

APPLICATION OF EXISTING STATISTICAL DATA TO ANALYZE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an attempt to examine issues in voting behaviour of Nigerians. The aim and objectives are verification, exposition of trends and relationship to presumed "Political Assumptions" in our polity. The theoretical foundation were Structural-functional, Games and class theories, which provide explanations for the "Political Assumption", the electorates and effect on electoral success. The apparatus of existing statistics, evaluating some assumptions in Nigeria politics was our guide. This research was conducted between January 2020 and July 2021. The presidential elections of 1979, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019 were our focus. It used unobtrusive methodological analysis of existing statistics from these presidential elections listed above. This article empirically examines, using the extended in-depth presidential election data of these years and survey method to show the relationship between voting pattern, voters' turnout and two party system, rotation of the presidency, alternation of parties in government, minority votes and election results, etc. The central findings are that most assumptions in Nigerian government or politics do not find acceptance within the context of voting patterns, and voter's behaviour. It recommends that parties should alternate in government based on two major Political Parties, which also makes the country to be ripe for two party system. Furthermore, it is believed that "rotational Presidency" clause should be enacted in the constitution for equal representation and sense of belonging by all federating units etc.

Keywords: Existing Statistics, Political Assumptions, Presidential Elections, Social Science Research, Voting Behaviour

INTRODUCTION

Voting behaviour, observed through voting patterns and voter turnout in elections usually tell us or viewed in the in-depth political analysis framework reveals whether the society has political maturity or not. In less developed democracies, voting behaviours are usually characterized by centrifugal forces of ethnicity, religion, tribalism, status-quo maintenance and such other divisive considerations. Conversely, in developed democracies, voting behaviours are based on other factors e.g. track-record of candidate, change agent, manifestoes, disposed personality, ingenuity, expectancy and desire for performance, mode and spirit of the nation, etc. variables one might consider “meritorious”. As a methodology paper, it is going to ask for explanation of why the voting behaviours in the various presidential elections [1979, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019] have taken such shape and through systematic and empirical analysis deduce antecedent factors for such behaviour.

The unobtrusive category or non-reactive technique is one of the two ways of conducting researches in the social sciences. The main concern of this paper is the unobtrusive method of analysis of existing statistics. Even though it has been considered a supplemental source of data, it can also provide the main data for social scientific inquiry. [Babbie, 1975]. This method of research is favourable for research on more contemporary issues, involving wide range of materials covering different areas and eras that may result in greater scope and depth than is possible when using a simple primary data research project [Hyman, 1987; Miller, 1980]. We are in addition therefore, going to use survey to verify these political assumptions in Nigerian politics.

Objectives of the Research

The main objective of this paper is to look at voting behaviour of Nigerians in presidential elections spreading through 1979 – 2019. The voting patterns, and opinion of respondents from questionnaire to evaluate what will stand as specific objectives for the workability of:

1. Two party system [the need]
2. Alternation of parties in government
3. Rotation of the presidency
4. Minority votes and outcome of presidential election results
5. Juxtapose the above with presumed assumption in Nigerian politics.

Research Problem

There have been too many assumptions without verification of any kind among politicians and Nigerians in the Polity for instance:

- Multi-farious party system and democratic stability.
- Zoning and the rotation of the presidency round the geopolitical zones or ethnic segments of our society.
- Christian presidential candidate must choose Moslem running mate verse visa, to win presidential election.
- Minority votes and presidential election results
- Ethnicity and religion are major factors to actualize electoral success in Nigeria.

All these and many more are unverified political assumptions. This gap is what informed this study. The Peoples Democratic Party and other conservative party lines were taught to have dominated presidential election, without consideration of the alternation of other parties in government. We therefore reasoned:

- How do we stabilize our democracy?
- How do we actualize the rotation of the presidency?
- Can parties alternate in government in Nigeria?

These and many more are what constitute the nature of problem or gap which the paper addresses: using existing statistics, that is, political behaviour expressed in voting pattern, voter turnout etc. of [1979, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019] presidential elections.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The World Bank figure for mid-1970 ranked Nigeria seventh most-populous country in the world after China, India, USA, Indonesia, Brazil and Japan [Oriakhi, 2002]. In this population is a “collection of independent native states, separated from one another by great distances, by differences of history and tradition and by ethnological, racial, tribal and political, social and religious barrier” [Obasanjo, 1980]. This aptly explains the multifarious nature of centrifugal forces in the Nigerian state, that poses problem for Nigerian government and politics. The literature to be reviewed are within the context of the objectives chosen for the work. Since there are a lot of centrifugal forces and cleavages in the Nigerian state, the people are supposed to engage what will establish stability in governance [Democratic Consolidation] that will involve behaviour and institutional changes [Dode, 2010; Beetham, 1994]. Instead of utterances that will rekindle oppression and marginalization, that can elicit succession desire among federating units.

The dynamics of party system in Nigeria has been very interesting: since the first republic in 1963, the country has witnessed multi-party democracy in all her civil rule, except the creation of two parties – Social Democratic Party [SDP] and the National Republican Convention [NRC] by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida in 1989. In Nigeria, the drive for power underpins every other consideration for party formation. The events since 2013, suggest that the country might just be drifting

towards two major political parties i.e. All Progressive Congress [APC] and Peoples Democratic Party [PDP]. This development is as a result of three factors: the first is the merger in 2013 of four biggest opposition parties – Action Congress of Nigeria [ACN], the congress for Progressive Change [CPC], the All Nigeria Peoples Party [ANPP] and the All Progressive Grand Alliance [APGA] to form All Progressive Congress [APC] [Agomuo, 2013; Maram, 2013; Akor, 2013]. The second reason is the monumental defection in 2013 of PDP members across the country to the emerging APC, and thirdly is the yearning for alternative party for governance by the Nigerian people as the PDP's achievement since 1999 can be bettered, a kind of change from PDP's government since 1999 [Ebagbulen, 2014]. In 2007 presidential election, Yar'Adua was declared as the president elect. [Sufuyan, 2007] but the official figures on voters turnout were estimated at 57.5% of 61.5 million registered voters. The European Union as an observer group described the election as 'the worst they had ever seen anywhere_in the world'. In line with this observation Yar'Adua as the "president elect pleads for peace" [Yar'Adua, 2007] and promised to reform the electoral process.

One of the suspected reasons for non-rotation of parties or alternation of parties in government is the integrity of the elections and practice by electoral officers. In 2015 presidential elections, the social media played a vital role in serving as watch dog for the integrity of election process, as results from the polling stations were quickly posted, thus preventing electoral officers from announcing different results from the one already posted online. [Mutsvairo & Ragnedda, 2019].

We do not have "Rotational Presidency" yet, because the principle is not accommodated in the national Constitution, where its "nitty gritty" can be spelt out [Akinola, 1996]. The rotational presidency clause was included in the 1995 draft Constitution during the National Constitutional Conference but was unfortunately truncated by the regime of Abdusalami Abubakar who amended the Constitution and removed that portion [Ekweme, 2020]. Those who are against rotational presidency, federal character, zoning, equal representation, affirmative action etc. should know that they are systematically worked concepts for the management of cleavages and diversities for unity and cohesion, as no one or group/society will agree to be in a union where they would never lead or rule [Edeoga, 2013]. The success of American Constitution of 1787 is the acknowledgment that the problem of cleavage can only be resolved by addressing it. Their pragmatic approach to introduce equal representation has gone a long way to allay the fears of smaller states and minorities against oppression and domination. Concepts like bi-cameralism, federalism, presidentialism/congressional system, equal representation and limited government. All these emanated as a recipe for their peculiar nature as a country.

The various democratic expressions in any political system justify the alternation of parties in government i.e. 'a credible and formidable opposition'. The electoral strength of parties change gradually from election to election or within a life span of a generation... A first priority for social scientists is to explain the absence of change in a far from static period in political history. [Rose & Urwin, 1970].

Therefore, if parties don't alternate in government, it poses concern to political scientists/observers and necessitates a finding out for such static period. Nigeria, as politically constituted practices liberal democracy whose significant features can be compressed into three aspects. These are the ability to provide: Mechanism of political choice, balanced political structures and stable political system [Smith, 1980]. These three characteristics are closely related to one another, because the general reputation of stability which liberal democracies have, can be seen as a product of the other two i.e. the choice provides the opportunity for political balance, and that choice and balance together foster stable democracy by producing satisfactory channels through which demands are made on the political system. Political choice mechanism among others includes a strong, credible and formidable opposition party. A formidable opposition party must be ready to take over especially when the electorates yearn for a change as a result of non-performance by incumbent party in government. This will also ensure political stability; and strengthen healthy competition for power.

The Peoples Democratic Party [PDP] members before 2015 presidential elections boasted that the party will rule Nigeria for 100 years. This statement portrays the party as being too powerful [Arunsi, 2014; Kazuare, 2013]. Nigeria needed two [major] strong political parties which could provide the necessary checks and balances in the polity [Arunsi, 2014]. All Progressive Congress [APC] members are already arrogantly saying they shall rule Nigeria for 100 years. Another thing that is equally playing out is that, almost all the electoral promises since the inception of this All Progressive Congress [APC] government from [2015 to date] employment, value of naira to the dollar, economy, insecurity all over the place, etc. have not been meant. The hardship on Nigerians have been doubled therefore the odds favour the alternation of parties in governance.

The new wave is the desire for third force, that is, Nigerians want a party different from All Progressive Congress [APC] and the Peoples Democratic Party [PDP]. Recent events suggest they might have gotten that as Peter Obi, who hitherto was a presidential hopeful under the PDP resigned to join the Labour Party; since then Nigerians, especially youths have embraced labour party. There have been such in registration for Permanent Voters Card [PVC]. Observers have said Peter Obi might be Nigerians version of Barrack Obama, Emmanuel Macron of USA and France respectively. The critics have also said that Peter Obi supporters who have christened themselves as 'Obidients' in Obi's movement are only popular in the social media but the results of the February 2023 presidential election in Nigeria however decided otherwise.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

Three theoretical frameworks of analysis provide relevant perspectives to this work. These theories are Structural functionalism, Games and Class theories. The principle of goal oriented, motivated and intentional behaviour of politicians and their apologists in politics and their unsuspecting

followers epitomized the Games and Class theories. While the seemingly failure of electoral institution is captured by the Structural Functional approach. That politicians engage in strategies and alternative courses of action among other things emanate “political assumptions” by them which are geared towards portraying their party and themselves as congruent with the norms, customs, traditions and institutions; and therefore the party to stand with for success at the polls. Class and social stratification in Nigeria are multifarious as they neither follow the Marxian analysis nor the sociological perspective. That is, owners of capital and the workers, i.e. capitalist and the proletariat, or the upper class, the middle class and the lower class. Put differently, the society does not divide easily into the above classification.

The following rough classifications are found in Nigeria:

- (i) Those with ascribed status [e.g., traditional rulers]
- (ii) The landed gentry
- (iii) Industrial/commercial elite
- (iv) Intellectual and military elite
- (v) The quasi-proletariat
- (vi) Workers: peasants and the unemployed – the report of political bureau [1987]

This brief classification is necessary for two reasons – firstly, the political class comprising such people that grew into that class who transmit these “political assumptions” are on one side while the others who imbibe and propagate these assumptions are on the other side. The political class has the resources to manipulate the society through “political assumptions”. For instance, “You must have Christian as a running mate vice-versa to win Presidential election in Nigeria”; Ethnicity and religion are major factors to actualize electoral success in Nigeria”, Need for multi-party or two party system” etc. They engage in all these etc. to make them favourite in the elections because of compliance to these “assumptions”. The Games theory made actors to engage in alternative courses of action and strategies to survive. This made non-availability of ethics and various manipulations possible. They say all sorts of things to attract votes for success at the polls. In this theory, the action of human being ... usually relates somehow to their desires. Human beings are purposive [Vernon, 1960]. It is the formal study of the rational consistent expectation that participants can have about each other choices [Thomas, 1975]. The politicians of all the parties want to get as much as they can out of the game of politics.

Structural-Functional approach views society as complex system with many sub-system, which must work efficiently and effectively for the promotion of solidarity and stability. Functionalism deals with society as whole in terms of functions of its constituent elements. This means that societies are visualized as coherent, bounded and fundamentally relational constructs that function like organisms, with the various social institutions working together in an overall social equilibrium. This explains the fragility of our electoral system, sometimes leading to violence in and during elections.

METHODOLOGY

This study adopts mainly the secondary and survey methods of research. Based on existing statistics of presidential elections of 1979, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019 and opinion through questionnaire [survey]. Other sources of information were Daily Newspapers, Library search, Internet and Magazines. These were supplemented by non-participant observation of the author in the unfolding scenario of Nigeria's government and politics seen from the electioneering campaign and utterances of politicians and the citizenry spanning over our political history.

Population:

- University of Benin: Based on 2017 data from National University's Commission [NUC]. The University of Benin had an academic staff strength of 1,884.
- Based of 2017 Federal Ministry of Education data, the University of Port Harcourt [UNIPORT] had approximately 1,492 academic staff.
- Based on studies referencing data from around 2017 regarding the Delta State University [DELSU] Abraka, the Institution had a population of approximately 701 academic staff.
- Based on 2017 data from the Federal Ministry of Education, University academic staff strength in Bayelsa includes institution like Niger Delta University. Recent 2024 studies indicate a broader university population of 1630 academic staff.

Sampling Technique and Sample Size:

The sample random technique was the sample that was used, it focused on 480 academic staff each of the four universities used for the research. This was the sample size constituting a fair representation of the entire population as described above. Operationally, the survey was based on questionnaire on some political assumptions to 120 respondents each from [Benin, Delta, Bayelsa and Rivers] universities about these issues. Given a total of 480 potential respondents but only 400 questionnaires were received [Table 1]: As analysis of assumptions, the second task for the author is the application of existing statistic of Presidential Elections [Results] as mentioned early above. Here we were able to observe voters' actions, describe trends and measure against unverified assumptions. We then developed and test falsifiable hypotheses [often called explanations, or theories] about those patterns [voter patterns], we have systematically observed.

APPLICATION OF ASSUMPTIONS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

In exploring and analyzing human experiences many tools are used, which are based on sequence of three apparently simple assumptions each of which is open to challenge. These researches and analyses are engaged in powerful and complex tasks of observation/naming, description/taxonomy and explanation/prediction (Menefee, 2009).

Observation/naming: This was done on the presidential election data of the years under consideration, 1979 – 2019 and specifically 1999, 2003, 2011, 2015 and 2019. The votes pattern, the voter turnout etc. We sought these data into – conservative and progressive parties: for a two party background, and explain alternation of parties in government.

How can the rotation of the presidency be captured? The Minority zone’s votes were known by their vote patterns in Presidential elections [1999, 2003, 2011, 2015 and 2019].

Description/taxonomy:

All the categories were created to explain these issues stated below:

Rotation of the presidency, Minority vote pattern by sorting data into Muslim and Christian zones, or North-Central and South/South geopolitical zones; two party system, and alternation of parties in government. All these were systematically described from the vote patterns and taxonomic into the categories.

Explanation/prediction: The falsifiable hypotheses often referred to as explanations about the discovered patterns was done here. However, a reader may agree or disagree with these claims separate from his/her judgement about whether the empirical claim is a strong one.

SUMMARY OF CONDUCTED SURVEY

Data collated from survey questionnaire was measured with a simple bifurcated arithmetic average and summary based on descriptive statistics. Below is the presentation in Table 1 hereunder:

Table 1: Evaluating responses on some political assumptions structured questionnaire

S/N	Survey Questions [Substantial Issues]	% Yes	% No	% Agree	% Disagree
1	Do you know that minority areas have been turning out more in elections in Nigeria?	120.00	280.00	-	-
2	Do you share the view that general public dissatisfaction arising from poor performance of candidates and governments can affect party’s election success	320.00	80.00	-	-
3	In your opinion, can the ethnicity of candidate lead to high voter turnout in elections?	-	-	398.00	2.00
4	Do you agree that ethnicity and religion are major factors in actualizing election success in Nigerian politics?	-	-	302.00	98.00

5	Do you believe that zoning system as it is practiced now can guarantee the rotation of the presidency?	-	-	160.00	240.00
6	Is Nigeria ripe for two party system now?	340.00	60.00	-	-
7	Do you know that minority zones in Nigeria have always voted for winning presidents in elections in Nigeria?	280.00	120.00	-	-

Table II: Summary of presidential election results under review and alternation of party in government

1979 Presidential Election				
Party	Candidate	Percentage % Vote	Conservative or Progressive	Winning Party
NPN	Shehu Shagari	33.77	Conservative	
UPN & 3 OTHERS	Obafemi Awolowo and 4 other progressives	66.23	Progressives	*
1983 Presidential Election				
NPN	Shehu Shagari	47.33	Conservative	
UPN & 4 OTHERS	Obafemi Awolowo and 4 other progressives	52.67	Progressives	*
1993 Presidential Election				
NRC	Basher U. Tofa	41.29	Conservative	
SDP	Moshood K. Abiola	58.71	Progressives	*
1999 Presidential Election				
PDP	Olusegun Obasanjo	62.78	Conservative	*
AD/APP	Olu Falae	37.22	Progressives	
2003 Presidential Election				
PDP	Olusegun Obasanjo	61.94	Conservative	*
ANPP & 18 OTHERS	Muhammadu Buhari & 23 other political parties	38.06	Progressives	
2007 Presidential Election				
PDP		69.60	Conservative	*
ANPP & 23 OTHERS		30.40	Progressives	
2011 Presidential Election				

PDP	Goodluck Jonathan	58.89	Conservative	*
CPN & 18 OTHERS	Muhammadu Buhari & 18 other political parties	41.11	Progressives	
2015 Presidential Election				
APC	Muhammadu Buhari	53.96	Progressive	*
PDP & 12 Others	Goodluck Jonathan & 12 other political parties	44.96	Conservative	
2019 Presidential Elections				
APC	Muhammadu Buhari	55.60	Progressive	*
PDP & 14 Others	Atiku Abubarka	41.22	Conservative	

Source: Developed from African Elections Database. <http://africanelections.org>; FriPodCom/ng/html.

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND FINDINGS [SURVEY AND EXISTING STATISTICS]

We assessed the objectives using both the simple weighted arithmetic average from the survey [conducted on 120 respondents each from randomly selected staff from Niger Delta University, University of Benin, University of Port Harcourt and Delta State University] all states from Niger Delta Region and data from existing statistics. The following analysis and findings are obtained; based on the five objectives set for the study, namely:

1. *On the need for two party system in Nigeria and the Alternation of parties in government:* The statistical analysis shows that 85% of respondents have Yes opinion, that Nigeria is ripe for a two party system. The respondents were not distinctively chosen but inclusively based on all the staff strata and kind in these universities. The findings align with our literature review, where Agomuo Zebulon in Business Daily of 11 February, 2013 stated the emergence of a credible and formidable opposition party with the alliance by Nigeria's four biggest opposition parties – the Action Congress of Nigeria [ACN], the Congress for Progressive Change [CPC], the All Nigeria Peoples Party [ANPP] and the Progressive Grand Alliance [APGA] merged to take on the Peoples' Democratic Party [Agomuo, [2013].
2. *On the alternation of parties in government:* The acceptance of two party system is an approval for parties to alternate in government. Moreover, our literature review queries the absence of alternation of parties in government and therefore made it first priority for social scientist to explain the absence of change in political history [Rose and Urwin, 1970] explaining “persistence and change” in western

Party System since 1945. From the pattern of votes from Summary of Presidential Election results [Table II], parties would have alternated in government i.e., the conservative and progressive parties – 1979, 1983, 1993, 2015 and 2019 would have been progressives while 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 would have been conservatives. This means the Progressives would have been more in power than the conservatives as shown by the work.

3. *On the rotation of the presidency:* Our literature review agrees for the presidency to be rotated but also believes it is currently a party arrangement as it is not enacted in the constitution. It is believed to be a means of managing diversities and national unity [Ekwueme, 2010] No individual/group or nationalities would agree to belong to a country where they can never rule [Edeoga, 2013]. Using available existing data of 1979 – 2019 Presidential election to evaluate this, suggest that rotation of the presidency will be difficult to actualize, through present party zoning system. Our survey respondents also disagree with 60% of them. Summary of Presidential election results [table II], we observed that if SDP zoned the presidential ticket to the South and Abiola clearing the 1993 elections won it even though the result of June 12, 1993 presidential election was annulled [Ola. 1995]. Another party in form of PDP zoned the presidential ticket to the south in 1999, Obasanjo would have won it as he did. This would have meant that same ethnic decent would cling to the presidency which is the flaw of zoning. The 2015 presidential election won by Muhammadu Buhari is also a case. This is because he sought for 2nd term in 2019 presidential election as provided for by the constitution and won. Worst still for zoning, Buhari and Atiku are both of Fulani descent. Secondly, the issue of incumbency and second term in office does not allow zoning to flow. In 1999, Olusegun Obasanjo won as President and in 2003 he was elected president again. This is why people have suggested one/single term in office of six years. Zoning as presently constituted is not constitutional but party driven. This can be indiscriminate as the president is usually the leader of the party. He can wade strong influence on the party to jettison that arrangement.
4. *On minority votes [North Central and South-South geopolitical zones] and outcome of Presidential election results:* The survey respondents surprisingly agree that minorities in the country have always voted [and provided success] for the winning president in election in Nigeria, with 70% agreeing to this view. This was also exposed by the existing statistics of presidential election results – 1999, 2003, 2011, 2015 and 2019 that were critically evaluated for this purpose. Here, North-Central geopolitical zone [Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nassarawa, Niger and Plateau States] was taking as the minority zone in the North also referred to as Muslim zone while South-South geopolitical zone [Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers States] was taking as the minority zone in the South also referred to as Christian zone. In all these elections the winning candidates – Olusegun Obasanjo [PDP] 1999, and 2003, Umaru Yar'Adua 2007, Goodluck Jonathan 2011 won these states except Jonathan in 2011 who did not win Niger State with 33% of the votes, but had more than 25% votes as prescribed by electoral law. In 2019 presidential election Buhari has not less than 25% in

these states as provided for by the constitution except Rivers State where he had 23.47%. the 2015 presidential election was a bit different perhaps because President Jonathan was from the South-South geo political zone. In all these elections, however, the winner has never failed to secure 25% of at least not less than 50% of these minority states in Nigeria thereby contributing to the success at the polls.

5. All the above objectives were implicitly juxtaposed and verified with presume “political assumptions” for our findings.

OTHER NON-RESEARCH OBJECTIVES ‘FINDINGS CONTINGENT ON VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF NIGERIANS.

Region and ethnicity as evaluating factors for candidate in elections.

The documentary research for this paper revealed that less importance to religion/ethnicity in voting can only be guaranteed ‘now’ if candidates come from the same zone or area thereby neutralizing ethnicity and religion but focuses on other factors like – personality of candidate, what he/she stands for, party ideology [manifestoes] etc. The first example in history of this country was 1999 presidential election between Olu Falae of the Accord between Alliance for Democracy/All Peoples Party [AD/APP] and Olusegun Obasanjo of the Peoples Democratic Party [PDP]. The two candidates were of the South-West geopolitical zone and Yoruba extraction/decent. Olusegun won the election but his party did not win the South-West geopolitical zone. This was also repeated in 2019 Presidential election where Atiku Abubakar of Peoples Democratic Party [PDP] and Muhammadu Buhari of All Progressive Congress [APC] contested the election. They are both of Fulani descent.

The arrangement, we observed will also actualize zoning as a political arrangement to rotate the presidency i.e. after enacting rotation of the presidency in the Constitution.

FINDINGS

It is found that for alternation of parties in government, there should be a shift to two major political parties, which is an implied acceptance and assurance for this idea. Based on conservative and progressive ideology we developed for the study, parties would have alternated in government [see table II].

It is found in the research study that the country is ripe for two party system. If not for anything but for democratic consolidation. This will discourage too many ill fighting in the polity. In the long run it will allow democracy to persist and be stable. The study subscribes to the rotation of the presidency. It is found that this will be difficult to actualize currently, because it is a party arrangement. The president is the leader of the party with strong influence that can jettison that arrangement. It was discovered in the

study, that the minorities in the country [North and South] have been very crucial in determining who becomes president of the country.

The study found that there is need for electronic voting and registration of voters, because of fraudulent manipulation by politicians.

The research discovered that ethnicity and religion are still very strong deciding factors in our elections as voters will vote along such lines, especially among the major ethnic groups.

CONCLUSION

Everybody who votes has a unique reason for doing so, yet all voters could be grouped according to certain common causes: employment, health, road, education, shelter etc. An observer or researcher may have slightly different answers in mind when the issue of voter/voting is addressed. One may for instance want to know or discover the environmental factors: social, economic, religious, ethnic, education etc. that encourages or discourages voter/voting. Sometimes, it might be revealing to juxtapose 'presumed assumptions' in a polity with the patterns of voters for more empirical clarification. The latter is what this paper has done by examining some political assumptions with some basic social science tools and came up with suggestions that seem the position of Nigerians as regard such issues. The research output is contrary to most political assumptions.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that government and other stakeholders in the democratic process should encourage, strive and push for the growth and sustenance of two main party system. The study agrees that 'Rotational Presidency' clause should be enacted into the Constitution for equal representation and sense of belonging by all the federating units. This will reduce competition over fear of domination and short changes of the group that might arise. Every politicians and every Nigerian should take every segment of this country as equal partners in the Nigeria project.

It is recommended that electronic voting should henceforth be used to conduct elections. Again, the national identity card [ID] scheme can be improved and used for voting, instead of spending billions of naira for voters registration, as one turns eighteen years he/she is captured.

One of the ways to eliminate ethnicity and its kind is for parties to choose aspirants from same ethnic group. This will cancel out ethnicity and the electorate's evaluation of candidates will be based on other factors.

The recommendations of the study are worthy of adoption, for democratic consolidation of our nascent democracy.

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