

Politics, 2011 Polls And Political Embriglo In Nigeria: For Records And Directions For Sustainable Democracy

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Abstract

Nigeria has come a long way in politics and political electioneering processes. It has always been characterized by imbroglios. The objectives of this work are to examine the political systems, the electoral organs and processes; and highlight, for records, the political imbroglios as it characterized the 2011 April Polls. Literature on politics in developed and developing countries were read. News paper cuttings were read and used. Data and information were collected from INEC Headquarters, Abuja. The Chairman of INEC was of great assistance in these regards. Political chieftains were interviewed and they made suggestions towards sustainable democracy in Nigeria and in the Third World. Electorates and politicians, drawn from registered political parties and from across the country were interviewed. The researcher was part of the last four electoral processes and polls. The political system, electoral organs, organizations, logistics and processes; and the results of the last exercise form substantial parts of three sections of the work. Nigeria is operating a distorted version of American System of Government. There are high profile political violence and intimidations. The impasses, tactics, and imbroglios show that it is politics of bitterness. There was no peace in the country throughout the period of the elections. There were violence that led to character assassination, abductions, kidnappings, maiming, killing, large number of arrests, riotous scenes in the cities and towns; and destruction of lives and properties. The culture of impunity in politics must be expunged to save the nation from doom; and politics must be detribalized. Politically, a new nation must emerge.

Key Words: Polls, electorates, politics, imbroglio, democracy, sustainability

INTRODUCTION:

It is not an overstatement to assert that politics is a dirty game, (Akintunde, 1967 and Johnson 1993); two politician friends may not be friends afterwards; and two individuals of the same parents may differ very significantly on political ideologies (Johnson, 1993). Asides, politics and politicking have become family business to some around the world, Nigeria inclusive, regardless of the popular sayings that “every man is a political animal”. In America, the families of former Presidents, George Bush and Bill Clinton are well known in the history of American politics. In United Kingdom, Indian and Germany, families are known to have held on to power for several

years and terms of offices in their respective local and national politics, (Ansari, 1998). In Nigeria, the Saraki family of Ilorin in Kwara State has come a long way in the political history of Nigeria. The Awolowos of Ikene, Ogun State, and the Yar'Adua of Katsina in Katsina State are cases in point. In other words, it can as well be said to be a profession to some. In as much as it could be regarded as a game or family business, a tree cannot make a forest in politics and it thus means a game of numbers – Number (amount) of tactics, persons, electorates, votes and others. The onus is therefore on the contenders to play a number of tactics and or games to outwit the others. How best this could be achieved depends on several indices and the weights and quality of the weights attached.

All of these could be evident only in the number of votes received by a contender regardless of how they were cast. Every candidate for any political elective office therefore has to work hard and by every means, to score the highest votes (and or supporters). This has a long history around the globe and in Nigeria particularly since independence when Nigeria, irrespective of tribal, ethnic or gender affiliations have been vying for elective political offices.

The struggles have always been so tough and it does not end well most often, particularly in the third world: wrong choice of candidates and or political parties, riotous situations, violence, civil war, and others. In the recent time, the situations have not been anything better, but worse; elections and electioneering processes for political offices have always been tumultuous. The April 2011 polls in Nigeria quickly come to mind. It is the problem that this work is aimed at elucidating the processes and imbroglio that characterized the events for records. It also identifies directions for sustainable democratic system and governance in Nigeria and similarly developing countries around the world. Specifically, the work examines the Nigerian political system, the electoral organs and processes; highlights the political imbroglios as it characterized the 2011 April polls. It is the finding from there of that form the basis for suggestions for sustainable democratic dispensations in Nigeria and generally in Africa and, of course, in the developing countries.

The work drew information/data from existing sources. The Corporate Affairs Division of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) provided information on the organization's structure, functions, mandate and challenges. Electoral records were perused and information/data derived from them. The results of all elections conducted by INEC nationwide were obtained from the INEC Headquarters and Resident Electoral Commissioners (REC) - one each in each of the six geo-political zones – North-East, North-West, North-Central, South-West, South-South and South-East - were interviewed on the electoral processes, electorates and party distinctiveness, challenges and records of election results. Similarly, three each of Returning Officers in each of the six geo-political zones were interviewed on electoral processes, their roles and experiences in the 2011 polls. They relayed their experiences, the results of elections, voters' attitudes and the roles played in their different constituencies and states. They also made recommendations on what the electioneering organs and processes should involve. Members of the public, political chieftains and political candidate for different offices and political parties were interviewed on their experiences, roles and views of the April, 2011 polls. The losers and winners at the polls were randomly selected across the six geo-

political zones and interviewed. Membership of this group was also drawn from 18 political parties (who featured presidential candidates). But the largest proportion of interviewees were drawn from People Democratic Party (PDP), Action Congress of Nigeria (CAN), Accord Party (AP), All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Labour Party (LP), All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), Peoples Party of Nigeria (PPN) and Democratic Peoples Party (DPP). The smallest is from (DPP) that is, according to the broadness of the parties. Party Agents and tugs were interviewed on their interests, experiences and hopes for subsequent elections, political imbroglios, development and growth of democracy in Nigeria. Members of the Nigerian Civil Defense Corp (NCDC), the Nigerian Police Force (NPF), Joint Task Force (JTF), Nigerian Army (NA), Nigerian Air Force (NAF), and Nigerian Navy (NN) were interviewed on their roles, views and understanding of what transpired before, during and immediately after the April 2011 political election processes, furores, challenges and the future of democracy in the country. The Force Headquarters, Abuja, gave records of “killings”, and major arrests and riots that were related to the April polls and for the period under review. Newspapers cuttings from The Guardian, Vanguard, National Mirror, Thisday, The Punch and Daily Trust were extensively used. There was none of the issues of these papers that were not read in the months of March, April and May, 2011. Issues of News Watch and Tell Magazines for the period under review were also read. I listened to radio and television programmers – discussions, jingles, adverts, news and political campaigns.

Since I am a Nigerian, resident in Nigeria and a registered electorate, I participated in the voting exercises for all the political offices contested for in the month of April. I saw and experienced, and all were part of this work. Literatures were extensively read on Nigerian political systems, the current political situations and democracy in Nigeria and all over the globe. Distinctions between failed and successful democracies were identified. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on political systems, offices, and processes, election processes and results, rules and regulations guiding electoral processes as issued by National Electoral Commission (INEC), Nigerian Police Force (NPF) and political parties were perused.

The work is devoid of activities around political appointments. It is limited to Nigeria political systems, activities and political imbroglios of the April 2011 polls, and what it reflects and suggests of Nigerian democracy. The work is devoid of lobbying, tactics and others that followed the polls for political offices; and appointments. It does not apply any statistical methods for any analyses but only tables and percentiles. It is in eight parts.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM:

Historical evidence indicates that during 11th Century, the vast land of Nigeria was inhabited by different tribesmen and later the diversification culminated into the formation and rise of popular kingdoms, (Sklar, 1965). According to him, the north eastern part of Nigeria was ruled over by Boronu, the Hausa city-state kingdom of Katsina, Kano, and Gobi in the north-central Nigeria, the Yoruba city-states/Kingdoms of Ife, Oyo, and Ijebu in southwestern, the southern kingdom of Benin, and the Igbo communities of eastern Nigeria were all placed under different reigns at different times. From the second half of 19th Century to 20th Century, the British took

over the administration, political and military charge of the country leading to great political upheaval. After years of hard struggles, the country achieved political independence on 1st October, 1960 and declared as a republic on 1st October, 1963. But in the due course, certain amendments were made and on 5th May 1999, the present day constitution was adopted and came into force on 31st May, 1999.

The country is a federal republic modeled after the United States with executive power exercised by the President and with influences from the Westminster System model in the composition and management of the upper and lower houses of the bicameral legislature. The President is both the Head of States and Head of Government and the government is a multi-party system. The politics take place within a framework of a federal, presidential, representative democratic republic; whereby the executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative Power is vested in the government and the two chambers, the legislatures, that is, the House of Representatives and the Senate. Together, the two chambers make up the law-making body in the country called the National Assembly.

The National Assembly has two chambers. The House of Representative which is presided over by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. It has 360 members elected for a four year term in single-seat constituencies. The President of the Senate presides over the Senate. It has 109 members elected for a four year term in 36 three-seat constituencies (corresponding to the country's 36 states) and one seat in single-seat constituency (the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja). The highest judicial arm of government is the Supreme Court of Nigeria. The country also practices Baron de Montesquieu's theory of separation of powers. The judiciary consists of a Supreme Court, Court of Appeal and a Federal High Court. Each state of the Federation also has High Court, Sharia Court of Appeal (peculiar to northern state acclaimed to be predominantly Islamic States) and Customary Court of Appeal. The Chief Judges of these courts are appointed on the advisory council of National Judicial Council. Discussions of the judicial structure, systems and its challenges are beyond the scope of this work. But it is worthy of note that the National Assembly serves as a check on the executive arm of government.

The political system has undergone various changes over the last few decades. During the past few years, the country witnessed political turmoil aided by military coup at different stages which destabilized the stability of the country. A comprehensive analysis of the political system of Nigeria remains incomplete without mentioning its rich glorious history which has played a great role in redefining the various aspects of the political growth. In the 2011 April poll, there were 63 political parties and large number of Nigerian politicians contested for the different political offices ranging from the president through membership of National Assembly, state Governors and State Houses of Representative. The April 2011 made it the fourth presidential poll since the 1998 general election, which the PDP has held power at the centre. Apart from the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, the country is divided into 36 states. Each state is further divided into Local Government Areas (LGAs). There are 774 LGAs, Kano state has the largest number (44) and Bayesa has the fewest (9). The Federal Capital Territory has 6. The Local Government Areas replaced the Districts that were the third tier administrative unites under the British government. The military has played a major role in the history of the country,

often seizing power and ruling it through major period of its history. Its last period of rule ended in 1999 following the death of the military junta, General Sani Abacha in 1998. The country is in better foreign relations due to its current state of democracy though a fledging one (Nwagboso, 2011). She is a member of African Union, and sits on that organization's Peace and Security Council since 1960. She has been a member of the United Nations (UN). She is also a strong member of Common Wealth of Nations, International Labour Organization, Economic Organization of West African States, Food and Agricultural Organization, World Health Organization, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and a handful of others across the globe. But the question is: what are the political challenges within the country? The next section of this paper describes the electioneering processes and activities of the April 2011 whereby election into most of the aforementioned political offices were held except for the LGA offices.

ELECTORAL ORGANS, PREPAREDNESS AND LOGISTICS

Federal Government maintained the existing Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) as the sole agent (Commission) in charge of the organization and conduct of the April 2011 elections. It was departmentalized into functional and operational sections and units. A Professor of Political Science, Attahiru Jega, was appointed to preside over the Commission. Also appointed were state Residence Electoral Commissioners. Other officials of the Commission are Registration Officers, Returning Officers and some ad hoc staff predominantly among who were the members of National Youth Service Corps. Direct Data Capturing (DDC) machines were employed to capture data on voters and to prepare Voters' Register with the aid of a formidable Information and Communication Technology (ICT) team. The team in particular mopped up and corrected the flaws before the commencement of elections (Jega, 2011). He made the world to know that "Ballot papers and ballot boxes were made outside the country under confidential cover", (Jega, 2011). There were over 73 million electorates on the combined Voter's Register. Arrangements were made for 120,000 polling Units across the Federation. Electoral educations were conducted by INEC in newspapers and magazines; and in electronic media. Also there were jingles and adverts at political rallies on radio, television and print media. Posters, jingles, advert, campaigns and others were also implored by the political parties and their agents. Democratic Institute of Nigeria (DIN) also educated electorates and Nigerians generally on the needs to vote; whom, where, how and when to vote through electronic and print media. In a statement canvassing for peaceful, free and fair elections, after the National Assembly election, the chairman of INEC remarked and reminded Nigerians that:

".....Federal Government is committed to free and fair polls; andexhibit patriotism by working towards achievement of the goals.....Nigerians have a duty to conduct free and fair election in order to live up to its leadership responsibility on the African continent and to be able to admonish others who may not feel obliged to do the sameelection will hold on Saturday...and we hope that the outcome will be substantially better....."

(Jega, 2011)

Table (1) shows the 2011 April poll election Time Table as originally scheduled. It was scheduled that the exercise will be kick-started on 2nd April, 2011 with National Assembly (NASS) elections.

It was to be followed by the Presidential election on the following Saturday, 19th April; and finally the gubernatorial and State Houses of Assembly on April 16th: See Table 1; the whole exercise was scheduled to be concluded in the three consecutive Saturdays in April. The election of the first Saturday could not hold for lack of preparedness – electoral materials were not ready.

Table 1: 2011 April Poll Initial Electoral Time Table

| Date | Scheduled Election |
|-----------------------------|---|
| April 2 nd 2011 | National Assembly (Senate and Federal House of Representatives) |
| April 9 th 2011 | Presidential |
| April 16 th 2011 | Gubernatorial and States Houses of Representative |

Source: National Electoral Commission (INEC) Headquarter, Abuja.

The Alliance for Credible Election (ACE) (Nigerians) (2011), after the April 9th NASS election had a paid advert appealing to religious bodies to "say no to violence" thus:

The April 9th 2011 NASS election has come and gone; and Professor Jega must be commended for giving Nigerians a semblance of credible electionn. the leadership of Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) for their leading role in ensuring a peaceful election. We commend these bodies which alongside other mass-based organizations have contributed immensely towards the success of the last voter registration exercise and other election related observation/monitoring exercises. appeal to our religious leaders to rise up to the noble task of ensuring that the collation Centers are not turned to theatres of war, especially as the Presidential and Governorship/House of Assemble elections beckon. We expect that violence free election messages would ceaselessly be preached in our churches and mosques throughout this election period (and the post-election period). is not in any way asking people to shun the collation centers. we insist that citizens must watch over their votes up to the collation centers. done in a peaceful and orderly manner; and failure to conduct ourselves properly would provide opportunity for electoral robbers and harbingers of violence to hijack the situation and unleash mayhem on our democracy.

Similarly, in another paid advert, the same day, the Alliance also advised the youths that as they are so dear to the nation, they should shun all forms of violence and should not be used by politicians to endanger their lives and the lives of others. The advice continues:

- They arm you with guns but arm their children with the best education;
- They want you perpetually on the streets while their children get the best jobs;
- They create a class system that excludes you from the Nigerian Dream; and
- They want you DEAD so that their children may LIVE.

It concludes that “your lives are as important as those of their children. Therefore, say NO to violence. Safeguard your future. Vote wisely and watch over your votes”.

There were national and international observers that monitor each of the elections, namely, among others:

- European Union Parliamentary delegate;
- National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), an NGO based in United States, strengthening and spreading democracy all over the world;
- Former Slovenian Prime Minister and current member of Parliament, Janez Jansa that led a team of observers to specifically monitor the April 15th Presidential election;
- United States Under Secretary for State for African Affairs and his Team;
- Alliance for Credible Election (ACN Nigeria) with support from the Democratic Governance for Development Project (DGDP), comprising of the European Union (EU), Department for International Development (DFID), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Korean International Cooperative Agency (KICA), and the United Nation Development Agency (UNDA);
- European Union Observer Mission (EUOM); and
- Delegates of Common Wealth of Nations.

In respect of security, the Inspector General of Police (2011) directed and warned that:

State Governments should be responsible for security of lives and property in their states: It is logical to say that any governor that refuses to fortify and equip security agencies in his state is on his own and therefore responsible for any loss of lives and property.

As a result, members of the Nigerian Civil Defense Corps, Nigerian Police Force, Nigerian Army, and Joint Task Force (JTF) were massively engaged to fortify security across the nation.

Ballot papers and boxes were to reach the Headquarters of each Local Government Area a day before the election. Also, it was scheduled that electoral offices for each Polling Boot will arrive Polling Station (Unit) before 7:00 am and start verification of voters in preparation for voting that was to start by 12: 00 noon. The exercise was to commence at the same time all over the federation. But with the retinue of organs, the comprehensive organization and the education of the officials and electorates, how did the exercises go for each of the political offices as scheduled. The next section elucidates.

ELECTORAL PROCESSES AND RESULTS

All political parties regardless of background and spread, intensively and massively campaign round the country though some were localized. They also used every resource, animate and inanimate, to campaign and spread their “gospels”. The incumbent at all levels particularly use the state resources to campaign to the detriment of others. Monetary inducements were alleged to be very rampant at some levels and sections of the country (Babalola, 2011).

However, all electoral materials and officers were on ground before the date at least in more than 95% of the 120,000 Voting Units across the country. Between the hours of 7:00 am and 12:00 noon, the electorates were accredited with the voters’ cards; and the voting started by

12:00 noon. Each electorate obtains the ballot paper; secretly thumb printed and openly cast the vote – supposedly, one man, one vote. These happened until 6:00 pm when the voting was concluded and counting started. Again, this was supposed to happen almost the same time all over the country. Counting were in the presence of the INEC officials, Party Agents and Security operatives, where there are any.

Appendix A shows the results of the National Assembly for the Senatorial and Federal House of Representative seats. Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) had 55 seats in the Senate and 102 in the Federal House of Representatives. This is followed by the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) that had 13 and 34 respectively. All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) had 3 and 6 seats respectively. CPC, LP and APGA had 6 and 14, 3 and 7 and 1 and 3 seats respectively. PPN had only 1 House of Representative seat from Ogun State. Also Accord Party had 4 House of Representative seats (all from Oyo State). DPP had its only seat (Senatorial seat) from Delta State. See Appendix A.

After the National Assembly elections, the joint interim report of the International Observers including those of the European Union Observer Mission (EUOM), the Commonwealth and the American-based National Democratic Institute (NDI) indicated strong needs for INEC to address its short comings before the subsequent elections of the month (Adesina, 2011).

In response to that, INEC took stock of the challenges encountered during the NASS election as well as fine-tuned preparation for the successful conduct of the presidential, governorship and State Houses of Assembly polls on Tuesday that followed the Nation Assembly polls, that is April 12th. She also planned and held meetings with the security agencies and other stakeholders: political parties, civil organizations, community leaders, traditional rulers in other to intensity modalities to deal with the challenges like crowd control and the need for peaceful conduct of the remaining elections.

Meanwhile, all political parties, particularly those that featured candidates for presidential office (18 of them) intensified campaign and enlightenment programs on radio, television and print media for electorates to vote for their parties and candidates. There were also similar campaigns, verbally, from house to house, ward to wards and community to community. Through Party Agents, heads of households, community leaders and other party faitfuls, they stopped at nothing to encourage, convince and persuade electorates from one house to anther; and community to community. But four (4) political parties and their presidential candidates emerged as the front-runners:

- Incumbent President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP);
- Major Geneneral Muhamadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), who is making his third attempt at the presidency;
- Mallam Nuhu Ribadu of the Action Congress of Nigeria (CAN) and one time Chairman of Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC); and
- Mallam Ibrahim Shekarau who was the governor of Kano State as at the April poll.

There were a total of 18 candidates as against 20 of 2003 and 25 of 2007. Some of the paid campaign adverts in Nigeria dailies are quite captivating; and interesting:

Fellow Nigerians, We have carried out a door to door check across the 36 states and the Good News is that the people have issues with all the older aspect of the candidatures cutting across the country, but Nigerians are resolute on the candidature ofthe opposite of Goodluck is Badluck....God, Allah, forbid Bad luck. Massively vote..... Your wise decision to votewill lead to continuity in Government, and the massive support for the first time in fifty years for a south-south Nigerian, is guarantee that any Nigerian from any part of the country can rise to the highest office in the land Say no to jackboot democracy

***Gbagi Foundation in The Guardian wed,
April 13, 2011***

A non-governmental organization and concern group about the democratic survival in Nigeria had the followings contained in the same newspaper on the same day and for the same candidate. It is titled "The promise"; and it goes thus:

....., my goal is the total transformation of Nigeria and I want to ensure you that Nigeria is a home for all its citizens. A country where there is adequate power supply, a secure environment for business and leisure, and where the infrastructure is comparable to anywhere in the world. I want our schools to deliver the best education to our children; our institutions must work in the interest of the people. I want a country where no one will go to bed hungry. Vote me in for the next four years and together we will achieve the Nigeria of our dreams. I promise I will not let you down.

*Neighbor to Neighbor for Transformation,
2011.*

Again, in the same newspaper, a paid campaign advert reads:

Let us sweep away insecurity.... They promised us security; instead, we got kidnappings, religious riots and violent robberies. Bomb blasts are now a regular occurrence. They have shown that they cannot protect our lives and property; and they want us to give them our votes again. Have we not been patient enough?

[www.ribadu2011.co](http://www.ribadu2011.com)

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Yet, another advert in support of the candidature of another Political Party (CPC) and its Presidential candidate is titled AS YOU ARE NOT A GOLDDIGGER OR FOOL reads:

“Yes, if you clobber your thumb with that hammer, you are going to feel the same screaming and searing pain all over again. Actually, the pain will feel worse the second time because unlessthe agony is going to be. beneficiaries of the incompetent, corrupt and unpatriotic system that has grounded Nigeria since 1999, and which Jonathan unapologetically represents. Of this category, no persuasion is possible. Such supporters are the gold-diggers’ who dig for themselves and see in the atrocious manipulation that gave us Umaru Yar’Adua and Jonathan the perpetuation of that system. But by themselves, they will not be able to put Jonathan back in Aso Rock where, while Yar’Adua lasted, he was so disrespected he was known as the “social prefect.” the second category: the fools. masochists who will vote against the best interest of their own children and their country by giving their ballot to Jonathan of the People’s Democratic Party (PDP). they will be authorizing Jonathan as they stick out their thumbs, telling him, “Hurt me, sir! Hurt me again! Hurt me, I am a fool!” And Jonathan will. hurt the people of Nigeria because in the past 12 years, and through agents Obasanjo, Yar’Adua and himself, the party has proved that the mission of the PDP is the PDP..... vote to Jonathan gives him the permission to serve the PDP, to protect its army of crooks and looters, and to spend the federal treasury until it is empty”.

(www.buhari4change.com).

All of the adverts were adored with beautiful and full page coloured pictures of the respective Presidential candidates, their logos and their running mates praising the parties and the candidates. Some are abusive, insinuating or emotive; others are appealing and or convincing the electorates. Like CPC, some political parties and particularly their presidential candidates pleaded with religious leaders addressing them as “My Lords Spiritual”. In the message titled MY PLEA TO RELIGIOUS LEADERS; and it reads:

Undoubtedly, ours is one of the most religious countries in the world. Nigerians without a religion must be very few indeed. But it is a big embarrassment to observe that our religiosity has not rebounded to the greatness of our country, which should have been the case, had we allowed the tenets of probity and uprightness, which all the great religions teach, in the way we run the business of governance. Nigeria is backward and unable to satisfy the basic needs of its people today largely because those in the corridors of power do not lead by good examples, though they profess faith in God. The Holy Writ says, “Righteousness exalts a nation.” Therefore, any nation such as ours with leaders who abhor what is right and promote wrongdoings by omission or commission will be far from being exalted. our religious leaders cannot afford to maintain neutrality in terms of offering guidance to their followers and flocks in deciding who governs them in the April general elections,..... humbly offering myself to lead with uprightness, passion for service and fear of God. my solemn assurance that will not let you down if you mobilize your faithful and flocks to troop out on April 16 to vote for us on the platform of If elected, you can be assure of the gift of a new Nigeria where nobody will have to offer bribes to get his or her due

whether in seeking contracts, employment, federal projects and other legitimate entitlement of citizenship. As you give your support, also be rest assured that we shall uphold the right of every Nigerian to freedom of worship as enshrined in our constitution, while any form of fundamentalism that breaches public law and order or infringes on the rights of other citizens, will be tackled with the severity such deserves according to law.

The Guardian, Wednesday, April 13, 2011. Page 66

An ethnic group based in the commercial capital of the country, Lagos, had a press release signed by its Administrative Secretary, Kalu Onuma, in form of a paid advert in Nigerian dailies titled “Lest we forget” and it reads:

We, Ndigbo Lagos, wish to remind Ndigbo living in Lagos that we shall vote for in the Presidential Election, now slated for Saturday, April 16, 2011. that Ndigbo have , over the years, stood against Injustice and Inequity, Among various other positions we have taken against Injustice, Inequity and Foul-play, we have condemned the imbalance in the leadership equation of this country build-up to the 2007 General Elections, Ndigbo strongly canvassed for a President of Nigerian from either the South-East or the South-South deliberately denied the rulership of this country. Between 2007 and now, a lot of water has passed under the bridge, and God, in His wisdom has positioned as an instrument in the process of addressing that imbalance in the Leadership equation of this country time has come for us to actualize that decision taken four years ago. ensure that we perform our civil responsibility on Saturday, April 16, 2011, and elect

The Guardian, Wednesday, April 13, 2011; p34.

All it is saying is that the fractions of the ethnic group is in total support for the incumbent and that all members, home and abroad should vote for no other candidate or than Jonathan/Sambo candidature.

The machinery, timing, location of polling boots, officials and processes for accreditation and casting of votes were the same as it was for National Assembly polls. Securities were beefed-up all over the Federation to forestall any violence. The results were computed at the polling boots and wards. The final results were collated at the INEC Headquarters and the Chairman of INEC announced the final results and declared the winner, the incumbent, President, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan under heavy security that comprises of members of NCD, Nigeria Army, Nigerian Police Force and State Security Services.

Table II: Presidential Poll Results by 20 Most Prominent Political Parties.

| PARTIES | SCORE | %PROPOTION OF TOTAL VOTES CAST |
|---------|-------|--------------------------------|
|---------|-------|--------------------------------|

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| CAN | 2,079,151 | 5.44 |
| ADC | 51,682 | 0.14 |
| ANPP | 917,012 | 1.88 |
| APS | 23,740 | 0.06 |
| ARP | 12,264 | 0.03 |
| BNPP | 47,272, | 0.12 |
| CPC | 12,214,853 | 31.97 |
| FRESH | 34,331 | 0.09 |
| HDP | 12,023 | 0.03 |
| LDPM | 8,473 | 0.02 |
| MPPP | 16,492 | 0.04 |
| NCP | 26,376 | 1.00 |
| NNDP | 25,938 | 0.07 |
| NTP | 19,744 | 0.05 |
| PDC | 82,242 | 0.22 |
| PDP | 22,495,187 | 58.87 |
| PNP | 56,248 | 0.15 |
| PPP | 52,203 | 0.14 |
| SDNP | 11,544 | 0.03 |
| UNPD | 21,203 | 0.06 |
| TOTAL VALID VOTES | 38,209,978 | 96.83* |
| REJECTED VOTES | 1,259,506 | 3.19* |
| TOTAL VOTES CAST | 39,459,484 | 100.00 |

* That is, of the total votes cast

Source: INEC HCQ, Abuja

The Presidential election was more or less a land slide victory for the PDP Presidential candidate and Flag bearer of the ruling People's Democratic Party, Jonathan Ebele Azikiwe Goodluck as he polled 22,495,187 votes to defeat his rivals Major Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (12,215,853 votes) of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Mallam Ribadu (2,075,911 votes) of Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), and Shekarau (917,012 votes) of All Nigerian

Table III: April Poll Presidential Election Results for Four Foremost Political Parties

| STATES | PDP | CAN | CPC | ANPP |
|-----------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| AKWA IBOM | 1,165,625 (95.58%) | 54,148 (4.39%) | 5,348 (0.43%) | 2,000 (0.16%) |
| ANAMBRA | 1,145,169 (98.58%) | 3,437 (0.30%) | 4,223 (0.36%) | 975 (0.08%) |
| BAYELSA | 504,011 (99.63) | 370 (0.07%) | 691 (0.14%) | 136 (0.03%) |
| BENUE | 694,776 (66.31) | 223,007 | 109,680 (10.47) | 8,592 (0.82%) |

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | | (21.29%) | | |
| CROSS RIVER | 709,382 (97.67%) | 5,889 (0.81%) | 4,002 (0.55%) | 2,521 (0.35%) |
| DELTA | 1,378,851 (98.59%) | 1,310 (0.09%) | 8,960 (0.64%) | 2,746 (0.20%) |
| EBONYI | 480,592(95.57%) | 1,112 (0.22%) | 1,025 (0.20%) | 14,296 (2.84%) |
| EDO | 542,173 (87.28) | 54,242 (8.73%) | 17,795 (2.86%) | 2,174 (0.355) |
| EKITI | 135,009 (51.56%) | 116,981 (44.67%) | 2,689 (1.03%) | 1,482 (0.57%) |
| ENUGU | 802,144 (98.54%) | 1,755 (0.22%) | 3,753 (0.46%) | 1,111 (0.14%) |
| FCT | 253,444 (63.66%) | 2,357 (0.58%) | 131,576 (33.05%) | 3,170 (0.80%) |
| GOMBE | 290,347 (37.71%) | 3,420 (0.44%) | 459,898 (59.73%) | 5,693 (0.74%) |
| IMO | 1,381,357 (97.98%) | 14,821 (1.05%) | 7,591 (0.54%) | 2,520 (0.18%) |
| JIGAWA | 419252 (36.75%) | 17,355 (1.52%) | 663,994 (58.21%) | 7,673 (0.67%) |
| KADUNA | 1,190,179 (46.31%) | 11,278 (0.44%) | 1,334,244 (51.92%) | 17.301 (0.67%) |
| KANO | 440,666 (16.49%) | 42,353 (1.58%) | 1,624,543 (60.79%) | 526.310 (19.69%) |
| KATSINA | 238,980 (25.35%) | 17,970 (1.91%) | 62,515 (66.25%) | 46,554 (4.94%) |
| KEBBI | 369,198 (39.95%) | 26,171 (2.83%) | 501,453 (54,26%) | 3,298 (0.36%) |
| KOGI | 399,816(71.17%) | 132,201 (23.53%) | 6,516 (1.16%) | 16,491 (2.94%) |
| KWARA | 268,243 (64.68%) | 52,432 (12.64%) | 83,603 (20.16%) | 1,672 (0.40%) |
| LAGOS | 1,281,688 (65.9%) | 427,203 (21.96%) | 189,983 (9.77%) | 8,941 (0.46%) |
| NASSARAWA | 408,997 (58.89) | 1,204 (0.17%) | 278,390 (40.08%) | 1,047 (0.15%) |
| NIGER | 321,429 (31.54%) | 13,344 (1.31%) | 625,574 (64.03%) | 7,138 (0.70%) |
| OGUN | 309,177 (56.86%) | 199,555 (36.70%) | 17,654 (3.25%) | 2,969 (0.55%) |
| ONDO | 387,376 (79.57%) | 74,253 (15.25%) | 11,890 (2.44%) | 6,741 (1.38%) |
| OSUN | 188,409 (36.75%) | 299,711 (58.46%) | 6,997 (1.36%) | 3,617 (0.71%) |
| OYO | 484,758 (56.14%) | 252,240 | 92,396 | 7,156 (0.83%) |

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| | | (29.21%) | (10.70%) | |
| PLATEAU | 1,029,865 (72.98%) | 10,181 (0.72%) | 356,551 (25.27%) | 5,235 (0.37%) |
| RIVERS | 1,817,762 (98.04%) | 16,382 (0.88%) | 13,182 (0.71%) | 1,449 (0.08%) |
| SOKOTO | 309,057 (33.97%) | 20,144 (2.21%) | 540,769 (59.44%) | 5,063 (0.56%) |
| TARABA | 451,354 (61.07%) | 17,791 (2.41%) | 257,986 (34.91%) | 1,203 (0.16%) |
| YOBE | 117,128 (18.83%) | 6,069 (0.98%) | 337,537 (54.26%) | 143,179 (23.01%) |
| ZAMFARA | 238,980 (25.35%) | 238,980 (25.35%) | 624,515 (66.25%) | 46,554 (4.94%) |

Source: INEC National HQ, Abuja.

Peoples Party (ANPP). Jonathan won in 23 States including 16 out of 17 Northern States plus the Federal Capital Territory; and all the States of the south including Lagos states except Osun; see Table III. He also scored the minimum 25% of votes cast in 31 States and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The Chairman of the INEC, Prof Attahiru Jega rebutted pressures on him to declare Jonathan as “winner, and stop delaying when the incumbent president leads with a margin higher than the registered votes from the remaining states” that is before the results of Borno and Taraba arrived. After the arrival and collation of every result from every State and the Federal Capital Territory, he declared:

I hereby certify that I was the Returning Officer in the Presidential Election held on April 16, 2011. I also certify that election was held, I hereby declare Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan as winner of the election.

In a swift manner, Goodluck E. Jonathan gave an acceptance speech which reads in part: “.....Nigerians stood in the sun, some in the rain, some walked long distances and all waited patiently. to vote...with a heart full of gratitude to almighty God, I want to thank Nigerians for the great sacrifice and overwhelming national mandate you have just given to me, to preside over the affairs of this nation for the next four years.....”

Furthermore, while responding and accepting the **Certificate of Return**, President Goodluck Jonathan remarked and urged INEC to make the last leg of the elections to be better:

.....Jega had placed the country on the higher rung of the ladder as the international community sees Nigeria as a country that can conduct acceptable elections.....we urge you to make the last leg of the election better than the presidential exercise. Both local and international observers commend us for conducting a credible election and this is what Nigerians have been looking forward to a long time....

There were reactions to the declared results through riots, civil disturbances, and petitions, voices of people on radio, television, newspapers and others; and from nearly all the political parties. The CPC rejected the result and reaffirm that it would not recognize any winner from the presidential election. Baba Galadima, National Secretary of the Party in BBC (Hausa Service) monitored in Kaduna revealed:

.....There was massive rigging of the election in the South-east and South-south.....Northerner resident in those areas were prevented from voting..... It was not possible to score 90% of votes in an area where people did not come out to vote.....this time around, we would not go to court, but would reject the outcome of the election.....this is more than rigging, it was armed robbery....that is what happened. The result of South-south and south-east must be investigated... including Sokoto, Jigawa, Adamawa, Nassarawa, Abuja, Benue, Plateau and others, we must reject the results; we will not accept the results.....we will not go to court; we went to court before....we will not accept anybody who emerged as winner of this election.....All results must be subjected to forensic analysis before it is announced....to be frank with ourselves, local and foreign observers saw nothing....what did they see and where; enough of deceit.....

The presidential election went down in the history of Nigeria in several respects: Adeyemi, Okpara, Udeaja, Bello, Fagbemi, Akubo, Alliu, Ajanaku, Ohomagbe, Nwakaudu *et al*, (2011):

It has produced president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan as the nation's forth Executive President in the Fourth Republic. In the First Republic, the late President Nnamdi Azikiwe occupied the office in a ceremonial capacity. But before him were four president Shehu Shagari (second Republic), the third Republic was botched by former Military President, Gen. Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, who annulled the June 12,

Table IV: April 2011 Governorship Election Results

| STATE | AP | ACN | ANP P | APG A | CPC | LP | PDP | PDC | SD M P | AC PN | PPN | PP A | DPP | WINNER |
|------------|----|-------------|----------|------------|-----|----|-------------|-----|--------------|----------|-----|----------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| ABIA | - | - | - | 49,4 21 | - | - | 641,1 58 | - | - | - | - | 43, 77 8 | - | THEODO RE ORJI |
| A'IBO M | - | 163, 449 | - | - | - | - | 957,5 85 | - | - | - | - | - | - | GODSWI LL AKPOBI A (PDP) |
| BENUE | - | 453, 548 | - | - | - | - | 568,0 69 | - | - | - | - | - | - | GABRIEL SUSWA M (PDP) |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|----------------|------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|---|---------------|---|---|----------------|--------------------------------|
| BORNO | - | - | 531,147 | - | 51,378 | - | 450,140 | - | - | - | - | - | - | ALHAJI KASHIM SHETTI MA (ANPP) |
| DELTA | - | - | - | - | - | - | 525,793 | - | - | - | - | - | 433,834 | EMMAUEL UDUAGHAN (PDP) |
| EBONYI | - | - | 125,248 | 29,055 | - | - | 287,217 | - | - | - | - | - | - | MARTIN ELECHI (PDP) |
| ENUGU | - | - | - | - | - | 30,135 | 419,790 | 29,565 | - | - | - | - | - | SULELIVAN CHIME (PDP) |
| GOMBE | - | - | 84,959 | - | 91,781 | - | 596,481 | - | - | - | - | - | - | IBRAHIM DANKWAMBO (PDP) |
| IMO | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| JIGAWA | - | 343,177 | - | - | 56,911 | - | 676,307 | - | - | - | - | - | - | SULE LAMIDO (PDP) |
| KANO | - | - | 1,048,317 | - | - | - | 1,108,345 | - | - | - | - | - | - | MUSA KWANKWASO (PDP) |
| KATSINA | - | 19,990 | - | - | 55,569 | - | 1,027,912 | - | - | - | - | - | - | IBRAHIM SHEMA (PDP) |
| KEBBI | - | - | - | - | 326,482 | - | 559,424 | - | - | - | - | - | - | SIADU DAKINGARI (PDP) |
| KWARA | - | 152,580 | - | - | - | - | 254,969 | - | - | 72,456 | - | - | - | ABDULFATAH AHMED (PDP) |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|---|--------------|---|----------------|---|---|-----------------------------|
| LAGOS | - | 1,509,113 | - | - | - | - | 300,450 | - | 1,707 | - | - | - | - | BABATUNDE FASHOLA (ACN) |
| NASARAWA | - | - | 4,082 | - | 324,862 | - | 320,632 | - | - | - | - | - | - | TANKO AL-MAKUR A (CPC) |
| NIGER | - | - | 68,368 | - | 244,770 | - | 543,205 | - | - | - | - | - | - | MUAZU BABANGIDA ALIYU (PDP) |
| OGUN | - | 377,487 | - | - | - | - | 188,698 | - | - | - | 137,051 | - | - | IBIKUNLE AMOSUN (CAN) |
| OYO | 275,773 | 420,852 | - | - | - | - | 387,132 | - | - | - | - | - | - | ISIAKA AJIMOB I (CAN) |
| PLATEAU | - | 42,897 | - | - | - | 494,975 | 823,536 | - | - | - | - | - | - | JONAH JANG (PDP) |
| RIVERS | - | 60,241 | - | 112,528 | - | - | 1,178,529 | - | - | - | - | - | - | CHIBUIKE AMAECHI (PDP) |
| TARABAI | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| YOBE | - | - | 436,998 | - | 15,462 | - | 195,449 | - | - | - | - | - | - | IBRAHIM GAIDAM (ANPP) |
| ZAMFARA | - | - | 514,962 | - | - | - | 460,656 | - | - | - | - | - | - | ABDULAZIZ YARI (ANPP) |

Source: INEC Headquarters, Abuja.

- 1993 presidential polls, believed to have been won by the late Moshood Abiola, Olusegun Obasanjo (Forth Republic) which the late Umaru Musa Yar'adua and this incumbent continued.
- The election is unique as it has been generally adjudged as the most peaceful, most transparent and well-organized polls, coming behind the option A4 system of 1993.

- *It was also most keenly contested race, especially between the leading candidates: Goodluck Jonathan of the PDP and Gen. Muhammadu Buhari of CPC; and*
- *Jonathan won convincingly but not a landslide victory, He scored over 25% in more than 24 States required by the constitution to be declared the winner of the election. From virtually all the 36 States of the Federation including Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), he maintained a comfortable lead, thereby ruled out possibility of a run-off.*

The defeated and their faithful did not rest: There were allegations, actions and reactions turmoil, riots, mob actions, killings and maiming, born-fire, curfew and others. The curfews were imposed in some states of the Federation to ensure peaceful conduct of the remaining polls. The cancerous situations lingered until April 26th when the Gubernatorial and Houses of Assembly polls were held. Table IV shows the results across the nation.

The PDP captured more States and more seats of the States Houses of Assembly across the country. This did not go down well with many in the cities and towns and even in the rural areas across the country. The dissatisfactions were expressed in riots, turmoil, and all forms of political imbroglios across the nation. As a result, members of the Nigerian civil defense, Nigerian police Force, Nigerian Army, and Joint Task Force (JTF) were massively engaged to fortify security all over the federation.

But with the retinue of elaborate organs, the comprehensive organization and the education to the officials and electorates, how did the exercise go for each of the categories of offices and elections. The following sections discuss the processes and the imbroglio that characterize the series of April elections across the country.

IMPASE, TACTICS AND IMBROGLIOS:

Prior to the elections, all the political parties particularly the foremost four, implored tactics, gimmicks and expended energy and financial resources to woo members and electorates to their camps. There were series of meetings, coalitions, caucus and others. Also specifically, for purpose of defeating the ruling political party, there were series of talks, alliances, coalitions, deals, sell-outs, allegations, meetings, step downs, agreements and disagreements; deflection, endorsement, intrigues, alignment, and misalignment, manipulations, disinformation and misinformation, divisions, emissaries, mobilizations, consultations, persuasions, instigations, information sharing, between and within political parties and groups to forge a common front as they prepare for the critical elections: But no one was able to make some sacrifices to shift ground. There were scrambles and consensus seeking, political fraternity, mobilization, emissaries, consultations and others on daily basis within and between the leadership of political parties.

Leaderships of PDP and their counterparts in the opposition parties did what could be called last minutes mobilization for the incumbent president victory in the election. It was actually harvest of endorsements of Goodluck Jonathan; and deflection of members of oppositions to PDP, that is, in a move to ensure victory for the incumbent at the polls. At different occasions,

supporters of Goodluck Jonathan urged Nigerians to vote massively for him. For instance, some political parties, politicians and their supporters (from the extreme north-west) renounced their membership of CPC and deflected to PDP.

Labour Party cited democratic profile, the rule of law, capacity to perform and the delivery of democratic dividends as factors that influenced its decision to back Jonathan. The party posited that for the fact that no aspirant(s) met the party's minimum requirement to contest on its platform for the president must not push the LP into taking a backseat at the election. The party explained that for the country to archive nationhood there is need to elect presidential candidate that possesses cognate experience, level-headedness, humility, sound educational background, selflessness, passion for national integration and reconciliation. The statement went further

"Nigeria is a heterogeneous society with diverse culture and religion. What has eluded the country since independence is the evolution of a nation out of the diverse ethnic nationalities. The plague of sectionalism, nepotism and parochialism has over the years held Nigeria down from achieving its full potentials as a sovereign nation expected to play leadership role in the African continent and comity of nations of the world".

(Segun Miniko, Executive Governor of Ondo State 2011)

But the aftermath of these and each of the elections generated series of storm controversies, allegations, deals and sellouts; mob actions, riots, curfew, killings, arrest and others across the nation. The much-touted security arrangements put in place for the exercise failed the nation as an orgy of political violence engulfed several states; and at several times: See Table V. In spite of the read riot act to the general public, students, politicians, lecturers, industrialists, party loyalists misbehaved and contravene the acts: varsity students protested hike in tuition fee as purportedly instigated by opposition parties; varsity teachers were remanded in prison for alleged poll fraud; industrialists were charged to court for aiding and abetting in election malpractice and others. Also despite moral persuasions and threats of sanctions, professional political elites did not change their sordid habits. Political thugs and agents of desperate politicians engaged in electoral malpractices of snatching ballot boxes and that of voting materials with intent to gain fraudulent and undue advantage over opponents. The elections were not without challenges. Voters name were missing on the register resulting in the disenfranchisement of thousands of prospective voters while quite a number across the country, who were duly accredited, still could not vote due to late arrival of materials or due to their absolute absence during the physical count of accredited voters. There were allegations of monetary inducement of a few officials. Many of them were charged to court for aiding and abetting electoral fraud. There were cases of indiscipline among INEC officials too.

In some instances, suspicious results were presented after the collation of figures, resulting in disagreement and violence that claim lives, and or ended up in maiming and wounding people – consequently these lead to inconclusive elections at some wards, constituencies and senatorial districts. All the political parties engaged in unhealthy accusations and counter-accusations. There were attacks and counter-attacks on the organs, systems, parties and persons. The INEC

approaches to the general elections were described to be too academic, unnecessarily cumbersome, tedious and frustrating.

INEC, at a time, acknowledged most of the lapses in the series of elections including: delays in delivery and inadequacy of ballot materials; missing names on the register (which constitute “one of the most embarrassing” challenges); failure to keep 48 hours time limit for the release of results; voting not being conducted in secret in some polling boots; polling units lack the customized cubicles; lack of security arrangements for sub-units in centers that have large voting population to avoid bonus votes for some political parties; adoption of candidates especially for presidential election. People carried guns, machetes and dangerous weapons on election days. The INEC chairman admitted and described some of the lapses as “terrible cases”.

Though, concerted efforts were made to identify the challenges at an election and addressed in preparation for the next because INEC was aware that only a successful conclusion of the assignment can convince skeptical citizens that she is a departure from the old order, there were deplored violence and needless loss of lives and property, tuggery, hooliganism and others that unleashed mayhems on the peaceful lives. See Table V. Except in Ondo, where records of Mob Actions, Crisis, Deaths, and No of Arrests related to elections were not available, every other state experience mayhem. There were 766 mob actions, 376 riots, 691 deaths and 6,234 persons arrested across the nation.

Table V: Series of Crisis that Followed the April Poll Elections By States and FCT

| State | Crisis | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|--------|---------------|
| | Mob Actions | No of Riots | Deaths | No of Arrests |
| Abia | 11 | 8 | 19 | 88 |
| Adamawa | 24 | 11 | 22 | 186 |
| Akwa Ibom | 8 | 8 | 8 | 161 |
| Anambra | 15 | 5 | 17 | 111 |
| Bayelsa | 9 | 5 | 8 | 178 |
| Bauchi | 28 | 18 | 210 | 531 |
| Benue | 17 | 21 | 6 | 163 |
| Borno | 11 | 11 | 21 | 119 |
| Cross River | 13 | 3 | 7 | 103 |
| Delta | 27 | 11 | 9 | 144 |
| Ebonyi | 21 | 8 | 7 | 135 |
| Edo | 5 | 2 | 2 | 59 |
| Ekiti | N/A | N/A | N/A | 83 |
| Enugu | 11 | 5 | 11 | 168 |
| FCT | 5 | 4 | 9 | 66 |
| Gombe | 10 | 6 | 13 | 125 |
| Imo | 25 | 19 | 21 | 171 |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| Jigawa | 11 | 5 | 3 | 161 |
| Kaduna | 31 | 17 | 21 | 371 |
| Kano | 25 | 13 | 17 | 272 |
| Katsina | 8 | 11 | 9 | 143 |
| Kebbi | 10 | 5 | 11 | 101 |
| Kogi | 18 | 7 | 5 | 131 |
| Kwara | 21 | 7 | 11 | 122 |
| Lagos | 41 | 6 | 18 | 216 |
| Nasarawa | 20 | 7 | 9 | 201 |
| Niger | 24 | 11 | 16 | 213 |
| Ogun | 17 | 18 | 21 | 181 |
| Ondo | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Osun | 5 | 3 | 8 | 84 |
| Oyo | 21 | 15 | 27 | 244 |
| Plateau | 16 | 19 | 31 | 420 |
| Rivers | 48 | 22 | 17 | 147 |
| Sokoto | 71 | 16 | 11 | 211 |
| Taraba | 83 | 21 | 23 | 199 |
| Yobe | 31 | 10 | 27 | 216 |
| Zamfara | 18 | 15 | 14 | 131 |
| Total | 766 | 376 | 691 | 6234 |

Source: Nigerian Police Force Headquarters, Abuja.

A Returning Officer at the National Assembly poll in Delta States has this to say while rejecting parts of the results which produced former Secretary to the State Government as the Senator elect for Delta North Senatorial District:

I was abducted and forced to sign already prepared results sheets at gun point by some loyalists of the ruling PDP. Results were recorded by.... loyalists in favor of chieftains of PDP replaced all the national Youth Service Corps NYSC members deployed in the area with hoodlums they recruited... "I was forcibly kept. They tried to induce me. My life was under pressure. If a gun is pointed at your head what do you do? The first thing is to save your life and that was how I was forced to sign the results"

As a result, Chieftains of other political parties protested the results of the election. They called for cancellation of the polls: It was obvious to them that the election was marred by a lot of irregularities. The protesters stormed INEC office and the Police Headquarters with placards bearing inscriptions such as:

"President Goodluck Jonathan, why must Delta result be different"

"This is not one-man-one-vote"

"Jega, they have stolen our mandate again, come rain or sunshine, we shall defend our mandate"

"Rig and die, vote and live"

"Jega, speak on Delta election, the world is waiting again"

"Delta youths reject declared results"

That is, among others, see Appendix B as such also form substantial headlines in National dailies and magazines of the period of elections – March, April and May. In Delta State capital, the protester initially stormed the police headquarter but the Commissioner of Police himself led them to INEC Office following his inability to pacify them. Also a chieftain of ACN decried the alleged disenfranchisement of the people of some words by some PDP loyalist during the National Assembly poll. To sum it up, elections in the area were marred by violence and irregularities.

The situations were virtually the same in most parts of the country. All political parties in Kogi State were conscious of the malpractices in the state during the National Assembly poll, threatened that parties and their supporters would boycott subsequent elections if the malpractices that characterized Assembly election were not stopped. At a press conference in Lokoja, the state capital, the chieftain of one of the prominent political parties has this to say:

...the malpractices did not suggest that subsequent elections would be credible INEC officials were forced to alter the original result of the poll at gun points in many polling units....President Goodluck Jonathan's intention to ensure credible and international acceptable election has been eroded in the state.

In the same vein, the Governorship candidate for All Nigerian's Peoples Party (ANPP) alleged thus:

Elections were rigged by the PDP in collaboration with some INEC officials....President Goodluck Jonathan should immediately look into the matter to avoid breakdown of law and order.

In Ondo state, south-west Nigeria, PDP kicked against most of the result as announced by the INEC, alleged disregard for the election processes during the elections in some parts. The chairman of the party in the state addressed the press and has this to say:

...the result declared by INEC failed to mirror the true wishes of the people of the area.....the party will be challenging the results of the Senatorial District at the tribunal...the results would not stand, hence the decision to go to court...the progress was marred with wholesale bribery of some electoral officials and the electorates by some government official.....the ruling Labour Partywon through manipulation of electoral officials and security agents across the state....the result was not acceptable to the party. Security operatives went round

polling units collecting voting materials and handed them over to the Labour Party candidates in the election.....It was instructive to state that election in Ilaje Local Government was compromised to the level that the local government collation centre was taken over by security agents who denied other agents access to the place while on the other hand have unfettered access to LP agents.security agents compelled the collation officer for.....to follow them to conclude the collation and the result was cancelled when they got there on the pretence that the results were not entered in the appropriate Form. Thugs five invaded polling centres where voters were chased away and thumb printed ballot papers and the result was not cancelled....sad enough the ballot was counted for LP in spite of irregularity.

After the NASS election alone, Osogbo magistrate's court in Osun state, remanded in prison, as many as 42 persons arrested by the police for electoral offences. The offences range from disorderly manner, being in possession of voters' cards (52) belonging to different persons, disorganizing election processes to vehicular movements during election, conspiring to disrupt election, felony and holding cutlasses and charms with the hope of using them to arm peoples. In Ondo state, ACN rejected NASS election results and headed for tribunal. This is how it started:

.....the ruling Labour Party(LP) government and its candidates used government machineries to intimidate the electorates during the election,.....voters were financially induced during the exercises.....perpetrated violence, multiple thumb printing, distribution of huge sums of money to voters on queue and snatching of ballot boxes during the elections.

In the extreme south-west, a good number of voters were not accredited and could not vote. A PDP woman stalwart disrupted the electoral processes in all the units in the ward by distributing huge sums of money to INEC officials and policemen who looked the other way as she forced the electorate to vote for PDP. In Anambra centre, the complaints were so many. INEC had to order rerun of 3 wards due to the too glaring and obvious election disorderliness and series of discrepancies.

The youths at Tsafe, Zamfara State went on rampage after president Jonathan was officially declared winner of the presidential polls. They attacked and burnt down Churches, residences and government institutions. The Catholic Bishop of the Dioceses gave the accounts of the incident as reported by Olatunji, Owuamanam and Olokor (2011).

.... also attack was made on St. Vicent Ferrer's Church Gusau where many windows and louvers were broken. The Dominican Rev. Sisters working in the church fled and have taken refuge in a village.....In Katsina, two parishes were burnt down. The residence of the Parish Priest....was also razed with personal belongings inside the house and his car....parish clinic...was also destroyed and beds in the wards burnt.....47 arrests were mssssade in Tsafe town.

In a related development in Bauchi, The following is the account of Olatunji *et al* (2011):

Four members of the national youth service Corps (NYSC), 10 clerics, a female Police Corporal and Divisional Crime Officer in charge of Jama'are Police Division were feared killed and 26 NYSC members were still missing in the violence that trail the violence...Police Station in Itas, Jama'are, Giade, Dambam and Misau were also torched by protesting youths.....INEC offices in Bauchi, Misau, Katagum, Giade, Jama'are have been looted and burnt...500 Laptops and other valuables were looted.....over 200 suspects have been arrested.

Similarly, the Catholic Bishop of Kano Diocese gave an account of sorrow as recorded by Akhaire *et al* (2011 p. 2) in the same paper:

Many Churches were burnt in the wake of the violence in Jigawa and Kano Staes curfew that would last for two weeks has also been imposed on Zamfara, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Yobe, Bauchi, Adamawa.....with stern looking security men: 10:00 pm to 6:00 am that would last for two weeks.

News papers and magazines issues of the mouths of March, April and May have vivid accounts of the imbroglio. Different captions, tittles, headlines, cartons in their various issues, Appendix B, speak volumes. Some are very shocking others contain unpleasant stories of undemocratic society. It was alleged by some that INEC failed the electorate by colluding with the ruling party (PDP), security agents and political tugs to rig the elections by conducting elections that were faulty; and call for redeployment of resident Electoral Commissioners of some states and outright removal of her national chairman.

Individuals, groups, agents, electorates and various candidates vowed to challenge the result of the various elections in courts of law because the results did not represent the wish of the people.

....."am going to challenge the result in a count of law because it was not a true reflection of how people voted during the election.....I believe in the judiciary and I am very hopeful that I will claim my victory at the court".

General Muhamadu

Buhari

The situations in Bornu, Kogi, Kaduna, Sokoto, Gombe, Jos, Adamawa and Yobe States are the same. In Benue state, the result of the NASS poll was vehemently rejected by the popular electorate who wanted the results upturned:

..... in Ado Local Government, materials required for the election got there at 3pm and distribution of the same started at 6pm. Accreditation started about 7pm and voting continued even beyond 10 pm. In the six council wards election materials never got there, yet election results were received from there. The INEC ad hoc

staffs were seen thumb printing papers in favour of PDP. ACN candidate for NASS has its clips forcing voters to thumb print for PDP. Security agents turned blind eyes to incidences of massive ballot stuffing and unabated underage voting.

There were atrocities, undemocratic acts and subversion of the peoples' wills. But only for the perpetrators to respond to the allegations of all forms of malpractices as mere alarming and spurious excuses only. At Abuja, every election was a do or die affair and all hands were on deck on behalf of the ruling political party to have all votes for the party in all the elections. This explains:

..... why you will read of CPC winning in Abuja and suddenly, later in the day, the lead is cancelled out by over 50,000 votes!did not win up to 10 out of the regular 537 polling units.... where did the inflated, over 50,00,0 votes come from?....this presidential election is a do-or-die for some because they have a lot to explain to the Nigerian people, should they lose. That is why no effort is spared in ensuring a pyrrhic victory.

From the foregoing, therefore, the results did not represent nor reflect the voice of the electorate. They were impositions or series of awards.

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION:

Nigeria is operating a purely distorted version of the American high maintenance system. Contenders into the political offices die, their supporters also, in droves. The relations are not exempted. Some are kidnapped to exert pressure on their ambitious kin to step down. Ultimately, the democratic project is also dying, as does the sense of nationhood, casualties of the manipulations of economic, ethnic, religious and political disparities. Political atrocities were done on a non-existent foundation carried out on a base of lies or even deliberate misinformation as if mayhems were planned before hand. Killings and carnages, maiming, kidnappings and others that herald the declaration of election results were not necessary. The culture of impunity orchestrated by successive governments is decried by reasonable Nigerians and other nationals. Incidentally, the body language of the political leaders of the riotous localities (and at the national level) did not demonstrate any vestige of remorse. Innocent and armless citizens were deliberately targeted for annihilation by vicious aggressors.

The observers, national and international, particularly the National Democratic Institute should have worked harder and report more than mere monitoring and observations on the election processes but also ensures public trust is not abused. What transpired in most places was complete charade; and the exercises were marred by violence, rigging and inducement of voters. Nigerians should not be deceived by the so-called International Observers and International media who will go round the safe and secured streets of the cities of Lagos and Abuja and probably a few others (under heavy security protection); and then pronounce that all is well when, in the real sense of it, nothing is alright: The April 16th Presidential polls were termed "Nigeria's historic election" by International media- "without any major occurrence

capable of subtracting from the impression that Nigeria is perhaps having her first credible election in years". Unfortunately, this report was "painted and published as such all over the world – far from being true.

However, Nigerians should commend the chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) for his diligence in the conduct of the elections. President Good-luck Jonathan should be congratulated too for winning the presidential polls. His victory should be seen not only as a collective victory for the country's fledging democratic foundation, but also to further cement the democratic foundation of the country. It is a victory that should afford Nigerians, as a people, to chart a new road map in repositioning the country and fully utilizing her potentials for the benefits of mankind; and once again, provide a basis for appreciating the opportunities that abound in the country and exploiting same for the overall good of the nation. It is worthwhile to congratulate other aspirants and their political parties too for their untiring efforts and high-spiritedness before, during and after the conduct of the elections. Their participations have further emboldened their respective supporters nation-wide that democracy is probably gradually coming to stay. Also by their efforts, they have made lasting impressions in the minds of the people and for posterity. The generations, yet unborn, would accord them the noble recognition that they truly put up highly spirited efforts in helping to shape the twist and bends of Nigerian democracy for the good of the country and glory of mankind. But, like most African and third World Nations, it is obvious that Nigeria is bedeviled with series of developmental issues. Nigerians generally and politicians in particular have not learnt useful lessons in sportsmanship. Credits may go to the likes of Dimeji Bankole (former speaker of the House of Representative), Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola (former Governor of Osun State) and a few others who not only lost the elections but also congratulated the winners. It was rare display of good faith among politicians and Nigerians. Their conducts should be commended to other politicians and Nigerians generally.

The country is still in its infancy stage of democratic development. Towards sustainable democracy, several others steps must be comprehensively taken without which an ominous fear and uncertainties would continue to loom over the nation; and continuity of the federation will be jeopardized:

- The culture of impunity in the country must be expunged to save the nation from doom;
- The Sovereignty National Conference (SNC) that would address issues affecting the country and summarily rebuffed by cynics as attempt to break up the country need to be revisited. This is called for in a situation that has plunged the nation into webs of crisis.
- Government must condemn and unravel the mystery of unprovoked killings and the culture of some citizens being arrested and saved out of sight by influential personages. The masterminds must be brought to book.
- To some extent, the election that brought Olusegun Obasanjo to power put a paid to ethnic politics but not a great departure: There are CAN of Western Nigeria, ANPP of Northern Nigeria; and APGA of Eastern Nigeria - parties are greatly tribalized.

Generally, all and sundry must shun primitive and uncivilized conducts such as violence, religious intolerance, killings in the name of politics and maiming innocent and helpless co-citizens. People must continue to imbibe the spirit of sportsmanship in politics, togetherness in national aspirations and unity as one nation. There must be tolerant of the divergent views, opinions and ideologies in the polity and exhibition of a deep sense of patriotism in daily individual and collective indulgences. Citizens must look into the future with the hopes, assurances and firm belief that the nation will get it right someday; and the gains of these democratic processes will outlive all. All efforts must be made, by whoever must, to put an end to political ethnicity and whatever must be monsters that are trying to rear their ugly heads in the national politics for democracy to grow and develop.

In no time in the history of any country should the presidency be entrusted into the hands of rookies and those whose democratic pedigree are suspected. African nations and Nigeria in particular have grown passed the era of experimentation and gambling in its consideration for election of candidates into the offices of presidents. There should be no resentment to the ambition of any candidate. But why, at this stage, should anyone use religion or ethnicity to select and or campaign for any political office; and why should any alliance be used on ethno-religious ground.

Superficial, sentimental, ethnicity, religious affiliation and other mundane issues must not be factored into the processes of electing a president who will be Head of State. Choice of criteria for selection and voting candidates into political offices should also include integrity, people oriented policies and programmes, and having listening ear and absolutely detribalized, as well as humble disposition that African culture most desire. It may be unhealthy to be desirous of zonal policies of selecting political leaders and office holders. Political intimidation should have no place in any democracy and Nigeria cannot be an exception; and the international communities will take due notes of anyone condoning or supporting such acts.

In all honestly, this paper strongly believes that democracy is fine but if a good number of her citizens are not employed, social harmony is threatened. All over Africa, there are poverty and youth unemployment. Rather than political violence and imbroglios that often engaged youths, vibrant economy is vital for sustainable development. As African nations are trying to cultivate democratic culture, they should not forget the social dimensions: Job creation will reduce thuggery which finds political activities as thriving environment to perpetuate violence.

It is habitual of Africa leaders to want to ignore people's wills and refuse to relinquish and or hold on to power and cling to it until they are forced out. They always want to become dictator per excellence. They have always enjoyed disregarding "the voice of their own people in free and fair elections. There have always been consequences for those who cling to power. It is crime against humanity" assents Luis Morena-Ocanpo (2011). Incidentally, sometimes, in spite of the evils they might have inflicted on the country and humanity, they are made royal gifts by making them martyrs.

The case of indiscipline among INEC officials and similar electoral officers must be squarely and severally dealt with because they were appointed, each time on trust and they let the nation down in the course of rendering those salient national services. It will be required that appropriate laws be initiated to deal severally with electoral offenders. Politicians and their followers must be well educated at every instance to allow them to be guarded by the right values.

As a nation, patriotic citizen should continue to appeal to the conscience of the others to press forward and be determined, more than ever before, to give genuine and patriotic push for the exposal of a new nation. In conclusion, this piece will borrow a leaf from Dipe (2011) in his column All the facts, All the sides at the back page of National Mirror where he is quoting Josiah Gilbert Halland in 1800 saying, in his article , “Who is our next President:

*A time like these demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom spoil of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; and men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking.*

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APPENDIX A
Results of April 16th National Assembly Polls.

| STATE | PDP | | CAN | | ANPP | | CPC | | LP | | APGA | | PPN | | ACCORD | | D P P | H O R |
|--------------|-----|---------|-----|---------|------|---------|-----|---------|----|---------|------|-------------|-----|---------|--------|---------|-------------|-------------|
| | S | Ho R | S | Ho R | S | Ho R | S | Ho R | S | Ho R | S | H O R | S | Ho R | S | Ho R | | |
| LAGOS | - | | 3 | 14 | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| BENUE | 2 | 2 | - | 2 | | | | | | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| OYO | 1 | 5 | 2 | 4 | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | 4 | - | - |
| ENUGU | 3 | 8 | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| OSUN | - | | 3 | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| ONDO | - | 1 | - | | - | | - | | 3 | 7 | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| ABIA | 3 | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| ADAMA WA | 3 | 5 | - | 2 | - | | - | 1 | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| EDO | 1 | 2 | 2 | 6 | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| ANAMBR A | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | 1 | - | | - | | - | - |
| KWARA | 3 | 5 | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | 1 | - | | - | - |
| OGUN | - | - | 3 | 3 | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| EBONYI | 3 | 3 | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| KADUNA | 1 | 4 | - | | - | | 1 | 6 | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| TARABA | 3 | - | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | 1 | - |
| DELTA | 2 | - | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| KOGI | 1 | 2 | - | 1 | - | | - | 1 | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| RIVERS | 3 | 7 | - | - | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| KANO | 2 | 9 | - | - | 1 | 6 | - | 2 | - | - | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| KATSINA | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 1 | - | - | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| JIGAWA | 3 | 10 | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| NASARA WA | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| GOMBE | 3 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | | - | | - | | - | - |
| FCT | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | X | - | X | | X | | X | - | X | - |
| BAYELSA | 3 | 1 | X | - | X | - | X | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | - | | - | | - | - |
| IMO | 2 | 7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| EKITI | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|----|----|----|---|---|----|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C/RIVER | 2 | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| A/IBOM | 2 | 8 | X | 1 | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| KEBBI | 3 | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| SOKOTO | 2 | 11 | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| BORNO | 2 | - | X | - | 1 | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| NIGER | X | 2 | X | - | X | - | X | 1 | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| ZAMFARA | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| PLATEAU | X | 5 | X | 1 | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| YOBE | X | - | X | - | 1 | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| BAUCHI | 1 | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| TOTAL | 5 | 10 | | | 3 | | 6 | | 14 | | 3 | | 7 | | 1 | | 3 | |
| | 5 | 2 | 13 | 34 | 6 | 6 | 14 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 3 | - | 1 | - | 4 | 1 | - | |

Source: INEC Headquarters, Abuja.

APPENDIX B

SELECTED DEROGATORY/BAD HEAD LINES, CAPIONS AND CARTONS IN NIGERIAN DAILIES.

“Insane man mounts hoarding”

“Delay, low turnout, arguments in Ogbomoso”

“Soldiers arrested seven”

“Poor turnout mar poll in Ogun”

“Ilorin is weary of election”

“Gunmen kill monarch in Ogun”

“Low turnout in Ilorin, Katsina, Ibadan, Port-Harcourt, Enugu”

“Seven arrested for violence in Potskom”

“Apathy marks election in Rivers, Osun, and Edo....”

“Angry voters attack electoral officers”

“No canopy for Bankole’s polling Unit”

“No electoral materials until evening”

“PDP sweeps votes in Ondo”

“Jonathan in early lead”

“Turn out varies in Ikeja, Ojodu, Magodo, others”
“INCE prunes ad-hoc staff.”
“Transport hitches dent election in Enugu”
“ACN Chief arrested with ballot papers”
“Conduct of elections shows Nigeria’s growing democracy”
“Jonathan, Buhan in tight race”
“Police arrested for suspected bombers in Maidugun”
“Buhari alleges foul play”
“Analysis: Much peace, little violence”
“Am out of politics”
“Iyabo Obasanjo-Bello shuns presidential poll”
“INEC officials threaten to withhold results”
“Gunmen Kidnap female voter”
“Security agents arrest fake observer”
“Okada riders defy restriction order”
“Youths demand settlement in Ahoada”
“We will accept defeat if Ribadu, Shekarau”
“Advice to Ribadu: Don’t play politics”
“Seven houses set ablaze in Adamawa”
“More protests trail N’ Assembly elections”
“Oppositions rejects exist polls in Ebonyi”
“ANC, Accord Party to challenge results in Oyo, Ondo”
“Parties differ over polls”
“Court orders army, police to produce 41 detainees”
“Guber candidate, 35 others on trial for alleged electoral offences”
“Taraba: rejects results, call for fresh polls”
“Suswan, CAN trade rigging allegations”
“Enugu opposition candidates reject election results”
“421 sokoto students face trial in Zangaria over polls’ offences”
“Abducted Imo Rep-elect narrates journey to freedom”
“Oyo: Ladoja congratulates Ajimobi”
“Election in Abia not tree”
“Nigeria elections send signal to rest of Africa”
“Kaduna guber: Sambo again loses polling unit”
“Imo boils over guber election results”
“DPP woman carry coffins against Uduaghan, Utnama”
“Civil groups want INEC to probe polls lapses”
“Call your supporters to order, Jonathan tells Buhari”
“ACF condemns violent protests”
“We will defend Jonathan’s mandate to the end ex-N-Delta ex-militant vow”
“Don’t spare perpetrators, Mark charges security agencies”
“Slain corps members: Yuguda under fire over comment”
“Mankind Condemns riots, calls for calm”

“Post election riots in Kaduna, Bauchi, Yobe, Niger, Nasarawa, Gombe, Adamawa, Kano, Katstina”
“Bauchi rejects results in 22 states and FCT”
“Rioters torch VP’s house”
“Riots in Kaduna, Banuchi, Gombe, Adamawa, Borno, Yobe, Kano, Jos”
“Post election riot rocks Sokoto, Kano, eleven other states”
“Government imposes curfew in Kano, Kaduna, Katsina”
“Samdo’s residence set ablaze as violence spreads”
“PDP cautions supporter against retaliation”
“Polls, Violence: Military Threatens crackdown”
“Tugs invade court in Bayelsa, assault officials”
“For fair hearing, all parties must be heard”
“Ex-LG boss in possession of 19 guns”
“Violence breaks out in Kaduna, Kano, Niger”
“Mob torches Emir’s palace, others”
“10 Killed in Gombe, protests in Taraba, Plateau”
“News: Post election violence in Northern Nigeria”
“Bomb blasts, pogrom, Arsons! True evidence of gathering intelligence to avoid national catastrophe!”
“Police arraign lawmaker over possession of gun”
“Security agents subject outgoing NASS members to search.”
“The cash and grief of elections”
“..... Jubilations halted in Ogbomosho as Ibadan goes agog”
“Kaduna: Violence and governorship poll”
“Forensic test ‘ll expose rigging in S’East”
“Electoral violence: Perpetrators will not go unpunished”
“Nigeria must account for the blood of the innocent”
“This is not our destiny”
“One election, many deaths”
“Heartless Yuguda and his wicked fanaticism”
“Pains of 2011 election violence”
“We are ready for war”
“Ngige breaks through Peter Obi’s barricade”
“Arrest me again --- dares Jonathan”
“Anxiety as PDP decides S/East, N/Central’s fate”
“Remains of corps members leave Bauchi”
“He must apologize to Christians”
“Delta, a terrorist state”
“Kaduna: Opposition parties call for state of emergency”
“36 INEC ad-hoc employees escaped lynching in Bayelsa”
“Plateau PDP will not work with Opposition”
“Post-election violence: Group decries killings”
“Imo governorship poll: Lawyers express divergent views”

“2011 Election results: Governorship, senate, House of Rep’s State Assembly... A laughable legacy”

“Bated breath as Nigerians await results of gubernatorial polls: Ballot box snatching, trail exercise”

“Where is the brotherhood we share?”

Source: Aderogba, Kofo. 2011. A Compilation From the Nigeria Dailies and Magazines of the Months of March, April and May, 2011.