of election monitoring with particular emphasis on the 2003 general elections in Nigeria.

Olaitan, Wale A., 2005, 'Elections and he Making and Unmaking of

Democracy in Nigeria', in Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: A-Triad Associates, pp 43-54.

The paper assesses the contribution of elections to the working of democratic practice and looks at the possibility of it also contributing to the unmaking of democracy.

Ologbenla, Derin 2003, 'Political Instability, Conflict and the 2003 General Election', in Remi, Anifowose, and Tunde, Babawale, eds., *2003 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung pp 69-102.

Takes a look at how Nigeria has found it difficult to conduct a free and fair election, with all sorts of election malpractices, fraud, partiality, bribery, stealing of ballot paper and ballot boxes, rigging and even murder of opponents being carried out by the political class.

Olagunju, Sunday, 2007, 'Hurdles to Peaceful Elections', *Nigerian Tribune*, 23 Jan., p 7.

This article points out that most Nigerians who watched the conduct of the April political parties' primaries, expressed disappointment and disbelief, especially at the level of fraud and dishonesty perpetrated by the leadership of most of the political parties, in their desperate attempt to elect their favourites as presidential nominees of the parties.

Olasupo, Ruth 2003, 'Electoral Violence in Nigeria: Issues and Perspectives' Lagos: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 407 pp.

Proceedings of the six zonal workshops held in the respective zones of Nigeria, on electoral violence between September 2002 and April 2003.

Olise, Alex and Nwannekanma, et al, 2007 'Civil Groups May Begin Protest Over Polls May 1', *The Guardian*, 26 Apr., p1.

A coalition of 17 Civil Society Organisations across the country and the African Democratic Congress (ADC) have called for the cancellation of the April elections, and threatened to begin a nation-wide protest on 1 May.

Olukotun, Ayo, 2003, 'Observers, the Media and the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria' in Remi Anifowose, and Tunde Babawale, eds., *2003 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, pp. 155-187.

The article states that in determining the character of elections in the current world order, observers, external and internal, as well as the media, have emerged as part of the apparatus for vetting and legitimising elections. Thus, the EU the Commonwealth, international and national human rights bodies regularly observe elections and issue reports on the viability of the elections.

Ojelabi, Kolawole, 1999 'Assembly Polls: Monitors Confirm 10% Turnout, Fraud', *National Concord*, Feb. 23, p1.

The article states that just about 10 per cent of the 60 million registered voters exercised their franchise at the National Assembly elections. According to the US-based Carter Centre, there were widespread irregularities and electoral fraud.

Omatseye, Sam, 2009 'Election Arithmetic for Dummies', *The Nation*, 11 May, p 11.

This article takes a look at how the figures of the votes were obtained and wonders what kind of arithmetic was used in arriving at the final figure. According to Solomon, the personal assistant to Mrs. Ayoka Adebayo, the collation on 26 April was to begin by 5pm, but at about 11am that morning she received a phone call, ordering her on what figures to announce.

Omyofe, Paul, 2007, 'Iwu's INEC-Threat to Democracy', *The Nation*, 13 Jan., p 12.

Describes INEC as injurious to the health of the nation in the present Nigerian democratic experience.

Onuoha, Browne, 2003 'A Comparative Analysis of General Elections in Nigeria', in Remi, Anifowose, and Tunde, Babawale, eds., *2003 General Elections and Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, pp 46-68.

The article seeks to comparatively examine general elections in Nigeria since 1960, with the aim of identifying the common thread that exists, and also determine to what extent the electoral process in Nigeria has been free, fair and credible, and thus enhanced or impeded democratic consolidation.

Oyedele, Akin 2007, 'How we Discovered Registration Machines in Adedibu's house', *The Punch*, 24 Jan., p7.

INEC in Oyo discovered six direct data capture machines in the residence of Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu. It was found that no fewer than 800 names had been registered on the six machines. It was also discovered that six assistant registration officers conveyed the machines to the residence of Adedibu for illegal registration.

*The Punch*, 2004, 'Ogunlewe, Criticizes LG Elections in Lagos', 30 Mar., p 8. The article points out that the local government elections held in Lagos contravened section 113 of the 2002 Electoral Act, because most of the local governments are not recognized by the Constitution.

*The Guardian*, 2003, 'Proposed Reforms and Delayed Council Elections', 19 Nov., p 18.

The technical committee on local government set up by Olusegun Obasanjo, recommended that the existing system of 774 councils should be retained, and abolished use of state joint local government accounts, amongst other things.

*The Punch*, 2003, 'Reforming the Electoral Process', 6 Jun., p 16.

The Centre for Advanced Social Science (CASS) is of the opinion that INEC was not adequately prepared to conduct the polls and, as such, the integrity of the electoral process was compromised and some results discredited. A constitutional amendment that will ensure the independence, and thus efficiency of INEC was called for.

Roberts, F. O. and Obioha, Emeka, 2005, 'Electoral Violence and the Role of the Police in Nigeria', In Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: A-Triad Associates, pp 394-412.

The paper discusses the optimal role of the police in managing electoral violence in Nigeria during civilian-to-civilian transitions.

Sho, Pam D. 2005, 'Too much Politics, Too Little Democracy in Nigeria, Interrogating the Correlation Between the 2003 Nigerian Elections and the Democratic Transition on Project' in Godwin Onu and Abubakar Momoh, eds., *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: A-Triad Associates, pp 232-247.

The paper states that there is a strong theoretical correlation between elections and democracy, however previous conduct of elections in Nigeria will obviously lead one to interrogate the validity of the correlation, and therefore the democratic character of these elections.

Soniyi, Tobi 2008, 'Presidential Poll: A Second Look at Appeal Court's Judgment', *The Punch* 24 Mar., pp 47.

The article throws more light on how the Appeal Court arrived at its verdict. It explains that Buhari and Atiku lost at the Appeal Court not because there are no irregularities and frauds during the election, and not because the generality of Nigerians voted for Yar 'Adua, or because the Judges compromised, but simply because the two petitions did not pass the tests of the law of procedure on election petition that is very cumbersome.

Sonowo, Biodun 1999, 'C'wealth Endorses Nigeria's Elections', *Daily Times*, 25 Mar, p.1

The article says that the commonwealth secretariat endorsed Nigeria's electoral process, saying that despite observed irregularities, the country was on course to democracy.

Suleiman, Tajudeen, 2008, 'Lessons from other Countries', *Tell*, Sept. pp 34. As INEC embarks on the delineation exercise, it is good to note that this is standard practice in many countries.

Transition Monitoring Group 2000, 'Final Report on the 1998-1999 Transition to Civil Rule Elections in Nigeria' Lagos: Transition Monitoring Group. 204p.

Provides reports on the 1998/1999 elections based on the observations of polling in various constituencies in all six zones of Nigeria.

Transition Monitoring Group 2007, 'April Polls What Observers Say', *Nigerian Tribune*, 26 Apr., p 15.

The transition monitoring group, with 50,000 Nigerian observers on ground, called for the polls to be cancelled, due to numerous lapses, irregularities and electoral malpractices, which characterised the election in many states.

Uhunmwangho, Amen 2008, 'Electoral Fraud and other Malpractices in Nigeria: The Way Out', *The Constitution*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp 24-33.

The article reflects on the April 2007 elections and focuses on the various forms of electoral malpractices. It argues that the electoral malaise is a product of leadership failure.

*The Guardian*, 2008, 'Uwais Electoral Panel Queries INEC, SEIC's Independence', 12 Dec., p 1.

Amongst the recommendations made by the Uwais Electoral Panel, a proportional representation system was recommended so that universal adult suffrage would be made possible by ensuring that all votes are of equal value and that no valid vote cast is rendered useless, ineffective or wasted. The system will also facilitate representation of women and other disadvantaged groups.

Uzzi, Oluwole Osaze, 2006, 'The Electoral Act and 2007 Elections', in *Proceedings and Communiqué of INEC Forum on the Nigeria's 2007 General Election: The Challenges Ahead*, Abuja: INEC, pp. 156-165.

Takes a look at the Electoral Act 2006, which was to guide the conduct of the 2007 General Elections.

*The Nation*, 2008, 'Why we Upheld Yar' Adua's Election, by Appeal Court', Feb. 29, p 43.

The verdict of the presidential election petitions' tribunal on the 21 April 2007 election.

## Postscript

Against the backdrop of the largely successful 2011 general elections in Nigeria, the 2015 Presidential and National Assembly elections held on 28 March and 11 April respectively were expected to deepen democracy in the country. Although the elections were held amidst extreme tension and fear of outbreak of violence, the eventual outcome negated those fears. The elections were adjudged to be free, fair and credible by both local and international observers, as well as a lot of Nigerians. Although there were initial logistical challenges, especially during the Presidential and National Assembly elections, the elections were generally peaceful all over the country.

In the Presidential election, Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress (APC) defeated the incumbent, President Goodluck Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), which had been in power for sixteen years. Buhari polled 15,424,921 votes, out of a total of 28,288,083 cast during the election while President Jonathan polled 12,853,162 votes. This was a significant development in Nigeria's electoral history, because it was the first time a ruling party would be defeated at the polls by an opposition party. What was even more significant was the fact that President Jonathan immediately accepted defeat, even before the final result was announced and congratulated his opponent, Muhammadu Buhari. This gesture of statesmanship was commended nationally and globally, as it helped to douse the political tension in the country, and probably helped to prevent post-election violence.

The Gubernatorial and State Assembly elections were also quite peaceful and well organized, although there were violent incidences in some of the keenly contested states in the southern parts of the country. There was however, a lower turn-out of voters compared to the Presidential election probably due to security concerns and apathy. According to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the body responsible for the conduct of the elections, a total of 6,050 candidates consisting of 760 gubernatorial candidates contested

in 29 states; while 5,290 candidates contested for State Assembly seats in the 36 states of the Federation. The results indicated that the opposition APC won most of the Governorship positions contested.

On the whole, considering the inadequacies of the 1999, 2003 and 2007 general elections; the 2011 and 2015 elections, both adjudged credible by local and international observers, have provided a platform for the growth of Nigeria's democracy. In spite of some lapses, the use of Smart Card Readers and Permanent Voters' Cards (PVC) by INEC to accredit voters and capture their biometric features (thereby making it difficult to rig), the orderly conduct of ordinary Nigerians, the integrity of the INEC Chairman and his team, and the largely impressive conduct of the security personnel were instrumental to ensuring a credible and acceptable general election. Indeed, it appears that some lessons have been learned this time around, and one only hopes that this will translate to good governance for the people of Nigeria.