

ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: ANALYSIS OF THE 2011 AND 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN EDO STATE

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ABSTRACT

In every democratic society, leaders are elected through the instrumentality of election. Before independence, elections have been conducted in Nigeria to elect representatives of the people. The study analyzed the 2011 and 2015 presidential elections and the level of citizens' involvements. It also assessed the various challenges in conducting the elections. This study undertook a critical examination of management of elections by Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) with special reference to 2011 and 2015 presidential election. The survey method was deployed in the cause of this study and data was analyzed using the percentage and descriptive method of data analysis. Findings from the study revealed that incessant electoral fraud over the years characterized Nigerian elections but was drastically reduced in both elections but more effective in 2015 presidential election than 2011 presidential election dues to digital capture machines introduced by (INEC) as against analog (manual) used in 2011. This study Comparatively revealed that, in 2015, election violence was at minimum as against 2011 election which resulted in massive election violence in the Northern zone of Nigeria which led to loss of public confidence. The situation was however managed efficiently in 2015 with special reference to presidential election in Edo State. The study recommend among others that electoral personnel should be well trained on how to handle data capture machines, eligible voters should be enlightened on how to vote in the polling unit, elections should be cancelled on polling units where ballot boxes are snatched. Also, critical stakeholders and citizens should be educated on purpose and benefits of violence free elections in the country.

Keywords: Election, Democracy, System Theory, Presidential Election, Edo State

Background of Study

Periodic, transparent, free and fair and acceptable elections are major element for assessing a country's democratic claims. The Nigeria electoral process in the fourth republic has followed the pattern of other civilian administration since independence contrary to people's expectations. Although a successful transition from one civilian regime has been achieved, the overall patterns have been similar to what is obtainable in the past. With more than 20 years of democratic

experience, what is required is drastic measure to over-haul the countries electoral system (Aworawo2002).

The election of state actors in Nigeria has often been challenging due to what is at stake economically and politically, that is, benefits which include dividends, privileges and benefits of political office. All these make elections assume war-like character and zero sum dimension among political contestants. The history of electoral process in the country has therefore witnessed all manner of electoral frauds known to man (Anifowose, 2003).

Election in Nigeria are colored by sectionalism, god-fatherism and favoritism, with some political parties appearing more of national figures, and others drawn along ethnic lines. This has to be corrected so that generations to come will not follow the same foot-step. The present fourth republic has produced two military presidents out of eight previous military heads of state and key decision makers. By this, they portray military character as against democratic regime thereby bringing the existing Nigeria democracy into a neo-military concern.

In a democracy, election serves as a significant tool that ensures meticulousness in leadership processes of change and succession. Thus it renders legitimization and political sovereignty to successive regime. In every democracy, election play dominant role and these roles are greatly circumscribed in a way that portrays general will, instilling political dynamism and realization of administrative legitimization. Democracy ensures there is a platform for individuals to have to accept or reject those who want to rule them. What it implies is that democracy involves the selection of political leaders through the instrumentality of elections (Schumpeter, 1947).

Election determines the popularity of a contestant/government and it exposes the social relationships which exist between the ruler and the ruled and this is a proof of the legality, political authority and obligation of citizens. The struggle for power and elections are germane due to the fact that it renders to the class of the oppressed the opportunity to place the issue of differing ideas on the agenda and thus composed of a significant platform in socialists' quest to further democratic authority in the political and economic realm (Sandbrook, 1988).

Nevertheless, the success of any election is dependent on the formation of a competent, non-partisan, well-defined and relatively independent electoral umpire with the capacity to take charge of conducting elections. An independent and impartial justice system that will arbitrate on issues of elections and expound electoral laws devoid of any element of control from the political class should be put in place. This should be domesticated in addition to security personnel that will assist in the supervision of the conduct of the election. Democracy and election are unavoidably knitted in countries that operates on the basis of the principles of liberal democratic. Elections are seen as the way to attain political power in democratic system due to the fact that democracy is hinged on the aggregation and articulation of the interest of citizens. Logically this implies that for democracy to survive, it is depended much on electoral functions that is periodically conducted by the state (Riggs 1997).

The significance attached to election in any democratic society is a reflection of such indices like turnout of voters, level of interest and its outcome is a function. By being critical, it means the extent of popular perceptions; an election comprises contestation for power of immense importance for the allocation of value among people (Ollawa, 1989; Osaghae, 1997). These election indices are germane because turnout of voters will enable the electorates to have been educated and sensitized on their voting right and power to determine the path of the states through their votes. The higher the power is assumed to be, the higher the turnout of voters is likely to be and this makes the election more critical. Secondly, the magnitude it assumes informed the electorate about what is likely to be the result whether it will be free, fair, credible and acceptable by the international monitors and domestic observers (Osaghae, 1995).

Statement of the Problem

The development of an effective opposition coincided with an era of serious suspicion, accusation and counter-accusation between the South and North based on the decision to participate in the 2011 presidential election by President Jonathan Ebele Goodluck. Some Northerners felt they were cheated because in their opinion, it is their turned to produce the president, this of course necessitated series of crisis. President Jonathan being a Christian from the South challenging a Northern Muslim General Mohammed Buhari, the outcome had consequences both for the relationship between the north and south including the survival and existence of Nigeria's fledgling democracy.

Assumptionlly, Nigeria is Africa's largest economy and the most populous black nation thus; instability in the country could have severe economic implication for the continent. Also, with the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) occasioned by the activities of Boko Haram and armed bandits, an election that is not managed properly could necessitate post-election violence that will escalate the refugee crises both within and regionally. For example, There is estimation that the activities of Boko Haram has led to displacement of over 100,000 Nigerians who desire refugee status in Diffa region of Niger Republic beginning from 2014 while over 50,000 are refugees in Cameroun and Chad Republic.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) established a Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) in July 2014 in support of government efforts to collect and disseminate data on IDPs. As of April 2015, DTM report identified 1,491,706 IDPs in the state of Yobe, Adamawa, Bauchi, Gombe, Borno and Taraba (IOM/NEMA, 2015). The terrorism in the North East was explained as the major reason for internal displacement with less than 6% of the displaced escaping inter-communal clash and disaster. The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) reported an addition of about 47,276 IDPs in Kaduna, Plateau, Kano, Nasarawa and the FCT in February. This brought the total number of registered IDPs to almost 2m in the North East and part of the North Central (IOM/NEMA, 2015).

Despite the several scores that were reportedly killed by Boko Haram insurgents in the northeast, as millions came out to vote in tight poll. Violence had impacted the poll as Nigerian came out in their numbers to vote, it was projected to be one of the tight and closest presidential race in history of Nigeria between Former president Jonathan of PDP and Muhammadu Buhari of the APC. Violence proved and impacted areas of the nation's restive region of northeast during the 2015 presidential election especially communities of Miringa, Dukku and Biri leading to the death of 39 people including one law maker Umaru Ali by suspected Boko Haram insurgents in Gombe State (Aljazeera, 2015).

Election in Nigeria: A Conceptual Discourse

Election is one of the most important elements of democracy; therefore there is no democracy without election. Transitions in several nations today have continually proven this fact. But what type of democracy is being referred to? a democratic political system is such that the conglomeration of the most significant decision makers are chosen via honest, fair, free and regular election in which contestants freely competes for votes as well as every adult is qualified to cast their vote (Huntington 1991).

Election is conceptualized as involving the choosing of officers/representative of an organization or group through the casting of votes by qualified members (Nwolise, 2007). It is a process involving the selection of elites by the generality of the people in every political system (Anifowose, 2003) Election provide the channel through which the various interest groups within the state of the bourgeoisie can resolve and stake their claim to power via peaceful methods (Iyayi, 2005). Thus, election determines the rightful means of ensuring that responsible leaders take over the reins of power.

Historically, election as a concept is completely alien to Africans because right from time, the way to the royal thrones has been through primogeniture or royal bloodline. This phenomenon became knitted with the emergence of colonialism. There was co-existence between the social structures adapted from western model and the traditional institutional system. In effect, this means that the traditional institution appoint or choose leaders via the royal blood lineage while the western imported version to the transitional society chose leaders through the instrumentality of election (Riggs 1967). Nevertheless, with the political decolonization process from 1945, voting right was extended including the range of representative institutions which go with election process. However, the fact remains that in the transitional societies, elections have mostly been carried out in a manner as to give but a poor consideration of the will of the people that have often led to violence. The public opinion and conclusion of the country relating to 2003 elections was that under a civil regime, it would be difficult to prosecute election in the country that would be devoid of violence, corruption and electoral fraud.

Therefore, as the election of 2007 drew closer, President Olusegun Obasanjo kept the entire world (Nigerians and Africans inclusive) in utter surprise when he declared that the election of 2007 would be a do or die affair (Nwolise, 2007). When the 2007 election actually came, the atmosphere was very frightening and deadly. In River state for instance, there was an attack on a

police station which was also burnt down by unknown goons on the election eve. In the states of Rivers and Anambra, there was voters' intimidation and violence. The offices of INEC in South and North of Onitsha as well as South and North of Nnewi and Akwa North local government office in Anambra state were attacked and burnt. Similarly, other parts of Nigeria witnessed electoral violence. In the state of Ekiti, clashes erupted between Action Congress (AC) and the PDP supporters while results of the election from most areas were blatantly falsified (Human Right Watch, 2011)

There was also report of violence in Katsina state where supporters of the opposition in protest burnt down building belonging to government upon hearing that the PDP had swept the presidential election in the state leading to clashes between angry voters and the Army. In the state of Oyo, thugs loyal to the PDP beat up official of the opposition party and also snatched ballot boxes. Generally, the election of 2007 was viewed as one of the worst in the history of electoral administration in Nigeria. The most dishonest practices were brought to bear in the election. Before the fraud and lawlessness were settled by the judiciary, the affected had their position taken away (Nwolise 2007). The International Monitor opined thus:

The federal and state elections of 2007 have fallen short of primary regional and global standards for democratic elections. The elections were characterized by weak organization, devoid of the required transparency; wholesale irregularities in procedures, notable proof of malpractice especially during the process of collation of result, disenfranchisement of voters at various stages of the election, unequal condition for candidates and several occurrences of brutality. Resulting from this, the election didn't live up to the expectations yearnings and hopes of the people of Nigeria thus, the process cannot be deemed to be credible (quoted in Adebayo and Omotola 2007:207).

In the northern part of Nigeria, most northerners argued that President Goodluck should only serve the remaining term of president Yaradua and not to participate in the presidential elections of 2011. Nevertheless, Jonathan contested and won the election and this triggered post-election brutality against Southerners by the Northerners leading to an estimated death of about 800 people (HRW, 2011)

However, the supporters of Jonathan presented a differing opinion. According to them, in the last 39 years, beginning from the time of independence to 1999 when the Fourth Republic was entrenched, Northerners had ruled Nigeria for some 35 years and thus should be patient so that the historical injustice should be redressed first (Adibe, 2013).

Theoretical Framework

The system theory of analysis was adopted to enable for a critical understanding of this study. A system here is described as a collection of elements that are related to each other by some pattern of actions and attitude (GUO, 2003). A system comprise of sub-systems for the smooth running of the entire system. Thus, we can speak of the political system, economy system and social

system. Political system is very special in that it is this system that is charged with the responsibility of authoritative allocations of values and other authoritative value. Election is a significant element of democracy, there is an established entity known as INEC which make electoral decisions that are binding for all parties. The system theory is mostly associated with David Easton (1965: 1979) and is defined as any conglomeration of elements that relate in some way with one another (Dahl, 1995). Every sub-system has a critical duty to perform and if not properly handled, it can lead to collapse of the whole system. The formation of INEC belongs to the political system that makes binding authoritative allocation of values or decision. Therefore, it is germane to use the system theory to examine the role of INEC in the process of democratization in Nigeria. Its significance become more appreciated being the body charged with responsibility of conducting elections The need for incredible elections become of paramount significance as electoral frauds and other manipulations can have decisive impact in not just the political system but also the social and economic systems. If democracy can help in furtherance of foreign direct investment, it is expected that the system that bring people to power must be done very smoothly.

Regional Inequality: Evidence from North and South

Nigeria has most often been characterized as a nation that is moving on double dissimilar wheels. The Investment Bank Renaissance Capital of Russia produced in 2013, a report it called “Nigeria Unveiled” wherein it portrayed the picture of the economy of the country as going on double wheels-a growing south with increasing income, reduced rate of unemployment and citizens that are well educated versus a much more miserly, least educated north that is struggling. As a result of this economic imbalance, the North power of dominance prior to 1999 was valid as leverage in balancing the economic advantage of the south. Hence some have argued that since the southerners have out of the 24 years of civil governance from 1999 had the presidency for 13 years, it therefore means that the northern Nigeria has lost its hold in the equation of the south and north (Atuanya 2013).

The Electoral Umpire: Guilty as Charged?

The APC has on many occasions alleged the manipulation of INEC by the federal government that is controlled by the PDP. Immediately after the Anambra state gubernatorial elections of 2013 which was characterized by non-arrival or lateness of voting materials and was won by a party in alliance with the PDP, APC announced that the party has lost faith in Jega’s ability to prosecute acceptable presidential election (Olatunji 2013). According to the Nigerian Tribune in 2014, Jega has been accused of making plans to rig the presidential election of 2015 when he made the suggestion that he wanted to create additional polling units majority of which will be in northern Nigeria.

How can the nation avoid the 2011 election scenario which almost led to the breakdown of Nigeria given the magnitude of what’s at stake and the different premonition of a possible Nigeria break up in 2015? The possibility is that while the elections will begin and end, Nigeria will continue with its largely unresolved political challenges (Adibe 2014). There was palpable tension that the elections of 2015 may again instigate brutality which may unsettle the nation and

America has even reduced leverage in Nigeria than in 2011. The 2015 presidential election was a repeat of the 2011 election between the sitting president Jonathan who is a Christian from the South versus an erstwhile military Head of State, Muhammadu Buhari a northern Muslim.

Tension between Nigeria and America was higher than it was in 2011 due to concern of the way to react to the threat by Boko Haram which was gradually gaining ground in the northeastern part of Nigeria. Nigeria domestic unstableness has also expanded due to insurgents' activities and the reason Nigeria is seen as master of wobbling on the steep cliff having endured serious crisis such as the Civil War (1967-1970) and still standing firm despite incidences of armed banditry and insurgency. Hanging on a precipice without fall may surely be the nation's zone of comfort (Premium Times 2013). General insecurity in Nigeria and the increasing skepticism between the various ethnic groups contributes largely to Nigeria's democratic challenge. In a letter of 18 pages to the President Jonathan, Olusegun Obasanjo accused the former of being possessed by presiding over the ostracism of majority of the other parts of the country as a man of Ijaw which is a mistake that shouldn't happened in the first place. He described the President as being a figure of polarization that champions parochialness (Adoyi, 2013).

Since the growth of civil rule in 1999, expansively expensive and prodigious forbidden election has produced continuously barbaric distortions that have led to democratic retrogression instead of the consideration of the process of democracy. Civilian governance in the country has resulted election outcomes which cannot stand the test of time or the basic test of integrity. The contradiction is that the more expensive and haram the elections, so also the results have been less satisfactory (William, 2011).

Most of the problems confronting the electoral system which include last minute actions, lack of preparedness and results discrepancies is traceable to the 1960's. Their continuous relationships with legacies of military governance, structural inadequacies, low quality political leadership, erosion of culture of limitation, challenge of corruption, triumph of culture of impunity and institutional weaknesses have serves as inhibitions to turnout of voters as well as catalyst to voter apathy (Sklar, 196; post, 1963). Public office is not the property of government in power but in theory belong to the population who can retrieve it in an orderly and peaceful manner. Thus, the credibility of these disputations is depended upon the prevalence of choice among contestants and politicians (Baffour, 2003).

Election plays an important function in democratic deepening as it enables the populations to decide on who governs them. Therefore election credibility remains a salient indicator for the consolidations of democracy and peaceful methods of changing government, thus it is a globally acceptable tool for choosing representatives. The Commission of Human Right Resolution 2003/35, argued that the individual's will shall be the foundation of governments authority and this shall be manifested in authentic and regular elections that shall come through equal and universal suffrage and shall be conducted by secret vote or through similar procedure of free voting (Goodwingil, 2006).

The eclectic effect of Election on Democracy

Despite the fact that simply holding of elections does not in itself further the cause of democracy particularly in some situations yet, Lindberg (2006) study revealed that elections can enhance democratization in Third World economies. Election conduct can enhance or bring about advancement in democratic tenets such as civil liberty. According to him, there are at least six main aspects that knit election and liberties development in transitional societies and they include;

Citizens becoming voters

Election brings to the front burner, right to opinion including the authority to create and lead organization, the authority to universal and equal suffrage, the fundamental issues of equal citizenship and the right to choose between political parties and contestants. These are rights and freedoms that citizens experience at the early stage as voters in concurrence with the first elections of a nation. Most likely, citizens become target by messages and campaign of voter-education disseminated by media practitioners, politician and activists. Arising from this, citizens obtain knowledge of their personal duties as same citizens of the state equipped with right to take part in the process of democracy as well as to select among several choices under constitutional procedure.

Mechanism of Democratic Lock-in.

Another aspect is the one given by some people and groups who cultivate the habit of associating with the principles prevailing in the democratic processes. As the individual view himself as adherent of democratic competition and participation and is acknowledged as such among family, friends and even adversary, he/she will have a personal interest in speaking the concern in the social realm. This kind of locks-in mechanism has the effect of influencing leaders that are not democratically committed yet his responsibilities or status has become connected with pre-democratic posture when citizens authorized by political socialization expected that the leaders would defend the democratic principles.

Prophecies of Self-fulfillment

This involves a situation where majority of the populations have reasons to agree that key elites from the political class to military institution and a major aspect of the population will agree and abide by the rules of democracy. Thus, this can be likened to the prophecies of self-fulfilling even risk opposed to and anti-democratic persons are more likely to defend societal electoral rule.

Civil Institution/Organization

A fourth possible link between liberty and democratization is on civil institution/organization. Through different election related activities such as voter education campaign and election

observation, these institutions create social capital and achieve institutional experiences while acquiring knowledge on ideals of democracy and values relating to matters of transparency, the education of election malpractices and the preservation of civil liberties and political right.

New Responsibilities for Institutions of State

This aspect is related to the legal environment in the wider apparatus of nations with the advent of election regulations and rules, while those responsible for enforcing laws and arbitration are provided with a constitutional responsibility in the security of political right. The police, military, court and different security agencies can by means of pro-democratic action further their pre-eminent positions and hence the option of default does not imply anti-democracy. As it becomes evident that electoral competitiveness will continue to be an aspect of the political process, a number of state officials start searching for a career cheating civil rights instead of sealing them down.

The quintessential Role of the Media and its Responsibilities

In election period, there is the possibility that media executives and practitioners will redefine and stretch the borders of what is likely to be written or said. The media as the disseminator of defence of democracy has the duty to further democratic principles and civil liberties by pressing officials and politicians including raising political debate openly. It is believed that these six primary aspects can further democratic ethos as the regular and periodic holding of election will not only create awareness but will institutionalize electoral values in the society. If election can play such significant function in the society, it is therefore expected that the body charged with the conduct of credible elections must not only be fully equipped but must be seen to be credible. Such credibility in the part of electoral bodies must be seen in tandem with its composition and structure (Lindberg, 2006).

For several years, Nigerians had developed deeper love and interest for democracy and this is irrespective of what have happened in the past. Thus, inspite of the frauds that trailed the previous three elections of 1999 to 2007, Nigerians still mustered the zeal and desire to choose their leaders in the elections of 2011 and 2015. It started with the release of a provisional timetable that was out of convenience but was later adjusted. In order to avert any form of violence during the elections, the 36 state governors had a meeting which was chaired by Bukola Saraki who then was the Chairman of the Nigeria governors forum (NGF) on February 8, 2011 in Abuja where the Governors agreed to non-violence in pursuit of the certain goals. According to Jimoh Ibrahim, the goals included;

1. Commitment to transparent, fair, free and credible election process in the coming elections.
2. To remain unwavering committed to democracy and sanctity of the election process.

3. Abstain from deploying ethnicity and religion as tool for electoral campaigns.
4. Commitment to promote ethnicity and religion for peaceful co-existence,
5. Do the utmost best in ensuring that the forthcoming election is free from perversion, violence, thuggery, rigging and any other form of deceitful techniques.
6. Frequently sensitize and remind the members and supporters of our party not to involve in any action or participate anything with capacity to compromise the electoral process.
7. To loudly and swiftly condemn including to repudiate any of our followers involved in any action that can reduce the acceptability of the upcoming election,
8. To avoid doing anything that will gag, diminish or undermine opposing parties in the different states.
9. Honour the wishes of the voters as declared in the poll (2011:3).

On February 8, 2015, INEC announced that the Presidential and National Assemblies elections will hold on March 28 while the election of governors and members of Houses of Assembly will hold in 11 of April but had to be postponed mainly resulting from the poor distribution of PVCs including security issue related to terrorism in some North-East states of Nigeria. The postponement was necessitated on the grounds that INEC failed to deliver PVCs to millions of registered Nigerians. Additionally, on February 5th, the National Council of State (NCS) chaired by President Jonathan told the Council that it had just launched a decisive and offensive war against Boko Haram for six weeks. Due to the asset and resource that would go into the offensive, the military would be unable to provide security and logistics support for the elections (ITV News, 2015)

Elections in Nigeria have been characterized with so much fraud, irregularities and malpractices and have been seen as wars that they constitute the setback of each of the country's Republics. Most Nigeria's elections have been characterized by violence, malpractice, inflation, thuggery and manipulations Also, elections in Nigeria have always been ethnically inclined. Studies of all the elections reveal that though candidates identify with Nigerians, most electorates vote with their ethnic and community groups (Ikelegbe 1992). Thus in the First and Second Republics, political parties won most of their votes from their ethnic enclaves. In fact, ethnicity and religion were manipulated to seek support in every election (Nwolise 1988).

The credibility and integrity of elections in the country are very poor, most of our elections are resentfully contested and at the end of the day, the election results are rejected. In fact, the fall of the First and Second Republics and the military take over has all been attributed to the elections conduct in the country. Election is a fundamental ingredient of democracy and a litmus test of political participation. Election has been defined as the process by which individuals decide their

rulers and assign person to positions of ruler-ship. Also, it has been defined as a process involved in the choosing of officers and representatives of an institution/organization through the vote of the qualified supporters/members (Ikelegbe, 2004). This gives the citizen the right to vote at regular intervals among competing leaders and politicians. This explains why election is seen as a process in which voters select officials of government through voting system. This is the techniques by which a democracy fills elective offices in the executive, legislature and perhaps the judiciary (Bello-imam 1993).

According to human right watch (HRW), the outcome of the 2011 election in Nigeria revealed a fatal poll-related and communal crisis in the North part of the country following the presidential election of April 2011 that led to the death of over 800 persons. The casualties were murdered in a 3-day disturbance in 12 Northern states. The crisis started with general protest by followers and sympathizers of the major opposition challenger, Mohammadu Buhari, a Muslim from the North and of the CPC, after Goodluck Jonathan the incumbent president, a Southern Christian from the Niger Delta Region contesting on the platform of the ruling PDP was reelected.

The protest snowballed into violent riot and sectional killing in some states in the North including Zamfara, Yobe, Adamawa, Gombe, Bauchi, Katsina, Kaduna, Niger, Kano, Sokoto, Borno, and Jigawa. Officials in charge of relief estimated that over 65,000 persons were displaced. In a statement released by the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), the umbrella body which represents the majority of Christianity in the country, the after election violence claimed the lives of about 170 Christian, displaced thousands and injured hundreds. It also announced that the Islamic rioters destroyed and burnt down over 350 churches across several states in the North (HRW, 2011).

Elections are means of choosing those in various public positions within the polity. It provides the population with influence over policy making (Powell, 2000). Election could be ratification in the sense that it aim to give an incumbent government some appearance of popularity and galvanize the individuals for popular participation in development. But under liberal democracy, election plays greater responsibilities like promotion of legitimacy, mobilization of people and as tools of accountability. Competitive elections are critical to the survival of the liberal tenet of democracy.

This democratic means of choosing legitimate leaders is well expanded in Schumpeter's (1942) articulation of this arrangement as the institutional arrangement for arriving at administrative and political choice. It is a means through which individuals obtain the authority to take part in decisions through competitive struggle for the votes of the people. In Nigeria, the democratic failures or successes as well as the religious and ethnic reunion and the rule of law, remains a trend for the African continent. With a demographic figure of almost 200 million divided equally between Christians and Muslims, the country Nigeria is the continent's most popular nation and largest economy.

Data Analysis and Discussion of Findings

This is concerned with data presentation, analysis and interpretation which were collected from the returned questionnaire. A total of one hundred (100) questionnaires were distributed but only ninety nine were received. The author opted to utilize the 99 questionnaires for analyzing the data with the use of simple percentage. To analyze demographic data, descriptive statistics and mean score method was used to analyzed the research data of the respondents.

	Distribution of frequency	Percent
Male	53	53.5
Female	46	46.5
Total	99	100

Source: Researchers Compilation 2022

Table 1 above affirms the distribution of sex of the participants. From the table above, 53 of the participants making up 53.5 percent of all the respondents are men while 46 participants which represent 46.5 percent of the sampled respondents are females. Hence the table shows that the male respondents are a little more than the female respondents.

	Frequency	Percent
Single	90	90.9%
Married	9	9.1%
Total	99	100.0%

Source: Researchers Compilation 2022

Table 2 shows the result of marital status of the respondents sampled. In the table 90 respondents representing 90.9% are single. Meanwhile only very few of the respondents are married, that is 9.1%.

	Frequency	Percent
NCE/ND	26	26.3%
BSC/HND	64	64.6%
M.Sc	3	3.0%
PhD	6	6.1%
Total	99	100%

Source: Researchers' Compilation 2022

Table 3 show the result of respondents sampled. In the table, 26 of the 99 respondents making up 26.3% are NCE/ND holder, in the same vain 64 of 99 respondents making up 64.6% are B.SC/HND holder, 3 of the 99 respondents making up 3% are M.SC holder while 6 of the 99 respondents making up 6.1% are holder. Hence majority of the respondents are B.SC/HND holders while others are very few.

Table 4: Age of Respondents		
	Frequency	Percent
20-30	88	88.9%
31-40	7	7.1%
41 and above	4	4.0%
Total	99	100.0%

Source: Researchers Compilation 2022

Table 4 affirms the age distribution of the respondents sampled. In the table, 88 respondents making up 88.9% are between the ages of 20 to 30 years old. In the same vain, 7.1 percent of the respondents are between the ages of 31 to 40 years while only 4percent were in the ranges of 41 and above. Hence majority of the participants are within the ages of 20 and 30.

Research Question 1: What are the relationship that existed between the 2011 and 2015 presidential election in Edo state?

Table 5

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Electoral violence cost more damage in 2011 presidential election than 2015 presidential election in Edo state	99	1.00	5.00	2.0707	1.25562
Electoral Malpractices were less visible in 2015 presidential election than 2011 presidential election in Edo State	99	1.00	5.00	1.8788	1.13635
2015 presidential election had more of ethnic coloration than 2011 presidential election in Edo State?	99	1.00	5.00	2.3434	1.23851

2015 presidential election has been described by different quarters as transparent, free, and fair than 2011 presidential election?	99	1.00	5.00	1.7879	1.01290
Valid N (listwise)	99				

Source: Researchers Compilation 2022

Table 5 shows the mean score of the relationship that existed between the 2011 and 2015 presidential election in Edo state. In the table it shows that 2015 presidential election had more of ethnic coloration than 2011 presidential election in Edo State has a mean score of 2.3434, while 2015 presidential election has been described by different quarters as transparent, free, and fair than 2011 presidential election has the lowest mean score 1.7879. from the table, it can be deduce that 2015 presidential election had more of ethnic coloration than 2011 presidential election in Edo State this is in agreement with Adibe, (2013) who opined that Jonathan loyalists have a different opinion. In their words, for 39years within the period of Nigeria’s independence in 1960 and the entrenchment of the Fourth Republic, the northern Nigeria has governed the country for almost 35years and thus must be calm so that the historical injustice must first be redressed.

Table 6: What are the factors that militate against the progress of presidential election in Edo state?

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
2015 Card reader was more effective than 2011 manual accreditation in presidential election?	99	1.00	5.00	2.0707	1.11806
Nigerian voted along with their religious affiliation in 2015 presidential election than 2011 presidential election that had more of national reflection?	99	1.00	5.00	2.2323	1.21074
2015 presidential election was characterized by voters apathy than 2011 presidential election?	99	1.00	5.00	2.6263	1.35967
Valid N (listwise)	99				

Table 6 above shows the responses of the respondents on the factors that militate against the progress of presidential election in Edo state. In the table it shows that 2015 presidential election was characterized by voters apathy than 2011 presidential election as it has a the

highest mean score of 2.6263, while 2015 card reader was more effective than 2011 manual accreditation in presidential election has the lowest mean score of 2.0707. This shows that 2015 presidential election was characterized by voters apathy than 2011 presidential election.

Table 7: Research question 3, What are the factors responsible for voters’ apathy in the presidential elections 2011 and 2015?

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Nigerian voted along with their religious affiliation in 2015 presidential election than 2011 presidential election that had more of national reflection?	99	1.00	5.00	2.2323	1.21074
2015 presidential election had deepening Nigerians democracy than 2011 presidential election which promotes ethnic interest?	99	1.00	5.00	2.2525	1.11889
2015 presidential election was characterized by voters apathy than 2011 presidential election?	99	1.00	5.00	2.6263	1.35967
Valid N (listwise)	99				

Source: Researchers Compilation 2022

Table 8 revealed the mean score of research question 3, in the table it revealed that 2015 presidential election was characterized by voters apathy than 2011 presidential election has the highest mean score of 2.6263, while Nigerian voted along with their religious affiliation in 2015 presidential election than 2011 presidential election that had more of national reflection has the lowest mean score of 2.2323. if we go by the highest mean score, then we can say the 2015 presidential election was characterized by voters apathy than 2011 presidential election. This is in line with (Sklar 1960, Post 1963: Mackenzie and Robinson, 1960). Some of the problems facing our democratic system such as last minute activities, results discrepancies and non-preparedness all date back to the early years of Nigeria’s independence. Their persistent interaction with similar bequeathal of military regime, corruption challenges, victory of culture of impunity, dearth of restraining culture, low level of political leadership, weakness of institution and structural insufficiency have serves as inhibitions to the turnout of voters and subsequently acted as catalyst to voters apathy.

Table 8: question 4: How effective was the card reader introduced in the 2015 election?

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
2015 Card reader was more effective than 2011 manual accreditation in presidential election?	99	1.00	5.00	2.0707	1.11806
Lack of adequate trainings of INEC personnel led to mass failure of the card reader across the country?	99	1.00	5.00	2.1919	.99670
Valid N (listwise)	99				

The table 9 above is on effective card reader in the 2015 presidential elections. In the analysis of the table, it shows that lack of adequate trainings of INEC personnel led to mass failure of the card reader across the country has a mean score of 2.1919 while the item 4 on the instrument that is 2015 Card reader was more effective than 2011 manual accreditation in presidential election has a mean score of 2.0707. in the table it revealed that lack of adequate trainings of INEC personnel led to mass failure of the card reader across the country.

Table 9: question 5: How can we curb election malpractice that characterizes Nigeria election in subsequent time.

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
2015 presidential election has been described by different quarters as transparent, free, and fair than 2011 presidential election?	99	1.00	5.00	1.7879	1.01290
2015 presidential election had deepening Nigerians democracy than 2011 presidential election which promotes ethnic interest?	99	1.00	5.00	2.2525	1.11889
Valid N (listwise)	99				

Source: Researchers Computation 2015

Table 10 above shows that 2015 presidential election had deepening Nigerians democracy than 2011 presidential election which promotes ethnic interest has a mean score of 2.2525, and 2015 presidential election has been described by different quarters as transparent, free, and fair than 2011 presidential election has the mean score of 1.7879. Going by the majority of the mean score, it can be deduced that 2015 presidential election had deepening Nigerians democracy than 2011 presidential election which promotes ethnic interest. This is

in agreement with, Nwolise, (1988), who concluded that ethnicity and religion were manipulated to seek support in all the election.

Table 10: The Electoral violence cost more damage in 2011 presidential election than 2015 presidential election in Edo state

	Observed (N)	Expected (N)	Residual
Strongly Agree	45	19.8	25.2
Agree	26	19.8	6.2
Disagree	9	19.8	-10.8
Strongly Disagree	14	19.8	-5.8
Undecided	5	19.8	-14.8
Total	99		

TABLE 12 **Test Statistics**

	The Electoral violence cost more damage in 2011 presidential election than 2015 presidential election in Edo state
Chi-Square	52.667 ^a
Df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have anticipated frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 19.8.

Table 12 shows the Chi Square result of the test hypothesis 1. From the table it shows that the chi-square critical of 52.667^a is far much higher than the chi-square critical of 3.841, and the df of 4 is lower than the decision rule of 5, this shows that the respondents are of the opinion that electoral violence cost more damage in 2011 presidential election than 2015 presidential election in Edo state. This is in agreement with HRW (2011) which opined that the outcome of the 2011 election in Nigeria: fatally politically related and community crisis that swept across the northern part of the country resulting from the presidential election of April 2011 led to the death of over 800 persons who were murdered in three days of intense violence across 12 states of the north.

Discussion of Findings

The result of the questionnaire administration revealed that the 2015 presidential election was more peaceful and less violence compared to 2011 presidential election that was characterized by election violence.

In summary, this study takes a look at the 2011 and 2015 presidential elections in Edo state. The study covers the three (3) senatorial district of Edo State. The research instrument used for the

study is the questionnaire of 10 items which was distributed among four (4) institutions in Edo State, these includes; Auchi polytechnic, Ambrose Ali University, Benson Idahosa University and University of Benin. In all 100 questionnaires were distributed and 99 were retrieved. Simple percentage was used to analyze the demographic data, descriptive analysis was employed to analyze the responses from the participants and the Chi Square formula was used to analyzed the hypothesis. Findings revealed that 2015 presidential election was more peaceful than the 2011 presidential election in Edo state.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Elections are conducted to ensure voters freely and willingly choose those who will represent them among the political parties and candidates, taking cognizance of the agenda and programmed by such parties and candidates. Nevertheless, Nigeria's electoral history has been characterized by crisis and distraction. To achieve this while allowing Nigerians express their will, the first election was held in Nigeria in 1959, after which series of other elections were held in 1964, 1979, 1983 and 1993. Other general elections that were held in Nigeria were in 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and the most recent one in 2015. It was however reported that the 1964 general elections which was second in series were marred with illegalities, bribery and falsification of results. Also, the ones in 1979, 1983 and 1999 were also alleged to have been rigged. In the same vein, those conducted in 2003, 2007 and 2011 were considered to have been marred by different types and levels of malpractices and restriction of voters respectively.

It can therefore, be said that elections in Nigeria became so controversial when the British left Nigerians to organized and conduct elections for and by themselves. This assertion can however be debunked with the conduct of the recently concluded 2015 general elections in the country, whereby a member of the opposition party won the elections. The candidate of the All Progressive Congress (APC) defeated an incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan of the governing party, the PDP. The then president conceded defeat and congratulated the president-elect, now President Muhamadu Buhari of the APC. This singular act was the first in Nigerian electoral history. The act showcased the then incumbent as a hero in the eyes of the world for his statesmanship. In view of the foregoing, the following recommendations are made based on the findings of the research work and if executed, will help improve elections in Nigeria.

1. Electoral personnel should be well trained on how to handle data capture machines
2. Eligible voters should be enlightened on how to vote in the polling unit
3. Elections should be cancelled on polling units where ballot boxes are snatched.
4. Stakeholders and citizens should be educated on purpose and benefits of violence free elections
5. The election violence in Nigeria should be prevented and avoid.

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