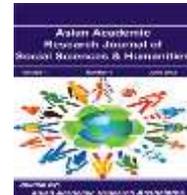




A Peer Reviewed International Journal of Asian
Academic Research Associates

AARJSH

**ASIAN ACADEMIC RESEARCH
JOURNAL OF SOCIAL
SCIENCE & HUMANITIES**



ELECTIONS AND THE CRISIS OF LEGITIMACY IN NIGERIA

IBRAHIM O. SALAWU*

*Department of Social Science & Global Studies, Political Science Unit
Kwara State University, Malete, Nigeria

Abstract

Genuine elections are an essential step in the acceptability of a government. The historical trajectories of electoral politics in Nigeria, however, show the pervasive struggle by the elite to distort or manipulate the electoral system to ensure “imposition” of their choice candidates on the people. Consequently, Nigeria’s political history, since its independence in 1960, has been characterized largely by the lack of political legitimacy and public accountability of virtually all the governments that have been in power since the departure of British colonial administration (Fafowara, 2001:206).

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Genuine elections are an essential step in the acceptability of a government. The historical trajectories of electoral politics in Nigeria, however, show the pervasive struggle by the elite to distort or manipulate the electoral system to ensure “imposition” of their choice candidates on the people. Consequently, Nigeria’s political history, since its independence in 1960, has been characterized largely by the lack of political legitimacy and public accountability of virtually all the governments that have been in power since the departure of British colonial administration (Fafowara, 2001:206).

Historically speaking, it has been argued with some degree of validity that colonial rule laid grounds for the crisis of political legitimacy in post-colonial Africa. The imposition of foreign rule on traditional African societies created the problem of political legitimacy all over Africa. The transition from traditional governments based on the history and culture of the African people to colonial government and later to western – style democracy, was bound to be difficult and complex. As a result, since the end of British colonial rule in the continent, African countries political travails have continued to center on the crucially important issues of political legitimacy. This, according to Fafowora (2001:208), was due to the fact that the British left its colonies in Africa without being able to solve the problem of legitimacy and accountability.

It is a truism, therefore, that the Nigerian socio-political system has been characterized by several departures from the ideals of democratic governance. The problem of rigging, violence and various forms of political chicanery have been highlighted and showed to have four main effects in the polity (Adeyeye, 2007:28). The first effect, as explained by the scholar, is violence at the polls which tends to reduce the number of electors who actually cast votes during election. Second, the results of the elections do not necessarily indicate how voters cast their votes if there were no interference. Third, there are no legitimate ways of ensuring the succession of leaders through the system from one era to another. Finally, the national psyche becomes prone to violence and to accepting instability as a way of life.

Thus, Nigeria has had a chequered electoral history with successive elections being marred by serious irregularities and controversies. This has led, in most cases, to the collapse of democratic experiments as occurred in 1966 and 1983. Specifically, the April 2007 general elections provided a good opportunity to occasion a break from the past, and rekindle public confidence in the electoral and democratic process of the country. Unfortunately, this was not to be. The elections were regarded as the worst ever in the country’s political history. The elections were severely condemned by virtually all election observer groups (both local and international). They were considered extremely fraudulent, lacking credibility and transparency and by all means not free and fair. This

preliminary statement of the European Union Election Observation Mission on 2007 general election captures the general perception and conclusion on the elections:

The 2007 state and federal elections have fallen far short of basic international and regional standards for democratic elections. They were marred by poor organization, large scale irregularities, significant evidence of fraud, particularly during result collation process, voter disenfranchisement at different stages of the process, lack of equal conditions for contestants and numerous incidents of violence. As a result, the elections have not lived up to the hopes and expectations of the Nigeria people and the process cannot be considered to have been credible (The Punch, August 24, 2007)

The wide range of frauds and manipulations witnessed during the Nigerian 2007 general elections informs this paper. The presenter adopts the descriptive survey research methodology to analyses the post 2007 general elections and the legitimacy crisis in Nigeria.

a) CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Conceptualizing Election, Legitimacy/Legitimacy Crisis

Definitional consensus on the concept of election is an intellectual supposition. Generally, however, election represent a means through which political expression is measured and exercise of state power legitimized and accepted as being derived from the consent of the people (Akinboye, 2005:294). In the view of Mackenzie (1968) in Akinboye (2005), elections, essentially, are a means by which the citizens choose their representative in conformity with the dictates of modern democracy. To him, elections are “rituals of choice” and that their binding characters are “derived from the participation of the individual as chosen in a social act which confers legitimate authority on the person”.

Similar to the above perspective, Uju (2000:1) explains election “as a procedure that allows members of an organization or community to choose representatives who will hold positions of authority within it”. In not too dissimilar vein, Roberts and Edwards (1991:41) define election as “a method for the selection of persons to fill certain office through choices made by an electorate, those who qualify to vote under the rules and procedures of an electoral system”. It can be deduced from the definitions that, the concept of elections or the votes and the processes associated with it are seen to the central theme of representative or liberal democracy.

Although, voting is representative of elections, it is important that we do not reduce election to what happens on voting day alone (Iyayi, 2007:2). As pointed out in the Final Report of the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria:

“...elections are complex set of activities with different variables that act and feed on one another. It can be defined as formal act of collective decision that occurs in a stream of connected antecedent and subsequent behaviours. It involves the participation of the people in the act of electing their leaders and their own participation in governance. Elections are not necessarily about election Day activities although it forms an important component. It encompasses activities before, during and after election”. (Final Report of the 2003 Elections).

In his own submission, Adejumobi (1998:31) situates the symbolism of elections within the context of popular sovereignty and the expression of the social pact between the state and the people. To him, “election is the kernel of political accountability and a means of ensuring reciprocity and exchange between the governors and the governed”. Generally, the centrality of elections in a democratic polity cannot be over-emphasized. Momoh and Adejumobi underscored this quite succinctly:

Elections occupy a central place in the democratic process through the animating force they provide for representative government. On the one hand, they serve as an instrument of legitimization for the state and those who manage the reigns of state power, while on the other, they ensure politically accountable to the people (Momoh and Adejumobi, 1999:142).

Some scholars have also shared this view and are of the opinion that elections offer the electorate the freedom of choice, the power to hold elected leaders accountable and provide protection against perpetual arbitrary rule. There is the need for a free and fair election before their outcome can be said to represent the popular will. In explaining how the conduct of free and fair election can be ensured in a democratic polity, Mackenzie (1952:56) in Akinboye (2005), carefully summed up that elections can only be free and fair in environment where there exists:

- I. An independent judiciary to interpret electoral laws;
- II. A honest, competent, non partisan administration to run elections
- III. A developed system of political parties, well organized to put their policies, traditions and team of candidates before the electors as alternatives between which to choose; and
- IV. A general acceptance throughout the political community of certain (rather than vague) rules of the game.

In essence, electoral competition is a highly complex and controversial issue. It concerns not merely the right of the people to stand for elections and the ability of political parties to nominate candidate and campaign legally, but also broader factors that affect party

performance serve as their source of funding and their access to the media. Also, elections serve different functions in different political system.

Legitimacy in the words of Karl Deutsch (1980:13) is a relative rather than absolute concept. Nevertheless, Deutsch (1980) see legitimacy as a belief in the right to govern. Rodee et al (1983:11) defines legitimacy as the extent to which citizens regard the state, its institutes, personnel or policies as morally right or acceptable. In similar vein, Anyaele (1994;10) perceives legitimacy as a situation of being lawful. It is the general acceptance of the political system as the most appropriate and being in line with the laws of the land.

Anifowose (1999:13) sees legitimacy as the belief in the right of an individual to make authoritative, binding decision. It is the belief in the right to give commands and the right to be obeyed. Democratic government elected through free and fair elections is legitimate because it is based on the consent of the electorate. Adeyemo (1986) classified legitimacy into three.

These are:

- I. **LEGITIMACY BY PROCEDURE:** The concept of legitimacy, according to him, is often applied to the manner in which a government, rules or officeholder has attained office. The tenure of an office holder is legitimate procedure- a procedure which those he/she governs will consider compatible with the configuration of their values.
- II. **LEGITIMACY BY REPRESENTATION:** Sometimes as Adeyemo (1986) explained, a political decision is considered legitimate and therefore binding for a political community because it has been made by representative by that community.
- III. **LEGITIMACY BY RESULT:** This deals with the substance of what exists or what is done in politics and not just with the procedure by which political power is obtained or the representation through which it is exercised. People feel that a government is just or unjust, legitimate or illegitimate not only by how it comes to power but also mainly by what it does. The intellectual basis for political legitimacy has been well laid by such philosophers as Plato, John Locke, J.S. Mills and others all of whom argued that only a representative and responsible government is legitimate and acceptable. According to these philosophers, the moral, legal and political authority of a government ought to depend on the consent of the governed which is considered given only when a government is elected into power through agreed rules. The relationship between the ruled and ruler is supposedly based on a social contract, duly approved by the governed (Fafowora ,2001:209).

The concept of political legitimacy, as explained further by Fafowora, goes beyond democratically elected government can also transform itself into despotism, if not checked. This is the reason for the establishment of such institution as the parliament, and the independent judiciary, two others arms of government, designed to check the excesses of the executive.

A number of reason have been advanced by observers of Nigeria`s post colonial political history, for the lack of political legitimacy in the country. Among these are the weakness of the post-colonial institutions, the low level of literacy and political awareness, primordial loyalties and the lack of commitment of the political elite to the promotion of a democratic political culture rooted in legitimacy. Nigeria`s political system is based on a prebendal notion, in which the systematic abuse of office and resources for individual and group gain is expected even though it is rhetorically condemned (Joseph, 1987:112). This dual normative code is not only subversive of political legitimacy but illuminates the contradictions in the Nigeria political system, based on a vast network of graft and corruption from which the political elite benefit enormously. This goes a long way in explaining the legitimacy crisis in Nigeria.

Also, the expectation that state power will be used for private financial reward puts an impossible strain and premium on the electoral process, as too much is at stake to obey the rules. Thus the unedifying struggle of the politicians for whatever posts are offered brings about legitimacy crisis in the polity. At the same time, because prebendal politics follows an unwritten code and conflicts with the law, it therefore constrains institutionalism and lacks checks as political barons compete for political power. Prebendal politics engenders a conflict of self-interest, fragmentation, exploitation, cynicism, dishonesty and distrust. Excessive sate control over the economy in contrast provided a strong inducement for selfish, corrupt, and uncivil behavior.

b) THE LINKAGE BETWEEN ELECTIONS AND LEGITIMACY

It has been suggested that the link between election and legitimacy of a government is necessarily a tenuous one since a regime might not be acceptable by the people in spite of the holding of election. It is also true that election is at the heart of the legitimacy of a regime flowing from the inability of the modern society to accommodate the classical democratic notion of involving every citizen in decision-making. The primary function within the democratic enterprise is, therefore, assured in the sense that through it, people give legitimacy to those who are to rule them. In other words, it is through election that the main requirement of democracy that the power of governance would be vested in and derived from the people.

As noted further by Olaitan (2005:48) an election that does not reflect and respect the will of the people is a sure invitation to the collapse of the government produced by such election. Such election already signifies the absence of legitimacy. Hence, rigging of elections, electoral conflicts, violence and manipulation of election results which all ensure that elections do not properly reflect the will of the people lead inexorably to the illegitimacy of the governments emerging from such elections and would ultimately result in the collapse of the governments. Broadly speaking, it is within this context of elections leading to the emergence of illegitimate government, lack of confidence in the system and the ultimate collapse of the system that election becomes a contributor to the crisis of legitimacy.

The contribution of election to the democratic process, broadly, has to be put in perspective by correctly noting the fact that only elections that are genuine and reflective of the true will of the people can enhance democracy. Just as any election that is no more than a charade for the imposition of illegitimate government on the people would be an albatross on the democratic process. It is therefore, important to concentrate efforts on the need to block loopholes in electoral rules and regulations, equip electoral officials with the necessary wherewithal and strengthen the structures of the electoral agencies in order to ensure that elections are meaningful and helps to put the stamp of the people on the governmental process rather than constituting the platform for the emergence of illegitimate government with crisis of acceptability (Olaitan, 2005:48-49).

CASE STUDY OF THE ISSUES IN THE 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS

a. POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE ELECTION

The 2007 general elections were the third such elections to be held since the transition from military to civilian rule in 1999 and were widely considered to be a crucial test of the commitment of the Nigerian authorities to strengthening democracy. The prevailing pre-election environment dating back to 2006 is quite important in understanding why the elections floundered (Adejumobi, 2007:1). In 2006, when national attention and discourse would have been focused on how to conduct free and fair elections, the polity was unduly heated with several diversionary agenda and actions by the Federal Government. The issue of the third term agenda is a major issue that confronted the polity.

As the 2007 elections approached, the linkage between constitutional reform and the controversial third term issue forestalled any constitutional reform before the elections. The attempt by the supporters of President Obasanjo to change the constitution to do away with term limits for the president and governors of the states was highly unpopular among the populace, and rejected by the senate. The third term debate led to major political realignments within the political landscape.

The Vice-President, Atiku Abubakar was strongly opposed to a possible third term for the president. However, when the third term proposal failed, Atiku was blocked from becoming PDP's presidential candidate, he left the ruling party for the newly created Action Congress (AC) and became its presidential flag bearer (EU Election, Election, Observation Mission Report, 2007).

The feud between Obasanjo and Atiku, thus, dominated the pre-election days. INEC's decision to disqualify Atiku and his rescue by the ruling of the Supreme Court, five days before the presidential election, resulted in logical problems for INEC. Backed by the former president, former Katsina State Governor, Umaru Y'ardua got the PDP presidential ticket. Former military leader, Muhammed Buhari, also from Katsina State remained ANPP candidate. This set the stage for an all northern presidential candidates by the leading political parties in the country.

In line with the convention of balancing North/South dichotomy, an alteration of power between the two largest regions became inevitable. Accordingly, the presidency would have to move to the North while all the main candidates for vice-president represented states from the South.

The party primaries further heightened political tension. Internal democracy was the exception rather than the rule in virtually all the political parties. The party leadership constituted themselves into a cabal of political Barons, who disregarded the result of party primaries and unilaterally anointed their preferred party candidates for the general elections. This constituted the first phase in the subversion of the people's will (Adejumobi, 2007:2).

a. INEC AND ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

i. The structure and composition of the Election Administration and Electoral Law; INEC is currently established in accordance with section 153(F) of the 1999 constitution. The key functions are described in part 1(F) of the third schedule to the 1999 constitution. They are: to organize, undertake and supervise all elections to the offices of the President/Vice President, the Governor/Deputy Governor of a state as well as to the Senate, the House of Representatives and the House of Assembly of each state of the Federation. The other functions assigned to INEC in the constitution are the registration of political parties and candidates, monitoring and audit of party's expenditures, the registration and review of voters list, the enactment of bye laws guidelines to regulate all the matters that fall within its sphere of and competence among others.

INEC is composed of a Chairman and 12 Commissioners who are appointed by the President after consultation with the Council of state and subject to confirmation by the Senate. He maintains a permanent office in all the 36 states and the FCT which are headed

by Resident Electoral Commissioners, who are directly appointed by the President without senate approval. The State INEC offices have an average of 10 permanent staff including an Administrative Secretary who serves as Deputy Resident Electoral Commissioners. Below the state level, Electoral offices and Assistant Electoral officers Staff the 774 LGAs and are answerable directly to Resident Electoral Commissioners.

ii. SECURITY DIMENSION OF THE ELECTIONS

There were palpable fears and tension across the country prior to the election like the situation in 2003. Hence, there was massive deployment of the military into different states of the country to ensure peaceful elections. However, the experience showed that the elections were violence prone, with intense threat to the security of life and properties. Violence was thus a major issue of concern as the elections drew nearer. At least 200 people, including the police, were killed in election related violence (Institute for Democracy, South Africa, 2007).

As reported by EU observers, during the campaign, numerous violent incidents were recorded. These often involved destruction of campaign materials as well as INEC buildings and party offices, harassment, intimidation and violent clashes between party supporters. It was also reported that some minorities felt threatened by pro-indigenous campaign or felt frustrated as being excluded from the political process. In some areas, such as Assakia in Nassarawa State and Wukari, Takum and Jato Aka in the border area between Benue and Taraba State, ethnic minorities, were killed, displaced or rendered homeless (EU Election Mission, 2007).

Throughout the election process, political sponsorship, recruitment and use of thugs, youth unemployment, uneducated area boys sometimes addicted to drugs and often armed with traditional weapons or fire arms, remained a serious problem. Although, most political parties accused PDP, the ruling party, of being the main party having the financial resources to hire thugs, the truth of the matter is that this was a common practice for many political parties, especially the well established ones (PDP, AC, ANPP) in areas where they were dominant. In Gombe State, for instance, thuggery seems to have been particularly well organized and widespread with several thousands of young area boys allegedly hired by the PDP party.

The experience indicated numerous cases of supporters and candidates of opposition parties being arrested and detained between the 14th April 21st election days and then released without any charge being brought against them.

This unsecured environment can also be cited as part of the reason for the massive militarization of the elections. It must be noted however that, apart from the impact of the use of military officers to curb perceived threats to the security of electoral process, the

political use of the military for elections could produce catastrophic consequences. For instance, it could send wrong signals to the barracks that civilians were no longer capable of maintaining law and order and in the process precipitate military coup (Omotola, 2004:131-132).

iv. PARTICIPATION OF CIVIL-SOCIETY/ELECTION MONITORING AND OBSERVANCE.

Nigeria has a strong civil society which has particularly engaged the constitution and election law amendment and in the prevention of third term for the offices of President and Governors. Civil society organizations were eager INEC to enhance the conduct of 2007 elections.

INEC/Civil society conference intended to foster collaboration for successful elections was held in Enugu State. However, the relationship between INEC and Civil society organizations became strained by the voter registration exercise, the INEC's civil society desk was only established one week prior to the elections.

Both domestic and international observers were involved in the electoral process. Prominent among them were Transition Monitoring Group, National Democratic institute etc. all these organizations were joined together by a common endeavour of ensuring the credibility of the electoral process. The reports of these mission bodies also, either overtly or covertly, have had significant impact on the public perception of the electoral outcome, for instance, after the April 14 2007 elections, the Domestic Election Observation Groups concluded that 'the level of violence, intimidation and ballot box snatching that took place in Anambra, Adamawa, Delta, Edo, Kogi, Nassarawa, Ondo Ogun and River States were so grievous, that the result announced cannot be said to reflect the will of the people in these States' (the Punch, August 24, 2007).

It is also on record that INEC did not establish objective criteria and a timely process for observers' accreditation which signified that the body (INEC) was not interested in the involvement of a strong civil society. It was also reported by the civil society organizations that their offices were visited by the state security services which asked questions about the funding, mandate, membership and interest in election observation. In the end, 53 out of 175 organizations that applied were accredited. INEC also delayed the observers accreditation process and most domestic observer organizations received accreditation cards for their members on the eve of the state elections.

POST-ELECTION ISSUES AND LEGITIMACY CRISIS

- (a) **The Election Results:** The result of April 2007 elections is shrouded with controversy. Virtually all the outcomes of elections both the Federal and State levels were (are) contested at the tribunal given the openness of the malpractices. Most importantly, the result transfer and announcement processes were marred by serious procedural shortcomings, extensive delays and the absence of basic transparency safeguards.

Despite the assurances by the INEC Chairman, Professor Morris Iwu, following the 14th April elections that Presiding Officers would be ordered to publicly display election results, this did not occur during 21st April elections. These developments further casts doubt on the integrity of the whole process, on 16th April, 2006, as announced by Professor Iwu, the gubernatorial election results in Delta and Ondo States even though the Resident Electoral Commissioners in both States had not announced the results at state level. Thus, the landslide victory announced the PDP by the electoral management body might not be a fair reflection of the electorate. The fact that some legislative and gubernatorial elections were later turned down by electoral tribunal shows that, INEC was neither fair nor thorough.

Furthermore, on Monday 23 April 2007, the INEC Chairman officially announced the results of the presidential election in favour of the PDP candidate – Umar Musa Yar’adua, while all the State results were still being collated in some centres. As reported by EU observers, at the time of the official announcement of the presidential election result, presidential results from Kano and Bauchi States had not been compiled for onward transfer to INEC in Abuja, and, according to the report the presidential election result in Bauchi were not available 25th April 2007. Reports received by this mission indicated that only 11 or 12 state presidential results had been collated by the time the INEC Chairman announced the official winner of the election (EU Election Mission Report, 2007).

(b) RESPONSES TO THE RESULT

International and national condemnation and outrage was swift and were still pouring in almost a year after the elections. Unfortunately, Nigeria has been classified alongside such countries are Zimbabwe, as the new axis of bad governance; this is a sad commentary on democratization effort in Africa and Nigeria in particular.

After the 21st April, 2007 elections, the Domestic Election Observer Group issued a harsh statement that; based on the widespread and far reaching nature of the lapses, irregularities and electoral malpractices that characterized the elections, the conclusion is

that, on the whole, the election was a charade and did not meet the minimum standard for domestic elections. Other observers, such as Nigeria Bar Association as well as Justice, Development and Peace Commission, also concluded that ‘there seemed to have been no election in many parts of Enugu, Anambra/Edo, Delta and Rivers due to theft of ballot boxes and intimidation of INEC officials and voters’.

Therefore, the results released by the INEC been predetermined. In many other states, as reported by the EU election observer, there were serious irregularities including hijacking and stuffing of ballot boxes, especially in Oyo and Ogun States. On 24th in April 2007, the President of the Catholic Bishop’s of Nigeria corroborated findings of the Domestic observers on the presidential and national assembly elections. According to him”

“The reports from our observers indicate that we have again failed in conducting free, fair and credible election. The reports from across the country show that the mandate of the people was abused, and brutalized: it is obviously evident that Nigerians could no longer afford to tolerate this level of vulgar disenfranchisement which is a blatant rape on their will” (The Punch Sept 6, 2007).

EU observers also reported many cases of fraud, which also goes a long way to discredit the result announced by Enugu-North Local Government Area in Enugu State. Observers noted that completely different results in favour of the ruling party were recorded with those collected in six polling stations. Similarly in Abia State, it was detected from official results sheets of polling stations and of ward and local Government Area collation centres respectively. In Ummuneoahi and Uhafia Local Government Areas, results from polling stations were changed in favour of the ruling party (EU Election Mission Report 2007).

CONCLUSION AND THE WAY FORWARD

Elections serve as symbols of the democratic ideal. They are inalienable from the democratic process because they offer the people meaningful scope for popular participation and instill in them the dignity of being in charge of their own destinies. When they become institutionalized, they enrich the quality of governance, especially in the post colonial era.

Nigeria as a country has organized series of elections, however, these experiences have not translated into a mastery of the impediments to free and fair elections by the successive administration. Specifically, Nigeria’s 2007 general elections were marred by a number of shortcomings, which discredited some of the results, and hence elicited sharp criticisms from the electorate and team of observers. INEC has been smeared in series of controversies, which prevented it from fully asserting its constitutional rights as a truly independent body. Apart from becoming a manipulative tool in the hands of the

appointing authority, its duty as an election umpire was conducted amid glaring constitutional defects.

In response to the crisis of legitimacy in Nigeria as exemplified by the chronic failure of the electoral system in Nigeria, various individuals and groups have proposed numerous solutions:

Concrete steps should be taken to establish a truly independent and capable election administration. This should include the introduction of a transparent, all inclusive and accountable system for the nomination and appointment of INEC Commissioner and Resident Electoral Commissioners which ensures the confidence of election stakeholders.

INEC should immediately start work to improve the voters register, removing double registration, under age entries and other shortcomings. This should be undertaken with a view to ensuring public and political confidence at all stage of the electoral process.

Impunity for electoral violations should cease and political parties should end the practice of hiring thugs to perpetrate electoral violence. A Special judicial panel should be established to try perpetrators of electoral malpractices.

Transparency should be enhanced and ensured, particularly with regard to INEC meetings and decisions and swift publication of detailed polling station results at all levels of the election administration.

Complaints, appeals and petition procedures should be enhanced to ensure clear, effective, transparent and timely processes for election administration (EU Election, Observer Mission Report, 2007).

We urge the authorities, political parties and civil society of Nigeria to swiftly start to take these and other required steps in order to improve the framework and conduct of future elections in accordance international standards for democratic elections.

However, as noted by Iyayi (2005:27) though necessary and desirable, these reforms cannot and will never be achieved until there are fundamental changes in the set of factors which provide the background for electoral manipulation in processes, rules and practices. Thus, it would be wishful thinking to expect that INEC can be made independent or more independent by a dominant political elite that practices politics as warfare, that privatizes state power when it captures it, that operates on the basis of ethnic identity and sees opposition as an enemy that must be destroyed.

REFERENCES

Adejumobi, S. (1998) “The Crises of Election and Democracy in Africa”, Africa Quarterly, Vol. 1, June.

Adejumobi S. (2007) “When Votes Do Not Count: The 2007 General Election in Nigeria. Abuja: ECOWAS COMMISSION on 2007 Election”

Ademoyega A. (1981) Why We Struck: The Story of the First Nigerian Coup, Ibadan: Evan.

Adeyemo, F. O. (1986) Government Made Simple, Lagos: Franc-Soba Nigeria Ltd.

Adeyeye M. (2007) “The Importance of Voting in the Process of Democratic Governance” The Electoral Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, June

Akinboye, S. O. (2003) “INEC and the Management of the 2003 General Elections: Lessons and Prospects”, in Onu G. and Momoh, A. (eds.) Election and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria, Lagos: A Trial Associations.

Akinyanju, P. (2000) “Democracy, democratization and the Electoral Process: The Nigerian Experience” Path to Peoples’ Constitution, Lagos; Committee for the Defence of Human Rights.

Anifowose, R. (1999) Power, Influence and Authority” In Anifowose, R. and Enemu, F. C (eds) Elements of Politics, Lagos; Maithouse Press Ltd

Anyaele, J. I. (1994) Comprehensive Government For Senior Secondary Schools, Lagos: Johnson Publisher Ltd.

Deutsch (1980) Politics and Government: How People decide their Fate, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

European Union Election Mission (2007) Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions of the Presidential, National Assembly, Gubernatorial and State House of Assembly Elections, 23rd April.

Fafowora O. (2001) Selected Esays and Speeches on Nigerian Diplomacy, Politics and Economics, Ibadan: Dokun Publishing House.

Iyayi F. (2005) “Elections and Electoral Practices in Nigeria; Dynamics and Implications” The constitution, Vol. 5 No. 2, June.

Iyayi, F. (2007) “Elections; INEC and the Problem of Election Mindsets in Nigeria” The Electoral Journal, Vol. 1 No. 1, June.

Joseph, R. (1987) Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic, London; Cambridge University Press.

Momoh, A. and Adejumobi S. (1999) the Nigerian Military and the Crisis of Democratic Transition, Lagos: Civil Liberties Organization.

Olaitan W. A. (2005) “Election and the Making and Unmaking of Democracy in Nigeria”, in Onu, G. and Momoh, A (eds) Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria, Lagos: A-Triad Associates.

Omotola, J.S. (2004) “The 2003 Nigerian Second Election: Some Comments”, Political Science Review, Vol. 3, No 1 and 2, March.

Roberts, G. and Edwards, A. (1991) A New Dictionary of Political Analysis London: Edward Arnold.

Rodee, C.C. et al (1993) Introduction to Political Science, Tokyo: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Seteolu, D. (2005) “Historical Trajectories of Elections in Nigeria: The state, Political Elite and Electoral Politics”, in Onu G. & Momoh, A. (eds) Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria, Lagos: A Triad Associates.

Uju, A. A. (2000) Elections: A Guide for Students and Election Managers, Kaduna: Anyaotu Enterprises and Publishers Nigeria Ltd.

Victor, O. T. (2000) Nigeria on Gunpower, “The Climax of Misrule” Ibadan: Omo Ade Publication.

Wanyunyi P.K. (1979) “A Historical Reflection on the Electoral Process in Post-Colonial Africa”, in Ogunba, O (eds). Governance and the Electoral Process: Nigeria and the United States of America, Lagos: ASAN.

DAILIES AND NEWSMAGAZINE

Leadership, February 12, 2008.

Nigerian Tribune, April 7, 2008.

Tell, March 18, 2008.

The Nation, June 12, 2007.

The Nation, March 15, 2008

The Punch, August 24, 2007

The Punch, September 6, 2007

The Punch, September 7, 2007

The Punch, April 2, 2008