

TACKLING VOTE BUYING IN NIGERIA'S ELECTORAL AND DEMOCRATIC SPACE

ADETUNJI Olumuyiwa Adebayo

*Department of Political Science
Federal College of Education, Abeokuta, Ogun State
Email: olumuyiwa_crown@yahoo.com
Phone No: +2348033340213*

AYUBA Suleiman

*Department of Political Science
Federal College of Education, Abeokuta, Ogun State
Email: suleimanayuba56@gmail.com
Phone No: 08035264387*

&

OKE, Gbenga Samuel

*Department of Political Science
Federal College of Education, Abeokuta, Ogun State
Email: iolugbengaoke@gmail.com
Phone No: 08136821092*

Abstract

This paper examines the practice of vote buying as an entrant into the political lexicon in Nigeria's electoral and democratic space. The practice since its introduction in the 2018 governorship elections in Osun and Ekiti states has now assumed a bigger proportion hence, the need to interrogate it. The paper using the content analysis method adopts the domino effect theory as a basis of analysis. The objective of the paper is to examine how vote buying inhibits Nigeria's electoral and democratic space. It argues that though vote buying appears had wide acceptance, it is an affront to constitutional democracy and the freedom of choice which democracy promotes. The paper examines factors that are enablers of vote buying and its many variants and concludes that anything that hinders freedom of choice and popular participation of the people must be discouraged and discountenanced. The paper recommends among others limiting the amount of cash withdrawals made by individuals and corporate bodies three months before the election.

Keywords: Vote Buying, democratic practice, constitutional democracy, popular participation

1 Introduction

As the nation's democratic process evolves, it has come to the fore the need to check vagaries that disrupt its electoral process

and undermine its process. Because election itself is a major component of democracy, then, it must satisfy three fundamental requirements viz: competition between

individuals and political groupings (political parties), an inclusive method of selecting leaders and the presence of civil-political rights (Diamond, Linz & Lipset, 1989). These circumstances highlight elections as a means of putting in place a legitimate government and ensuring citizen involvement in that process is not hindered in any way. Since elections cannot be detached from democracy, it then begs the question to interrogate and critically examine those factors that undermine the conduct of free, fair, transparent and credible elections. For most modern democracies, elections or electoral contests are seen as an integral part of the democratic process and governance structure. But the practice differs in Africa where the process of democratization remains pedestrian but even more so in Nigeria where the political system stands at variance with certain elements of democracy. For the actors, the quest to grab power and self-perpetuate in office is often done at the detriment of free, fair and credible elections which they seek to manipulate by deploying unconventional methods including deploying money to secure electoral victory before, during and after elections. In the words of Onah & Nwali (2018) and Onabowale & Olutayo (2007), the monetization of the electoral process coupled with the politics of patronage makes it difficult to ascertain the credibility of the process. In a similar vein, the ease at which persons holding public office have access to state and public resources provides more impetus for deploying money to buy votes during elections (Ajisebiyawo & Masajuwa, 2016). Therefore, the tendency for corrupt enrichment provides the impetus for using money to secure electoral victory at whatever cost. Though the use of money could not be removed from the electioneering process in its entirety, Annan (2015) however retorted that the uncontrolled use of money if left unchecked

could rob democracy of its core features, especially in the wake of concerns over the credibility and integrity of elections. Annan's (2015) submission squarely addresses the desperation of the political class to commit electoral fraud and undermine the electoral process and outcome be it the pre-election, actual election and post-election stage (Oni, 2020). The manipulation at the pre-election and on the day of the election is seen in offering bribes to electoral officials and security personnel. Other acts such as ballot stuffing, intimidation of voters by thugs, or outright manipulation of election results amongst other irregularities all constitute obstacles to free, fair and credible elections in Nigeria (Adetula 2008; Ogundiya 2010; Olarinmoye 2008). They all argued that these manipulations impede free and fair elections and have a direct impact on elections credibility, electoral contests and Nigeria's democratic practice. Apart from the excessive monetization of the process which is synonymous with Nigeria's pattern of democracy, court litigations have also been used in many instances to determine the outcome of elections in Nigeria. This is often a cause of apprehension among the voting populace if the nation's electoral process will ever be credible and devoid of manipulations and fraud.

Even renewed assurances by critical stakeholders including the Independent National electoral commission, the media, and non-governmental organisations such as the National Peace Committee among others have not guaranteed a free and fair process owing to the excessive monetization of the process. It is within this context that the objective of this paper is to examine how vote buying undermines Nigeria's electoral and democratic space. It is on this premise that this paper seeks answers to the following questions including; how do we break the cycle of vote buying in Nigeria? How do we ensure that

political parties that win elections do not secure victory based on how much they spend in prosecuting such elections? How do we sanitize Nigeria's electoral and democratic space? And; how do we ensure that electoral outcomes are true reflections of the yearnings of the people?

It is within this context that this paper seeks to interrogate vote buying and how this practice undermines Nigeria's electoral process. In doing this, this paper shall be divided into six sections with the view of examining the contentious areas that are capable of reversing the gains of Nigeria's democratic record. To break it down properly, the first section introduces the paper alongside the conceptual clarifications. The second discusses the forms of vote buying while the third section examines enablers of vote buying in Nigeria. The theoretical framework occupies the fourth section. The fifth discusses the implications of vote buying while the sixth and seven sections consist of way forward/policy options and conclusion respectively.

2 Conceptual Clarification

2.1 Vote Buying

Conceptually, Vote Buying connotes the process of inducing voters to change their voting pattern in favour of a particular political party or candidate. Vote buying, just as the name connotes involves buying votes before or during elections to influence its outcome. Similarly, Oni (2020) opines that Vote Buying was a general term used for votes pricing and bargaining between a buyer and seller of votes. Though, votes may not be amenable to commodities in the true sense of it, but, vote buying has become a common practice owing to the culture of money politics being practised in Nigeria (Babayo, Mohammed & Bakri, 2018). Onah and Nwali (2018) opined that the monetization of the electoral process has

encouraged vote buying which often influenced electoral outcomes. In a similar vein, Yakubu (2022) opines that vote buying involved an agreement between the buyer and seller to trade votes for monetary gains. The practice was possible because of the electoral behaviour of actors in a rentier state like Nigeria where those that seek to occupy public office see public office as a business or venture rather than one meant for service and dedication. So, perpetrators target the people and seek to alter voter choice using money as a bargaining tool. This is why the practice of selling votes has become some sort of venture for voters' too who see it as a lucrative means to have their share of the national cake. So, on both parts of the seller and buyer, they all come to an agreement that money was a condition for voting on one hand and on the other, money was a necessary ingredient for securing electoral victory.

Since it debuted in the Ekiti state governorship election in 2018, (Oni, 2020) submitted that vote buying had gained wider acceptance among voters and those seeking to run for public office. For the voter, it provided an avenue to get extra cash to meet daily needs and for contestants, it was a major ingredient for securing electoral victory. But, Vote buying is not just circumstantial, it has been made possible to extreme poverty, hunger, deprivation, illiteracy and monetization of politics in Nigeria (Babayo, Mohammed & Bakri, 2018). For political parties and aspirants, the end appears to justify the means considering the deployment of this machinery by the political class and the anticipated outcome. It is however important to state that vote buying is not the exclusive preserve of any political party as we have seen that virtually all political parties and their candidates deploy this machinery following the introduction of technology by INEC to curb incessant electoral malpractices. This corroborates

Oni's (2020) position that the politicians and the political class have turned to vote buying having lost some grounds with respect to manipulating elections prior to the introduction of technology to sanitize the process. This has now provided a viable alternative to alter the popular will of the people to freely choose representatives without any intimidation or coercion of any kind.

2.2 Forms of Vote Buying

In contextualizing what vote buying means for the nation's democratic practice, it would be important to undertake the different forms of vote buying some of which include;

Offering cash to Voters': Since 2018, there have been documented reports of agents of political parties and other party stalwarts offering cash rewards to willing vote sellers ranging from N2,000 to N10,000 depending on the circumstance or category of the election. With this practice, it can be seen that money continues to influence voter choice and the outcome of elections in Nigeria. The continuous use of money in elections has implications for Nigeria's democratic practice.

In other situations, party bigwigs and party leaders provide party faithful and the electorates with survival needs such as food, beverages, sugar, salt, oil, and clothing etc in the run-off to the day of voting, a situation which Onabowale & Olutayo, (2007) referred to as politics of patronage widely practised in Oyo State during the era of Chief Lamidi Adedibu who often hosted large members of the public including party faithful to sumptuous meals upon a visit to his residence at Molete, Ibadan, Oyo State. He often used this avenue for political leverage to canvass votes for his preferred candidate (Onabowale & Olutayo, 2007). After meals were served, attendees were offered cash

rewards and told who to cast their votes for on the day of the election. Though this practice finds a rooting in the Yoruba culture where visitors are entertained, they no doubt constitute some form of inducement when examined critically within the context of this paper.

Also, another form of voter inducement is the distribution of water/drinks and snacks to electorates around the voting area on election day. Though some of these handouts may appear as a token, it comes with veiled interests. A voter who is given snacks and cold water/drinks while waiting in the queue for hours to vote may likely have developed some sympathy for the party or person who provided the refreshments. That is why this paper is drawing the attention of the general public and law enforcement agencies to some of these usual or unusual practices which we have sometimes normalized as a people. And until they are removed from our electoral and political culture, election results may continually be manipulated by politicians who seek political power by all means. These examples provide pointers to areas to be looked at critically ahead of every election cycle.

2.3 Enablers of Vote Buying in Nigeria

As much as monetization or inducements of voters portend grave dangers to the principles of participatory democracy, this practice has gained ground and acceptance among the electorates and the political class. It has gained wider acceptance amongst vote buyers and votes sellers so much that the attention has now shifted to which party or candidate can offer more money in exchange for votes rather on election day. Its wide acceptance and subscription apart from portending grave danger to democracy can stifle the civic and public space hence, the need for caution. Its wide acceptance within the democratic and

electoral space is changing the colouration of electoral contests in Nigeria and provoking the question of what needs to be done to ensure electoral integrity. What then is the impetus for the monetization of votes in Nigeria?

In interrogating why vote buying thrives in Nigeria, several pointers could not be discountenanced. Vote buying as we have it today has become acceptable due to extreme poverty and hunger, deprivation of basic needs, illiteracy and get-rich-quick syndrome that is associated with public offices in Nigeria. But within the context of this paper, the factors to be considered shall include the following;

High Incidence of Poverty: In a report recently released by the National Bureau of Statistics, it was reported that there were 133 million Nigerians said to be living in multidimensional poverty (NBS, 2022). The population of poor people when juxtaposed vis-a-vis the total population of the country indicates that over half of Nigeria's population lives in one form of poverty or the other. In a country where poverty is endemic, what then is the value of a vote? Having been left hopeless and miserable through the years, the people have now taken the option of trading their votes as a commodity. With endemic poverty comes desperation and hopelessness and the resultant effect is vote buying that has become widespread and acceptable. One other factor that has aided vote buying in Nigeria is the excessive deployment of money in Nigeria.

Excessive deployment of Money during elections. To say that Nigeria's elections are excessively monetized is only stating the obvious. For Nwozor et al (2021), they observed that the political campaigns were unnecessarily monetized and this was akin to the culture of money politics that is practised. When campaigns become excessively monetized, how then

do you prescribe caps for campaign funding or election financing? The implications are the excessively monetized process where politicians and the political class commit humongous resources to secure electoral victory at whatever cost. With the way and manner in which monies are excessively deployed as seen in the Nigerian political milieu, it is not surprising that the same practice is emulated as regards the inducement of voters during elections. The monetization of the process is a bane and if the narrative must change, then, excessive use of money in Nigeria's electoral process must be curtailed considerably.

One other factor that encourages vote buying is the refusal by the political class to adhere to set rules and guidelines. Politics has often been described as a dirty game and part of what makes it a dirty game within the Nigerian context is the refusal by the politicians to play or adhere to the rules. The culture of impunity in most instances provides the impetus for politicians to break the law at will and the seeming inability of the nation's judicial system to punish offenders for misdemeanors even makes it more worrisome. A system that allows sacred cows to exist is not a healthy system and that explains why Nigeria continues to lag behind in all facets of development. All of these interplays puts the country in a bad light and take a negative toll on governance and administration.

Still on why vote buying thrives, the ease with which persons holding public offices have easy access to state resources sometimes explains why vote buying is a common practice in Nigeria. Somehow, the state encourages vote buying when persons occupying offices can easily divert state resources to private pockets and become wealthy overnight. In a similar vein, those seeking to occupy public offices can decide to induce voters to recoup their investments when they emerge victorious. The whole of this analysis bothers on a cyclical system

where politicians do whatever they deem fit to secure electoral victory by deploying the machinery of money and recouping such investments afterwards.

Deprivation and Hunger: Closely related to the rate of poverty in the land is the level of deprivation and hunger that Nigerians are exposed to on a daily basis. In societies or countries where deprivations are rife, it becomes extremely difficult for the people to demand their rights or even ask that their elected representatives be accountable to them. When the state is configured to work against the people, poverty is weaponized and the people become vulnerable and susceptible to the whims and caprices of the public officeholders and the political class that care less about the people. With multidimensional poverty ravaging the people, the practice of vote buying and selling becomes a norm and an acceptable practice.

Having considered some of the factors that encourage vote-buying within the Nigerian context, it can be seen that vote-buying as a phenomenon is not a stand-alone subject. It is a multi-faceted problem that will require a holistic approach. To further buttress the argument of how vote buying is inimical to the nation's democratic space, the paper is underscored by the domino effect theory.

3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework on which this paper is premised on the domino effect theory. The domino effect theory is a geopolitical theory first espoused by former President Harry S. Truman of the United States of America. The theory was used to justify the sending of military aid to Greece and Turkey in the 1940s (Duignan, 2020). It however became popular in the 1950s when President Dwight D. Eisenhower applied it to the situation in Southeast Asia (Duignan,

2020). It contends that a chain reaction will occur when one event sets off a series of similar, related or connected events. The theory is a metaphor for a cause-and-effect relationship which happens when nations interact or are drawn into a contest or battle knowingly or otherwise. The theory is traced to the game of dominoes where dominoes are stood up next to each other and when the first domino is knocked over, it affects all others. In an event when an event act as a trigger of reactions, such emphasizes relationships and inter-relationships. For example, when a first domino falls into the second domino, it affects all others in line as in the case of a chain reaction. A domino effect of inducing voters with money is better imagined as it takes a toll on the outcome of elections in its entirety. When money is deployed for elections, it has a domino effect on such elections and its outcome. The domino effect of money in elections reinforces the fact that money can secure electoral victory owing to a chain of reaction implied among dominos standing next to each other.

Nigeria's elections present a good case of how a domino can affect others due to the culture of deploying money for elections. The situation aligns with the theory over the effect of one domino on others and how the cause-and-effect relationship as in the intersecting binary of use of money and how it is used to induce voters and alter the election outcome. In juxtaposing the theory to the thesis, it can be seen that just as a single domino triggers a chain reaction so, also is the effect of money on elections in Nigeria. Not only does money alter the voting pattern, but it also provides a grand design for corruption and corrupt tendencies, economic woes, unemployment and all manners of deprivations arising from a corrupted and manipulated democratic and electoral system. Given this, this paper singles out the dangers of vote buying and what it portends

for the nation's democratic credentials. It is important to put in context that votes buying has the propensity to reverse all democratic gains since 1999 if not checked. Before it knocks over all other pillars (dominoes) of participatory democracy amongst whom include free, free, credible and transparent elections, and accountable and transparent government among others, this paper calls for a democratic system where voter choice will not be predetermined or stifled. This is because vote buying is an anathema in the current democratic process practice which should not be tolerated under any guise. In order to save the country's democratic process from this affront and assault, it is important to take into cognizance the implications of vote buying as outlined in the subsequent section.

4 Implications of Vote Buying

There is a need to draw a clear line of demarcation between what strengthens democracy and what weakens or undermines it. What vote-buying represents as the will of a few selected individuals to alter the will of the general public for personal gains should and cannot be tolerated in an atmosphere of freedom of choice is expected. The practice constitutes an affront to Nigeria's democratic practice hence, the need to highlight the dangers and implications. It is within this context that the implications of vote buying are hereby espoused.

Vote Buying removes the incentive for performance. The goal of any electoral contest is for elected representatives to emerge through a free, fair, credible and transparent process. This is usually the recipe for performance in the office. That is the thrust of the social contract between the people and the elected representatives usually serving as the impetus to fulfill and deliver on campaign promises. The social contract between the elected representatives

and the electorates spurs elected officials to hit the ground running and deliver on campaign promises as soon as they assume office. This is the central theme of public office and public service. But where electoral victory is achieved through the inducement of voters, there would not be any justification or motive for performance. This has been the situation with some public officeholders who fail to meet the expectations of the people.

In addition to removing the emphasis on performance in office, Vote buying reinforces inequality among the people. Inequality creates divisions between classes of people especially between the haves and have-nots, usually between bourgeoisie and proletariat or as the case may be. Where inequality is rife, justice and equity become unattainable. Inequality remains an issue bedeviling the Nigerian state and this on one hand has exposed the poor and vulnerable to the whims and caprices of the wealthy and affluent. With the wealthy creating an ecosystem that works for them and serves their interest and that of their cronies and families, the poor and vulnerable are made to feed from leftover crumbs. Such systems create a caste system where the rich determine electoral contests and outcomes and where the poor play little or no role in who emerges at the poll.

One other implication is the propensity of removing the power to choose elected officials from the people and giving it to an oligarchic class. In systems where money plays a prominent role in the electioneering process, state and government policies and programmes are often determined by some oligarchs on behalf of the multitude of people thereby contravening democratic norms and practices which encourage popular participation of the people.

Another implication is the blurring of the vision and choice of electorates

during elections. One other damning implication of vote buying is its ability to blur the vision or voter choice of electorates on election day. When voters are induced on election day, they can hardly determine their choice by themselves or assess contestants objectively. Such is common when voters are induced with money among other material things. It is to this end that this paper argues that vote buying or inducement of voters was an absolutist approach to electoral choice and no democracy in the world can thrive in an environment of absolutism. It is to this end that this paper seeks the way forward.

5 Recommendations

Considering the fact that democracy cannot thrive amid absolutism, it needs to be stressed that any democracy where a few privileged individuals have a firm grip on state resources and determine electoral outcomes cannot be called a true democracy. This is the thrust of this paper because it is inimical to Nigeria's democratic and electoral space. As such, the people should desist from normalizing vote buying as a norm in elections or democratic practice. Below are some policy options.

There is a need for the Independent National Electoral Commission in collaboration with banks and all other financial institutions to ensure that requests for large cash withdrawals weeks before the election are not entertained. Though this paper is not oblivious to the fact that there are other means of getting cash via point-of-sale platforms, the implementation of this recommendation among other monetary policies is a step forward to clean up the nations' electoral space.

Closely related to this has been the recurrent call for electoral education of the electorates. As the nation's democratic process evolves, it is factual that a huge percentage of the electorates remain

illiterate and unaware of their powers and role. It is such gaps that politicians and the political class exploit to the detriment of the general public. INEC as an election management body in collaboration with other relevant stakeholders needs to acknowledge that a significant percentage of voters do not have access to electricity, internet facilities or telephones or televisions. By increasing and domesticating electoral education for this large category of people through traditional means, INEC would have gone a step further to empower the electorates and ultimately restore some level of confidence in the electoral process. Equally, this paper advocates for increased cooperation and collaboration by the Police and the judiciary to ensure that suspects arrested for vote buying or for other infractions which are at variance with the electoral act are promptly arrested and prosecuted. The provisions of the electoral act 2022 that prohibits vote-buying must be promptly activated and deployed. When suspects are arrested, prosecuted and jailed, it will send clear signals to perpetrators on the sanitization of the electoral process.

In addition, this paper calls for a change of mind set by the political class away from the do-or-die politics practised in Nigeria. It is necessary to point out that Nigeria boasts of one of the largest democracies in Africa and as such, it must be a leading example for the rest of Africa and the world. Implicitly, Nigeria must begin to put in place formidable instruments and systems that will make it difficult to break the law at will and manipulate the system to suit ulterior motives. In this sense, this paper advocates for moral suasion by the political class by making sure they commit themselves to a new country where rules will be adhered to by both the followers and the leaders. When the actors commit themselves to playing by the rule, then, the system becomes less toxic and allows for electoral outcomes to reflect the

wishes and aspirations of the general public. This paper also calls for a change of perspective from how the public perceives public office. Public office should be about service and not an avenue to amass wealth. When public office is seen as service, then there wouldn't be the urge to spend so much to secure victory. This paper, therefore, demands that the humongous allowances and perks of office paid to public office holders be stopped henceforth. This is an avenue for stopping the excessive monetization of the electoral process or borrowing to fund campaigns and elections. Conclusively, there is also the need to reiterate the need to combat poverty from its roots. One sure way to do this is through decentralization of power to the states and local government and making sure these lower levels of governance are actively involved in delivering democratic good to all. The governance structure in Nigeria is rather too centralized and this encourages desperation by political parties and the political class to win elections at the centre. When power is effectively devolved to constituent units by way of restructuring and decentralization, then poverty can be effectively tackled and associated issues including low standard of living among others can be effectively addressed.

6 Conclusion

What we have attempted to do in this paper is to interrogate vote buying as a new entrant into Nigeria's electoral and democratic space as a misnomer posing grave danger to the nation's electoral and democratic space. It was argued emphatically that the introduction of vote buying to electoral contests is an attempt to

remove the power of choice from the people and invariably give it to an oligarchic class who sometimes acts as the rightful owners of a rentier state like Nigeria. The introduction of money in electoral contests as we have seen in the recent past is an affront to the nation's democracy hence, the need to pay more attention to it as the nation's electoral system evolves. With its propensity to rubbish the nations' democratic credentials and portray the nation as a pariah state within and outside Africa, there is an urgent need to address the issue before it undermines the country's electoral practice.

Considering the fact that democracy thrives amidst popular participation, all unconstitutional and undemocratic processes inimical to free, fair and credible and transparent elections must be rejected and dealt with. Until this affront on the nation's democratic practice is confronted with the right instruments, Nigeria's democratic practice would continue to be a subject of controversy and ridicule. This could invariably prevent her from having any grounds to speak on threats to democracy in Africa or what needs to be done to give democracy a firm root within the sub-region and Africa as a whole. To this end, the process of sanitizing the electoral space must commence in earnest where all critical stakeholders but not limited to the Independent National Electoral Commission, the Media, non-governmental organisations, political parties, civil society organisations, electorates, and security agencies among others must jointly fight all antithetical and antidemocratic practices capable of eroding the confidence of the stakeholders in a free, fair and transparent process for all and sundry.

References

- Adetula, V.O.A. (2008). Money and Politics in Nigeria: An Overview. Abuja: DFID
- Ajisebiyawo, A.S. & Masajuwa, F.U. (2016). Credible Elections and Establishment and Maintenance of Democratic Order: The Nigerian Dimension. *International Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 7(5), 453-468
- Annan, K. (2015). Elections with Integrity in Nigeria. A keynote Address at the Nigerian Civil Society Conference on 2015 Elections. Retrieved from <https://www.kofiannanfoundation.org/speeches/elections-with-integrity-in-nigeria>
- Babayo, S., Mohammed, A.M.S & Bakri, M. (2018). Corruption and Electoral process in Nigeria: Examining the 2015 General Election. *Journal of Tecno Social*, 10(1), 23-33
- Diamond, L., Linz, J.J. & Lipset, S.M. (1989). Democracy in Developing Countries. *Pacific Affairs*, 62(4), 532-534
- Duignan, B. (Ed.) (2020) Domino Theory. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/domino-theory>. Accessed March 1, 2023
- National Bureau of Statistics (2022). Nigeria Multidimensional Poverty Index. Retrieved from <https://nigerianstat.gov.ng> on Feb. 28, 2023
- Nwozor, A., Oshelowo, S., Ifejika, S.I., Olanrewaju, J.S., & Ake, M. (2021) has anything changed with illegitimate electoral financing and political power contestation in Nigeria? *Cogent Social Sciences* 56 (1), DOI: 10.1080/23311886.2021.1961396
- Ogundiya, I.S. (2010). Corruption: The Bane of Political Stability in Nigeria. *Current Research. Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(4), 223-241
- Okoye, (2022, Dec. 22). Politicians Mopping up PVCs wasting resources, energy-INEC. Retrieved from www.sunnewsonline.ng on Feb. 28, 2023
- Olarinmoye, O. O. (2008). Godfathers, Political Parties and Electoral Corruption in Nigeria. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*. 2(4), 66-73
- Onabowale, A.O. & Olutayo, A.O. (2007). Chief Lamidi Adedibu and Patronage Politics in Nigeria. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 45(3), 425-446
- Oni (2020) Conception and Misconception of Majoritarian Democracy and Elections in Nigeria. 31st Inaugural Lecture Babcock University, Ilishan-Remo, Ogun State. Thursday March 5, 2020
- Yakubu (2022) INEC Vows to End Vote Buying, Violation of Campaign Finances. Retrieved from <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/11/24/inec-vows-to-end-vote-buying-violation-of-campaign-finances/>