

ETHNICITY AND ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

It is rather an indisputable fact that ethnicity has marred politics in Nigeria. With ample of data, it is evidently shown that ethnicity determines the choice of votes and voter's decisions in electioneering in Nigeria. The electoral choice of Nigerians are ethnically coloured as party formations are ethnically designated and motivated. The analysis below shows that political parties in Nigeria do not have national platform hence political party that is formed from the majority ethnic group dominate the said region and 2/3 majority is almost difficult to attain except if major parties go alliance. The study began with an examination of the history and electoral behaviours of Nigerians. The result of the first and second republics and their voting patterns have been mapped using the results of these elections to determine the ethnic colouration of the electorate. More so, the researchers further their findings to identifying institutional structures that have aided ethnicity to mar democratic consolidation in Nigeria, various approaches were adopted to study ethnicity in Nigeria and findings showed that ethnicity is the major factor militating against the evolution of the truly modern and democratic nation where the interest, wellbeing and the rights of people are protected.

Keywords: Ethnicity, elections, nigeria

Introduction

Ethnncity and electoral behaviour in nigeria

Ethnicity involves the common consciousness of shared origin and tradition among a group of people (Iain Mclean, 1996; 163). The concept refers to a social identity formation that rests upon culturally specific practices and unique set of symbols and cosmology. (International Institute for Democracy and electoral assistance; 2000). Ethnicity has also been defied as a strained and exaggerated feeling of difference in relation to other ethnic groups (P.Heinecke: 1986; 40).

The term ethnicity is sometimes used interchangeably with ethnic nationalism or ethnonationalism. Ethnic nationalism is a stronger or extreme form of ethnicity. While ethnicity is pursued within the framework of a state, ethnic nationalism seeks for attainment of sovereignty or statehood for an ethnic group. Both terms are applicable to the Nigeria situation as various ethnic groups has at one time or the other has expressed the desire for independence from the federation which reached its peak with the civil war episode. Ethnic nationalism is an extreme belief in the course of the ethnic group, which is usually aggressive in its competitive drive. This attitude, in its manifestation, generally underrates other ethnic

groups and even sees them as inferior. The ethnic group comes first in the mind of an ethnic nationalist in considering national issues and is bent on doing anything possible for the advancement of the ethnic group undermining the state.

The baneful effect of ethnic nationalism or ethnicity on the development of Nigeria has remained unabated even after forty years of political independence and the struggle for the attainment of national integration and unity. This situation besides going unabated has in recent years assumed a more precarious and dangerous dimension.

Ethnicity is apparently experienced in every facet of our national life and has also been blamed for the many woes that have befallen Nigeria. Such problems as electoral malpractice and inability to practice democratic governance have their basis, to a large extent, in ethnicity. Military incursion into politics is seen in some cases to be ethnically motivated. Another example is the issue of census in Nigeria, which has never been successfully conducted without reports of widespread malpractices and protests from various parts of the country. These acts are largely perpetuated in the name of the ethnic groups, just as the phenomenon of ethnicity cannot be said to be peculiar to our country. Rather it is widespread and every ethnic group in Nigeria is guilty of it in various ways and in varying degrees. Ethnic nationalism has earned us unforgettable and bitter experience such as bloodbath of the thirty dark months of the civil war and other civil unrests, which have had a heavy toll on human lives.

The study of ethnicity in Nigeria dates from the colonial era. Ethnicity became very visible first with the tripartite struggle between the elite or spokespersons of the three major ethnic groups. Each of these ethnic groups commanded a preponderance of population over other ethnic groups in each of the then three Regions. The regional dominance led to agitations from the ethnic minorities in these regions for separate states of their own. Prior to independence, the competition was no longer just between the three ethnic groups of the Hausa-Fulani of the Northern Region, Yoruba of the Western Region and the Igbo of the Eastern Region. The minority ethnic groups in each of the Regions also began to perceive members of the majority ethnic groups as their enemies, hence the early cry for separate regions just before independence because the three existing Regions were seen as belonging to the majority groups. The cry of marginalization led to the colonial government's appointment of the minorities' commission (Coleman 1958; 390-396). From the above it is clear that ethnicity and its other related issues have been under investigation long before independence. The adoption of a multi-party system saw the proliferation of parties to the extent that there were eleven political parties in the country between 1951 and 1966, all exhibiting strong ethnic postures. The majority ethnic group parties brought the innovation into the party system by aligning with major political parties outside their Regions. Such alliances include those of the UMBC of the Northern Region linking with the AG of Western Region, while the Mobolage Grand Alliance declared for NPC. The non-Igbo speaking area of the eastern Region allied with the Action. The government that emerged at the centre after 1959 election was a coalition of NPC and NCNC because no party had a large enough majority to form a government. This coalition saw the AG going into opposition (Dunmoye 1990; 90-92)

The view that Nigerian electoral choice is largely based on ethnic considerations as the elections of the pre-independence to the Second Republican election portrayed, has been seriously undermined by the electoral trends of the aborted Third Republic and the present Fourth Republic. Candidates won appreciably in areas outside their ethnic homelands in some instances and in others, some lost in their own ethnic localities. From the foregoing, one would be tempted to assume that ethnic nationalism as previously exhibited in the Nigerian voting patterns, is fast becoming anachronistic in the more recent Nigerian political process. The irony of this development is the strengthened of ethnic nationalism to the detriment of

‘central nationalism’, a trend which has been clearly displayed in recent times in the rise of various ethnic militia groups in different parts of the country. This coupled with the continuous cry of marginalization from virtually every segment of the country. With this situation, disintegration and succession appear to be lurking permanently in the corner in our national life.

Nationalism is the expressed desire of a people to work for their own unity and political independence within the framework of the nation-state, and to put loyalty to the state above all other loyalties (Jordan, 1978; 308). The only sense in which something akin to nationalism, as expressed above, was exhibited by the generality of Nigerians was in the struggle for national independence from foreign rule. The nationalist struggle tended to keep ethnicity at bay in the meantime or diverted some attention away from the pursuit of ethnic chauvinism. However, the achievement of political independence meant the disappearance of the common enemy. The competition and conflict were now between former allies who fought against foreign rule and domination. So, while the struggle for independence was within the framework of the nation-state, the new struggle of ethnic nationalism in essence has to do with placing loyalty to the ethnic/tribal group above all other loyalties, in particular loyalties, to the nation –state.

This study in essence is interested in ethnic nationalism and its influence on the Nigerian political process over the years, focusing on the voting pattern of the Nigerian electorates.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is derived from the word ‘ethnic’ has been variously conceptualized by various scholars. Abne Cohen (1969, 4) views the term as referring to strife between groups in the course of which people stress their identity and exclusiveness. The notion implies a conflictual and competitive relationship between ethnic groups that happen to come in contact (Nnoli, 1978; 5). In addressing ethnicity, Nnoli began by eliciting the possible conditions that give rise to ethnicity. In his opinion, ethnicity arises when two or more ethnic groups come together or are brought together in one political union or society. Usually when two or more ethnic groups interact, ethnocentrism is exhibited by each of them. Ethnocentrism can be said to be the harmless stage or the budding stage of ethnicity. The attributes of ethnocentrism are limited to beliefs, group identity, parochial orientation and group pride. It is a universal phenomenon that one often judges people of other ethnic groups subjectively using one’s own ethnic values or expectations as the standard for assessing others. Its essence is to stress the loyalty, pride and devotion to ones ethnic group. Nnoli continued by saying that ethnicity exists only within a political society consisting of diverse ethnic groups. When there are no more than ethnic group in a society as in the case a situation its relations with other groups and societies are characterized by nationalism (Nnoli 1978; 6)

Ethnicity according to Crawford Young is defined thus:

The active sense of identification with some ethnic unit whether or
Not this group has any institutional structure of its own, or whether

It has any real existence in pre-colonial epoch (1965; 234)

Ethnicity or ethnic identity also involves, in addition to subjective self-consciousness, a claim to status and recognition either as superior group or as group at least equal to others groups. Ethnicity is to ethnic category what class consciousness is to class (Brass, 1991; 19)

Joan Vincent views ethnicity as an alternative form of social organization and identification to class but it is a contingent and changeable status which like class, may or may not be articulated in particular contexts or particular times (1974;376-377). Ethnicity, that is the conversion of cultural differences into basis for political differentiation between peoples, arises under certain circumstances. One of the circumstances that give rise to

ethnicity is explained by elite competition. Competition between or among the elite precipitates ethnic conflict under specific conditions which arise from the broader political environment rather than from differences in the cultural values of the ethnic groups in question. This view is consistent with the assumption that ethnic identification is a variable rather than a fixed or given disposition (Brass, 1991:13). Another theoretical argument for the rise of inter-ethnic conflict is the critical role of the relationship established between the elite and the state particularly the roles of collaborators with the opponents of the state authority (Brass, 1991:14)

Ethnic conflict or ethnic politics has long been recognized as one of the more fundamental threats to institutional stability, political order and state cohesion in multi-ethnic societies of the third world (Diamond, 1987). This is not to imply that ethnicity is just a third world or parochial phenomenon. There are few places on earth where ethnic politics cannot be found. Ethnic conflict just as we have in the third world like Afrikaners versus Bantu, the Kurd versus Iraqi, so also it exists in the developed countries, conflicts such as that between Ukrainian versus Great Russia, Turks versus Greek Cypriot, Welsh versus English, blacks versus white (Edger Litt, 1970; 6). The list is endless.

Ethnic group

There is a general consensus among scholars on the ‘term ethnic’ group even though some stress certain elements which others do not lay much stress on. An ethnic group is a self-perceived group of people who hold a common set of traditions not shared by others with whom they are in contact. Such traditions typically include ‘folk’ religious beliefs and practices, languages, a sense of continuity, and a common ancestry or place origin (George De Vos and Lola Romanucci, 1975; 9). Paul Brass (1991:19) pointed out that in addition to a distinction from others in terms of major cultural criteria, an ethnic group contains within its membership either in principle or in practice the element of a complete division of labour, forms an ethnic category. The above view emphasizes on class, gender or age grade. An ethnic group is usually associated with a particular racial group. In the United States of America ethnic issues are mainly in terms of racial differences.

Ugbana Okpu (1977:13) considered ethnicity from its evolutionary perspective. Ethnic group according to him, may be the result of fusion of tribes or may come about through inter-marriage, inter-mingling etc. This implies that an ethnic group is not necessarily natural but can come into existence by the activities of men or can be created by men. That is why we find some linguistic and cultural interpretation of groups inhabiting the fringes of some supposedly natural ethnic groups which the result that a new language or dialect emerges which is a blend of the languages spoken on both sides of the ethnic divide.

Eghosa Osaghae (1984:116) asserted that not only do the members of an ethnic group see themselves as one but are seen as being so by others outside the group. He also added that an ethnic group usually inhabits a particular territory to which they hold claim as their ancestral home. The issue of habitation should not be stretched too far as members of a particular ethnic group in modern times are not always confined to one territory. There are ethnic groups whose members still maintain an ethnic identity with a sizeable number to form a community residing far away from their ancestral home and even after several generations. The Jewish communities are in various parts of Europe and even in the United States of America thus giving rise to such terms as the Russian Jews, German Jews, Austrian Jews, Polish Jews, America Jews etc. They maintain their identity even in the diaspora (a situation whereby a people are scattered far away from their ancestral homeland)

The generally assumed number of ethnic groups in Nigeria is far less than the reported number of language groups. It is believed that there are approximately 248 distinct languages, though language is not the only or the most important issue considered in drawing ethnic

demarcations, other cultural attributes are included such as religion, customs, traditions and political institutions.. Some of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria are Yoruba, Edo (Benin), Igbo, Ibibio-Efik Urhobo, Ijaw, Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, NUpe, Tiv, Itsekiri.

Electoral behaviour

One of the most important features of democracy is the chance for every eligible citizen to choose a candidate to run the affairs of the state. Electoral ideas have developed alongside with the democratic ideal though it has had a turbulent time attracting general acceptability in human society. In its development, the granting of franchise was first to a small privileged group in the society usually based on the membership of an estate. It was gradually extended to possessions of property. Age restriction and even sex discrimination also existed but the latter has virtually been abolished in all democratic societies. However, age restriction is still in most democracies, only citizens that are eighteen years can vote in some countries like Nigeria and USA while some other countries have fixed theirs at twenty or twenty-one years.

Election is believed to serve several purposes in a democracy. Apart from the equal chance to participate in politics, it is used to gauge the political health of a society or government by serving as a stamp of legitimacy for the government of the day. At the same time, election acts as checks on the government, since the elected are aware that they may not be re-elected for another term unless they fulfilled their electoral promises to the satisfaction of the electorate who gave their mandate. Election is both a process of changing governments and making governments alive to their responsibility. It means of bringing periphery into the political arena. (Dowse and Hughes, 1972; 324)

Election is seen as providing peaceful change of government, it also provides social groups with the chance of resolving their conflicting needs peacefully. Voters are considered to be rational and intelligent in their choice among candidates. However, an opposing view sees elections as merely 'symbolic' in character. According to this position, elections are a secular ritual of democracy (Niemi and Weisberg, 1976; 3). This view is in opposition to the one which holds that voters are intelligent and informed about their choice of candidates and that voters vote as a fulfillment of their civic duty. Voters are aid to know next to nothing about the candidates is irrelevant to governance. Our concern in this paper is to examine the electoral behaviour of the Nigerian electorate using ethnicity. In essence our interest is in mapping out the patterns of voting and to see to what extent such patterns are directed by ethnicity.

Ethnic electoral behaviour in Nigeria is as old as election in Nigeria itself. This trend has been identified by various writers on Nigeria election or politics. The NCNC was the only party that started without ethnic base, but had it support from various parts of the country. When the use of carpet rising made it impossible for Nnamdi Azikiwe to get a seat in the West where he had won election in 1953 (Claude B. Ejiluwu: 1997:39). He had to move to the East and the party's fellowship became more of the Igbo ethnic group. Hence the NCNC had nearly all its supporters from the Igbo ethnic group which happened to be that of the leader of the party. Hence Ken post (1963:13) wrote that from 1951, membership of the political parties were reflecting more primordial outlooks. The NCNC had nearly all its supporters drawn from the Igbo ethnic group which happened to be that of leader of the party. Most Yorubas backed the Action Group under the leadership of their kinsmen Chief Obafemi Awolowo. The Norther Peoples Congress remained the party for the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group. Richard Sklar (1963, 474-475) also identified the distribution of party strength and composition of the local affiliates of the party to be strongly affected by tendencies towards ethnic solidarity. The voting decision in the 1959 Federal election according to Ken post (1963:377) was not to be made individually, but as a member of a community. His result of

the 1959 federal elections showed that all parties performed very well in their ethnic bases. The NPC and NCNC won over 75% of the electoral seats or constituencies in the northern and eastern regions, respectively, while AG had over fifty percent (50%) of the seats in the western region (KWJ post 1963: Appendix D).

Strong ethnic sentiment also reared its head in the 1979 election having played a vital role in the electoral crisis of 1965 which culminated in the incursion of the military into Nigerian politics. The result of the 1979 federal election also showed remarkable victories in the ethnic bases of parties candidates or flag bearers. The UPN won in all the Yoruba states, the NPP won the Igbo State of Anambra & Imo while the NPN won a good proportion of the Hausa/Fulani states. This is a repeat of the 1959 scenario.

In the aborted third republic, the general election presented a different picture of electoral behaviour from the previous elections. The voting pattern was largely devoid of primordialism which had seemed to be crucial in our previous general elections. This can be accounted for by the streamlining of the party system to two instead of multiparty system was adopted in 1959 and 1979 respectively.

The 1999 Federal election also went the same way like that of the aborted third republic with candidates winning outside their ethnic base. The eventual winner of the election did not even win in his own state but rode to victory with votes from other parts of the country.

Various approaches have also been applied in the study of ethnicity in Nigeria. The Marxist approach and the liberal approach have been used by various scholars. Nnoli (1978, 12) employed the Marxist approach in his analysis. He views ethnicity as an element of the superstructure of the society (infrastructure). In line with this view, class consciousness (Onimode, 1981). The Marxists, disagree with the view that socio-cultural difference is sufficient to lead to the persistence of ethnic loyalties, nor are biological variations enough reason for the rise of racism. Ethnicity only tends to serve the interest of those who want to divert attention from the assessments of the economic contradictions in the society. This is necessary to avert the revolutionary consequence of the masses becoming class conscious to extend of overthrowing the social order.

The liberal/modernization approach sees ethnicity as connoting the classical definition of a national grouping. Mair (1967) prefers the term “national groups” to the term tribe. An ethnic group (or tribe), is a people having the same historical experience, culture, language, and who share the belief about the future together. The liberal theorists see ethnicity as by-product of modernization or political development. Using the African example of colonialism, Zoberg A (1968) suggests the bringing together of various ethnic groups led to competition for societal values (Ibid 1968). The above authors view ethnicity as only an African or third world or a parochial phenomenon since they conceptualized ethnicity as a by-product of modernization or political development. However, features of ethnicity are found everyday in the countries referred to as highly develop politically. The view seems to reduce the efficacy of the modernization approach. This is not to say that every aspect of liberal modernization theory should be put aside, since value could still be found in contributions from other liberal scholars. For example Oyovbaire (1974) sees the definitional boundary of ethnicity as determined by the way interests coalesce and processed within the political system. Common interests may not always coalesce along tribal lines and an ethnic group may be large, or smaller than tribe or community. The liberal theorists generally see ethnic groups as organized around a set of common activities which may be political, social, economic or psychological.

Mafeja (1971) agreed with the Marxists that ethnic consciousness is false consciousness, but says it may be unnecessary to deny ethnic differences in order to assert class. He suggested that distinction must be drawn between a person who, on behalf of his

ethnic group strives to maintain its traditional integrity, and cultural purity and autonomy, and the person who invokes ethnic ideology in order to attain or maintain a powerful position in a multi-ethnic political system.

Both schools of thought have common grounds in their analysis of ethnicity in Africa. From the Marxist view, ethnicity in Africa is linked with capitalist development in Europe, which resulted in imperialism and colonialism. This view of an external influence on the evolution of ethnicity is also shared by the liberal/modernization theorists. There are agreements on certain other grounds such as the role of the elite or the ruling class in the society. The major ground for disagreement seems to be ideological as the solution proffered, while the Marxist solution entails the destruction of all the liberal structures in order to set up a classless society, the liberal school of thought suggests that increased modernization would eventually efface ethnicity. The struggle for a solution to the problem of ethnicity thus remains a continuous one. Unfortunately, both the Marxist developed and less developed states as well as the liberal developed and less developed states has not solved their problem of ethnicity. None has been able to come up with an Empirical and enduring solution to ethnic problems in their countries, which would serve as a universal model for others.

The effect of ethnicity on electoral behaviour

The effect of ethnicity on the electoral behaviour of the Nigerian electorate. The Nigeria polity is one that has been plagued by many impediments to its political development. Ethnicity has been identified as one of the major factors militating against the evolution of the truly modern and democratic nation where the interest, well being and the rights of the citizens are protected, irrespective of the ethnic, racial, religious, geographical, social and economic background of the individual.

Ethnocentrism is a universal phenomenon when different ethnic group comes in contact, but taken to an extreme dimension it becomes ethnicity or ethnic nationalism. The situation can be said to, have been encouraged by the colonial masters. The idea of separating strangers from natives as was practice in the north continued and intensified ethnic mistrust. The policy of “sabon gari” is in itself akin to apartheid.

The political elite that elite inheritance power from the colonial masters took advantage of the ethnic differences that existed between the people for their person accumulations in terms of economic in the examination of the factors that enhanced the growth and development of ethnicity in Nigeria, colonialism is usually considered as one of such factors. Inter-ethnic strife between the people helped to facilitate the divide and rule policy of the colonial master. The Nigerian indigenous elites are also not free of blame in the nurturing of ethnic nationalism. They have been accused of using ethnic sentiments to mobilize support in their personal struggles for political and economic gains. They have been able to use this as a result of the general level of enlightenment in the country. Our literacy level is still very low that those who cannot easily fall to the manipulations of the elite are very few.

Ethnic clashes have resulted in blood letting from various part of the country. Communities in rural area claiming entitlements of ethnic bases have found it necessary to take on their neighbours perceived to be hindrance. Some of these rural base crises are Hausa-Kataf, Junkun-Tiv, Kuteb-Junkun, Hausa-Mambilla, Ogoni-Andoni, Ilaje-Ijaw, Urhobo-Itsekiri.

Other major destructive incidence on the trail of ethnicity in Nigeria are the Jos riot of 1945, the Kano riot of 1953, the Tiv uprising of 1959 to 1960 and 1964, the general election crisis of 1964 and the western election crisis of 1965 which led to the imposition of a state of emergency and eventually military incursion into politics, the ethnic massacres within the

army and in the North which preceded the civil war in 1967 and the civil war which lasted for 30 months (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance: 2000:53).

Ethnicity has in the past threatened the co-operate existence of the nation as various ethnic groups have at one time or the other express the desire to secede from the federation. The Yoruba threatened to Secede in 1953 and 1954, the Hausa and Fulani in 1966, the Igbo in 1964. Succession has been declared twice in the history of Nigeria, the Republic of Biafra in 1967 and the Delta Peoples Republic in 1966 (Ibid). These attempt were forcibly repressed by the federal forces, That of Biafra was very costly in terms of lives and other resources that was committed to the prosecution of the civil war that followed the declaration of sovereignty by the Biafra leader.

Ethnicity has remained a serious problem in the development of the Nation. We see it comes to play often in issues such as employment into the federal civil service and in admission into institutions of higher learning. It is common phenomenon in the Nigerian society to see a section or sector or its higher echelons dominated by people of a particular ethnic group, a good example is the domination of the army and sectors like the Judiciary also dominated by the Yoruba ethnic group

In the study of ethnicity in Nigeria, its effect has also been greatly exhibited in our voting pattern. Some of the results of our election present a picture of ethnic lines instead of the candidates, not assessing his personality and even past records. In some other cases the decision to vote or who to vote for is taken by the leaders of the community. The members of the elite group who by their training or education are expected to promote the political education of the electorate so as to enable them to be more critical in deciding on how to go about their civic duty (voting), but they turn out to be instrumental in making the electorates to be more parochial in their political outlook. The members of the elite group in their struggle to acquire or retain political power manipulate the ethnic cleavages in the society. This tendency has not allowed the development of National parties rather our political parties are more of organizations for promoting ethnic interest.

Another development in the issue of ethnicity in Nigeria is the recent rise of ethnic militia in various parts of the country. The idea of cultural union dates from the colonial era, when we had the Igbo State Union, the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, the Jani 'Iyyar Mutare Arewa (Northern People's Congress), and a host of others sponsored by various minority groups. Having ethnic militias however is really something novel in the political development of Nigeria. Some of these ethnic militias include the Odua People's Congress of the Yoruba ethnic group, the Bakassi Boys and the Movement for the Survival of the Sovereign state of Biafra (MOSSOB), a Biafra revivalist movement of the Igbo ethnic group, as the Egbesu boys and several others of the Niger Delta Area. The existence of some of them came to the open after they had a clash with the government, with such development; the country can be described as under siege or resting on a time bomb.

The major political parties of the first republic

The major Political Parties that contested the Federal Election of 1959 will be considered in order of their relative age. In this wise the firm is the NCNC, which was founded by late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in 1944. It began as a nationalist movement. The leader, Nnamdi Azikiwe was prior to it foundation a member of the Nigeria Youth Movement. The NCNC was able to transform itself to a Political Party, to contest the regional elections under the Macpherson constitution while the NYM with the passage of time lost followership. NCNC remained the only political Party that evolved for the National movements if not for certain controversies that surrounded its founding father, Nnamdi Azikiwe. This is in regard to the circumstances surrounding his withdrawal from the NYM, and his close ties with his

Igbo State Union, for which the Party was regarded by many other segments of the nation as an Igbo Party, beside majority of the members were actually of Igbo origin.

The other party that arose was the action group, it is considered by many observers as a purely tribal Political Party by reason of the fact that it metamorphosis from a pan Yoruba cultural group. The Egbe Omo Oduduwa. Its aims and objectives were for the advancement of the Yoruba race.

The Northern Peoples congress arose mainly as a result of the rate of political advancement of North, which was considered at the time to be much slower than in the South, its major objective was to project or protect the political and economic interest of the North, fearing domination by the South which was already far ahead in terms of westernization and political development..

The three parties discussed above are the major political parties that contested the 1959 Federal Election. There were several minor political parties beside the NCNC, AG and NPC, with strong ethnic motive behind their formation.

The ethnic undertone in the formation of a good number of the parties for the 1959 federal election can be deduced from even their names, for example, the NPC, and many of the minor parties.

The following table gives the names of the parties, the names of their leaders, the regional bases and ethnic support.

Political parties and their ethnic bases 1951-1966

PARTY	LEADERS	REGIONAL BASE	ETHNIC SUPPORT
Northern people Congress (NPC)	Sir Ahmadu Bello	North	Hausa/Fulani
Action Group (AG)	Chief Obafemi Awolowo	West	Yoruba
National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC)	Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe	East	Igbo,Edo(Yoruba up to 1960)
Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU)	Alhaji Aminu Kano	North (Kano and Zaria)	Hausa/Fulani (Poor people)
United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC)	Joseph Tarka	Middle Belt	Tiv, Biron
Dynamic Party(DP)	Dr Chike Obi	East	Igbo
Mobolaje Grand Alliance(MGA)	Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu	West	Ibadan (Yoruba)
Niger Delta Congress (NDC)	Harold Biriye	East	Ijaw.Kalabari
United National Independence Party (UNIP)	NIP-UNP Coalition	East	Ibibio
Igbirra tribal Union	George Ohikere	North	Igbirra
Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP)	Chief Samuel Akintola	West	Osun, Oyo, Yoruba
Bornu Youth Movement (BYM)	Mr Abba Gana	North	Kanuri
Mid-West Deemocratic Front (MDF)	Apostle John Edokpolor	Mid-West	Benin
Nigerian National Alliance(NNA)	NPC-NNDP Coalition	North/West	
Northern Progressive Front(NPF)	NEPPU=UMBC Coalition	North	
Out-Edo	Chief Omo Osagie		
United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA)	AG-NCNC Coalition		
Socialist Workers and Farmers Party(SSWFP)	Dr. T Otegbeye		
United National Party (UNP)	Alvan Ikoku	East	Igbo
National Independence Party (NIP)	Dr. E.U Ujoma, Jaja Nwachukwu, Prof. Eyo Ita	East	Igbo
Democratic Party of Nigeria and Cameroun(DPNC)	Dr. Mbadiwe K.O	East	Igbo
National Emancipation League(NEL)	M.R.B Otun	West	Yoruba
Benin Delta Peoples Party (BDPP)	E,B Ogunje	Mid-West	

The following table in addition to the one above gives the Percentage of Ethnic distribution of leaders of the major Political Parties in 1958 as a Percentage of totals

PART Y	IGBO	OTHER EASTERN GROUP	YORUBA	OTHER WESTERN GROUP	HAUSA/FULANI	OTHER NORTHERN	OTHERS
NPC			6.8		51.3	32.4	9.4
NCPNC	49.3	9.9	26.7	5.6	2.8	-	5.6
AG	4.5	15.2	68.2	7.6	3	-	1.5

The 1959 Federal Election

The following table gives the result of the 1959 federal election

REGION PARTY	NORTH		EAST		WEST		LAGOS		NATIONAL AVERAGE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
NPC	134	77		0		0		0	13.4	42.94
NCNC/CEPU	8	4.6	58	7.9	21	34	2	67	89	28.52
AG	25	14.4	15	20.5	33	53	1	33	74	23.71
OTHERS	7	3.4	0	0	8	13	0	0	15	4.80
TOTAL	194	-	73	-	62	-	3	-	312	

Source: KWJ post. The Nigerian Federal Election of 1959, Oxford University Press 1963, Appended XD

From the above table, Parties has the highest electoral support from their regional bases of their leaders. NPC won all her electoral victory in the northern region having 77% of the constituencies in the northern region and was not able to capture any in the south. For the other two major, the story would have been much different from the performance of the NPC winning over 50% of the votes in their regional bases. These were the only parties that recorded appreciable victories outside their region. This itself cannot be stressed too far as such victory can easily be explained to be as a result of the alliances they made with minor parties in regions other than theirs.

The federal election of 1979

This election was similar to that of 1959 in some ways. The military authority conducted the election on the eve of their disengagement from politics. The colonial authority conducted the 1959 election on the eve of independence.

The parties that were eventually registered for the 1979 election had strong ties with the parties of the first republic. Five parties were registered for the 1979 election, these parties and their leadership are displayed below their tie with the parties of the first republic will be seen from their leadership hierarchy.

POLITICAL PARTIES	LEADERS
National Party of Nigeria (NPN)	Alhaji Shehu Shagari
Nigeria Peoples Party(NPP)	Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe
Peoples Redemption Party (PRP)	Malam Aminu Kano
Great Nigeria Peoples Party(GNPP)	Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim
Unity Party of Nigeria(UPN)	Chief Obafemi Awolowo

The above is a display of the parties and their leaders for the 1979 Federal Elections. An examination of the table reveals that the leaders of four of the parties were also the leaders of some of the dominant parties of the first republic. The only name that cannot be found in our earlier table for the party leadership of the first republic is that of Alhaji Shehu Shagari. This is not to say that he was not important player in the politics of the first republic. The parties for the 1979 election can be said to be reincarnated or resurrected parties of the first republic (1959). The leader of the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) was Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe who led the NCNC of the first republic. The leader of the People Redemption Party was Malam Aminu KAno who was the leader of the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) of the first republic. The leader of the Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP) was the leader of

the Bornu Youth Movement (BYM) of the first republic. Chief Obafemi Awolowo who was the leader of Action group (AG) in the first republic led Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN).

Each of the parties that contested the 1979 election maintained dominance in their ethnic bases as it was in 1959. The result of the election was a clear reflection of the ethnic tendency of that of 1959. This can be seen in the following tables

Ethnic voting in the 1979 presidential election.

TABLE IV.A Election Results in Hausa/Fulani Dominated State

STATE	TOTAL VOTES	GNPP % VOTES RECORDED	UPN % VOTES RECORDED	NPN % VOTES RECORDED	PRP % VOTES RECORDED	NPP % VOTES RECORDED
Bauchi	998,683	15.44	3	62.48	14.34	4.72
Kaduna	1,382,712	12.8	6.68	43.12	31.66	4.72
Kano	1,220,763	1.54	1.23	19.94	76.41	0.91
Sokoto	1,348,697	26.61	2.52	66.58	3.33	0.92

The above table shows that the parties that won the election in the Hausa/Fulani states were off shots of the parties that were dominant in the area in the first republic. The NPN that was more or less the new NPN won decisively in Bauchi (62.48%), Kaduna 43.12% and Sokoto (66.58%). The PRP, an off shot of NEPU, also won in the Kano area, where NEPU had in the first republic been the dominant party with (76.41%) such a high percentage

TABLE IV B Election results in Yoruba dominated states

STATES	TOTAL VOTES	GNPP	UPN	NPN	PRP	NPP
Lagos	824,414	0.48	82.3	7.18	0.47	9.57
Ogun	744,608	0.53	92.11	6.23	0.32	0.32
Ondo	1,369,849	0.26	94.51	4.19	0.18	0.86
Oyo	1,369,547	0.57	85.78	12.75	0.32	0.55

The above table displayed clearly an increase in ethnic pattern of voting in the Yoruba dominated state. When viewed comparatively with the 1959 Federal election, the AG which metamorphosed into the UPN, a Yoruba dominated party got 53% of the vote in the region in 1959, the table before us show a situation whereby the UPN did not only win in all the Yoruba states, but with very high percentage in Lagos it had 82.30% of the votes in Ogun 92.11%, Ondo 94.51 and Oyo 85.78%

TABLE IV. C Election results in Igbo dominated states

STATE	TOTAL VOTES	GNPP	UPN	NPN	PRP	NPP
Anambra	1,209,039	1.67	0.75	13.5	1.2	82.58
Imo	1,153,355	3	0.64	8.8	0.89	86.69

In the Igbo dominated area, the NPP an offshoot of the NCNC of the first republic was victorious in Anambra State; it had 82.58% of the vote in the state in the 1979 Election. In Imo state it got 86.67%

TABLE V Election result in northern minority states

STATES	TOTAL VOTES	GNPP	UPN	NPN	PRP	NPP
Benue	538,879	7.89	2.59	76.39	1.35	11.71
Borno	710,968	54.04	3.35	34.71	6.52	
Gongola	639,138	34.09	21.67	35.52	4.34	
Kwara	354,605	5.71	39.48	53.62	0.67	
Niger	383,347	16.5	3.69	74.88	3.99	
Plateau	548,405	6.82	5.29	34.73	3.98	

The result from northern minority area does not display much of ethnicity as we found in the other areas. An explanation for this may be found in the fact that most of these states were not having one of their citizens in the presidential race. The GNPP an offshoot of the (BYM) Borno Youth Movement still won in the area where it had dominance in the first republic, which is Borno State. A more rational approach for the states that were not fielding somebody for the presidential ticket was achieved, for example the NPP a predominately Igbo party won in Plateau state, NPN won in Benue State with a percentage of (76.39). The NPN also won in Gongola, Kwara and Niger state. Apart from success of the GNPP in Bornu state, the party came second in Gongola state (34.09), losing first position to NPN (34.52) with just a margin of 1.43 percent

TABLE IV Election result in the western minority state

STATES	TOTAL VOTE	GNPP	UPN	NPN	PRP	NPP
Bendel	669,511	1.23	53.19	36.19	0.73	8.6

In the western minority state, the UPN, an off shot of the AG maintain her dominance in the area in the area as it was in the first republic

TABLE VI. FElection result in eastern minority states

STATES	TOTAL VOTES	GNPP	UPN	NPN	PRP	NPP
Cross River	661,103	15.13	11.76	64.4	1.01	7.66
Rivers	687,751	2.18	10.33	72.65	0.46	14.35

The NPN swept the polls in the eastern minority area. In Cross River State the NPN had 64.40% of the vote. This area had no citizen that vied for the presidency but they gave their votes as was the case in the first republic to a party that has it base in the North.

Source: The tables were adapted from R.A Joseph Democracy and prebendal politics in Nigeria: The Rise And Fall of the Second Republic, Ibadan Spectrum Books, 1991 P.127

The following table further displays the closeness of the voting pattern of the 1959 election and that of the 1979. Both exhibited ethnic pattern of voting.

TABLE VEthnic voting in the 1979 presidential election

State	Victorious party	Ethnic base of party	Previous Regional Identity	Party leader	First Republic Party in Region/Phase	Party Leader
Anambra	NPP	East	East	Azikiwe	NCNC	Azikiwe
Bauchi	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmadu Bello
Bendel	UPN	West	West	Awolowo	AG	Awolowo
Benue	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmadu Bello
Borno	GNPP	North	North	Waziri	BYM	Waziri
Cross River	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NCNC	Azikiwe
Gongola	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmadu Bello
Imo	NPP	East	East	Aminu Kano	NCNC	Azikiwe
Kaduna	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmedu Bello
Kano	PRP	North	North	Awolowo	NEPU	Aminu Kano
Kwara	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmedu Bello
Lagos	UPN	West	West	Awolowo	AG	Awolowo
Niger	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmedu Bello
Ogun	UPN	West	West	Awolowo	AG	Awolowo
Ondo	UPN	West	West	Awolowo	Ag	Awolowo
Oyo	UPN	West	West	Awolowo	AG	Awolowo
Plateau	NPN	East	East	Azikiwe	NPC	Alhaji Ahmedu Bello
Rivers	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NCNC	Azikiwe
Sokoto	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmedu Bello

Source: Adapted from Previous tables

From the above table, the pattern of ethnic voting in the federal election of 1959 was replayed twenty years later. The deviation from the 1959 patterns could be accounted for. The areas that were in conflict with the dominant parties in their regions pitched tent with parties, usually outside their region. This exemplified by Rivers State (a former part of the eastern region) which gave much of their vote to the NPN because of their dislike of fear of Igbo domination.

The presidential election of 1983

The 1983 Federal election was an important one in many respects; first it represented a test of political maturity on the part of the political class. It was an election that would have midwife a successful transfer of power from an elected civilian leader to another or a successful return of incumbent in a free and fair election. The 1959 and 1979 elections were supervised by the colonial and military authorities.

The Federal Electoral Commission registered one more party the Nigeria Advance Party (NAP) under the leadership of Tunji Braithwaite along side with the five that contested the 1979 election.

Many things went wrong right from the preparation for the elections. There was widespread desire on the part of the politicians to win at all cost. Not only were there accusation of parties printing their own voter's card, there was multiple registrations of voters for the election. The final list of registered voters that were released for the election was a shocking 65,304,818 voters, greater than entire population below the minimum voting age of 18 years. The register implied a total population of at least 130 million. The exceeded reasonable estimates by 30 to 50 million (Larry Diamond, 1988, 69). The electoral register was inflated in all the states by as much as 100 percent (Obadina 1983)

The preparation for the election was fraught with irregularity malpractices. The actual conduct of the election manifested more irregularities and malpractices as well as widespread electoral violence leading to the death of some people and arson in parts of the country. Apart from the issue mentioned above the election also suffered logistic problems. Voting materials and personnel were not available on time in some area or were not available at all.

We shall go ahead to see how ethnically color the result of the 1983 presidential election was

The results in hausa dominated states

TABLE VI.A Election results in Hausa Dominated States

STATE	TOTAL VOTE	NPN	UPN	NPP	GNPP	PRP	NAP
Bauchi	1,782,122	84.57	5.55	3.66	2.09	3.05	1.07
Kaduna	2,137,398	59.28	40.57	10.58	3.08	14.02	1.75
Kano	1,193,050	32.19	4.06	22.98	2.95	36.63	1.19
Sokoto	2,837,786	91.83	2.66	2.23	1.65	0.85	0.78

The above result reveals that the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) maintained its lead in the election, as was the case of 1979. While the PRP still won in Kano its traditional base.

TABLE VI.B Election Results in Yoruba Dominated States

STATE	TOTAL VOTE	NPN	UPN	NPP	GNPP	PRP	NAP
Lagos	1,640,381	7.59	83.39	7.28	0.72	0.04	0.05
Ogun	1,261,061	3.47	95	0.04	0.55	0.35	0.23
Ondo	1,829,343	20.03	77.25	1.11	0.65	0.39	0.58
Oyo	2,351,000	37.55	59.39	1.48	0.57	0.39	0.42

From the above table result of the 1983 election show that UPN, a Yoruba dominated party won in all the Yoruba states. In Lagos state it had (83.39%) of the votes in Ogun it had (95.00%) of the above vote from the state in Ondo it still maintained its lead with a score of

(77.25%) of the votes. The party was also victorious in Oyo state with 59.39% of the votes caste.

TABLE VI.C Election Results in Igbo Dominated States

STATE	TOTAL VOTE	NPN	UPN	NPP	GNPP	PRP	NAP
Anambra	1,158,283	33.36	2.06	57.79	3.12	1.39	2.38
Imo	1,588,975	25.07	1.43	66.99	3.29	1.16	2.06

The NPP an Igbo dominated party returned winner in the Igbo dominated states of Anambra with (57.79%) of the votes and Imo with (66.99%) of the votes in the area. This result is also to that of 1979 election.

TABLE VI.D Election Results in Northern Minority State

STATE	VOTES	NPN	UPN	NPP	GNPP	PRP	NAP
Benue	652,795	58.83	12.21	23.31	3.05	0.98	1.62
Borno	718,043	48.6	16.73	3.76	24.96	3.76	2.19
Gongola	735,648	38.44	21.85	20.13	3.47	11.04	5.07
Kwara	608,422	49.25	45.2	2.66	1.26	0.61	1
Niger	430,731	63.17	3.66	2.23	3.01	2.03	1.9
Plateau	652,302	44.86	5.86	43.05	2.85	1.77	1.61

The voting- pattern of the minorities in the north has tended to maintain what it was in 1979 except in cases of Borno State, which the GNPP had in 1979 that the NPN claimed. The case of Plateau state, which the NPP had in 1979, that fell into the hands of the NPN.

TABLE VI.E Election Results in Western Minorities

STATE	VOTES	NPN	UPN	NPP	GNPP	PRP	NAP
Bendel	1,099,851	41.17	51.45	4.35	1.05	0.67	0.79

The Western Minority State as was the case in previous Federal Elections (1959 and 1979) gave their vote to the UPN an offshoot of the AG of the first republic

TABLE VI.F Election Result in Eastern Minorities

STATE	TOTAL VOTES	NPN	UPN	NPP	GNPP	PRP	NAP
Cross River	1,295,710	54	39.43	3.61	1.29	0.54	0.85
Rivers	1,357,715	67.88	18.55	11.15	0.95	0.34	1.11

Source: The above tables were carefully adapted from A.B.C Nwosu's political parties are electoral process in Victor Ayeni and Kayode Soremekun (Eds) Nigeria's second republic: Presidentialism, politics and administration in a developing state. Daily times publication 1988 P. 54

The vote in the eastern minority area did not vary from what was recorded in the 1997 results.

TABLE VII Ethnic Voting Pattern in the First and Second Republic

State	Victorious Party 1997	1983	Ethnic base of party	Previous Regional identity	Party leader	First Republic Dominant Party in Region/Place	Party Leader
Anambra	NPP	NPP	East	East	Azikiwe	NCNC	Azikiwe
Bauchi	NPN	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmadu Bello
Bendel	UPN	UPN	West	West	Awolowo	AG	Awolowo
Benue	NPN	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmadu Bello
Borno	GNPP	NPN	North	North	Waziri	BYM	Waziri
Cross River	NPP	NPP	North	North	Shagari	NCNC	Azikiwe
Gongola	NPN	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmadu Bello
Imo	UPN	UPN	East	East	Aminu Kano	NCNC	Azikiwe
Kaduna	NPN	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmedu Bello
Kano	PRP	PRP	North	North	Awolowo	NEPU	Aminu Kano

Kwara	NPN	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmedu Bello
Lagos	UPN	UPN	West	West	Awolowo	AG	Awolowo
Niger	NPN	NPN	North	North	Shagari	NPC	Alhaji Ahmedu Bello
Ogun	UPN	UPN	West	West	Awolowo	AG	Awolowo
Ondo	UPN	UPN		West	Awolowo	Ag	Awolowo
Oyo	UPN	UPN	West	West	Awolowo	AG	Awolowo
Plateau	NPN	NPN	East	East	Azikiwe	NPC	Alhaji Ahmedu Bello

...87....Timetable for the transition programme, where the political bureau recommended the termination of the programme in 1990 the government extended it to 1992. The government accepted the two-party system for the country. This option according to President Babangida could serve as a prophylactic against all the social upheavals that have bedeviled our past political experience.

Many political parties and associations sprang up after the ban on political activities was lifted. They were not registered by the government on the ground that they smack of the traits of the parties of the defunct republics. The government created two political parties namely: National Republic Convention and Social Democratic Party as recommended by the political bureau.

The two party systems were experimented at the local government election in the last quarter of 1990. In 1991, election was held into state legislature and executive. These elections were done using the option a4 that is the open ballot system, which helped a great deal in checking electoral malpractices

In the presidential primaries that were held by both parties, Alhaji M.K.O Abiola emerged as the candidate for the SDP and Alhaji Bashir Tofa emerged as the candidate for the NRC. The election which was scheduled for January 1993, was shifted to June, on the 12th day of June 1993, Nigerian went to the poll to cast their vote for the candidate/party of their choice.

The election according to observer is the freest election in the history of Nigeria. Like other elections that have been successful, it was done under the supervision of the military

The result of the election was not fully released officially but following table shows a break from the result of past elections in Nigeria, ethnicity was greatly reduced. A situation in which Bashir Tofa lost his home state, Kano to Alhaji M.K.O Abiola goes a long way to buttress this claim. The voting pattern in Yoruba dominated state still reflected the ethnic tendency. Chief M.K.O Abiola was obviously the popular candidate.

TABLE VIII. AElection Result I Hausa-Fulani Dominated States

STATES	TOTAL VOTES	N.R.C		S.D.P	
		NO	%	NO	%
Bauchi	847,274	513,077	60.56	334,197	39
Jigawa	228,388	89,836	39	138,552	61
Kaduna	726,573	336,860	46.36	389,713	55
Kano	324,428	154,809	47.72	169,619	52
Sokoto	469,986	372,260	79.21	97,726	21
Katsina	442,176	271,000	61.3	171,169	39
Kebbi	286,974	209,872	73.1	77,102	27
Yobe	176,054	65,133	36.99	110,921	63

From the above table, it is obvious that voting pattern in the Hausa-Fulani dominated states was not ethnic. The SDP flag bearer Chief M.K.O Abiola won four out of the eight states. He also made appreciable performance in the other states.

TABLE VIII. FElection Result in the Eastern Minority State

STATES	TOTAL VOTE	NRC		SDP	
		NO	%	NO	%
Akwalbom	414,129	199,342	48.14	214,787	52
Rivers	1,026,824	646,952	63	379,872	36.9
Cross River	342,755	153,452	47.08	189,303	52.2

The voting pattern in the eastern minority state shows that none of the party dominated the other source. The above table was adapted from Idahosa and otoghile (2000) Ethnic politics in Nigeria, Benin Journal of Social Sciences Vol. 8 and 9 Nos 1 and 2, P 126-128.

The 1999 federal election of the 4th republic

The lack of political wills on the part of the military to usher in the third republic with adoption of the result of the 1993 presidential election plunged the nation into new era of military dictatorship. This time under General Sani Abacha who sacked the Interim National Government (headed by Ernest Shonekon) that General Babangida set up on the eve of his resignation.

After struggling for legitimacy for almost two years, General Abacha announced a programme of transition to civil rule on October 1st 1995 under the program five political parties- UNCP, DPN, CNC, CNPN and GDM were registered. As events unfolded, it became clear the general was out to transform himself from a military head of state to a civilian president this dream or programme was halted by his untimely death on June 8th 1998.

His former chief of Defense Staff, General Abdusalami Abubakar, who on assumption of office released political prisoners and embarked on a speedy transition to civil rule programme. The implementation of the transition to civil rule programme began with the registration of the electorates by the National Electoral Commission. Political Parties were registered to contest elections to various political offices such as local council, state legislature, gubernatorial positions as well as the national assembly. These parties were the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance for Democracy (AD) and All Peoples Party (APP). Two of the parties went into coalition for the presidential election. They were the All peoples Party and the Alliance for Democracy. Their presidential flag bearer for the election was Chief Olu Falae while the presidential candidate for the Peoples Democratic Party was General Olusegun Obasanjo rtd.

The presidential Election like the other elections that took place in the fourth republic was conducted using the secret ballot system. The last in the series of the election was the presidential election, which took place on the 27th of February 1999. General Olusegun Obasanjo emerges victorious according to the result released by the Independent National Electoral Commission.

Observers believe that the election was seriously rigged. This accusation was leveled against all parties hence the conclusion that the best rigger emerged the winner. Each of the parties perpetrated this act especially in their area of influence.

The eventual winner of the presidential election General Olusegun Obasanjo achieved his victory with votes from parts of Nigeria other than his. He lost even his home state to his opponent Olu Falae. The Yoruba states gave their votes to Olu Falae and seem to have their back against Obasanjo who is also their son. Apart from the fact that the two contestants were Yoruba's, they are also Christians by religious inclination.

TABLE IX.CElection Result in Igbo –Dominated State

STATES	TOTAL VOTES	APP/AD		PDP	
		NO	%	NO	%
Abia	535,918	175,095	32.67	360,823	67.33
Anambra	833,178	199,461	23.94	633,717	76.06
Ebonyi	345,921	94,934	27.44	250,987	72.56
Enugu	835,586	195,168	23.36	640,418	76.64
Imo	736,106	314,339	42.7	421,767	57.30

The Igbo dominated area presented a result that show PDP winning in all the states in the zone, giving a sharp contrast to what the Yoruba area presented Ethnicity cannot be said to have influenced this result as neither of the contestants is from this area.

TABLE IX.DElection Result in Northern Minority States

STATES	TOTAL VOTES	APP/AD		PDP	
		NO	%	NO	%
Adamawa	845,107	177,868	21.05	667,239	78.95
Benue	1,252,957	269,045	21.47	983,308	71
Borno	915,975	334,593	36.53	581,382	63
Kogi	984,710	476,807	48.42	507,903	52
Kwara	659,598	189,088	28.67	470,510	71
Nasarawa	597,008	173,277	29.02	423,731	71
Niger	871,130	140,465	16.02	730,665	84
Plateau	672,442	173,370	25.63	499,072	74
Taraba	871,029	81,290	9.33	789,749	91

The table shows that PDP candidates also won in all the states of this zone.

TABLE IX.EElection Result in Western Minority States

STATES	TOTAL VOTES	APP/AD		PDP	
		NO	%	NO	%
Edo	679,784	163,203	24.01	515,581	76
Delta	816,574	240,344	29.43	576,230	71

The result in the western minority area also show that General Obasanjo the PDP candidate also emerged victorious, scoring over seventy percentage of the votes cast.

TABLE IX.FElection Result Eastern Minority States

STATES	TOTAL VOTES	APP/AD		PDP	
		NO	%	NO	%
Akwabom	883,278	152,534.00	17.27	730,744	82.73
Bayelsa	610,032	152,220	25	457,812	75
Cross River	876,156	283,468	32	592,688	68
Rivers	1,565,603	213,328	14	1,352,275	86

The above table also shows that PDP candidate also carried the day in the Eastern minority states.

The PDP candidate also won in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) with 59%- 82% of the vote cast in the area.

Source: the above tables were adapted from the result of the 1999 Presidential Election released by the Independent National Electoral Commission as published by the observer on Tuesday 2nd march 1999, p.2

The fourth republic gave a result that can be said to be akin to that of its immediate predecessor (the incomplete third republic). The party choice was limited like that of the aborted third republic. Voting choice was also not ethnically influenced.

Conclusion

The nation was highly ethnicized up to the second republic as the research has shown. The result of the election of the aborted third republic and that of the fourth (1999 election) republic has presented a progressive trend with its radical deviation from the initial inclination of the earlier republic.

One other conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that the fewer the choice of political parties, the less ethnically inclined are the electorates. The influence of the elites on the electoral choice of voters can also be said to be less, in the more recent elections as the time lapse between republics seemed to have given the people useful political education beside the general increase in the literacy rate of the people.

Ours has been a kind of political engineering-learning to coexist with other ethnic groups and learning the western democratic system of government. It is hoped that more progress will be recorded with continued experimentation of democratic governance in the country.

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