

Ibadan Journal of Peace & Development
Vol. 10 No. 1 February 2020 pp.101-117

2015 Post Election Petition Analysis and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

Diekola Oluseyi J.&Wahab Yusuf B.

Abstract

In any democratic setting, election has become a major instrument for exercising the principle of sovereignty of the people. Through the process of election citizens are allowed to determine those to represent them at different layers of government. In spite of the centrality of election to a democratic government, it is crystal clear that except few cases, no election in is conducted in Nigeria without the history of rigging, volume and irregularities. It is on account of this fact that the study addresses 2015 post election petition analysis and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The study employs mixed methods combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Journals, textbooks and decisions of tribunals in Nigeria constitute the secondary source while primary data is extracted from questionnaire administered through online survey. It was discovered that the establishment of election petition tribunal in Nigeria is well justified on account of the nature and character of electoral process in Nigeria. Also, some gaps were identified such as undue political interference breach of technicalities, as well as corruption. The paper recommends training programme for key players as well as independence of tribunal in order to strengthen democratic practices in Nigeria. The paper concludes by drawing a nexus between the significant role of Tribunal and Consolidation of democracy in Nigeria.

Keywords: Election, Tribunal and Democracy

Introduction

Election is the process of choosing a person or a group of people for a political position through the instrumentality of voting. It is an indispensable attribute of democracy in every well-intentioned society. This position perhaps explains why Vanguard, February 13, 2009 states that:

Free and fair elections are the cornerstone of every democracy and primary mechanism for exercising the principles of sovereignty of the people. Through such elections, citizens participate in the governance of their country, by choosing those who govern in the quest for development.

The above comment in *Vanguard* has raised yet another critical question in the Nigeria's electoral history since its corporate existence as a sovereign state. Thus, to what extent has Nigeria conducted elections devoid of consternations, fraud and agitation since independence? To what extent has the country's electoral system permitted the citizens to participate and freely choose those to represent them at various levels; ward, local, state and national? To what extent has this process ushered in the desired socioeconomic and political development to the Nigerian state?

These questions are raised against the background of the fact that Nigeria's experience with democratic elections since independence has been rather mixed. Available evidence shows that no election conducted in Nigeria since independence has been completely free of charges of irregularities, electoral malpractices, violence and various degrees of

disruption (Duru & Nwagboso, 2005). This ugly scenario has continued to cascade the country's effort-cum drive to development. It is therefore, unrealistic to think that the above view is popular among members of the elite class in Nigeria who are the beneficiaries of the prevailing deformed democracy. This is because, other countries in South East Asia who started the democratic process at the same time with us have left us far behind.

Thus, the 1979, 1983 and 1993 federal elections were alleged to be characterized by various forms of malpractices (Duru, 2004). It was alleged that the citizens were not only denied of their constitutional rights to vote, but were also imposed with candidates who could hardly win elections in their families not to talk of exalted positions they found themselves. Also the 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 general elections were replica of previous elections in the annals of the electoral history of Nigeria.

The need to right the wrong of the country's electoral process necessitated the establishment of electoral tribunals. Electoral tribunal is a type of court with the authority to deal with problems arising from the conduct of elections. Such tribunal is expected both in principle and in practice to be comprised of impeccable judges with the responsibility of investigating what actually transpired during the elections. Such tribunal is usually comprises of five (5) members. The Justices Uwais-led Electoral Reform Committee reduced it to three (3). This

is to enable the members take sound decisions in case of disagreement among them.

Section 140 (1) of Electoral Act, 2010 underscores the imperative for election tribunal and the procedure for questioning the return of a candidate as duly elected after election. This section states as follows:

“... if the Tribunal or the Court as the case may be, determines that a candidate who was returned as elected was not validly elected on any ground, the Tribunal or the Court shall nullify the election”.

Accordingly, section 133 (2)(a) of this Act clarifies what a tribunal or court means in the case of presidential elections as well as other elections in Nigeria. It further states in section 133(3) that such tribunal shall be constituted not later than 14 days after the election. This explains why the former president, Chief Olusgun Obasanjo shortly after the announcement of the 2007 presidential election in favour of Alhaji Umaru Yar'Adua by INEC declared that the burden of the claims that may arise from the conduct of the 2007 election rests squarely on the judiciary. Thus, Obasanjo's speech underscores the impact of the election petition tribunal in addressing critical problems bordering on the conduct of election in Nigeria.

It is on record that President Goodluck Jonathan's election victory too didn't go

unchallenged same thing as that of incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari. Atiku Abubakar the primary opponents of President Muhammadu Buhari challenged the result (15.2million votes) about 56 percent of the total votes that brought PMB into power. After election in 2003, 2007 and 2011, Buhari then as opposition candidate filed such appeal and lost. In 2015, however, Buhari was declared the winner over incumbent Goodluck Jonathan on the presidential election. To considerable surprise, Jonathan conceded and did not appeal the declaration. Buhari thereupon became the first opposition candidate in Nigeria's modern history to assume the presidency through the ballot box.

In order to limit the scope of this study, the researchers have considered petitions arising from the 2015 governorship election in southwestern Nigeria with emphasis on Lagos, Oyo and Ogun States respectively. How these petitions are managed by the election petition tribunal will be the crux of the research.

Statement of the Problem

Irregularities and violence have always trailed elections in the political history of Nigeria such that other than the regular court system, a specialized arrangement is required to curtail this unwholesome trend as fair and fast as possible. The Election Tribunal has assumed relevance in this regard over time and this has reasonably impacted positively on the

democratic climate of Nigeria (Diamond, 1999). In discharging this onerous task however, election tribunals have enmeshed in a number of shortcomings such as corruption, undue political interference and weak capacity, logistic problems and such others which tends to undermine the efficiency of the institution in the discharge of its responsibilities.

In recognition of the all-important role played by the election petition tribunals in resolving election conflicts, which are inevitable, need has arisen therefore to clarify issues surrounding technicalities involved, not only in the electoral process. The introduction of electronic and other technically-driven gadgets in the 2015 general election in Nigeria has introduced a new dimension and novelty in electoral process in Nigeria. Consequently, the judicial process has also been enlisted in the league of key players involved in the recognition and application of this new-found approach.

Some issues are thrown up on account of this new template which are fundamental to the determination of election results and tribunal decisions. These issues therefore the focal attention of this research.

Objectives of the Study

Broadly, the study examines 2015 Post Election Petition and democratic consolidation in

Nigeria's Fourth Republic while the specific objectives are to:

- (i) justify the rationale for the establishment of election petition in Nigeria;
- (ii) analyse the problems associated with the management of post election petition in Nigeria;
- (iii) proffer possible solutions towards enhancing the performance of election tribunal in Nigeria.

Research Questions

- (i) Are there justifications for the establishment of election petition in Nigeria?
- (ii) Were there challenges that confronted election tribunal in Nigeria?

Scope of the Study

This study investigates 2015 post election petition analysis and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. In order to limit the scope of the study, Oyo, Lagos and Ogun States have been considered the central focus of the paper with emphasis on Gybar national elections in the selected states.

Justification of the Study

In any democratic setting, elections are sine non qua to the emergence of political office holders who consequently are instrumental to how the affairs of a state are managed. It is invariably key to put in place an impartial umpire saddled with

the onerous responsibility of resolving inevitable conflicts.

This study is therefore significant in bringing to the fore the significant role played by the election tribunal in affirming the outcome of an election or debunking it as appropriate, thus consolidating our democracy.

The various electoral players, legal and judicial personnel as well as researchers will be particularly guided by the precedents being set.

Theoretical Framework

A number of theories are applicable for the purpose of explaining this study. Though just one which is the logic of state institution is considered most appropriate for explaining the study.

With the publication in 1985 of the book *Bringing the State Back In*, there was a remarkable resurgence of the state as a central unit of analysis in the social sciences. The principal authors of the book, Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, aimed to advance a new theory of socio-political analysis that would be anchored in the centrality of the state.

They first came on to the scene with a critique of the society-centred approaches predominant in the 1950s and 1960s, especially the neo-Marxist class analysis of the state. They advance the argument that the state cannot simply be regarded as 'an arena for competing social

forces', but rather as 'a set of organizations claiming control over territories and people' (Skocpol 1985, p 9; 2008, p 110). They further argue that the state is independent of other social forces and is able to make autonomous decisions. This suggests that the state has the capacity to formulate and pursue its goals without reflecting the interests of some social groups (Skocpol 1985, p 9). Another important element of their argument is predicated on the belief that states do not only matter because of their goal-oriented capacities, but also because of their 'organizational configurations, along with their overall patterns of activity, affect political culture, encourage some kinds of group formation and collective political actions' (Skocpol 1985, p 21).

In their useful contribution, Joel Migdal, Atul Kohl and Vivienne Shue led a scholarly project in 1994 to provide a critique of the state-centred approach. Although they concur with the position of state-oriented theorists on the significance of the state to social and political analysis, they argue that statist scholars have overestimated the capacity and autonomy of the state (Migdal, Kohn & Shue 1994, p 14).

For them, it is not enough only to consider the organisational configuration of the state to explain politics and society. It is also important to consider the societal context in which the state operates. Hence, they argue that the state and society, notwithstanding their posture as independent entities, are interdependent

(Migdal, Kohn & Shue 1994; Migdal 2001). With this argument the proponents of this perspective, otherwise known as the *state-in-society* approach, suggest that state institutions do not operate in isolation, they are also driven by some social factors that can determine the nature of the outcomes.

In this study, we are especially attracted to the argument of the dynamics of state institutions and their relationship with political patterns and processes. In this case, we are interested in studying the relationship between the Nigerian judicial system and the phenomenon of electoral fraud in the country. It should be acknowledged that some empirical research has clearly demonstrated the link between electoral institutions and the incidence of electoral fraud (cf. Molina & Lehoucq 1999; Agbaje & Adejumobi 2006; Hicken 2007; Birch 2007, 2008; Omotola 2010). For example, Sarah Birch (2007) has shown that the electoral system of a country matters in explaining electoral fraud. She found that there is a higher likelihood of electoral fraud in single member district (SMD) electoral systems than in proportional representation (PR) systems, owing to their different requirements.

Similarly, Hicken (2007, p 47) has argued that electoral institutions have direct, 'predictable and discernible' links to electoral fraud. With particular reference to vote-buying, he proved that electoral systems dictate the kind of strategies political actors adopt to win votes.

Omotola (2010, p 535) has proved that elections in Nigeria have been characterised by malpractice, largely because of 'the weak institutionalization of the primary agencies of electoral administration, particularly the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the political parties'.

While the tribunal plays an important role in the electoral process in a country, given its relevance to the settlement of electoral disputes, the institution is clearly still missing from the existing literature. Thus, we are concerned with studying the nature of the Nigerian judicial system with respect to elections and its potential to contribute to the explanation of the problem of electoral fraud. This study is not limited to the tradition of the existing analyses, which only focus on the institutional arrangements without interrogating the formation of the institutions themselves and how this can improve an understanding of their link with the phenomenon of electoral fraud. We are interested in examining the factors that inform the current judicial system in Nigeria and its present formation to find an explanation of the contribution of the judiciary to electoral fraud.

Methodology

The study surveys 2015 post election petition and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The study due its nature considers mixed design because it combines both qualitative and

quantitative data. The design is adopted on the premise that it strengthens and reduces weaknesses that stem from using a single research design. The application of the design to the study assists in increasing the validity and reliability of the research. The consideration of the design facilitates the adoption of both primary and secondary sources of data collection. The primary data was collected through questionnaire which was administered using Webropol method – an online survey. The choice of webropol was made due to the present global Covid 19 Pandemic which prevents the researchers from physical contacts. From this, it is quite convenient, reliable and dependable because opinions of respondents with respect to 2015 post election petition analysis will be difficult to be manipulated. A total of Hundred (100) respondents drawn from Lagos, Oyo and Ogun states respectively were reached. In order to measure the feelings of Nigerians in the diaspora, Nigerians in the UK, USA and ITALY who participated in the 2015 Governorship

elections in Lagos, Oyo and Ogun states were allowed to participate in the survey. Opinions of lawyers, academics, students and electorates generally who participated in the administration of the online questionnaire greatly influenced the study. Out of hundred respondents reached through the link, a total of Ninety Two (92) responses were considered valid while Eight (8) were voided on account of poor administration equivalent of 92% and 8% respectively. The link [https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/IFAlpQLserOlguBSAXphkV4N6-ntwfv-ls6p-slq\(LAlDXWrljGic22CA/viewform](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/IFAlpQLserOlguBSAXphkV4N6-ntwfv-ls6p-slq(LAlDXWrljGic22CA/viewform) opens for respondents access at exactly 9:56pm April 3rd, 2020 and stops receiving responses on the 6th April, 2020 at exactly 11:26am. Constitution of textbooks, journals, internet materials and essential publications of tribunals as well as civil society organisations constitute the secondary source. Data collected were analysed using descriptive but analytical statistical method through the use of simple frequency and percentages.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Section A: Table distribution of respondents by demographic data.

Demographic Data of Respondents	Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Sex	Male	63	67.6%
	Female	29	32.4%
	Total	92	100%
Age	Below 25 years	19	21%
	26 – 35 years	40	43%
	36 – 45 years	23	25%
	46 and above	10	12%
	Total	92	100%
Marital Status	Single	61	66.7%
	Married	31	33.3%
	Divorced	0	0
	Widowed	0	0
	Total	92	100%
Religion	Christianity	64	69.6%
	Islam	28	30.4
	Others	0	0
	Total	92	100%
State of residence	Ogun	24	26%
	Oyo	48	52%
	Lagos	20	22%
	Total	92	100%
Highest Education Qualification	O'Level	15	16.7%
	ND/NCE	17	18.6%
	HND/BSc	43	47.1%
	MSc/Ph.D	17	16.7%
	Others	0	0
	Total	92	100%

From the demographic data of respondents, it was discovered that the male were higher than the female respondents. This is justified by (67.6%). It has been established that majority of the respondents falls within 26 – 35 years (43%). From the marital status it was discovered that 66.7% are single while 33.3% are

married. In the selected states, Christians constitute our major respondents (69.6%). Furthermore, state of residence of respondents shows that there are higher respondents in Oyo (52%) compared to Ogun (26%) and Lagos (22%).

Section B: Justification for Election Petition Tribunal in Nigeria

S/N		Agree	Disagree	Total
8.	Most elections in Nigeria are often fraught with controversies between key players	89 97.1%	3 2.9%	92 100%
9.	Election tribunals aid credible electoral process in Nigeria	64 69.6%	28 30.4%	92 100%
10.	Petitions are better handled by election tribunals which are constituted by professionals who are skilled and experienced in determination of election matter.	78 84.3%	14 15.7%	92 100%
11.	Constituting specialized adjudicatory body such as an election petition, tribunal, facilitates speedy determination of election matters in Nigeria.	73 79.4%	19 20.6%	92 100%
12.	Democratic development is a function of election Petition Tribunal	61 66.7%	31 33.3%	92 100%

The section measures the justification for election petition tribunal in Nigeria. From question 8 therefore 97.1% of the respondents agreed that elections are fraught with controversies between key players. While question 9 affirms the credibility of tribunal in promoting effective electoral process (69.6%). In the same direction question 10 reveals

professionalism in tribunal especially in the discharge of their mandate (84.3%). Also question 11 recognized the role of tribunal in speedy determination of election matters in Nigeria (66.7%). And lastly democracy can only be consolidated where in a state where election petition matters are given urgent attention (66.7%).

Section C: Problems Associated with the Management of Post Election Petition in Nigeria

S/N		Agree	Disagree	Total
13.	Undue political interference often tinkers with the decision of election petition tribunals in Nigeria.	77 83.3%	15 16.7%	92 100%
14.	Technicalities sometimes override facts in reaching the outcome of election petitions in Nigeria.	79 86.3%	13 13.7%	92 100%
15.	Corruption on the part of members of tribunal and political stakeholder often undermine tribunal judgements in election petitions in Nigeria.	84 91.2%	8 8.8%	92 100%
16.	Election petition tribunals sometimes deepen election crisis through contradictory judgements on the same matter as handed down by them.	78 84.3%	14 15.7%	92 100%

In spite of the recognized role as well as the justification for establishing election tribunal above, this section investigates problems associated with the management of post election petition in Nigeria. In line with this, question 13 shows that undue political interference is one of the major problems (83.3%) while question 14 addresses breach of technicalities in managing election petition matters (86.3%). Question 15 indicates corruption as another problem undermining election petition outcome (91.2%). Lastly, question 16 postulates how contradictory judgement deepens election crisis in Nigeria (84.3%).

Empirical Review on 2015 Governorship Post Election Petition Analysis in Oyo, Lagos and Ogun States

Since the country returns to constitutional democracy in 1999, Nigeria conducted its fifth election in 2015 and it was generally acclaimed

by domestic and international observers as credible and a significant improvement on the 2011 election. The election was regarded as symbolic in Nigeria's practical history for some reasons through two are fundamental. Firstly it marked the first time an opposition party would successfully defeat a ruling party at the Federal level and second; it witnessed the deployment of technology in the voting process through the use of PVC and SCRS, which helped to improve the credibility of the process. However, despite achievement rewarded, there were some witches some of which manifested in the nature of petitions arising from the conducted of the elections and decisions reached by the court on the cases. From available statistics, INEC disclosed that about six hundred (600) petition were filed at the various election petition tribunals set up in all the states across the six geo-political zones of the country out of which five hundred and sixty (560) were documented and reviewed.

Table 1: Showing Analysis of 2015 Election Petition Cases

S/N	Cases	Frequency	% Distribution
1.	Petitions filed	600	100
2.	Petitions Documented and Reviewed	560	43.3

Source: Authors' Compilation, 2020.

Out of the 560 documented and reviewed, majority of the 560 petitions, 309 (55.1%) were with respect to state constituency elections, 155 (27.6%) for Federal constituency elections,

senate 69 (12.3%) and 27 petitions (4.8%) were field challenging the outcome of the Governorship Elections which is the central focus of this study. See Table 2 below.

Table 2: Showing Analysis of Total Number of Petitions Filed Challenging the Outcome of the 2015 Governorship Federal and State Constituency Elections

S/N	Nature of Election	Number of Petitions Filed	% Distribution
1.	Governorship	27	4.8
2.	Senate	69	12.3
3.	House of Representation	155	27.6
4.	State House of Assembly	309	55.1

Source: Authors' Compilation, 2020.

Table 3: Summary of Election Petitions by Political Parties

Political Party	No. of Election Petition Cases Filed	%
ACCORD	25	4.4
ADC	4	0.7
APC	249	45.0
APGA	48	8.4
AD	1	0.1
CPP	1	0.1
DPP	1	0.1
LP	34	6.0
MPPP	2	0.3
NCP	1	0.1
PDC	5	0.8
PDM	5	0.8
PDP	167	29.5
PPA	7	1.2
PPN	1	0.1
SDP	8	1.4
UPN	1	0.1

Source: Authors' Compilation, 2020.

Table 4: Showing Governorship Petitions Trial and Decision of Court in the Selected States

S/N	State	Petition	Party	Respondent	Party	Ground(s) for Petition	Tribunal		Court of Appeal	Supreme Court
							Decision	Reasons	Decision	Decision
1	Oyo	Rashidi Adewolu Ladoja	Accord	Senator Abiola Adeyemi Ajimobi	APC	Respondent not duly elected by majority of lawful votes Unduly Elected; Non-compliance with the Electoral Act & corrupt practices (massive electoral irregularities) ???	Petition dismissed	Failure of the petitioner to prove beyond reasonable doubt, his allegations of corrupt practices and show how that the non-compliance complained about adversely affected the outcome of the election	Appeal Dismissed Reason The court held at the tribunal was right.	Appeal Dismissed Reason The Supreme Court held that the petitioner was unable to prove is allegation of corrupt practices
2.	Lagos	Joseph Olujimi Kolawole Agbaje	PDP	Akinwunmi Ambode	APC	Respondent not qualified to contest; Non-compliance with the Electoral Act & corrupt practices (improper accreditation of voters, non-use of card, over-voting, falsification of results, illegal thumb printing	Petition struck out	The Tribunal ruled that the grounds of the petition were not provided under the Electoral Act and therefore the Petition was incompetent; The improper or non-use of the card	Appeal Dismissed Reason The court held that the grounds of the petition were invalid.	Appeal Dismissed Reason The court held that failure of the petitioner to file an appeal against a substantial appeal judgement, which are

						etc).		reader is not a ground to challenge an election.		roles from the original petition, had made the present appeal incompetent
3.	Ogun	Adegboyega Nasir Isiaka	PDP	Senator Ibikunle Amosun	APC	Respondent not duly elected by majority of lawful votes Unduly Elected; Non-compliance with the Electoral Act & Corrupt practices (rigging, arbitrary allocation of figures and falsification of results).	Petition dismissed	The petitioner failed to lead direct evidence of what transpired at the disputed polling units through witnesses who participated in the voting; The Petitioner was unable to prove his allegations of corrupt practices & the non-compliance with the Act.	Appeal Dismissed	Appeal Dismissed
4.	Ogun	Iyabo Ogunmefun (No. 1)	MPPP	Senator Ibikunle Amosun	APC	Respondent not duly elected by majority of lawful votes; Non-compliance with the Electoral Act; Unlawful	Petition struck out	The Tribunal ruled that the petition was filed out of time and therefore incompetent.	Appeal Dismissed	Appeal Dismissed

						Exclusion from the election;				
5.	Ogun	Iyabo Ogunmefun (No. 2)	MPPP	Senator Ibikunle Amosun	APC	Respondent not duly elected by majority of lawful votes; Non-compliance with the Electoral Act; Unlawful Exclusion from the election;	Petition struck out	The Tribunal ruled that the petition was deemed abandoned after Petitioner failed to apply for prehearing notice within stipulated time.	Appeal Dismissed Reason The time for hearing the petition had elapsed.	Appeal Dismissed

Source: Authors' Compilation, 2020

Conclusion

Elections in Nigeria are essentially fraudulent, irregular and controversial for which reason election petition tribunals are necessarily instrumental to the resolution of controversies arising therefrom. Most respondents conceded to the need to assign the task of resolving election dispute to such a professional body such as an election petition tribunals and that the process tends to enhance electoral credibility and thus consequently stimulates democratic consolidation in Nigeria, regardless of a number of inadequacies associated with the performance of such election petition tribunals.

ence against future occurrence.

References

- Adamu, Adamu, (2008). "Judiciary: The Penny Drops", *Daily Trust*, December 19.
- Adamu, Adamu, (2011). "A Sordid Tawdry Affair", *Daily Trust*, August, 26.
- Adebanwi, W. 2008. *Trials and Triumphs: The Story of The News*. Lagos: West African Book Publishers.
- Adejumobi, S. (1999). *Demilitarization and the Search for Democratic Stability in Nigeria*. Mimeo.

It is therefore apt to recommend as follows:

1. The election tribunals should be better equipped to effectively discharge its statutory roles.
2. There is the need to further guarantee the independence of election tribunals.
3. Key Players should be subjected to training and re-training in order to acquire relative expertise in handling future election petitions in Nigeria.
4. Relevant sanctions should be invoked on erring members of election petition tribunals as deterrent

Adejumobi, S. (2000). 'Elections in Africa: A Shading Shadow of Democracy'. *International Political Science Review* 21(1).

Adeniji, G. (2012). 'Salami, Victim of PDP's Conspiracy – Tinubu'. *The Punch*, 28 May. Available at:

www.punchng.com/news/salami-victim-of-pdps-conspiracytinubu/

Adeolu, I. (2007). 'Still on Ekiti Tribunal and AC's Propaganda'. *Nigerian Tribune*, 22 November.

Adewole, L. (2012). 'Stop Treating Judiciary as Appendage – CJN Tells Govs'. *Nigeria Tribune*, 13 September. Available at: tribune.com.ng/index.php/lead-stories/47550-stop-treating-judiciary-as-appendage-cjn-tells-govscorrupt-sans-must-lose-title-nba

- Agbaje, S & A Adejumobi(2006). 'Do Votes Count? The Travails of Electoral Politics in Nigeria'. *Africa Development* 31(3).
- Akinrefon, (2009). Why free and fair elections elude African nations. *Vanguard*, 6.
- Anderson, M L. (2000). *Practicing Democracy: Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany*. Princeton, N J: Princeton University Press.
- Diamond, L. (1999). "*Developing Democracy Toward Consolidation*". London University Press.
- Dinneya, G. (2006). *Political Economy of Democratization in Nigeria*. Lagos: Concept Publications Limited.
- Duru, E. J. C. & Nwagboso, C. I. (2005). The Futility of the Minority Equation in Nigeria's Electoral Calculation. In *Calabar Journal of Politics and Administration* 3 (1), 102-117.
- Duru, E. J. C. (1999). A review of the electoral process in Nigeria since 1960. in G. O. Ozumba et al (Eds) *Nigeria: Citizenship education* (PP 160-168). Aba: AAU Vitalis Book Company.
- Egwemi, V.I. (2008). "Electoral Fraud, Legitimacy Crisis and the Government of National Unity Option. Focus on the 2007 General Election in Nigeria". In Omodia (ed). *Managing Elections in Nigeria*. Keffi: Nassarawa State University Printing & Publishing Co.
- Eminue, O. (2001). *Introduction to Political Science*. Calabar: CATS Publishers.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria: *The Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria* (1999). Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (6th edition).
- Jega, A.M. (2007). "*Democracy, Good Government and Development in Nigeria*". Ibadan, Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Kalu, K.N. (2004). "Embedding African Democracy and Development: The Imperative of institutional Change," *International Review of Administrative Science*, 70(3): 527 – 545.
- Kalu, O. (March 14, 2009). Is Iwu really to blame? *Sun*, p.15.
- MacPherson, C. B. (1972). *The real world of democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nmehielle, V.O. (2004). "*Sharia law in the Northern Stats of Nigeria*". Zamfara, Newface Publication.
- Ojeme, B. (2009). 2011: 27 Political Associations Apply For Registration. *Vanguard*, 7.
- Okoye, F. (2010). "Restorative Justice & The Defence of People's Mandate: The Judiciary in the Aftermath of the 2007 Elections, in Nigeria" in Jibrin Ibrahim & Okechukwu Ibeanu (ed). *Direct Capture. The 2007 Nigerian Elections and Subversion of Popular Sovereignty*. CDD: OSIWA
- Okoye, F. "Do Elections Count?" Final Report of The 2003 General Elections in Nigeria Abuja: Transition Monitoring Group.

- Omotola, J. S. (2011). Electoral Reform and the Prospects of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria. *Journal of African Elections*, 10(1), 187-207.
- Onoyume, J. (2009). Appeal Court Upholds Orji's election. *Vanguard*, p. 1.
- Osinachukwu, N and Jawan, J. (2011): "The Electoral Process and Democratic Consolidation: Political and Security Challenges". A key note speech available at Republic. European Scientific, Journal 9(8); 181-192.
- Otoghagu, E. (2007). Trends & Contemporary Issues on Regimes of Nigerian Heads of State: Politics & Politics, Achievements & Failures. Benin City: Otoghagua Ent. Nig.
- Powell, G. B. (1992). Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability, and Reform Committee Report. *Vanguard*, 48.
- Violence. Port Harcourt: Sunray Publications Limited.
- Pre-Independence Method of Election. Osun State Election Commission, Nigeria Retrieved 3 November 2011.
- Salami, A. T. (1992). Democratic Theory and Practice: The Nigerian Experience. In L. A Thompson (ed). *Democracy, Democratization and Africa* (PP 71-98). Ibadan: Afrik-Link Books.
- Tosanwumi, R. (2009). Nigeria: What manner of democracy? *Vanguard*, 39.
- Umoru, H. (2009). "Our Political Parties Lack Conscience, Content, Courage. *Vanguard*, 40.
- Vanguard Editorial (2009). Free and Fair Elections: Cornerstone of democracy – Electoral