

## **NIGERIA 2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES**

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### ***Abstract***

*The introduction and imposition of ethnic identity and religious bigotry on the Nigerian body politics by the colonial masters, the country suffered devious nomenclature that keeps on dividing, creating suspicion with an enthroned animosity among the people. As political governance of the state consistently centred on these factors, the country gradually snowballed into a fledging state. Thus, the people in 2015, aware of the utilities of democracy and democratic governance, a panacea to arresting this problematic hydride puts aside ethnic identity and religious bigotry, even when it was employed to the extreme, to deciding on merit on who leads them. The 2015 election, a democratic revolution towards actualizing the aspirations of many is situated on game theory framework. The study utilizes analytical concepts and documentary approaches. The study notes that the populace had been manipulated by the political actors for long using these factors. The study observed that ethnic identity and religious bigotry was totally ignored by the masses in making their choice. The study shows that the people, determined for change were eager to use their votes judiciously. The study revealed that despite huge financial inducement acting as catalysis(m), that the electorates were not deterred. The study suggests that politicians and political parties electioneering campaign should be issues based.*

**Key word:** *Ethnic Identity, Religious Bigotry, Democratic Revolution, financial inducement, political actors, democratic governance*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Contemporary governance speaks volume of democratic ethos, democratic tenets and democratic sustainability and democratic consolidation of the values of leadership that are allowed to flourish in the political system. This, also

informs the long lasting of democracy within such a state. And where the otherwise exists, political instability, leadership tussle, social upheaval, crisis and uprisings as occurred in many part of the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century like Cote



d-Voire in 2010-2011, Kenya in 2007-2008, Thailand in 2013-2014, Pakistan in 2013 and the entire Arab Spring scenarios in 2011 to date, particularly in Libya, Egypt and Syria among others takes the stage.

Electioneering democracy, being the simplest platform of leadership selection has been in practice under the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic in Nigeria since 1999 with the then ruling Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) being in charge amongst the several political parties, but yet, not measuring up to the expectation of the teeming population of the Nigerian citizenry. The party, though widely acknowledged and accepted was not in any way different from the partisan politics of the 60s and 80s in terms of its relationship with the masses. It also joined the bandwagon effects of the former's period to decimate the common masses. A period where anything goes. Thereby, enthrone corruption to the beam, ethnic identity, tribalism and religious bigotry used to manipulate the unaware masses becomes the main totem. The early 1990s elections and the trial of democratic period was the only time that the masses detested and dethroned the antic of the political elites' manipulative tendencies as they voted in what was termed the freest, fair and peaceful election ever in Nigeria without yielding to the dictates of ethno-religious and or tribal politics.

The 2015 general elections against all criticism and skepticism is what one may called a democratic revolution that

saw in the anal of Nigeria political history, the second time that the masses could speak with one voice in choosing their leader on merit without any let or hindrance to earmarked the beginning of democratic consolidation in Nigeria. For democratic revolution occurs in a polity when the masses speak with one voice against long time enslavement, deprivation and manipulation of the populist as the incumbent are muscled out of power by the opposition. The people in the process detests all forms of inducement, negates all call for ethnic identity cleavages, tribal sentiments and religious bigotry that had been used in the past to sway the minds of the populists against their wishes and aspirations to do the needful.

The study, thus, examines the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, the arising issues, challenges and the role of the electorates, the instrumentalism of the factors of ethnic identity, tribalism and religious bigotry and its failures, changing trend of electioneering process and democratic revolution and the implications.

### **THEORETICAL ARGUMENT**

This study, is poised to adopt Game Theory framework, without neglecting the interplay of power framework. The choice of game theory however, overwhelmed all other related theories. The Theory, combined manipulation, scheming and propaganda to achieving desired objectives. Thus, scholars like **Plano and Riggs (1953)** opined that it is a body of thought dealing with rational

decision strategies in situations of conflict and competition, of which each participant or player tends to maximize gains and minimize losses. In tandem to this assertion, Mager (1972) argued that it is a form of arithmetic mode of interactions of actors striving to maximize their utilities. To Newman and Magestern (1957), it is used to define the economic man as a rational actor who believes in gain rather than losses. Agreeing with this contention, Stranger (1960) posits that game theory is a domineering concept with the intent of greed and logical reasoning of manipulating others against their desires, against the society and against the entire system. In the same continuum, Levy and Thompson (2010), argued that game theory is the act of rationally advancing security, power and wealth in any societal contest.

Therefore, if game theory involves the manipulation of numbers, persons and materials to achieving a set goals, whose rules are defined vis-à-vis the distribution of resources and the strategic possibilities that are open to each player in the employment of these resources, then, the general questions that this study raises is how does it evolved in the Nigerian politics and government?

In the Nigerian context, the political actors appropriate the common masses by exploiting their weakness in the political system with the existence of a deep-seated suspicion, lack of trust, fears of war and or break up and

generational divide among others. Though, salient factors that enabled the enthronement of ethnic identity, tribalism and religious bigotry in the body politics cannot be wished away, like the colonial divide and rule system and the importation of ethnicity has been sustained and still much available. This platform being the quickest and most available tool are readily utilized. The actions away from all other challenges and problems faced at every political contest and electioneering processes are imported as seen in 2015 general elections.

The essence of this political intrigues was to manipulate the electorates, especially those of South-East, South-South and South-West against the rest of the country. With theoretical understanding of the essence mobilization in a polity, the ideals of ethnic identities become important to political actors in trying to bring about the success of such as it was in the past political elections that had relied on ethnic cleavages in wooing Nigerians. This is not only due to the fact that ethnic identities and primordialism, which are naturally given are products of social construction (Taras and Grangully, 2002), but because the human actions and choices are manipulated by the political elites in this context. Other instrumentalization factors that encourages ethnic identities like tribalism and religious bigotry are tools of action used by successive political actors/elites in Nigeria to achieve



material gains (Taras and Ganguly, 2002).

Today, the 2015 general elections being the opposite, however, sends a huge signal to the political actors as to what happen? Why the failures of political manipulators in the last election? How aware were the electorates? What could have informed the electorates to negate the usual manipulation and inducement of political elites? Why did masses decided to ignore, detect and deter all intents to corruption to do the needful? How important do the masses of Nigeria sees their mandate as the key factor in changing a leader who fails to perform? All this could be summed up simply and perhaps, because the people want democracy; and not only that but because they want sustainable democracy.

### **NIGERIA'S DEMOCRATIC HISTORY IN THE CONTEXT OF 2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS**

Election is not new in Nigeria. It dates back to the direct election of 1923, which was the first election to be conducted by the former colonial masters - Britain, on the Nigeria soil. Though the voting right of Nigerians was mortgaged with slim access to power and restriction, but there was no record of electoral fraud or riggings even when they exist. Although, no fraud and criminality could be more than that which denied and imposed class distinction, even when awareness on political culture and essences of

governance had its abysmal tool on the citizenry.

Away from this history, all other elections in Nigerian had been bedeviled with wild-tale of ethnic chauvinism, tribal sentiments and religious bigotry that end up enthroning electoral selections, gross riggings, and electoral swamping of high degree magnitude. In all inferences, it is always the electoral system, the government and the general mass that are blamed for the categorical failures. Thereby insinuating absence of proper political culture, political behaviour, political mobilization and enabling political institution. This negating factors, however, helped to decimate governance system to an awful end.

With the introduction of indirect election under the Richard constitution of 1946, the politics of ethnicity and ethnic identity in our body politics was born as parties were regionally and ethnically formed and funded. A clog in the wheel of progress that was purportedly sowed by the British colonial master. Hence, given birth to an inbuilt relationship that empower every regional actor to claim the victory of their region whether voted for or not. The NPC dominating the Northern political sphere, the AG for Western and the NCNC for the Eastern region. All this against competent contender away from these parties' elements. It also saw mass of imposition; rigging and dominance as occurred in 1956 and 1959 Independence Election (Smith, 2008). Anifowose (2000), also

arguably noted that the election of 1964 and 1965 was engrossed in electoral violence as a result of rigging, ethnic divides and malpractices. Eleazu (1983), in the same respect noted that inept errors of the 1963 census proceeding the election of 1964 enhances wild post - independence elections malpractices encouraged by ethnic chants and divisionist tendencies due to improper record and delineations.

To say this is not a generational problem, passed on from the erstwhile colonial master down to the present generation, is a blatant lie because the role of ethnic identity and religious bigotry has not only been consistent but very destructive. Electoral falsification and rigging had been a British product just to favour one ethnic group as Nigeria political quagmire is also a British product. A deep seated hyride of ethnicity, tribalism and religious bigotry had become a dread in Nigeria political governance. The revelation of Harold Smith, a one-time British political official in Nigeria openly confirmed the contentions about British political infidelity, prostitution and unholiness in actually enthrone ethnic identity and religious politics in Nigeria. Thus, New African (2005) reproduced in Spectator Magazine (2008) in its edition reiterated:

*... British rigged Nigeria's independence election so that its complaint friends in the North would win power, dominate the country, and serve British*

*interests after independence. As long as the federal government remains dependent, our strategic requirements are constitutionally secure ...*

*How the British Undermined Democracy in Africa. Now we can reveal that rigging election was actually Part of official policy as the British Empire disengaged from its colonial possessions in Africa... In the west minister model, parliament is the matrix of the executive when this model is exported to dependent territories, we are forced in the transitional stages to modify it in the interest of strong and stable government.*

*This we do by rigging the parliament through official majorities, a restricted franchise and so forth...*

*In the last resort, we must make sure that the government in Nigeria is strong, even if possible undemocratic or unjust...*

This is not only an admission that shame the mother of parliament, but this does not equally mean that Nigeria must continually live by it. There are certain ills that does not march or bequeath a modern state like ours. History of all election in Nigeria must not be the same or go the same way if we must talk of sustainability and consolidation of



democracy in our body polity at all. But our political elites seeing these avenues as the cheapest, easier and most successful way of retaining political power had for long practice it while manipulating the common electorates' detriments.

This act was also seen occurring in the 1979 and 1983 general elections between Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Alhaji Shehu Shagari and Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe among others, to which Shagari emerged. To promote this evil of ethnic identity, religious bigotry and tribalism, the scenario was nicknamed "bandwagon effect and landslide victory syndrome" (Anifowose, 2000). It is this tool of political destruction, devastation, and gross malpractices that gave way to military regime.

In the 3rd Republic election of 1993, Nigerians was again anxious to wish away the epileptic military aberrational rule, as they trooped out like the army of occupation that held sway for years to vote in what was adjudged the best, fairest, and freest election ever in the country's political history. The election was devoid of rigging of any kind. Ethnicity, religious bigotry, tribal sentiments, and any form of rancor was buried in the Nigerian polity that year. It was the first time Nigerian were allowed to use their own devised electoral system that was designed to suite their own environment - the option A4 system. But despite the success of the election, the initiators of the system - the military annulled it to enthrone instability. Umar

(2003) and Yoroms (2003:5) argued that the aftermath of the annulment led to the most critical period of Nigeria political history. It is not surprising in this regard if we say that certain variable that had not continuously and negatively impinges on the electoral processes, such as ethnic identity, religious bigotry and tribal sentiments are problematic issues in the Nigerian government and politics.

The 1999 and 2003 election was like not subsisting on the plane of a continuous and consistent dirge of a failed state polity. Although the 1999, after a long years of military - political hullabaloo, corruption and deceitful camouflaged under an authoritarian reign was seen as another leeway of wishing away the military. Consequent that periodical desires of all, electoral fraud and copious used of money to sway true political competition was not constructively observed nor criticized and neither was ethnic identity, religious bigotry and tribalism taken into cognizance. Thus, Olusegun Obasanjo emerged from the South-West as a compensation to the zone for the annulled 1993 election was not opposed but seen as an alternative candidate in the 1999 elections. Sequel to this, there was free room for rigging at both the federal, states and as well as in local grassroots. The rigging at this period was allowed to stand to avoid returning back to the aberrational military rule. The press in trying to avoid the worst from happening did not make much critical assessment of the result. It was this same problem according to

Oshukeye (2007) that brought about the grand distortion and devastation of the political state in the 2003 election that returned Obasanjo to power after a fraudulent and swooping electoral ‘thieffry and thugifism’.

The peculiar nature of the Nigeria political election also avails many international observers the opportunity to witness Nigeria transiting through an incumbent conducted election to another or to be re-elected.

In the 2007 elections, the ruling party and the then incumbent President imported a hysteria propaganda by saying that the ‘election will be do or die’ against the fear of failure in case of any free and fair contest. Hystericism, according to Waal (1998) and Keane (1996), is more dangerous than the competition itself because it destroys the victims or opponents before the actual death. To this effect, the perceived enemies are put in disarray, due to fear of death, destruction and wanton violence with the power in the hand of the govern who might be the initiators. The initiators, according to Cooper (1998) and Adelman (1999), executors or initiators are asked to strike first so that the enemies might not struck. The election result was doctored by the INEC staff, rigged by party agents with general votes allocation that was high to prompt ICG (2007) to equivocally states that the elections were poorly organized, massively rigged and mercilessly covered. Reacting to this absurdity, Oyekan (2007) notes that Nigerians

were not only dismay but was amazed at the facts available, suggesting the obvious, that the outcome was a bizarre. The INEC and the government has assaulted the sensibility of Nigerians. They had violated the entire processes that should not be accepted in any electoral setting and has instead given Nigeria a travesty of what an election should be (Chukwuma, 2007).

In the acceptance of the 2007 elections as haven been marred with fraud, flaws, massive riggings and other electoral malpractices, the declared winner, Alhaji Musa Yar’adua admitted with a high sense of responsibility that there were high degree flaws as noted in the election but still accepted the certificates of return as the official winner since the position avoid vacuum.

However, against the incidence that trailed the death of Musa Yar’adua in February 2010 and the consequent doctrine of necessity as adopted by the senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, thereby, allowing for the passage of power to Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (*The Guardian, 2010*), the 2011 general elections saw an overwhelming and sympathetic electoral victory for Goodluck Jonathan and the ruling PDP. The masses voted against ethnic divide among others as they never allowed such into the electoral stream as some had championed with electoral violence. The poll was propelled by majority interest with the hope that something tangible would come out of the Jonathan led government. However,



against the high expectations and promises the government of Goodluck Ebele Jonathan meshed itself in a deep and weak incapacitation slumber that assumedly strangled the institutions of governance. To finish the Jonathan project, the remnants of the government was hijacked by terrible cabals who helped themselves in achieving their own monumental gains.

The government of Jonathan however, by its sheer providence played a game that he never and cannot explain its tide and course. And before he could realize his mistakes, it was too late as average Nigerians had become increasingly aware and probably ready to decide their fate in the 2015 electoral poll to Jonathan's disadvantage. Agreeing to this notion, Akintude-Johnson (2015), noted that 'change 'mantra transcended slogan and lingo – it correctly and timely defined the main contemplation of most Nigerians...against 16 years of PDP adventure and pantomime. The people craved for a change in the national leadership.

### ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

The 2015 general election like all other elections in Nigeria were faced with enormous challenges and issue that tends to derail the whole processes. This included:

#### (1) **Lack of Political Awareness in Distribution and Collection of Voter's Cards**

The voters card production though was seen to be slow as many people were

apprehensive that probably the INEC and the government wants to disenfranchise Nigerians or go their normal way of allocating votes to favourite candidates as was seen in 2003 and 2007 elections (*The Guardian, 2007*). Despite this slowness however, many people were unaware that the voter's card were being distributed. And where there is turnout, the INEC official only report at their own time. In the south, the number of collection was abysmally low owing to several excuses from the INEC staff, the registered voters and the media. The National Orientation Agency was seen to be doing nothing order than campaigning for a particular political party instead of creating political awareness among the people. The will for electoral conscientization was lacking and the NOA was meshed in a political bickering and partisan.

#### (2) **The Unconcerned Attitude of the Citizenry towards Elections (Apathy)**

The most honest thing about the last election was that Nigerian was evenly divided. There were those who believe that it is as usual while some, mostly from the North and South-West were highly aware and desired for free and fair elections. The attitude of the South-South and South-East people was not only that their brother is there, but that it is their turn, hence, whether bad or good that they should be allowed to finish their tenure. They so much believe that the president has the power to turn the election victory to his side. There was

also a political miscalculation that still centre on ethnic inclination, cleavages and tribalism, especially among those in government who believe that whether by hook or crook, that they will rig the election to remain in power, thereby trying to re-echo the view of Peter (2007) that governments in Nigeria never guarantees citizen basic right to vote but always wanting their will to be done as fraud, violence and/or electoral distortions are planned ahead before elections. Premised on this slide and absurd notion, many people from other part of the country, especially the South-East and South-South neglected the sensitization exercise on registration and the obtaining of voter's cards to the detriment of their preferred candidate when it was obvious that the election is not going to be a work-over against the opposition.

### **(3) The Negative Role and Antics of Political Hijackers**

One of the most devious challenges faced by the 2015 general elections was the role of political hijackers beginning from the electoral process to the announcement of results. These hijackers noting the weakness in the presidency was uncomfortable with idea of retaining the INEC Chairman by the President. They had wished that Prof. Jega's tenure be terminated and replaced with someone who can deliver the party (PDP) to retaining power. Then, against the low collection of voter's card in the Southern part of the country, the campaign against election holding targeting Prof. Jega Chairmanship, and

the acceptability of the election date among others becomes their problematic overture and calculations. To appease this group, the election date was changed but with uncertainty. Even when the election was conducted and the results started coming in, the group with advance plan of obtaining court injunctions from the Abuja Federal High Court to stopping the announcement as alleged failed, they resorted with decision to display their vexation on the whole issue at the floor of the general collation centre of INEC to scuffle the announcement of the results as led by Elder Godsdan Olubebe of PDP.

The activities of this group if they had succeeded would have taken Nigeria aback and probably violence and complete failed state logjam setting in. The group with evil intension would have retarded all known democratic, development and peaceful processes, thereby plugging Nigeria into a perpetual political instability.

### **(4) The Re-Introduction of Ethnicity, Tribalism and Religious Bigotry into Nigeria Body Politics**

While the APC/Buhari campaign mantra was 'change', the PDP/Jonathan campaign jingle was the importation of ethnic identity and ethnic divide. Thus, at the height of the 2015 general elections campaigns, and away from the overwhelming PDP hope of retaining power, it was completely clear that the level of awareness among the people of Nigeria for a change of government was imminent. Hence, the PDP Presidential



campaign team re-enacted the role of ethnicity, tribalism and religious bigotry into the body politics. The PDP campaigner greatly exploited that avenue as a way of weakening the opposition, creating animosity and division among the electorates. President Jonathan used the antic to create a huge division among the people of South-South/South-East and South-West against the Northern people.

The ethos of ethnicity and religious bigotry, especially, was re-introduced into our body politics. With over 75% of the electorates in the South-South and South-East buying the idea, the South-West differed due to the level of awareness, education and democratic culture. The opposition party, APC, however, was seen campaigning on issue based ideology. To make mockery of democracy and what is right, President Jonathan at an electoral campaign at Okpara Square in Enugu state said that stealing is not corruption; after-all, how much did Chief Jim Nwobodo stole that he was jailed by Gen. M. Buhari in 1984. The re-introduction of this monster 'ethnicity and ethnic identity' that was destroyed in 1993 general election was not only rejuvenated but it becomes disheartening that it was coming from a statesman like Jonathan. A terrible campaign slogan, filled with blackmail and cheap propaganda that has been re-invented and sponsored by PDP on the national (NTA) and private (AIT) Medias against the opposition to manipulate the general society. A ploy,

Akinyemi (2015), aptly notes that the politicians has forgotten that our unity would be stronger if everything about ethnicity, tribalism and religious bigotry are erased from our body politics.

However, despite this mistrust, the average Nigerian electorates was keen and ready to change the government. The manipulative tendency coupled with copious use of money and food items as inducement was completely ignored and where it was accepted, the electorates simply claimed that it was the tax payer's money, hence, it is the peoples' wealth that are being misappropriated (Lawal,2015).

The result of the election however, shocked the electoral manipulators and also send a strong signal to agents of ethnicity and religious bigotry crusaders, informing them that the level of awareness and the resolute will to what is right is now the order of the day. This kind of democratic revolution suffices to state that with the level of political awareness, political consciousness of the masses and total reframe from the older with peacefulness might ensure our democratic sustainability and consolidation in the next dispensation.

##### (5) **The Stand of International Communities toward Healthy Democracy**

Despite all ploy and agenda of holding or not holding the last election as being schemed by the PDP political hawks or political hijackers, the international community of USA, Great Britain,

France and European Union among others, who had donated much to INEC in preparation towards the election was resolute that election must hold in Nigeria against all odds.

On the consequent, the President was being informed of the fate of Laurent Gbagbo of Cote d'Ivoire and Charles Taylor of Liberia among others who had derailed democratic processes leading to violence and wanton killings in their states. Hence, the need for free and fair play in the election is not negotiable as the election must go on as schedule. It is on this mounting pressures that probably allowed and possibly helped the actual conduct of the elections that the political hijackers had already deemed impossible in order to retain the statuesque of the ruling government.

### **THE IMPLICATIONS**

This is viewed from two perspectives of consistent deprivation of the political will of the masses and the 2015 general election in Nigeria democratic space.

#### **(a) The consistent deprivation of the political will of the masses**

The electorates in the Nigeria political space has been consistently manipulated at every political season. Right from independence to date as stated in the Nigerian electoral history, it is clear that the common electorates are victims of the elites or politicians' political designs. These methods ranging from the import of ethnicity, tribalism, religious bigotry to massive electoral rigging, votes allocation, candidates' imposition to the dislocation of electoral

mandates and democratic dividend among others informed that the masses are cyclically used at every election without any development to show for it. An action that exemplified a weak and defeated masses.

The politician, relying on this platform of the three monstrous characters of ethnicity and ethnic identity, religious bigotry and tribalism among others had made mess of the masses political power, 'their mandate' to taunt them and deprive them the essence of governance and democratic tenets.

Economically, the masses are poorly paid, in most areas, no access road, no water, no electricity and no general development, simply because the fund meant for such had been misappropriated. The level of unemployment, failed system and high cost of living continued to hunt the common masses due to denial and cyclical neglect of the leaders in performing their functions after every election.

#### **(b) The 2015 General Election in Nigeria Democratic Space**

The expectation of Nigerians in the 2015 election was clearly expressed in the run-up to the elections, both in the body language and the expression. It is this development that however, aroused the several scheming that the political hijackers tried to use to derail the process and conduct of the elections. The importation of ethnic identity, tribalism and religious bigotry could



have been another factor that could have thwart the true result of the elections if the Nigerian electorates did not ignore the antics and campaign slogans.

The outcome or the negation of the election would have taken Nigeria back to the pre-independence period where ethnic identity and instability was the clarion call of political gladiators. The nation would have equally loose its value in the international committee of nations.

Moreover, the derail of the 2015 general election would not only have disempowered and disenfranchise the masses of the country, it would have equally portrayed Nigeria as a misfit, unserious and completely failed state. This also informed the National Democratic Institute and European Union (2015), affirmed after the election that Nigerians conscious of their pains had spoken to reject corruption, fraudulent practices, thievery, greed and political balkanization of the Nigerian democracy to what is the true wish of the people.

### **THE CHANGING TRENDS OF THE 2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS**

The 2015 general elections being different in several ways from other previous elections in the country is unique in its own history. This could be located in four (4) ways:

- It was totally different from the 1959, 1979 and 1983 general elections in that it did not only

fail to adhere to the idea of ethnicity, ethnic identity and the ploy of marriage of conveniences that was always the order of the day for politicians to propagates at the dying minutes of political scheming.

- It re-echoed the 1993 general elections zeal as noted amongst the people with the hope that there is a New Nigeria insight.
- The elections destroyed the political antics of politicians and political elites who uses ethnic identity, religious bigotry and tribalism among others to manipulate the common masses of the country.
- It created an enabling political environment, a high political aware people with a high political educated society that might lead to a sound democratic sustainability and consolidations if properly managed.

### **RECOMMENDATION**

1. Apart from the fact that the study observed that ethnic identity as imported into the election was not adhered to by the masses, suggest that it is necessary that the masses should be made to understand the implications of ethnicity and ethnic identity on the general body politics of Nigeria against future elections.
2. Borrowing word from Akinyemi (2015), if our politicians should erase everything about ethnicity,

- tribalism and religious bigotry from our body politics then, our Unity could be stronger.
3. The study is also of the view that politicians and political parties should make their electioneering campaigns an issue based towards solving the society problems.
  4. The worst thing that could happen to a polity is when the people eat their tomorrow a day before the very day in the name of electoral inducement. This, the electorate must be aware of and resist any agents of such bondage.
  5. With the knowledge of democracy and democratic tenets, political education to enhance the level of awareness of Nigerian towards election is very necessary.
  6. Many Nigerians should be conscientized that there is nothing unique or valued based in ethnic, religious or tribal chants and sentiments. Thus, they should negate political manipulators and opportunistic zeal of elites in brainwashing them for scrupulous gain against the wishes of the common electorates.
  7. Democratic education in line with political culture and political awareness away from any political or campaign slogans that will not re-orient the society towards political development should be ignored.
  8. The success and healthy polity of any political system lies on obedient to the principles of rule of law and the upholdment of the

tenets of constitutionalism, which should be everyone stake in the new Nigeria.

9. The emerging government should inaugurate itself to political relevance in the issues and challenges of the Nigerian democratic processes if we must talk of sustainability and consolidation in the polity.

### **CONCLUSION**

The degree of awareness seen in the 2015 general election have unfolded a growing zeal of the masses in understanding their political environment instead of always allowing self to be manipulated by the political elites. This also informed the call that the constitution and the electoral Act need to be revised to be consistent with the international best practices. With the post-election appraisal, euphoria, blames and criticism the new clarion still suggests that there is the need to maintain integrity of the former so as to allow election to be the point of all decision in choosing a candidate. Then, election should also be made to be transparent by allowing polling booths to be less crowded. There is correlation between election and democratic consolidation even when there was gray area which make the election not acceptable.

The total neglect and abandonment of the old order of ethnic identity, religious bigotry and tribalism has not only displayed the growing educational and democratic awareness but had informed



the actors of such antics of its probable end. Hence, the democratic revolution witness in the 2015 election, where the people voted for merit is a mark of democratic development of Nigerian must be sustained and enhance.

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