

The Nigerian Fourth Republic and Beyond: Examining Contemporary Issues of Elections and Future Trajectories

Yahaya Abubakar

Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

yahayaabubakar05@gmail.com

Abstract

The Fourth Republic in Nigeria, which lasted from 1999 to 2007, represents a period of considerable difficulty for the country's democratic process. The elections held during this time were largely tainted by rampant irregularities and incompetence, which resulted in a considerable decline in public confidence in the electoral system. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), which was responsible for supervising the elections, was hampered by a number of constraints, including a lack of autonomy and a lack of sufficient resources. This greatly undermined its capacity to administer elections that were free, fair, and transparent, which in turn led to a further decline in trust in Nigeria's democratic institutions. Acknowledging the critical role that INEC plays in the country's democratic consolidation, measures were taken to enhance its capacity and its autonomy. Making INEC equipped with required resources, both financial and institutional, turned into a priority in boosting the integrity and legitimacy of Nigeria's electoral process. Through actions designed to increase INEC's independence and effectiveness, such as electoral reforms and enhanced funding, Nigeria made progress towards rebuilding public confidence in its democracy. By allowing INEC to execute its mandate efficiently, Nigeria intended to maintain the principles of democracy, ensure electoral responsibility, and defend the rights of its citizens to be involved in free and fair elections. This dedication to reinforcing INEC's capabilities shows a wider aspiration towards democratic governance and highlights the significance of powerful electoral institutions in Nigeria's voyage towards democratic consolidation and national development.

Keywords: *INEC, Democracy, Electoral Reforms, Public Confidence, Autonomy.*

Introduction

Nigeria's democratic journey has been deeply intertwined with the evolution of its political party system, which has reflected the nation's ethnic diversity, regional dynamics, and shifting ideological leanings. From independence in 1960 to the present Fourth Republic, political parties have played a central role not only in

contesting elections but also in shaping national identity, governance practices, and political stability. The formation of early parties such as the Northern People's Congress (NPC), the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), and the Action Group (AG) was largely influenced by ethnic and regional interests, setting a precedent for future party alignments. These parties, though ideologically vague, attempted to articulate visions for national development, federalism, and modernization (Richard Sklar, 1963).

Subsequent Republics in Nigeria saw a restructuring of party systems, for examples; the Second Republic introduced constitutionally mandated political parties like the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), which began to adopt more coherent policy platforms and ideological distinctions (Yusufu Bala Usman, 1989; Omeiza Moveh David, 2012). The abortive Third Republic attempted to simplify the party system with State-created parties—the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC)—in a bid to transcend ethnic and regional divisions. However, its collapse following the annulment of the 1993 general elections that exposed the fragility of imposed political structures. The Fourth Republic, inaugurated in 1999, marked a new chapter in Nigeria's political development, characterized by the dominance of a few national parties like the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC). These parties have largely been driven by elite interests, often lacking in clear ideological commitment, resulting in frequent party-switching and weak institutionalization. Despite reforms by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and growing civic awareness, challenges persist in terms of party discipline, internal democracy, and issue-based politics. This paper explores the formation, evolution, and principles of political parties in Nigeria, assessing how they have influenced democratic consolidation across the Fourth Republic. It also examines the implications of weak ideological foundations and ethnic-based mobilization for Nigeria's democratic future.

Electoral Challenges during the Fourth Republic (1999-2023)

Since the onset of Nigeria's Fourth Republic in 1999, the nation has grappled with numerous electoral challenges that have shaped its democratic journey. Following decades of military rule, Nigeria's return to civilian governance was marked by high expectations for democratic consolidation. However, the electoral processes in subsequent years have been fraught with issues that undermine electoral integrity and public confidence. Challenges such as electoral violence, vote-

buying, administrative inefficiencies, and allegations of widespread fraud have persisted across various election cycles (Lewis, Peter M., 2003). Additionally, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), tasked with overseeing elections, has often struggled with logistical constraints, limited autonomy, and political interference, which have hindered its ability to conduct transparent and credible elections (Ojo, Emmanuel O., 2008; Diamond, Larry 2002; Ibrahim Jibrin, 2015; & Nwolise Obi, 2011). These challenges underscore the need for comprehensive electoral reforms to ensure free, fair, and credible elections, essential for the stability and legitimacy of Nigeria's democratic institutions (Ibeanu Okechukwu, 2007). The paper will look at the Fourth Republic general elections of 1999 – 2003; the general elections of 2003 – 2007; the general elections of 2007 – 2011; and the general elections of 2011 – 2015 as examples of election in the Fourth Republic with some elements of electoral processes.

The General Elections of 1999 – 2003

The 1999-2003 elections in Nigeria marked the beginning of the Fourth Republic and were pivotal in transitioning the country from military rule to democratic governance. The elections featured three major political parties: the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the All People's Party (APP), and the Alliance for Democracy (AD). The PDP emerged as the dominant party, with Olusegun Obasanjo winning the presidency, signifying a significant shift in Nigeria's political landscape (Suberu, R. T., 2001). In the gubernatorial elections, the PDP won 21 out of 36 states, the APP secured 9 states, and the AD captured 6 states (Omotola, J. S., 2010). The National Assembly elections also saw the PDP dominate, winning 59 Senate seats and 206 House of Representatives seats. The APP obtained 29 Senate seats and 74 House seats, while the AD won 20 Senate seats and 68 House seats (L. A. Junaidu, 2011). This period was characterized by high voter turnout and marked the consolidation of the PDP's political power, setting the stage for future elections and the political dynamics of the Fourth Republic. It was also a period that witnessed massive electoral malpractices and rigging in order to favour the emergence of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) candidate Chief Olusegun Obasanjo 1999 – 2007 (Mohammed, A. S. & Alkasim Baba, 2019 & Abdullahi Y. Shehu, 2019).

The General Elections of 2003 – 2007

The 2003-2007 elections in Nigeria were a critical period in the Fourth Republic, marking a consolidation of democratic processes despite significant challenges. By the 2003 elections, the number of registered political parties had increased to

30, reflecting a growing political pluralism (Lewis, P. M., 2003; Alemika Etannibi E. O., 2002 & Ihonvbere, J. O, 2000). The People's Democratic Party (PDP) maintained its dominance, with Olusegun Obasanjo re-elected as president. The PDP expanded its control in the gubernatorial elections, winning 28 out of 36 states. The All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), which evolved from the All People's Party (APP), won 7 states, while the Alliance for Democracy (AD) managed to secure only 1 state. In the Senate, the PDP won 76 seats, the ANPP secured 28 seats, and the AD obtained 6 seats. In the House of Representatives, the PDP dominated with 223 seats, the ANPP won 96 seats, and the AD captured 34 seats (L. A. Junaidu, 2011; Lidberg Stefan I., 2002; Momoh A. A. 2004 & Oluwasegun Fajobi A. 2011). These elections were marred by widespread irregularities, violence, and accusations of fraud, which raised concerns about the integrity of the electoral process. Despite these issues, the 2003-2007 electoral cycle underscored the PDP's political dominance and highlighted the challenges of democratic consolidation in Nigeria (Mohammed, A. S. 2019 & Dzungwe, A. T. 2003).

The General Elections of 2007 – 2011

The 2007-2011 electoral period in Nigeria was characterized by an increasing number of registered political parties and continued political dominance by the People's Democratic Party (PDP). By the 2007 elections, the number of registered political parties had surpassed 50, indicating a broadening political spectrum and increased competition (Lewis, Peter M. 2009; Adejumobi Said, 2010). Despite this diversity, the PDP remained the dominant party. In the presidential election, Umaru Musa Yar'adua of the PDP won with a significant majority, securing the presidency and reinforcing the PDP's influence at the federal level (Suberu, R. T. 2007; Diamond Larry, 2002; Fajobi A. A. 2007 & Van Der Ejik, 2009).

In the gubernatorial elections, the PDP continued its dominance by winning 28 out of the 36 available states. This demonstrated the party's extensive reach and solidified its position as the leading political force in Nigeria. The All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), another significant political entity, managed to secure control of 3 states. The newly formed Action Congress (AC) won 1 state, while the Progressive Peoples Alliance (PPA) claimed victory in 2 states. The All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) and the Labour Party (LP) each won control of 1 state, illustrating a more fragmented but competitive political environment (Omotola J. S., 2010; Zainawa A. Y., 2014).

In the federal legislative elections, the PDP also achieved substantial victories. In the Senate, the PDP secured 87 seats, maintaining a dominant presence. The ANPP won 14 seats, while the AC obtained 6 seats, further showcasing the PDP's legislative strength. In the House of Representatives, the PDP captured 263 seats, continuing its majority control. The ANPP won 63 seats, and the AC secured 30 seats, reflecting the broader political competition but underscoring the PDP's prevailing dominance (Okosi-Simbine, A. T., 2010). Overall, the 2007-2011 elections in Nigeria were marked by a significant number of registered political parties and persistent PDP dominance across presidential, gubernatorial, and legislative elections. Despite the increasing political diversity, the PDP's victories in securing the presidency, the majority of governorships, and the largest share of seats in both chambers of the National Assembly highlighted its entrenched position in Nigeria's political landscape during this period (Abdullahi, Y. S., 2019).

The General Elections of 2011 – 2015

The 2011-2015 electoral period in Nigeria was marked by significant political activity, characterized by the presence of numerous registered political parties and heightened competition. By the 2011 elections, the number of registered political parties had significantly increased, reflecting a robust multi-party system (Obeanu Okechukwu & Jibrin Ibrahim, 2015). Despite this proliferation, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) maintained its dominant position. In the presidential election, Goodluck Jonathan of the PDP won a decisive victory, continuing the party's control over the executive branch (Kew Darren & Peter Lewis, 2013 & Sule, Bello 2013).

In the gubernatorial elections, the PDP's dominance was evident as it won 23 out of 36 states, maintaining a substantial influence across the country. The Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), a new party led by former military Head of State Muhammadu Buhari, emerged as a significant contender, winning 1 Nasarwa state. The Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) gained control of 6 states, while the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP) secured 3 states. The All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) won 2 states, illustrating a more competitive political landscape (Orji, Nwachukwu 2014).

In the legislative elections, the PDP secured a majority in both chambers of the National Assembly. In the Senate, the PDP won 71 seats, maintaining a strong presence. The ACN won 18 seats, the CPC 7 seats, the ANPP 7 seats, and APGA

1 seat, demonstrating a more diverse representation but with the PDP retaining significant control (Norris Pipa, 2014). In the House of Representatives, the PDP captured 202 seats, while the ACN won 66 seats, the ANPP 26 seats, the CPC 35 seats, and APGA 7 seats, indicating a competitive yet PDP-dominated legislative environment (Suberu, R. T., 2014). In the overall assessment, the 2011-2015 elections were marked by increased political competition and the emergence of new parties challenging the PDP's dominance. Despite this, the PDP continued to hold a majority of the gubernatorial and legislative seats, as well as the presidency, underscoring its entrenched position in Nigeria's political landscape during this period.

The General Elections of 2015 – 2019

The 2015-2019 electoral period in Nigeria marked a significant shift in the country's political dynamics, characterized by an increase in the number of registered political parties and a landmark victory for the opposition. By the 2015 elections, there were over 25 registered political parties, reflecting a diverse and competitive political environment (Norris, Pipa 2015; Adebayo Akanmu, G. 2016 & Momoh Allwell 2016). The most notable development was the emergence of the All-Progressives Congress (APC), a coalition of four opposition parties: the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), the All-Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), and a faction of the All-Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) (Fatile, J. O. & Kalowole D. A., 2016). The APC presented Muhammadu Buhari as its presidential candidate, who won the presidency, defeating the incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) (Kew, Darren 2016).

In the gubernatorial elections, the APC made significant gains, winning 20 out of 36 states, while the PDP won 15 states, and the All-Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) secured 1 state (Ojo, E. O., 2015; Olorutunba, S. 2017; Olufemi, O. & Ayo, O., 2017). This marked a substantial shift in political power, with the APC breaking the PDP's dominance in several key states. The success of the APC was attributed to its broad coalition and strategic campaign, which resonated with a large segment of the Nigerian electorate, particularly on issues of corruption and security (Obi, C. I. 2017). In the National Assembly elections, the APC also achieved a majority. In the Senate, the APC won 60 seats, while the PDP secured 49 seats, and smaller parties shared the remaining seats (Ayiede, E. R., 2017 & Onapajo Hakeem, 2016). In the House of Representatives, the APC captured 225 seats, the PDP won 125 seats, and other parties won the remaining seats,

indicating a clear majority for the APC in both legislative chambers (Suberu, T. T. 2017). This legislative dominance enabled the APC to implement its agenda more effectively and marked a significant realignment in Nigerian politics.

The 2015-2019 electoral period was thus pivotal, marking the first time in Nigeria's history that an opposition party successfully defeated the ruling party and assumed control of both the executive and legislative branches. This transition was seen as a critical test for Nigeria's democracy, reflecting a maturing political system capable of peaceful power transfers. Despite this progress, challenges such as electoral violence, logistical issues, and allegations of vote-rigging persisted, indicating areas for further improvement in Nigeria's democratic process (Jega, Attahiru M., 2017).

The General Elections of 2019 – 2023

The 2019-2023 electoral period in Nigeria continued to reflect the complexities and evolving nature of the country's democratic processes. By 2019, Nigeria had over 90 registered political parties, showcasing a vibrant and pluralistic political landscape (INEC, 2019). The major parties remained the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP), with the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) also playing notable roles.

In the 2019 presidential election, President Muhammadu Buhari of the APC was re-elected, defeating Atiku Abubakar of the PDP. The APC's victory extended to the gubernatorial elections, where the party secured 15 out of 29 states that held elections in that cycle. The PDP won 14 states, reflecting a competitive two-party system (TMG, 2019). This outcome underscored the continued dominance of the APC and the PDP in Nigeria's political arena.

In the National Assembly elections, the APC maintained a majority in both chambers. In the Senate, the APC won 63 seats, while the PDP secured 44 seats, with the remaining seats going to smaller parties (INEC, 2019). In the House of Representatives, the APC captured 211 seats, the PDP won 111 seats, and other parties won 38 seats. This distribution reinforced the APC's legislative control but also highlighted significant representation by the PDP (YIAGA, 2019). Despite these successes, the elections were marred by several challenges. Reports of electoral violence, vote-buying, and logistical issues persisted, raising concerns about the integrity of the electoral process (Norris, Pipa 2019). Furthermore, the

high number of political parties, many of which were seen as lacking serious platforms or support, contributed to a fragmented political environment (Ojo, E. O. 2020). These issues highlighted the need for ongoing electoral reforms to enhance transparency, security, and efficiency in Nigeria's democratic processes.

Reforms to Enhance INEC's Capacity and Autonomy in the Conduct of Election in Nigeria 1999 – 2023

In response to the significant challenges faced by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) during the Fourth Republic, various reforms were initiated to enhance its autonomy and capacity. These reforms aimed to address the structural and operational deficiencies that had previously undermined the electoral process. One of the key measures to increase INEC's independence was the strengthening of the legal framework governing its operations. The Electoral Act of 2010 introduced several provisions to enhance the autonomy of INEC (Junaidu, L. A. 2011). This act limited the executive's power over INEC by providing more secure tenure for its officials, thereby reducing the risk of arbitrary removal. This legislative change was crucial in ensuring that INEC could operate without undue political interference. Institutional reforms were also implemented to enhance the effectiveness of INEC. These reforms included restructuring the commission to improve its operational efficiency. Under the leadership of Attahiru Jega, INEC underwent significant internal restructuring, which included the reorganization of its departments and the introduction of new technologies to streamline electoral processes (Jega, Attahiru 2012).

Capacity-building initiatives were critical in enhancing INEC's effectiveness. Extensive training programs were developed for INEC staff to improve their technical and administrative capabilities. These training programs were aimed at equipping electoral officers with the necessary skills to manage elections more efficiently and transparently. Additionally, partnerships with international organizations facilitated knowledge transfer and best practices in electoral management (Olaniyan, Azeez, 2014).

The success of these broad measures was further supported by specific actions, particularly in the areas of electoral reforms and enhanced funding. Comprehensive electoral reforms were central to the efforts to enhance INEC's capacity. The introduction of biometric voter registration (BVR) technology was a landmark reform. This technology significantly reduced incidences of voter fraud and multiple voting, thereby enhancing the credibility of the voter register. The

deployment of BVR technology during the 2011 and 2015 elections marked a significant improvement in the accuracy and integrity of the electoral process (Onapajo, Hakeem, 2015). Another crucial reform was the introduction of the Smart Card Reader (SCR) technology, which was used to authenticate voters' identities on Election Day. This innovation, played a pivotal role in curbing electoral malpractices and ensuring that only eligible voters participated in the elections (Adesote, S. A. & John A. O., 2014). Adequate funding is vital for the effective functioning of any electoral body. Recognizing this, the Nigerian government took steps to ensure more consistent and adequate financial support for INEC. The budgetary allocations to INEC were significantly increased, enabling the commission to plan and execute its activities more effectively. Enhanced funding allowed INEC to invest in critical infrastructure, logistics, and voter education programs, all of which were essential for conducting credible elections (Orji, Nwachikwu & Ukoha Uko, 2012).

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) also benefited from international financial and technical support. Organizations such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the European Union provided grants and technical assistance aimed at strengthening electoral processes in Nigeria. This support included funding for voter education campaigns, training for electoral staff, and the provision of election materials. International assistance played a crucial role in enhancing INEC's capacity to conduct elections that are more credible. To further improve the electoral process, INEC initiated extensive voter education campaigns to increase public awareness and participation in elections (Darnolf, Staffan 2014). These campaigns were designed to inform voters about their rights and responsibilities, the importance of participating in elections, and the procedures for voting. Increased voter education was instrumental in reducing voter apathy and enhancing the overall transparency of the electoral process. The reforms to enhance INEC's capacity and autonomy were multifaceted, involving legal, institutional, and operational changes. By strengthening the legal framework, undertaking institutional reforms, implementing comprehensive electoral reforms, and securing enhanced funding, INEC was better equipped to conduct free, fair, and transparent elections. These efforts collectively contributed to the rebuilding of public confidence in Nigeria's electoral process and the broader democratic system (Nwanko, Chudi, 2013).

Restoring Public Confidence in the Electoral Process in Nigeria 1999 – 2023

Restoring public confidence in the electoral process is crucial for the legitimacy and stability of democratic governance. For Nigeria, this has been a pressing issue, particularly following the tumultuous elections during the Fourth Republic. Various strategies and reforms have been implemented to rebuild trust in the electoral system.

One of the primary steps towards restoring public confidence has been enhancing the autonomy of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Legal reforms such as the Electoral Act of 2010 were instrumental in reducing executive interference in INEC's operations. By securing the tenure of INEC officials and insulating the commission from political pressures, these reforms aimed to ensure that INEC could function independently and impartially. Judicial oversight has also been crucial in ensuring the integrity of the electoral process. The judiciary's role in adjudicating electoral disputes and holding electoral offenders accountable has reinforced the rule of law and public trust in the electoral system (Junaidu, L. A., 2011). The establishment of election petition tribunals provided a formal mechanism for addressing grievances, thereby enhancing the credibility of the electoral process (Adigun, O., 2015).

The introduction of technological innovations has played a significant role in enhancing the transparency of elections. Biometric voter registration (BVR) and the use of Smart Card Readers (SCR) for voter authentication have been pivotal in reducing electoral fraud. These technologies have minimized issues such as multiple voting and impersonation, thus contributing to more credible elections. INEC has also made efforts to improve the transparency of the results management process. The adoption of electronic transmission of results and the public display of polling unit results has helped to ensure that the vote counting process is transparent and verifiable (Onapanjo, Hakeem, 2015). These measures have significantly reduced opportunities for result manipulation and have increased public confidence in the announced outcomes (Olaniyan Azeez, 2014).

Public engagement and voter education are critical components of restoring confidence in the electoral process. INEC has undertaken extensive voter education campaigns to inform citizens about the electoral process, their rights, and the importance of their participation. Well-informed voters are more likely to participate in elections and trust the process, thereby enhancing the legitimacy of electoral outcomes. The involvement of civil society organizations (CSOs) in the electoral process has been instrumental in promoting transparency and

accountability. CSOs have actively monitored elections, reported irregularities, and provided civic education. Their presence and activities help to reassure the public that there are independent bodies scrutinizing the electoral process (Nwanko, Chudi, 2013). Civil Society Organizations play a watchdog role that is essential for maintaining the integrity of elections and rebuilding public trust (Adesote, S. A., 2014).

Comprehensive electoral reforms have been implemented to address systemic issues in the electoral process. These reforms include changes to electoral laws to strengthen penalties for electoral offenses and enhance the integrity of voter registration. These reforms have been critical in addressing the structural deficiencies that have historically undermined the electoral process. Policy changes aimed at improving the logistical aspects of elections have also been significant (Omotola, J. S., 2010). Ensuring timely delivery of election materials, improving the training of electoral staff, and enhancing the security of polling stations are measures that have been implemented to create a more efficient and trustworthy electoral process. Asserts that these operational improvements are necessary to ensure that elections are conducted smoothly and transparently (Lewis P. M., 2011).

The presence of international observers has added an additional layer of scrutiny and credibility to the electoral process. Reports from organizations such as the European Union and the African Union provide independent assessments of the conduct of elections. These reports can validate the credibility of the electoral process and provide recommendations for further improvements. International support in the form of technical and financial assistance has also been vital. Programs funded by international donors have supported electoral reforms, capacity building for INEC, and voter education initiatives. This support has been crucial in addressing resource constraints and enhancing the overall quality of the electoral process (Ibrahim, J. 2009).

Restoring public confidence in the electoral process in Nigeria has required a multifaceted approach involving institutional reforms, technological innovations, public engagement, and international support. By enhancing the autonomy and capacity of INEC, improving transparency and accountability, and actively engaging the public and civil society, significant strides have been made in rebuilding trust in Nigeria's electoral system. These efforts are crucial for the continued consolidation of democracy in the country.

Conclusion

The Fourth Republic in Nigeria, spanning from 1999 to the present, has been a pivotal period characterized by significant strides and persistent challenges in the country's democratic evolution. Emerging from years of military rule, this era commenced with high hopes for democratic governance, yet faced immediate obstacles in the form of electoral irregularities and administrative deficiencies that eroded public trust in the electoral process. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), entrusted with overseeing elections, initially grappled with constraints such as inadequate autonomy and resource deficiencies, hindering its capacity to conduct credible elections. These limitations underscored the urgent need for reforms aimed at bolstering INEC's effectiveness and independence.

Efforts to fortify INEC were pivotal in enhancing the integrity and legitimacy of Nigeria's electoral system. Initiatives focused on equipping INEC with the necessary financial and institutional resources, alongside implementing electoral reforms, were critical steps towards rebuilding public confidence in democratic institutions. By strengthening INEC's operational capabilities and autonomy, Nigeria aimed not only to uphold democratic principles but also to ensure electoral accountability and safeguard citizens' rights to participate in free and fair elections. This commitment to enhancing INEC's efficacy underscores Nigeria's broader aspiration towards democratic governance and highlights the pivotal role of robust electoral institutions in fostering national development and democratic consolidation.

References

- Adejumobi, Said. (2010): "Nigeria's 2007 General Elections: Challenges and Prospects." *Africa Spectrum*, vol. 45, no. 2, Germany.
- Adesote, Samson A., and John O. Abimbola. (2014): "Electoral Violence and the Survival of Democracy in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: A Historical Perspective." *Canadian Social Science*, vol. 10, no. 3, Canada.
- Adigun, O. (2015): "Judicial Oversight in Electoral Disputes and its Impact on Electoral Process in Nigeria." *Nigerian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 5, no. 2, Nigeria.
- Aiyede, Emmanuel Remi. (2017): "The Role of INEC in the 2015 Elections in Nigeria." *Africa Spectrum*, vol. 52, no. 3, Germany.
- Darnolf, Staffan. (2014): "International Assistance to the 2011 Elections in Nigeria." *Democratization*, vol. 21, no. 4, United Kingdom.

- European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM). (2019): *Final Report on the 2019 Nigerian Elections*. European Union, Belgium.
- Fatile, Jacob Olusola, and Kolawole David Adejuwon. (2016): "Electoral Violence and the Dynamics of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria." *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 7, no. 3, United Kingdom.
- Ibeanu, Okechukwu, and Jibrin Ibrahim. (2015): *The 2015 General Elections in Nigeria: The Real Issues*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Germany.
- Ibeanu, Okechukwu. (2007): "Elections and the Paroxysmal Future of Democracy in Nigeria." *Nigerian Political Science Association Conference Papers*, Nigeria.
- Ibrahim, Jibrin, and Okechukwu Ibeanu. (2009): *Direct Capture: The 2007 Nigerian Elections and Subversion of Popular Sovereignty*. Lagos: Centre for Democracy and Development, Nigeria.
- Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). *2019 General Elections Report*. INEC, 2019.
- Jega, Attahiru M. (2017): "INEC and the Management of the 2015 Elections." *The Palgrave Handbook of African Politics, Governance and Development*, edited by Samuel O. Olorunfoba and Toyin Falola, Palgrave Macmillan, United Kingdom.
- Jega, Attahiru. (2012): "Improving Elections in Nigeria: Lessons from 2011 and Looking to 2015." *The Electoral Knowledge Network*, Netherlands, <https://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/et/announcements/jega>
- Jinadu, L. A. (2011): "Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria." *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, vol. 5, no. 5, Nigeria.
- Jinadu, L. Adele. (2011): "Elections and Democratic Transition in Nigeria Under the Fourth Republic." *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, vol. 5, no. 2, Nigeria.
- Kew, Darren, and Peter Lewis. (2013): "Nigeria's Hopeful Election." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 24, no. 3, USA.
- Kew, Darren. (2016): "The 2015 Nigerian Elections and the Boko Haram Crisis." *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 69, no. 2, USA.
- Lewis, P. M. (2003): "Nigeria: Elections in a Fragile Regime." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 14, no. 3.
- Lewis, Peter M. (2009): "Nigeria: Assessing Risks to Stability." Center for Strategic and International Studies, USA.
- Lewis, Peter M. (2011): *Nigeria: Assessing Risks to Stability*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, USA.
- Norris, Pippa. (2019): *Strengthening Electoral Integrity*. Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom.

- Norris, Pippa. (2015): *Why Elections Fail*. Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom.
- Norris, Pippa. (2014): *Why Electoral Integrity Matters*. Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom.
- Nwankwo, Chudi. (2013): "The Role of Civil Society in Enhancing Electoral Transparency." *Journal of African Elections*, vol. 12, no. 1, South Africa.
- Obi, Cyril I. (2016): "Challenges of Democratic Governance in Nigeria: The 2015 General Elections." *African Studies Review*, vol. 59, no. 3, United States.
- Ojo, Emmanuel O. (2015): "Elections: An Exploration of Theoretical Postulations." *Journal of African Elections*, vol. 14, no. 2, Nigeria.
- Ojo, Emmanuel O. (2020): "Electoral Reforms in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects." *Journal of African Elections*, vol. 19, no. 1, Nigeria.
- Ojo, Emmanuel O. (2012): "Leadership Crisis and Political Instability in Nigeria, 1964-1966: The Personalities, the Parties and the Policies." *Global Advanced Research Journal of History, Political Science and International Relations*, vol. 1, no. 1, Nigeria.
- Ojo, Emmanuel O. (2008): "Vote Buying in Nigeria." *Money and Politics in Nigeria*, IFES, Nigeria.
- Okoosi-Simbine, A. T. (2010): "Assessing the Role of the Legislature in a Democracy: A Case Study of Nigeria's Fourth Republic." *Journal of Legislative Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4, United Kingdom.
- Olaniyan, Azeez. (2014): "Electoral Reforms and the Conduct of Elections in Nigeria: A Critical Appraisal of the Role of INEC." *African Journal of Democracy and Governance*, vol. 1, no. 2, Nigeria.
- Omotola, J. Shola. (2010): "Elections and Democratic Transition in Nigeria Under the Fourth Republic." *African Affairs*, vol. 109, no. 437, United Kingdom.
- Onapajo, Hakeem. (2015): "Nigeria's 2015 General Elections: The Salience of Electoral Reforms." *The Round Table*, vol. 104, no. 5, United Kingdom.
- Orji, Nkwachukwu, and Ukoha Uko. (2012): "The 2011 Post-Election Violence in Nigeria: Experiences with the Electoral Process." *Contemporary Politics*, vol. 18, no. 2, United Kingdom.
- Orji, Nkwachukwu. (2014): "Nigeria's 2015 Election in Perspective." *Africa Spectrum*, vol. 49, no. 2, United Kingdom.
- Suberu, R. T. (2001): *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria*. United States Institute of Peace Press, United State.
- Suberu, Rotimi T. (2017): "Electoral Authoritarianism and the Future of Nigeria's Democracy." *African Affairs*, vol. 116, no. 463, United Kingdom.
- Suberu, Rotimi T. (2007): "Nigeria's Muddled Elections." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 18, no. 4, USA.

- Suberu, Rotimi. (2013): "The 2011 Elections in Nigeria: Assessments and Implications." *Journal of African Elections*, vol. 12, no. 2, South Africa.
- Transition Monitoring Group (TMG). (2019): *Nigerian General Elections Report*. TMG.
- Tunji Olagunji, Adele Jinadu and Sam Oyovbaire, T(1993): *ransition to Democracy in Nigeria*. Safari Books (Export) Limited, Ibadan, Nigeria.
- YIAGA Africa. (2019): *Watching the Vote: 2019 General Elections Report*. YIAGA Africa, Abuja Nigeria.