

**EFFECTS OF VOTE TRADING ON GOOD GOVERNANCE IN THE 2019  
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY:  
LEGISLATIVE RESPONSIVENESS TOWARDS 2023 ELECTION**

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**BEING A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR  
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MASTER DEGREE IN PARLIAMENTARY ADMINISTRATION (MPD)**

**May, 2023**

## DECLARATION

I hereby declared that this dissertation is a product of my own research efforts, undertaken under the supervision of **Dr. Ndanusa Mohammed Manzuma**. It is an original work and no part of it has ever been presented for the award of any degree anywhere. All sources of information used have been duly acknowledged through the references.

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## CERTIFICATION

This dissertation titled “*Effects of Vote Trading on Good Governance in the 2019 Presidential Election in Federal Capital Territory: Legislative Responsiveness Towards 2023 election*” presented by **Aiyenale Fred Jimoh (PG/NLS/2015063)** has met the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in Parliamentary Administration (MPD) of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin, Edo State.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this Dissertation to the God Almighty (the Creator), Master of the Day of Judgment for giving me the strength and wisdom to witness the end of this academic journey.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All praise be to God Almighty, the guider and most merciful, for giving me the opportunity, knowledge, wisdom, strength and ability to undertake this study successfully. My deepest and heartily appreciation goes to my supervisor, Dr. Ndanusa Mohammed Manzuma who has been followed with keen interest and most cooperation, observed and critically comments in the work to make the study standard. May the love and blessings of Allah be with you and your entire family? Amin.

I acknowledge the immense contribution given to me by the Director of Studies Dr. Asimiyi Abiola, the staff of the entire department for their patience and advice during the period of registration. I equally, extend more gratefulness to all lecturers in the department Parliamentary Administration that thought us one course or the other. I thank you all and May Almighty God rewards you abundantly.

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**APPROVAL PAGE**

This is to certify that this dissertation “*Effects of Vote Trading on Good Governance in the 2019 Presidential Election in Federal Capital Territory: Legislative Responsiveness Towards 2023 election*” has been read and approved as having met the partial requirements for the award of Master’s Degree in Parliamentary Administration (MPD) of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin is approved for contribution to knowledge.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Vote trading is a contentious issue in contemporary political discourse and the sustainability of democratic development in Nigeria. The menace of vote buying is gradually crippling electoral processes and undermining the efforts of the electoral umpire in conducting competitive, free, fair and credible elections which is the core aspect of good governance in Nigeria. The study examined the effects of vote trading on good governance and services delivery. The specific objectives of the study were to: determine the level of vote trading on good governance in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in Federal Capital Territory:

Quantitative research approach was applied using survey research design. A sample of three hundred and fifty (350) respondents were randomly selected from the population to provide the information required for the study and questionnaire was the instrument used for data collection. The sample selection was in line with Krejcie and Morgan (1970) classification of determination of sample size (see appendix IV). The data collated was analyzed using descriptive statistical techniques through simple frequency distribution table and percentage.

Findings of the study in respect of objective one: revealed that majority of the respondents believes that level of vote trading in the conduct of 2019 election in Federal Capital Territory (FCT) was very high to the extent that electorate were paid to votes by various political parties and also voters were given items such as food, properties, projects, political appointments or promises of employment from the politicians before or after election. Another finding of the study on the second objective indicated that poverty, unemployment and lack of political awareness are the factors that causes vote trading among voters during the conduct of 2019 Presidential election in FCT. Study findings on the third objective added that the phenomenon of vote trading affects good governance in the country. So also, finding further indicated that there is a legislative action against the conduct of vote trading in 2019 FCT Presidential election as contain in the electoral Act 2022.

The key recommendations on the findings of the study are the need for the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) to improve their strategic collaborative framework to curb vote trading, improvement of the condition of ordinary citizens with basic needs of life, political education by relevant institutions such as INEC, Civil Society Organization (CSO) and National Orientation Agency (NOA) to enlighten the electorates on how to aspire for good governance and finally, enforcement of existing electoral laws and regulations on party finance. This will no doubt reduce poverty to the minimum level to the extent that independent decision will be taken in the course of choosing a credible candidate as leaders or (representatives) without compromising to the act of vote trading.



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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This Chapter contains the background of the study, Statement of Research Problem, Research Questions, Research Objectives, Significance of the study, Scope and Limitation of the Study, Operational Definition of Key Terms and Chapter Outline.

#### **1.1 Background to the study**

One of the fundamental principles determining and supporting the quality of democracy is the credible electoral process. The cardinal aspect of modern democracy is the periodic process that gives masses opportunity of choosing their leaders. This is consistent with Baidoo, Dankwa & Eshun (2018) that elections have become a major factor in stabilization and democratization of emerging democracies. They also maintain that election forms an important pillar that places the power to govern people over a period of time. It is apparent, therefore, that electoral processes must be held under conditions that meet global and regional standards of credibility, political equality, legitimacy and accountability of those in governance.

Since the returned of Nigeria to the constitutional democracy in 1999, the conduct of elections has left much to be desired, because the election process has been characterized by electoral fraud, vote trading, electoral violence among other violations that undermine the legitimacy of government. Though, monetary and other material inducements have been part of the electoral process in Nigeria. The incidence of vote trading and financial inducements have become so glaring in 2019 General Election (Adigun, 2019 and Dauda, et al, 2019). In spite of the fact that regular, free, fair and credible elections are important to democratic attitude.

The peculiarity of vote trading by political parties and politicians in Nigeria dated back to the 1999, were more cases of snatching of ballot boxes and other forms of violence by

desperate politicians who wanted to win elections by all means was prevalence. However, in recent times, the country witnessed wave of vote trading during elections in 2011 with the introduction of card reader for the accreditation process. The phenomenon of vote-trading no doubt constitutes grave danger to a democratic process and infringes the process of organizing free and fair elections and also affects the outcome of elections. This is consistent with Matenga (2016) studied of about 80 percent of voters from 36 African countries believe that voters were bribed sometimes, often or always. Additionally, 16 percent of voters in African countries reported that they were offered money or goods in exchange for their vote during the conduct of the election.

Vote-trading is a widespread phenomenon that is a purely economic or material exchange in which the electorates exchange benefits for their votes. Vote trading tend to appears in various forms in the society. It takes the form of direct payments to voters. It is process of economic exchange between the individual voter and the politicians through agents or party spy. Obagbinco, (2020) asserted that candidates “buy” and citizens “sell” votes, as they buy and sell apples, shoes or television sets. This indicates that vote trading is a contract (agreement), or perhaps an auction, in which voters sell their votes to the highest bidder. Parties and candidates who offer material benefits to voters may generally aspire to purchase political support at the ballot box in accordance with the idea of market exchange.

There is no doubt that the occurrence of vote-trading understood as incentives or gifts given to voters before elections in exchange for their votes which invariably corrupt electoral practice. The spectacle seems to obstruct democratic processes, yet remains pervasive in many developing democracies. Vote trading is a threat to the conduct of quality elections. This corroborates with Akwetey (2016) who affirmed that electoral fraud, corruption and unfair practices bring the reliability of the electoral process into question. It affects the legitimacy of



the elected officials. He said that the practice often leads to mistrust, violence and conflicts, while robbing citizens of their need for expected peace and development.

Additionally, the other forms may include offering of employment before elections, giving out of gifts, provision of social infrastructure to communities at the “last minute” and conditional promises to individuals upon the election of a candidate (Eshun (2018). Similarly, Kramon (2009) is of the view that political parties employ certain strategies to buy the votes of electorates. The strategies may focus on demobilizing active opponents or mobilizing passive supporters. Nigerian Legislatures provide myriads measures to curb with issue of vote trading and selling on electoral process and good governance as enshrined in the Electoral Act, Code of conducts of the political parties and other guidelines provided by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC, 2023 as example) to deal extensively on this corrupt practice that always destroyed the entire credibility of electoral process.

It is noteworthy that Section 121 of Nigeria Electoral Act 2022 and Political Parties Code Conduct 2018 criminalize vote-buying. The Act that:

*A person who -(a) corruptly by himself or by any other person at any time after the date of an election has been announced, directly or indirectly gives or provides or pays money to or for any person for the purpose of corruptly influencing that person or any other person to vote or refrain from voting at such election, or on account of such person or any other person having voted or refrained from voting at such election; or (b) being a voter, corruptly accepts or takes money or any other inducement during any of the period stated in paragraph (a) of this section, commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a fine of N500,000 or 12 months imprisonment or both.*

In consonance with the Electoral Act (2022), the 2018 Revised Code of Conduct for Political Parties in section VIII (e) provides that: *“all political parties and their agents shall not engage in the following practice: trading of votes or offer any bribe, gift, reward, gratification or any*

*other monetary or material considerations or allurements to voters and electoral officials.” In spite of these legal frameworks prohibiting it, vote trading continues to be a widespread practice in recent elections in Nigeria. In fact, the brazen nature of vote trading in Nigeria, led to the description of Nigeria’s electoral politics as “cash-and-carry democracy” (Onuoha & Ojo, 2018, p.1).*

It is against this background that, this study Appraise the Effects of Vote trading on Good Governance in the 2019 Presidential Election in Federal Capital Territory: Legislative Responsiveness towards 2023 election.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

The conduct of Presidential election in Nigeria especially the 2019 general election witnessed massive practice of vote trading across the 36 states of the federation (Ejikeme, Onyinyeo, Kingsley, & Rebecca 2022). Vote trading seems to have become the norm and values of the day affairs of internal party and the national elections (Frank, Shirley, and Isaac, 2018). The problem stems from the fact that there is high rate of poverty and ignorance among the voting populace. This is supported by the Civil Society Organization Report (2019), which revealed that it is cynical tactic that seeks to take advantage of widespread poverty and want by getting people to sell their votes to the highest bidder. The Civil Society Organization reported the blatantly the incidence of vote trading across Nigeria election, connecting major political parties (wherein) Party agents or prominent politicians stationed themselves at polling units paying voters sums ranging from ₦500 to ₦5,000 in favor of their candidates Vande (2020).

The menace of vote trading manifested within the conduct of party primaries in the country. However, the conducts of party primaries in Nigeria suffered from the credibility, free and fair election (Bidemi 2017). It was reported that over 8000 delegates who participated in primary election allegedly made US\$5000 each from the candidates of various political parties.

Delegates were alleged to have received US\$2000 each from the Atiku Abubakar group and also US\$3000 each from the Buhari group in 2015 Elections. Given that more than 8000 delegates were reported to have attended the primaries. The competing camps could have spent more than US\$16 million and US\$24 million respectively on vote trading. (Leadership 27<sup>th</sup> July, 2018). There were widespread allegations of vote trading in the off-cycle governorship elections in Edo and Ondo states in 2016. In the 28 September 2016 gubernatorial election in Edo, Accredited observers reported massive vote trading from the two main political parties, the All Progressive Congress (APC) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP). The parties were accused of giving ₦3000 to ₦4000 for votes in several polling units. Similarly, on the 26 November 2016 governorship election in Ondo State, that members of the APC, PDP and the Alliance for Democracy were giving money to voters at most polling centers across the state. Some polling stations in Odigbo, Okitipupa and Ilaje local government areas were given ₦450,000 while each voter got between ₦3000 and ₦5000. Similarly, the conduct of 2018 party primaries were marred by the menace of vote trading by the presidential candidates of both All Progressive Congress Muhammadu Buhari and Atiku Abubakar of Peoples Democratic Party using US\$ to buy delegates that will elect them as the flag bearers of their party (Premium Times 28<sup>th</sup> September, 2022). Consequently, Vote trading often takes place in the presence of security agencies who appear unable, unwilling or too compromised to deter such electoral offences. The incidences of vote trading during the conduct of general polls was an eyesore of Nigeria contemporary democracy.

The phenomenon of vote trading disrupts the integrity of the electoral process and often resulted to incredibility and transparency of the elections process. The truth is that, money is needed for sundry services and logistics such as mobilization for political campaigns and rallies, printing of posters and manifestoes, production of party emblems. In line with this, Adams (2016) identified consequences of vote trading pave ways for the wrong persons to get

the job and get the works done wrongly, causes series of loss, disruption of the economy and harmony of a community. Study further stated the need for strict rules and laws for offences of electoral malpractices, voters' education and reforms of the infrastructure facilities in the election process.

It is noticeable that corruption influence vote-trading and affects good governance in Nigeria. Many reasons were responsible for the persistent and growing level of vote-trading among others include ignorance on the parts of the electorates, apathy, poverty, unemployment, inadequate information or lack of awareness and inadequate sensitization, willingness on the part of the voters to be deceit by the politicians (Osimen & Iloh 2022). There is also attitudinal problem on the side of the people involved in both trading. Moreover, people's attitude toward politics is not good because most politicians view it as a call for investment from which huge benefits are expected and not to serve humanity. Electorate's perceived politics as an opportunity to sell their vote to represent their own share of national cake since they do not have access to where the national cake is being shared (Ovwasa, 2013).

Accordingly, the conduct of 2019 General Election particularly the presidential election in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) witnessed massive practices of vote trading in Nigeria. For instances: politicians in Area Councils were caught given money (₦1,000) with food items like spaghetti and Wrapper for the voter to sell their votes. (Freedom Radio, 16<sup>th</sup> April, 2019). Similarly, it was reported that officials of the Economic Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) arrested some politicians who involved in vote trading in Abuja during 2019 election. (Daily Trust Newspaper 18<sup>th</sup> March, 2020).

In line with the above stated scenario, the Legislative Responsiveness on the problem of vote trading was based on myriads of laws through amendment of electoral Act and code of conducts of political parties. Thus, providing effective legal framework that will regulate the

electoral practice in relations to electoral offences like party finance, vote trading. Hence, Elections is regarded as the process of putting in place a state of leadership to preside over social, economic and political affairs of the country. While, such process is corrupt then the quality of leadership becomes compromise/questionable and tend to manifest poor governance rather than promoting legitimate democratic principles.

It is on the basis of this established empirical studies in the area of vote trading among others: Ejikeme et al (2022), Adams (2016), Vande, P. (2020), (Bidemi, G. 2017), Frank, Shirley & Isaac (2018), Philip, (2020), Obagbinco, (2020), none of them cover the scope of this study, which is the gap intends to fill by the study.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

1. What is the level of vote trading in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT?
2. What are the factors that increases the menace of vote trading in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT?
3. What are the effects of vote trading on good governance in the 2019 Presidential Election in FCT?
4. Does the legislative responsiveness tackle vote trading in the conduct of General Election in Nigeria?

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study are to:

- (i) Determine the level of vote trading in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in Federal Capital Territory.
- (ii) Identify the factors that engender/stimulate vote trading in the conduct of 2019 Presidential election in FCT.

(iii) Appraise the effects of vote trading on good governance in the 2019 Presidential Election in FCT.

(iv) Ascertain the Legislative Responsiveness towards tackling of vote trading in the conduct of 2019 presidential Election in FCT.

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

This research work provides helpful insight in understanding the phenomenon of vote trading and its effects on good governance on general election. The overriding significant of this is to add to the growing literature on vote trading and several implications to democratic consolidations in Nigeria. Also, the detailed analysis of the incidence of vote trading reduced the death of knowledge in the area under study.

This study is very significant for an interested stakeholder in the field of government, Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs), Civil Society Organization (CSOs) and democratic institutions like Independent National Electoral Commission, policy makers to get insight on the phenomenon of vote buying and selling practices towards the process of re-formulation and implementation of electoral laws of the country. This study is therefore crucial for scholars and students who may wish undertake a further research on vote trading in Nigeria. In addition, all suggestions and recommendations proffered in this will help improve democratic principles and practices.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The study focuses on the effects of vote trading on Good Governance in the 2019 Presidential Election in FCT: Legislative Responsiveness towards 2023 election. Thus, the choices of period 2019 General Election were based on the justification that, the election was characterized by colossal vote trading between among the contestants of various political parties applied money for people's votes, which consequently, resulted to lack of credible

election in the country. FCT is one of the focus and determinant of who becomes the president, thus making FCT a battle ground or a do or die affair. Community Heads and Religious Head are used sometimes to perpetuate the vote trading syndrome. Furthermore, this incessant phenomenon undermines the principles of good governance and consolidation of democracy in Nigeria.

### **1.7 Operational Definition of Terms**

**Appraisal:** is the systematic assessment of the relevance, adequacy, progress, efficiency, effectiveness, and impact of a procedure. It is relevant if it answers the need and the policies and priorities it has been designed to meet. It can also be defined as the making of a judgment about something, an assessment or review of performance of a thing.

**Vote Trading:** is an inducement offered to the electorate in an election situation to garner votes. It could also understand as the act of exchanging ones votes for material benefits.

**Good Governance:** is governing systems which are capable, responsive, inclusive, and transparent process of delivering services to the citizens of a given state.

**Election:** the process of choosing or selecting a leader or representatives of people at all levels of governance.

**FCT:** Means Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja comprises of six (6) area council of Abaji, AMAC, Bwari, Gwagwalada, Kuje and Kwali Area Council respectively.

**Legislature:** is one of the three organs of government made up of the representatives of the people. The main function of the legislature is that of law-making, oversight function and representation of people in the area of governance.

## **1.8 Chapters Outline**

This research work consists of five chapters. Chapter One consist of background of the study, statement of research problem, research questions, objectives of the study, scope and limitation of the study, significance of the study, Operational Definition of Key Terms and Organization of the study.

Chapter Two focuses on related literature which consist of conceptualization of Vote Trading, Vote Trading and Money Politics in Nigeria, causes of Vote Trading, Factors that increase the Menace of Vote Trading in Nigeria, Effects of Vote trading in relation to good governance in Nigeria and Legislative Responsiveness in tackling the phenomenon of Vote Trading in Nigeria. Empirical Literatures Review and Theoretical Framework.

Chapter Three is on methodology

Chapter Four is the data presentation, analysis and discussion of findings,

Chapter Five is the summary, conclusion, recommendations and Implication for further studies.



## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the conceptualization of vote trading, Vote Trading and Money Politics in Nigeria, Effects of Vote Trading on Good Governance and Service Delivery in Nigeria, Factors that Increase Vote Trading on Nigerian Election, Empirical literature and theoretical framework.

#### 2.0. Conceptual Review

Vote trading as a cause of electoral irregularities in Nigeria before and during election periods services to arouse stimulus or environmental influence on the voters, and vote trading is a response to the stimulus on the environment.

Vote trading can be perceived as the phenomenon in Nigeria electoral process whereby contenders for elective positions used money or money is used on their behalf as an inducement to sway their support which is not based on persuading the electorates to vote according to their wish and conviction but on the force of money that has changed hands. Related to this, is outright vote-trading. Vote-trading in its literal sense, is a simple economic exchange. Accordingly, Fredrick Charles and Andrea's Schedler (2005) candidates traded votes 'buy' and citizens/electorates 'sell "vote, as they buy and sell apples, shoes or television sets". The act of vote-buying by this view is a contract or perhaps an auction in which voters sell their votes to the highest bidder. Parties and candidates buy vote by offering particularistic material benefits to voters. Candidates may generally aspire to purchase political support at the ballot box in accordance with the idea of market exchange. For analytical purpose, it is necessary to point out, that the commercial aspirations of vote buyers may run into two barriers, namely; objective and inter-subjective barriers. On the objective side, seller compliance is uncertain, as vote

buying is an illicit business and as such does not take place within a “normal” market protected by social and legal norms.

Similarly, vote trading as the giving out of cash and other material items such as building materials, food and liquor for electorates especially party supporters to go out in their numbers and vote for the party. Moreover, electorates are paid solely to turn out and vote for the distributing party. The number of electorates who turn out to vote for a candidate is important in understanding people’s political participation. This definition sees vote trading as a transaction (where there is a bargain and an agreement) or a trade. In the view of the logic of trade demands that: (a) the actors involved (buyers and sellers) engage in effective exchange of money for goods or services. In the absence of mutual exchange, if buyers do not pay or sellers do not deliver, the act is not considered as trade but instances of fraud or robbery. To them, the logic of commercial transactions further demands that. (b) Buyers and sellers understand what they are doing: that they enter a reciprocal relationship of exchange. In other words, if voters accept the money, but vote as they had planned to do anyway, they do not take part in an act of exchange. They are not selling their votes, but earning unilateral gains. In their view, voter’s turnout gives the election management body an idea about the image of the authority in the eyes of the electorate. It can give it cause to assess its election processes to eliminate steps that hinder turnout and improve its organization of elections with the introduction of other workable measures to lure eligible voters to the polling centers during elections.

According to Oywasa, (2013) perceived vote-trading in its literal sense, as an economic exchange The basic necessities of life such as electricity supply, water supply, employment and quality education are inadequate in the Nigerian society. Democracy which is adjudged to be the best form of government all over the world is also being constantly assaulted in Nigeria due to the phenomenon of money politics and vote trading. Although, Nigeria enthroned

democratic governance in the fourth republic on May 29th, 1999, the dividends of democracy to the people are very scanty and far apart. This is because the concept and practice of democracy appears to be at variance in Nigeria. Actually, money and vote trading have vitiated the good qualities of democracy in the country.

Fundamentally, vote trading is not new to Nigeria's electoral politics and Africa in general. (Schaffer, 2007) pointed out that several videos and images have emerged, showing unabashed sharing of cash, food and valuable items among the electorate by politicians and parties during the off-cycle gubernatorial elections in Edo, Anambra, Ondo and Ekiti states (Nwankwo, 2018). There were also news reports of heavy voter inducements during the just-concluded 2019 general elections. Consistently, Matenga (2016) observed that nearly 80% of voters from 36 African countries believe voters are bribed – either sometimes, often or always. Furthermore, 16% of voters in African countries reported being offered money or goods in exchange for their votes during elections. The CLEEN Foundation identified vote-buying as the leading risk factor that could generate tension or electoral violence during the 2019 general elections if not checked. Additionally, Ejembi (2019) examines the manifestations, motivations, and consequences of vote trading as an emerging challenge to the Nigerian electoral process between 2015 and 2019. Though Nigerians are no strangers to election rigging and malpractices, the subject matter of vote trading has generated many discussions in the Nigerian public space and the academia since 2015. The prevalence of vote trading made election observer and monitoring group, Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth, and Advancement (YIAGA Africa) to describe the phenomenon as a new way of elections rigging by politicians in Nigeria (News Agency of Nigeria, 2018).

Moreover, Nigeria's elections have usually been affected by incidents of vote-trading from the political parties and their candidates. Vote trading has different implications on

people's history, culture, political experience, and election models depending on the countries. The concept of vote trading does not have a conventional single universally accepted definition.

Furthermore, Etizoni Halevy (1989) observed the concept of vote trading as “the exchange of private material benefits for political support”, while Bryan and Bacr (2005) conceptualized vote trading as “the use of money and direct benefits to influence voters”. The two definitions emphatically stressed the objective of vote trading which is to earn direct socio-economic benefits for political support of voters in return. The basic underscore of the abstraction “vote trading” is the emphasis of exchanging voters' political rights for material benefits. Contextually, the material benefits and political support are more objective of vote buying.

Nevertheless, Nurdin (2014) appraise the issue of vote trading as the exchange between the material benefit and political support is more significant than the objective of vote trading. In a money politics context, the financial condition of the voters is considered to be one of the crucial factors. The voters accept the vote trading practice maybe because they do need the fund. Worst still, the prevalent impact of the economic recession and intrinsic inflation rate in the country have disvalued the possessions of the impoverished with low purchasing powers and rubbished the standard of living of the poor the more, thereby projecting vote trading to flourish in Nigeria polity endlessly. This situation calls for a radical reappraisal electoral education and sensitization of voters to create sufficient political awareness and emancipate the over trodden from the clutches of poverty and illiteracy. (Khemani, 2015 and Nwagu 2016).

Besides, the political cynicism inherent in the system manifested itself by frustration and disillusionment of the electorates, on the one hand, and distrust of the political class, associating public office holders as innate corrupt elements, on the other. This impression has given credence for voters to succumb to the sustainability and spread of money politics and

vote trading as a disease without elixir. The perception of voters about public office holders, whether elected or appointed, as self-centered, incompetent and corrupt “representatives” of the governed is being engaged to justify the acceptance of money and for materials as a condition to vote for the giver. Politics in Nigeria has been described as a dishonorable enterprise by electorates because of the inability of government, legislatures, and political parties to keep to terms with the fulfillment of the campaign promises, disgraceful convictions and imprisonments of politicians for being guilty of criminal offences, and these indices are viewed as an absolute betrayal of public trust reposed on them. Furthermore, the nature of politics in Nigeria seems to fan money politics.

The zero-sum game (winner takes all and loser loses all) patters of politics places exceptionally high premium on power, and the institutional mechanism for moderating political competitions is completely lacking. Thus, political competitions assume the character of warfare (do-or-die affairs) in Nigeria.

## **2.1 Vote Trading and Money Politics in Nigeria**

The manifestation of money politics in Nigeria’s political landscape is a premeditated infringement of subsisting electoral laws. The apparent dearth of skillful utilization of contending political ideologies and problem solving manifestoes by politicians to appeal to voters’ conscience, and convincingly influence the political behavior of electorates in addressing perilous social issues that would touch their individuals or collective lives and interests create a gap for vote trading. Political elites who are beneficiaries of innovative political knowledge are often seem to be naïve of their political parties programmes, course of direction, and at variance with raging socio-economic and political debates to foster good governance, hence the resort to mudslinging, non-issue based campaigns hate speeches, and inflammable utterances. These unsalable aspirants or political parties have viable appealing

options to anchor or hinge on their inordinate ambitions than vote-trading and application of other electoral frauds (Sarkariyaw et al 2015)

The essence of vote-trading in 2019 General election is to influence the voting behavior of electorates and to swing the political pendulums towards the buyers' favor and actualization of the ambition to secure victory in the elections. Vote-trading increases the election enthusiasm and draws massive voter turnout for the money and/or material benefits. This large turnout of voters for incentive has a significant effect on voting behavior (Nurdin, 2014), not necessarily to vote but to collect the benefits and may abscond voting. Money is a dominant and determinant factor in Nigeria's politics. The poor are vulnerable segment of voters easily predisposed to be victimized, intimidated, and manipulated by vote-trading because their limited means makes them susceptible to material inducements including offers of basic commodities or modest amounts of money or job procurement (Onapajo and Babalola 2020). This is consistent with earlier findings by Baidoo et al (2018) who identified socio-economic factors that causes vote trading in Nigeria among others are poverty, unemployment, lack of education and illiteracy.

Firstly, it is argued that socio-economic factors, especially poverty, unemployment and illiteracy play a major role in promoting the market for votes to democracies.

Secondly, it is argued that the voting methods in a particular electoral system may also guarantee the predominance of vote-trading during elections. The third explanation is predicated upon the belief that vote trading is a product of nature of partisanship and party organization in a particular state.

However, it can be understood that votes are not bought without considering the category or group of voters the person belongs. According to Baidoo et al (2018), three categories of voters have been identified to include core supporters, swing voters, and

opposition backers. These three categories are the focus point's population during vote-buying. Vote trading proposal often focused on either electoral choices or electoral participation with the intent to convince persons to vote in certain ways, or not to vote in the first place. Political parties generate monetary and non-monetary incentives to induce the poor and less educated voters during elections.

In his own view, Nwagwu (2016) stated that *“Nigeria has made impressive breakthrough in improvement of the legal framework by consistent review of the 2002, 2006, and 2010 and 2022 Electoral Acts to guide against vote buying. The identified inconsistencies and potential loopholes in course of application of the law have been addressed by amending the subsisting Act. For instance, according to him section (90) subsection (1) of the Act empowers the commission to place limitation on the amount of money or other assets, which a person or group of individuals can contribute to a political party. Also, section 91(9) of the 2010 Act stipulates that “no individual or other entity shall donate more than one million naira to any candidate or political party”* Similarly, Part V section 88 and section 89 of the 2022 Electorate Act pointed out the limitation on election expenses of the political parties.

This is consistent with, Nwagu (2016) emphasized that, regulating political parties' activities on election campaign and maintaining strict adherence to rule of law accelerate democratic dynamisms, consolidate internal and external legitimacy and curb vote-buying and other electoral menaces. Disorderliness and recklessness in party fundraising undermines public trust in the system and affects acceptance of the government by the people. Political financiers and corporate donors in campaign fundraising are business entrepreneurs, whose objectives are to swing the outcome of the parties' primary elections and redirect political trends to suit their investments in politics. It however can debilitate sustainability of the developing democracy in Africa, particularly in Nigeria. Vote-trading, as an offshoot of money

politics, has been harmful to any country practicing it in Africa. As noted by Egwu (2014), “a greater percentage of those that emerged from party primaries are products of impositions”.

## **2.2 Effects of Vote Trading on Good Governance and Service Delivery in Nigeria**

One of the major implications of vote-trading is that it is capable of sparking off corruption amongst politicians after voting them into power. The danger is that politicians would firstly recoup all the money invested during nomination of candidates, party-primary election and campaigns. This ugly development will definitely result in looting of state treasury. Vote-trading attached to materials or cash incentives, apart from increasing financial burden on politicians, it has consequences on good governance, in Nigeria. It is a springboard to catapult unsalable, incompetent elements and unsuitable political parties to public elective offices. Vote-trading enslaves vulnerable voters who are paid to support candidates of a particular party, it restricts their freedom of choice and blurred their rationale decision making skill. The viral nature of vote-trading in 2019 general elections stimulates genuine concern about the leadership quality, capability of service delivery, and effectiveness of emerging democratic institutions and ensuing results of the despicable elections conducted in Nigeria (Sarkariyau et al 2019).

The populace is wittingly being starved to death through incompetence and leadership gaps, therefore, a vigorous government driven poverty reduction initiative is an appealing strategy as a palatable option to curb vote-trading and fight poverty in the country. 2019 poverty rate index revealed that 91,885,874 people in Nigeria live in extreme poverty occasioned by unemployment and insecurity. Unemployment rate in 2019 was 23.1% and forecast to rise to 33.5% in the year 2020. Nigeria was declared poverty capital of the world according to (World Poverty Clock 2018). Also, the world poverty clock stated that illiteracy is the worst pestilent disease afflicting less educated voters. In 2018, illiteracy rate was 30% of the population, which



comprised 65 million Nigerians, and a survey on Nigeria conducted by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in 2020 indicates that the population of the Out-of-school children in Nigeria has risen from 10.5 million to 13.2 million in 2019, the highest in the world. (Premium time's ng.com; google.com).

Similarly, Civil Society Organizations (CSOS) are genuinely canvassing for robust legislation and commensurate sanctions against culpable elements, stressing monitoring elections through playing the role of preventing vote-trading at the polling stations. The CSOs have not resisted nor overtly protest against the practice other than the subtle approach as vanguard of good governance. The advocate for vote education and wider civil education programmes as veritable tools for widening voter's horizons on how vote trading and selling impact negatively on their future wellbeing. The phenomenon of vote-trading, as a pestilence, is a symptom of grievous challenges bordering on the integrity, credibility, and legitimacy of electoral, processes. It is a complex crime that involves political elites, the presidency, the legislature, the judiciary, political parties, and all other security agents and anti-graft supervisory agencies as accomplices. Therefore, in every regime, the issue is not about vote-trading, rather, it is purely located in conspicuous absence of respect for rule of law. The subsisting law is adequate to checkmate defaulters and address the menace, but its enforcement, unfortunately, is completely zero on the score board. In line with this, Ekwe (2018), the hegemonic leadership, suppression of the populace, and extreme application of coercion to sustain the grip to political power do not create political ventilation for freedom of expression nor would CSOS resistance of the social plague make a change without drastic actions. Despotism and lack of political will would smash all resistance on the path of this scourge.

According to Nwagu, (2020), governments at all levels should have the political will to fight the vote-trading menace, bodies like the National Orientation Agency, INEC, Civil society organizations, the media, social organizations (e.g, the churches, mosques, and

community-based associations), and all internal and external stakeholders in Nigeria project should declare total war against illiteracy and this pestiferous plague dubbed “vote-trading” that blindfold the citizenry, to rekindle the moral values of the people so as to enhance sustainable development in the country.

However, Ekwe et al (2018) submit that “vote-trading rears underdevelopment stunts public service delivery to the people, institutes unpopular political party with transactional; leadership into power, raises despotic ruler, emboldens ineptitude, and bad governance”.

The sensational campaign would focus on educating the electorates about the danger in accepting gratifications and selling their voting rights for peanuts, mortgaging their future and the future of unborn generations, strengthening with vigor the genuine process of sustaining precepts of democracy and stressing the harm effects of plutocratic politics to transparency and accountability, and protection of freedom of choice in elections (Baidon et al 2018, Sarkariyan et al, 2016).

### **2.3 Factors that Enhance Vote Trading on Nigerian Election**

The primary contributory factors to vote trading in Nigeria are poverty, unemployment and illiteracy, and worsened by galloping inflation. The poor are the most vulnerable segment of the population who, on seeing money or other enticing benefits, do not reason or reflect on the future consequences of the unsolicited “gestures” do not hesitate to grab the gifts for immediate satisfaction of social needs, no matter how small the benefits may be. These short-sighted decisions of voters due to a low level of education, hunger, and idleness caused mortgaging of their future for miserable lives, robotic manipulations, and intimidations in the hands of political adventurers.

Moreover, Vote-trading is one of the factors militating against political development and sustainability of democracy in Nigeria. The country is practicing a “patronage democracy”,

a carrot and stick relationship between vote-traders and vote-seller's consolidation of commercialization of the polity. The quantum of money in circulation during election barraged political development.

Moreover, Poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy have been identified by scholars as the major causes of vote-trading. The study argues that electoral fraud is fundamentally a derivative of vote-trading. Vote-trading is the origin of bad governance, facilitator of imposition of wrong and inept group of unsalable persons to find spaces in governance insecurity of lives and properties disunity amongst ethnic groups, session agitations from various ethnic associations, the massive bloodletting in all parts of the country, and enormous deficit of infrastructures are the products of vote-buying. The plague generates inept leadership and ineptitude yield poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy. Therefore, emphasis should be located on fierce wrestling against vote-trading and the culprits. CSOs, citizens, and other stakeholders should operate beyond rhetoric's and take proactive actions against political parties, politicians, and any delinquent anti-graft agency identified to have been involved in vote-buying or aiding and abetting vote-trading to face the wrath of the law. The "independent" National Electoral Commission would exhibit proficiency only when it is constitutionally independent, when unbiased appointment of the chairman would be competitive through electoral process. Therefore, Poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy have been identified by CSOs as the major causes of vote-trading in Nigeria.

The utilization of functional card readers in accrediting eligible voters must be sustained to curb electoral irregularities. The precept of ballot secrecy needs functional election is not only a right on voters' part but an absolute obligation that must be observed during election periods. Secret ballot is important to sustain the electoral integrity and one of the primary devices being applied to restrain vote-trading. Several studies were conducted on the factors that enhances vote trading on Nigerian election among others:

Jacob, Chamberlain, Wambu & Pius (2020) Investigated Political Public relation: as a tool for combating vote trading in Nigeria for development purpose. The study findings identified poverty, lack of education, high cost of purchasing forms to contest elections among others as factors responsible for vote trading in Nigeria.

In line with this, Ejikeme, Onyinyeomachukwu, Kingsley & Rebecca (2020) appraise Vote trading during 2015 and 2019 General Elections: Manifestation and Implications on Democratic Development in Nigeria. Findings of the study displayed that the menace of vote trading is gradually crippling electoral processes and undermining the efforts of the electoral umpire in conducting competitive, free, fair, and credible elections for the sustainability of democratic governance in Nigeria because of poverty, unemployment and corruption.

In support of that, Paul and Chinedu (2021) undertakes a study on the Role of Civil Society Organizations and electoral credibility in Nigeria highlighted paucity of fund, insecurity, administrative bottlenecks and limited access for monitoring movement of sensitive election materials as the factors that enhance vote trading in Nigerian election.

Consistently, Musa & Umar (2022) conducts a study on Vote-trading and the Electoral Process in Nigeria: Trends and Challenges, 2015 –2019. The study identified corruption, misplacement of value, lack of political education as the factors that enhances vote trading in Nigerian election.

In the same direction, Sule & Usman (2020) undertakes a study on 2019 General Election in Nigeria: Examining Issues, Challenges, Successes and Lessons for Future General Elections. Findings of the study revealed that vote trading in Nigeria is one of critical factor in determining who wins election due to the nature of political culture and massive applicability of money during election due to poverty, unemployment. It plays very influential role in

determining who secured the party nomination and wins the election. Furthermore, Civil Society Organization Situational Report (CSOs, 2019) discovered that votes are traded at different level depending on the capability of the party ranging from ₦500 to ₦15,000 for a single vote during election period. This phenomenon threatened the survival of democracy in Nigeria.

## **2.4 Theoretical Review**

According to Akoul Gregory M. (1998), gave details on the earlier proportions of a child who implies that children were inactive receivers of environmental influences, which conveyed that the children were easily molded or shaped in whatsoever method the parents or school teachers and other caregivers select to work. The theory or reciprocal determinism holds the view that infants display more practical and interaction roles in the environment as the environment influences them with difficulty would they react as an effect of learned associations or reinforcements, considering that their characteristics, feelings, thoughts and behaviors impact how they interact with and respond to the environment.

Moreover, the focus of this theory is the assumption that a relationship exists between the environment and the behavior of persons, in which the environment influences the behavior of the people. In other words, the environmental factors which produces very poor conduct of elected public office holders, abysmal performance of the government in power to provide good governance, weak public service delivery capacity, absence of infrastructural facilities and welfare of the public, poor legislation and a disservice to the people, the ineptitude of government functionaries, and individual experiences of voters famed their sense of judgment to react the way they considered beneficial. For instance, the lack of genuine electoral processes, transparency, and accountability in governance formed the mindset of voters to respond to the environment by trading their votes in exchange for money and/or materials.

Reciprocal determinism translates to how the environment produces effects on individual characteristics. In the same dimension, Cherry (2018) stresses that the environment component is made up of the physical surroundings around the individual that contain potentially reinforcing stimuli, including people who are present (or absent). The environment influences the intensity and frequency of the behavior, just as the behavior itself can have an impact on the environment. On the other hand, the individual component includes all the characteristics that have been rewarded in the past. Personality and cognitive factors may be an important part in how a person behaves, including all of the individual's expectations, beliefs, and unique personality characteristics.

Similarly, Bandura (2018) has demonstrated a vital paradigm shift from the behavioral perspective to a social-cognitive approach understanding behavior. Behaviorists believed that the environment wholly influences individual behavior, but Bandura appreciated the relevance of the individuals, their behaviors, and the environment. To a large extent, it reveals that while individuals are affected by their personal experiences in their environment, they as well have the collective power to effect a change on their situation and circumstances through personal sacrifices and problem-solving behavior.

## **2.5 Empirical Review**

The existing literature on vote trading have address several themes and questions related to its causes and effects. The questions at the fore are: What does vote trading means? What different forms does it take in different locales around the world? What have been its impact on democratic system? In consideration of the foregoing, the review literature intends to expose several important patterns of vote trading not only in Nigeria but also across the globe. In so doing, the literature is divided into three groups, i.e. conceptual perspectives of vote trading, vote trading in Nigeria and vote trading as international phenomenon.

Adams, B. (2016) investigated the Menace of Vote Trading in Nigeria and Ways Forward. The study explores an in-depth analysis of the Menace of vote trading in Nigeria and ways forward. The study identified that the occurrence of vote-trading is understood as incentives or gifts given to voters before elections in exchange of their votes. Vote trading is rarely an isolated action and it perpetuates corruption throughout the entire political system. One of the major consequences of vote trading is that it paves ways for the wrong persons get the job and get the works done wrongly, causes series of loss, disruption of the economy and harmony of a community or country. Study recommends the needs for strict rules and laws for offences of electoral malpractices. Voters' education and reforms in the infrastructure and resource in the election process.

In another dimension, Olalekan, (2019) carried out a study on Vote Trading: Examining the Manifestations, Motivations, and Effects of an Emerging Dimension of Election Rigging in Nigeria (2015-2019). This intends to explore the manifestations, motivations, and effects of vote trading on elections conducted between 2015 and 2019, as well as its implications for future elections in the country. Secondary source of data was adopted. The study findings showed that elections provide the platform for the electorate to choose their leaders in modern democracies. In Nigeria, they provide the opportunity for rich corrupt politicians to perpetrate acts of vote trading against both fellow contestants and the electorate. Furthermore, study revealed that politicians relying increasingly on vote trading as a means of compromising and influencing the outcome of elections. The study recommended that Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) should continue to improve on the electronic method of voting to reduce the act of vote buying on Nigerian election.

Samuel, Aderemi, & Hannah (2020) conducted a study on the Influence of Vote Trading among Electorates; Its Implications to Nigeria Future Democracy. The study examines the vote buying and its implication on the Nigerian democratic practices. Quantitative research

approach was used through descriptive survey design. A sample of one hundred (100) respondents were randomly selected to provide the information for the study. Findings of the study revealed that vote trading affects the credibility and conducts of free and fair election in Nigeria. The study further identifies the danger of vote buying on the future democracy of the country. Therefore, recommended the need for political education at all level of education on the implication of vote buying by the religious organization.

Similarly, Philip, (2020) undertakes a study on Vote Trading and Credible Elections in Nigeria: An Opinion Survey of Voters on the 2019 General Election in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The study interrogates the phenomenon of vote trading as it affects the prospects of credible elections in Nigeria. The study also adopted and applied the General Incentive Model as its framework for analysis. Primary and secondary sources of data were used. Findings of the study indicated that monetary inducements have been part of the electoral process in Nigeria in recent years but the incidence of vote trading became so glaring and discredited the democratic process in the 2019 General Election. Also, the quest to institutionalize the best practices of democracy as well as ensuring the sanctity and integrity of the process in Nigeria has always encountered threats in every election cycle. The study recommends the need for government to initiates poverty alleviation programmes as panacea for vote trading and the incorporation of electronic voting to curb the evil practice of vote trading in Nigeria.

In view of this, Auwal & Isa (2020) conducted a study on Vote Trading and Strategic Use of Money in the 2015 General Elections in Taraba State. This study examines the strategic use of money in the 2015 general election in Taraba State. It shows how politicians maneuvered the election and electoral process through negative use of money as a hindrance to strengthening democracy. Neo-patrimonialism theory was adopted as framework of analysis. The study is qualitative in nature using structured interview as instrument of data collection.



Findings of the study indicated that the strategies used by politicians in vote trading includes the distribution of items like; Wrapper, Maggi, salts, soaps, cars, money, temporary appointments and political thugs are recruited to snatch ballot boxes and disrupt voting process in order to influence the electorates choice during elections. The study recommended the need for civil society organization to embark on sensitization programme on political awareness and the enforcement of electoral laws by the INEC.

Additionally, Obagbinco, (2020) undertakes a study on Vote trading phenomenon in Nigeria's electoral process: A comparative study of Edo, Anambra and Ekiti States. The study examines the incidence of vote trading in Nigeria's electioneering process and takes a look at the various ramifications of vote trading in Nigeria's electoral process and its implications for Nigeria's democratic process. The study relied on secondary data in assessing the phenomenon of vote-trading in three states south west of Nigeria. Findings of the study revealed that the phenomenon of vote trading endangering Nigeria's democratic process through denying the average voter of the right to vote and assure good governance. Effective encouragement of grassroots education of voters on the long-term negative effects of vote trading was recommended by the study.

Consistently, Osimen & Iloh (2022) investigated Vote trading, Voting Behavior and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria. The study aimed at examines phenomenon of the concepts of vote-buying and voting behavior, and its negative effects or challenges it reposed on the electoral and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The study is Qualitative in nature using structured interview as instrument for data collection. The study revealed that vote trading politics has a great setback on voting behavior and democratic governance in Nigeria. It is also revealed that effective governance, virile democratic institutions and citizenship rights are achievable only when undue interferences are avoided. The paper further revealed that any polity where voters are not completely or as much as possible insulated from outside pressure

most especially, they cannot choose freely. The study recommended the need for government to embark on economic empowerment of citizens to think far beyond the menace of vote trading and the needs for legal framework, prioritization of employment opportunities and effective poverty reduction policy to address the trends of vote trading in Nigeria.

According to Ejikeme, Nwagwu, Uwaechia, Kingsley & Rebecca (2022) investigated Vote Trading during 2015 And 2019 General Elections: Manifestation and Implications on Democratic Development in Nigeria, Cogent Social. The study, therefore, investigates the effects of vote-buying on the sustainability of democratic development and good governance in Nigeria. The study adopts reciprocal determinism theory to illustrate how the political environment and bad governance influence on Nigerian electoral processes. The study adopts the documentary method for gathering data from secondary sources. Findings of the study indicated that the menace is gradually crippling electoral processes and undermining the efforts of the electoral umpire in conducting competitive, free, fair, and credible elections for the sustenance of democratic development in Nigeria. The study recommends institutionalization of a strong electoral management body to enforce a stiff penalty for commercialization of the electoral system in Nigeria.

## **2.6 Gap in Knowledge**

Several studies have been conducted on vote trading in Nigeria, but none of them specifically cover the scope of this study, which is the literature gap that the researcher intends to fill.

## **2.7 Theoretical Framework**

This section of the research looks at a theory that supports the work strongly just like the frame or foundation of a building supports the structure.

The relevant theory needed to support this study is the reciprocal determination theory. Reciprocal determinism theory postulates that the individual's behavior influences and is being influenced by both the personal characteristics and the social world, the theory is a model built around three major characteristics that influence behavior, the environment, the individual and the behavior. The model explains the interwoven nature of the three factors which made them be interdependently working together to produce reflective responses. As the environment influences individual behavior, the individual's reactions as well influence the environment. The theory investigates the part our behavior plays in the environment. This theory was firstly propounded by a psychologist, Albert Bandura (1977), other proponents that expounded on the theory were Judith Rich Hays (1998),

The relevance of the theory to this study lies in the fact that the theory is highly instrumental in explaining the nature of correlation between socio-environmental factors- infrastructure, public service and elected public office holder- and personal experience of voters. Hence, the applicability of the theory can guide the study to explain how the political environment and poor regulatory framework are incentives in consolidating the monetization of Nigerian electoral process. The theory presumes that the individual's political behavior influences and is being influenced by both the personal characteristics and social environment. Additionally, there is always a relationship between the environment and political behavior. In other words, political behavior is a natural product of the environment. The environmental factors which produce poor conduct of elected public office holder, unaccountable government, weak political institutions, poor public service delivery, inadequate infrastructural facilities and individual sense of voters fanned their sense of judgment to react in accordance to what is beneficial to them.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHEDODOLOGY**

This chapter discusses the research methodology adopted in undertaking the Effects of Vote Trading on Good Governance in 2019 Presidential Election in FCT: Legislative Responsiveness towards 2023 election. The chapter comprises of Research Design, Population of the Study, Sample and Sampling Technique, Method of Data Collection, Instrument of Data Collection, and Method of Data Analysis.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

Research Methodology according Crotty (2008) is a way of choosing a process or design, lying behind the choice and use of a particular research method and connecting the choice and use of methods to the desired outcome. It is an approach that guides a researcher in choosing the appropriate methods and shapes the use of methods chosen.

The study adopted Quantitative Research. This method was chosen because it has the potentials to provide a lot of information obtained from quite a large sample of individuals.

#### **3.2 Population of the Study**

The population of the study was drawn from the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) voters register as released by (INEC, 2019) total 881,472. The justification for considering the population of FCT and its six (6) area council of Abaji, AMAC, Bwari, Gwagwalada, Kuje and Kwali was due to the number of highly influential politicians, elites, community leaders, public servant and business tycoons constitute the entire population.

### 3.3 Sample and Sampling Technique

Sampling is the selection of a subset of the population interested in a research study. Therefore, multistage sampling technique of probability sampling was adopted in which all element of unit of analysis stand a chance of been selected. A simple random sampling technique of probability sampling was adopted to obtain the sample size.

Under this technique, the researcher selected all area councils of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) to allow equal and fair representation. This method was found useful especially by facilitating geographical coverage and has a limited chance of bias. To this end, Anol (2012) stated that “to prevent the investigator from biasing of exercising direct control over the choice of units, some mechanical devices are employed to sample”.

### 3.4 Sample Size

Sample of 350 voters was selected in line with Krejcie and Morgan (1970) classification of determination of sample size. (see appendix iv) to provide the information requires for this study to Appraise the Effects of Vote Trading on Good Governance in 2019 FCT Presidential Election: Legislative Responsiveness Towards 2023 election.

**Table: 3.1: Sample Selection**

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Voters	320	91.4%
Community Leaders	30	8.6%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, October, 2022**

The table above indicates the sample selection of the respondents shows voters with 91.4% or about (320) while community leaders encompassing of religious and traditional rulers were given 30 or about (8.6%) questionnaires. Due to their relevance and connection to both

voters and politicians of their communities who are actively involved in the menace of vote trading.

**Table 3.2 Community Leaders Selected from the Three (3) Area Councils of (FCT)**

Area Council	Community/Village	Frequency	Percentage %
Abaji	Agyana, Bago, Nuku, Ebagi and Yawule	8	26.4%
Gwagwalada	Agota, Anguwar Madaki, Bassa, Gulepe and Soko	12	40%
Kwali	Anini, Leleyi, Yangoji, Sheda and Kigbe	10	33.4%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: field survey, October, 2022**

The above table reveals the sample selection of the community leaders from the selected area councils of Abaji, Gwagwalada and Kwali, Federal Capital Territory (FCT), which were given 10 questionnaires from each area council selected to solicit responses from them representing (33.3%) respectively. The choice of the three (3) council was due to their relevance and connection to both voters and politicians of their communities who are actively involved in the menace of vote trading.

### **3.5 Instrument for Data Collection**

The instrument used for data collection for this study is the questionnaire to solicit data from the respondents. According to Nworgu (1991) questionnaire is by far the most frequently used instrument in social science and educational research. It also provides the researcher room for easy accumulation of data for analysis as well as guarantees the privacy of the respondents". Kothari (2004) stated that questionnaire enables the researcher to sample large population which makes the result to be more dependable and reliable. This was chosen because questionnaire is used when factual information is desired and provides respondent an opportunity to give frank answers (Best and Khan, 2003).

### **3.6 Reliability**

The instrument that was developed and scrutinized by the supervisor of this research to check the quality of questions that the research has chosen for the respondents to answer, this is to indicate how well the instrument has successfully given accurate response to the research work. Ensuring the reliability of the research instruments is an important measure when conducting research.

### **3.7 Validity**

Validity is the degree to which a test measured what is supposed to measure and accordingly allow the appropriate interpretation of the scores

In the context of this study, content validity approach was employed to ensure the validity of the research instrument. Content validity according to Key (1997), “is an approach for measuring the degree to which the test items represent the domain or universe of the trait or property being measured. In order to establish the content validity of a measuring instrument, the researcher must identify the overall content to be represented. Items must then be randomly chosen from this content that will accurately represent the information in all areas. By using this method, the researcher should obtain a group of items which is representative of the content of the trait or property to be measured”.

### **3.8 Administration of Research Instrument**

Data for this study was collected personally by the researcher with the support of two (2) research assistant using on the spot method, which has the advantage of ensuring a high response rate, and enable the researcher to explain whatever the respondents do not understand.

### **3.9 Method of Data Analysis**

The data for this research was analyzed using descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics is a set of tools used to summarize and consolidate a given data, which can either be a representation of the entire population or a sample (Sidhu, 2007). For the purpose of this research, descriptive statistics will be used through percentages and frequencies distribution table to describe the data.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Chapter four concern with the presentation of data, analysis and the discussion of findings in respect of the objectives of the study.

#### 4.1 Distribution and Return of Questionnaire

The distribution and return of the questionnaire were analyzed in the table below.

**Table 4.1 Questionnaires indicating Administered and Returned**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Questionnaire Distributed</b>	<b>Frequency of questionnaire Return</b>	<b>Percentages of questionnaire Returned %</b>
Voters	340	320	91.4%
Community Leaders	50	30	8.6%
<b>TOTAL=</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.1 reveals the number of questionnaires distributed for the voter's which is 340 and the community leaders 50, while the questionnaire return to the researcher were represented in percentage 91.4% or about (320) and 8.6% or about (30). This clearly shows that out of the 390 questionnaires distributed to the respondents, the researcher was able to retrieved 350 which is fair enough to base his analysis on it.

#### 4.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

**Table 4.2 Sex Distribution of the Respondents**

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Male	240	67%
Female	70	23%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.2 is the sex distribution of the respondents; it shows that out of the 350 respondents in this study, 240 respondents, representing 67% were male participants. While, 70 respondents representing 23% were female participants. All the respondents were drawn

randomly from the stakeholders of election in the FCT. From the above statistics, it clearly shows the low participation of female in the conduct of election which indicates clear segregation of women in our daily lives as a result of culture of exclusion.

**Table 4.3 Age Distribution of the Respondents**

<b>Age group</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
18-20	65	18.5%
21-30	130	37%
31-40	85	24.5%
41 above	70	20%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.3 reveals the age distribution of the respondents which clearly indicates that 18.5% of the respondents were between 18-20 years, 37% of the respondents were within the age of 21-30 years and 24.5% of them are between the ages of 31-40 years. While, 20% of the respondents were between the age of 41 and above. Therefore, this clearly shown that the highest percentage that constitute the majority that participate fully in the election process in Nigeria which is (21-30) years.

**Table 4.4 Educational Qualification of Respondents**

<b>Educational Status</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
SSCE/Grade II	85	23%
NCE/ND	110	31.2%
B.Sc/ HND	135	38.5%
M.Sc/Ph.D	20	7.3%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.4 indicates the Educational Qualification of the respondents, which represent (23%) for the SSCE/Grade 11, 31.2% for ND/NCE holders, (38.5%) were HND/B.Sc Holders while, M.Sc/Ph.D with (7.3%). This clearly shows that majority of the respondents were HND/B.Sc holders.

**Table 4.5 Marital Status of Respondents**

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage %
Single	200	57.2%
Married	150	42.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022

Table 4.5 shows that single respondents scored two hundred (200) or about 57.2% while married scored one hundred and fifty (150) or 42.8% respectively.

**Table: 4.6 Occupation of the Respondents**

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage %
Public Servant	140	40%
Business	60	17.2%
Farmers	30	8.5%
Politicians	120	34.3%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022

Table 4.6 indicates the occupational status of the respondents that participated in this study which include the public servant with 40%, Business people with 17.2%, Farmers with 8.5% and Politicians with 34.3% respectively. This clearly shows that the major occupation of the respondents is public servants.

**Table 4.7 Question: Your vote counts in 2019 Presidential Election in FCT?**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agree	125	35.7%
Agree	140	40%
Neutral	20	5.8%
Disagree	40	11.4%
Strongly Disagree	25	7.1%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022

Table 4.7 reveals that 125 and 140 respondents, representing (35.7%) and (40%) Strongly agree and agree their vote's counts in 2019 FCT Presidential election in Nigeria. And

5.8% of the respondents remain neutral while 40 and 25 respondents representing 11.4% and 7.1% disagree and strongly disagree with the statement above.

**Table: 4.8 Question: Voters were paid to vote for a particular party in 2019 Presidential Election in FCT?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Strongly Agree	120	34.2%
Agree	160	46%
Neutral	15	4.2%
Disagree	30	8.5%
Strongly Disagree	25	7.1%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.8 depicts that out of one hundred and sixty (160) respondents, 120 and 160 respondents or about (34.2%) and 46.2%) strongly agree and agree that many Nigerian voters were paid to votes by various political parties during the conduct of 2019 Presidential election in FCT, 15 respondents remain neutral while 30 and 25 respondents, representing 8.5% and 7.1% disagree and strongly disagreed with the above assertion that they must paid before voting for any political party during the conduct of general election in Nigeria.

**Table 4.9 Question: How can you Rate the Percentage of Voters who Exchange Votes for Money or Gift items During the Conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Below 80%	175	50%
Below 60%	69	20%
Below 30%	44	13%
Below 20%	20	6%
Below 10%	39	11%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.9 indicates that 175 and 69 respondents, representing (50%) and (20%) agreed that were rated below 80% and 60% exchange votes for money and gift items during the conduct of 2019 general election. 44 respondents, or about (13%) were rated below 30%, while

20 and 39 respondents or about (6%) and (11%) rated the level of voters that exchange votes for money or gifts items respectively.

**Table 4.10 Question: What is your personal perception on the issue of vote trading in your area during the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Monetized voting	100	29%
Free and fair Election	70	20%
Violent Election	19	5%
Credible Election	35	10%
Election with Irregularities	28	8%
Poverty and Unemployment	98	28%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.10 reveals that 198 and 70 respondents, representing (29%) and (20%) perceived that voting in 2019 general election was highly monetized and free and fair election. and 19 or (5%) respondents perceive election to be violent, while 35, 28 and 98 respondents or about (10%) and (8%) perceived the election as credible, marred with irregularities and full of poverty and unemployment respectively.

**Table: 4.11 Question: Voters were given food items or property or promise of employment by the politicians before or after voting for their choice party?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Strongly Agree	150	43%
Agree	130	37.2%
Neutral	18	5.1%
Disagree	30	8.5%
Strongly Disagree	22	6.2%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.11 shows that 150 and 130 respondents, representing (43%) and (37.2%) agree and strongly agree that voters were given items either food, property or promises of employment by the politicians before or after election, and 18 or about (5.1%) of the

respondents remain neutral. While 30 and 22 respondents, representing (8.5%) and (6.2%) disagree and strongly disagree with the above statement.

**Table 4.12 Question: Voters were paid through the polling agents in 2019 Presidential Election in FCT?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Strongly Agree	160	45.7%
Agree	125	35.7%
Neutral	27	7.7%
Disagree	22	6.3%
Strongly Disagree	16	4.6%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.12 reveals that 160 and 125 respondents, representing (45.7%) and (35.7%) strongly agree and agree that voters were paid through party agents in 2019 elections, and 27 or about (7.7%) of the respondents remain neutral. While, 22 and 16 respondents, representing (6.3%) and (4.6%) disagree and strongly disagree with the above affirmation.

**Table 4.13 Question: Voters believed that votes trading affect the result of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT.**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Strongly Agree	130	37.1%
Agree	155	44.2%
Neutral	17	4.8%
Disagree	20	5.7%
Strongly Disagree	28	8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.13 indicates that 130 and 155 respondents, representing (37.1%) and (44.2%) strongly agree and agree that vote trading affect the result of 2019 presidential election in FCT and 17 or about (4.8%) of the respondents remain neutral. While, 20 and 28 respondents, representing (5.7%) and (8%) totally disagree and strongly disagree with the above stated opinion.

**Table 4.14 Question: Poverty, Unemployment and lack of Political Awareness are the major causes of Vote Trading in Nigeria?**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Agree	148	42.3%
Agree	135	38.5%
Neutral	20	5.8%
Disagree	17	4.9%
Strongly Disagree	30	8.5%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.14 indicates that 148 and 135 respondents, representing (42.3%) and (38.5%) strongly agree and agree that poverty, unemployment and lack of political awareness are the major causes of vote trading in Nigerian election. 20 respondents or about (5.8%) remain neutral. While, 17 and 30 respondents, representing (4.9%) and (8.5%) disagree and strongly disagree with the above statement.

**Table 4.15 Question: Good Governance is a Panacea to Vote Trading in Elections?**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Agree	168	48%
Agree	125	35.7%
Neutral	18	5.1%
Disagree	22	6.2%
Strongly Disagree	17	4.8%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.15 reveals that 168 and 125 respondents, representing (48%) and (35.7%) strongly agree and agree that good governance serve as panacea to vote trading for Nigerian election, and 18 or about (5.1%) of the respondents remain neutral. While, 22 and 17 respondents, representing (6.2%) and (4.8%) completely disagree and strongly disagree with the above stated assertion.

**Table 4.16 Question: Several Reasons influenced voter’s choice to vote for candidate in 2019 Presidential Election in FCT?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Membership of the Party	45	12.8%
Campaign Promises/Manifesto	48	13.7%
Candidate Acceptability	57	16.2%
Material/Money Gift from Political Parties	178	50.8%
Political Party Popularity	22	6.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.16 indicates that 45 and 48 respondents, representing (12.8%) and (13.7%) strongly agree and agree that voter’s choice was influence by the spirit of party membership and campaign manifesto. 57 or about (16.2) respondents agree that acceptability of candidates was the main reasons for voter’s choice. While 178 and 22 respondents, or about (50.8%) and (6.2%) were of the opinion that material/money gift from various political parties and party popularity was the main reasons for voter’s choice during election period.

**Table 4.17 Question: The Menace of Vote Trading disenfranchised voters in 2019 Presidential Election in FCT?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Strongly Agree	115	33%
Agree	158	45.1%
Neutral	29	8.2%
Disagree	31	8.8%
Strongly Disagree	17	4.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.17 shows that 115 and 158 respondents, representing (33%) and (45.1%) strongly agree and agree that vote trading disenfranchised voters in 2019 presidential election in FCT, and 29 respondents or about (8.2%) remain neutral. While, 31 and 17 respondents, representing (8.8%) and (4.8%) disagree and strongly disagree with the above stated pronouncement.



**Table 4.18 Question: Vote Trading is one aspect of political corruption in the conduct of 2019 election?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Strongly Agree	180	51%
Agree	94	27%
Neutral	29	8%
Disagree	20	6%
Strongly Disagree	27	7.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.18 reveals that 180 and 94 respondents, representing (51%) and (27%) strongly agree and agree that vote trading is one of the aspects of political corruption in Nigeria. 29 or about 8% of the respondents remain neutral, while 20 and 27 respondents, or about (6%) and (7.7) disagree and strongly disagree with the above statement.

**Table 4.19 Question: Votes trading affect Public Services Delivery?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Strongly Agree	125	35.8%
Agree	168	48%
Neutral	14	4%
Disagree	18	5.1%
Strongly Disagree	25	7.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.19 indicates that 125 and 168 respondents, representing (35.8%) and (48%) strongly agree and agree that vote trading affects services delivery, and 14 respondents or about (4%) remain neutral. While, 18 and 25 respondents, representing (5.1%) and (7.1%) disagree and strongly disagree with the view that vote trading affects delivery of services in governance.

**Table 4.20 Question: Trading of votes affects free, fair and credible election in Nigeria?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Strongly Agree	160	45.7%
Agree	116	33.1%
Neutral	30	8.5%
Disagree	25	7.1%
Strongly Disagree	19	5.4%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.20 shows that 160 and 116 respondents, representing (45.7%) and (33.1%) strongly agree and agree that vote trading affects free, fair and credible election in Nigeria, 30 respondents or about (8.5%) remain neutral. While, 25 and 19 respondents or about (7.1%) and (5.4%) disagree and strongly disagree with the above assertion that vote trading enhance free, fair and credible election in Nigeria.

**Table 4.21 Question: There are Legislative Actions against the conduct of Votes Trading in Nigeria Election?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
Strongly Agree	112	32%
Agree	185	52.8%
Neutral	14	4%
Disagree	20	5.7%
Strongly Disagree	19	5.5%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.21 indicates that 112 and 185 respondents, representing (32%) and (52.8%) strongly agree and agree that there are legislative actions against the conduct of vote trading in Nigerian election, and 14 or about (4%) of the respondents remain neutral. While, 20 and 19 respondents, representing (5.7%) and (5.5%) disagree and strongly disagree with the above statement.

**Table: 4.22 Question: How do you think Vote Trading can be curbed in future Elections?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage %</b>
National Assembly should ensure the Establishment of Electoral Offence Commission to deals with electoral frauds in the country.	156	44.5%
Civil Society Organization (CSO) groups should be advocate and apply pressure for police and other law enforcement agencies to arrest, investigate and diligently prosecute those involved in the act of vote trading.	60	17.2%
INEC and EFCC should develop a collaborative strategic framework for effective monitoring of political party's campaign funds.	55	15.8%
The electoral Act should be amended to empower citizens to effectively deploy social media tools in facilitating exposure of electoral fraud like vote trading.	79	22.5%
<b>Total=</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, October, 2022**

Table 4.22 shows that 156 and 60 respondents, representing (44.5%) and (17.2%) suggested that establishment of Electoral offence commission by the National Assembly and the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) were the only ways to curb the phenomenon of vote trading in the conduct of Nigerian election. While 55 and 79 respondents, or about (15.2%) advocated that INEC and EFCC should work collaboratively to provide a strategic framework for monitoring the activities of the political parties and the need to amend the electoral act to consider the role of social media towards empowering of voters and political parties on electoral frauds is the only option.

### **4.3 Discussion of Findings**

The analysis indicates whether the actual findings from the answers obtained from the questionnaire are in sync with the view presumed in the research questions or not. This equally provided the rational for research to make conclusive statement with respect to the subject matter of the research. On the basis of this study, four research questions were formulated, in

which the questions were framed for the research instrument (questionnaire). Therefore, the major findings of the study will clearly examine under the following:

Research Objective number one was on the level of vote trading in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT? Most of the respondent's opinion in Table 4.7 indicates that: out of one hundred and sixty (160) respondents, 47 and 50 or about (29.3%) and (31.3) strongly agree and agree that level of vote trading was very high to the extent that electorate were paid to votes by various political parties during the conduct of 2019 Presidential election in FCT, while 28 and 15 respondents, representing 17.5% and 9.3% disagree and strongly disagreed with the above assertion that some of the voters were paid before voting for any political party during the conduct of general election.

Similarly, Table 4.11 reveals that 60 and 46 respondents, representing (37.5%) and (28.8%) agree and strongly agree that voters were given items either food, property or promises of employment from the politicians before or after election. While 30 and 10 respondents, representing (18.7%) and (6.2%) disagree and strongly disagree with the above statement in the conduct of 2019 General Election. This is consistent with the Auwal & Isa (2020) conducted a study on Vote Trading and Strategic Use of Money in Taraba State. Findings of the study indicated that the strategies used by politicians in vote trading includes the distribution of items like; Wrapper, Maggi, Salts, Soaps, Cars, Money, Temporary appointments to influence the electorates choice during elections.

Research Objective two was on the factors that increase the menace of vote trading in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT? Responses of the respondents shows that 45 and 55 respondents, representing (28.1%) and (34.4%) strongly agree and agree that poverty, unemployment and lack of political awareness are the major causes of vote trading on Nigerian election. While, 21 and 24 respondents, representing (13.2%) and (15%) disagree and strongly

disagree with the above assertion. This corroborate with the findings of Baidoo et al (2018) who identified socio-economic factors that causes vote trading in Nigeria among others are poverty, unemployment, lack of education and illiteracy. This is also supported by Jacob, Chamberlain, Wambu & Pius (2020) identified poverty, lack of education, high cost of purchasing forms to contest elections among others as factors responsible for vote trading in Nigeria. Furthermore, Musa & Umar (2022) added that corruption, misplacement of value, lack of political education as the factors that enhances vote trading in Nigerian election.

Research Objective three was on the effects of vote trading on good governance in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT? Findings of the study in Table 4.19 and 4.20 indicates that 50 and 64 respondents, representing (31.3%) and (40%) strongly agree and agree that vote trading affects services delivery among the politicians in governance. While, 20 and 11 respondents, representing (12.5%) and (6.9%) disagree and strongly disagree with the view that vote trading affects delivery of services in governance. also (15%) and (12.5%) of the respondents strongly agree and agree that vote trading enhances free, fair and credible election in Nigeria. This is similar with the earlier findings by Samuel, Aderemi, & Hannah (2020) conducted a study on the Influence of Vote Trading among Electorates; Its Implications to Nigeria Future Democracy. Findings of the study revealed that vote trading affects the credibility and conducts of free and fair election in Nigeria. The study further identifies the danger of vote trading on the future democracy of the country. Similarly, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in 2020 report indicates that the population of the Out-of-school children in Nigeria has risen from 10.5 million to 13.2 million in 2019, the highest in the world. (Premium time's ng.com; google.com).

Research Objective four was on the legislative responsiveness towards addressing vote trading in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT? Findings of the study in Table

4.21 reveals that 38 and 59 respondents, representing (23.8%) and (36.8%) strongly agree and agree that there is a legislative action against the conduct of vote trading in the election. While, 25 and 18 respondents, representing (15.7%) and (11.2%) disagree and strongly disagree with the above statement. This is supported by Obagbinco (2020) study on Vote Trading phenomenon in Nigeria's electoral process: A comparative study of Edo, Anambra and Ekiti States. Findings of the study revealed that the phenomenon of vote trading endangering Nigeria's democratic process through denying the average voter of the right to vote and assure good governance. The study emphasis on grass-root education of voters on the long-term negative effects of vote trading and the need for to addressed the menace. This study vividly indicates that there is correlation between the phenomenon of vote trading and the election process which enhances democratic governance in contemporary Nigerian political milestone.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY

#### IMPLICATION

##### 5.1 Summary of findings

The conducts of 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria particularly in FCT, indicates that voting democracy in the country is on sell in an open market. Thus, what is particularly worrisome is the brazen nature of vote trading which was assumed in recent times and the grave danger it posed on the country democratic practices. Therefore, this study focused on appraising the effect of vote trading on good governance and service delivery in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria: Legislative Responsiveness towards 2023 General Election. Based on the data collected from the questionnaires in bringing this from light, the research was able to look at how vote trading marred the conduct of election in Nigeria, and how it likely affects democratic governance and service delivery in the country especially the conduct of FCT Presidential Election.

Therefore, the objectives of the study include among others are: Determine the level of vote trading in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT, Identify the factors that engender/stimulate vote trading in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT, Appraise the effects of vote trading on good governance in 2019 Presidential Election in FCT and ascertain the Legislative Responsiveness in tackling vote trading as the Nation match towards 2023 Presidential Election. In line with the above stated objectives, the analysis indicates whether the actual findings from the objectives stated are obtained from the questionnaire or not. This equally provided the rational for research to make conclusive statement with respect to the subject matter of the research.

Research Objective One: To examine the level of vote trading in the conduct of 2019 Presidential Election in FCT. Finding from the questionnaire indicated that majority of respondents are of the opinion that: the level of vote trading was very high to the extent that electorate were paid to votes by various political parties during the conduct of 2019 presidential election in FCT. While, some of them disagreed with the above assertion that some of the voters were paid before voting for any political party during the conduct of presidential election in FCT. Additionally, another findings in respect of the same objectives revealed the responses from the questionnaire on the Respondents opined that majority of voters were given items either food, property or promises of employment from the politicians before or after election. While, others strongly disagreed with the above statement.

Research Objectives Two: What are the factors that increase the menace of vote trading in the conduct of 2019 presidential Election in FCT? Responses from the questionnaire showed that poverty, unemployment and lack of political awareness were the major causes of vote buying and selling on Nigerian election. While, the other respondents strongly opposed the statement that poverty, unemployment and inadequate political education were issue responsible for trading of votes among the electorates.

Research Objectives Three: was on the effects of vote trading on good governance in 2019 Presidential Election in FCT. Finding of the study indicates respondent's view that, vote trading affects services delivery and good governance in the country by the politicians in power. While, different opinion were revealed by the respondents that vote trading do not effect on service delivery and governance. In another dimension, respondents view vote trading hinders free, fair and credibility of electoral process in the conduct of 2019 presidential election in FCT.



Research Objectives Four: To ascertain the legislative intervention towards addressing vote trading towards 2023 presidential election. Findings of the study indicated that there is a legislative responsiveness on the issue of vote trading in the conduct of election in Nigeria. There are various legislations especially the new electoral act 2022 and other subsidiary legislations by INEC Electoral Guidelines.

Moreover, previous studies conducted concentrated mainly on investigating Vote-Trading, Voting Behavior and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria, Influence of Vote Trading Among Electorates; Its Implications to Nigeria Future Democracy, Vote -Trading, Voting Behavior and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria. Empirically, the study contributes to the better understanding of the phenomenon of vote trading and its effects on good governance in the conduct of Nigerian election. Legislative Responsiveness towards 2023 General Election as possible intervention towards making the system better. The researcher used survey questionnaire in the process of data gathering and findings of this research are likely to proffer solutions to the issue of vote trading and consolidation of democratic governance in FCT and Nigeria at large.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The conclusion drawn from the findings of the study is that vote trading has effect on good governance. The study revealed that vote trading and issuance of material gift to the electorate during election brought rift among the downtrodden and therefore serious challenge to all stakeholders in Nigerian electoral process particularly the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), if the election is to be free and fair and work for the good governance. The worrisome issue vote trading is that bribe are actually solicited for by the electorate themselves. This may pose serious challenge to the National Electoral Offence Commission

(NEOC) when established or any other prosecuting body, because no one will be willing to provide evidence or appear as witness on corruption related to vote trading.

In another dimension, findings of the study from the opinion of the respondents indicated that the major causes of vote trading in Nigeria could be attributed to poverty, unemployment lack of political awareness. The study links the prevalence of vote trading during election to these important economic variables, because people have no employment and their sources of income is low, they are vulnerable and insecure, this situation make them accept anything that comes even if it comes in the wrong way. Politicians are aware of that situation and wish to take advantage of this situation to increase their chances of winning election.

Another finding of this study is that, electorate are aware that distribution of material gifts during election amount to electoral corruption which in turn influence their voting decisions. They also know that election is good mechanism that gives voters opportunity of choosing a good leader that will decides the fate of the existing government, yet they compromised due to economic/social variables. The consequence of this act of electoral corruption is that it breeds bad leadership and poor performance in governance.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

One of the fundamental principles of democracy is the freedom of choice and the credibility of the electoral body to conduct free and fair election for the people to occupy various political positions. Based on the research and the analysis from this study, the researcher comes out with the following recommendations:

1. There is need for Government, Non-Governmental Organization, National Orientation Agency (NOA), Civil Society Organization (CSO) and non-state actors to emphasis on voter

political education and sensitization campaigns about acts that constituted election malpractice and danger of vote trading on the election process.

2. There is need for Nigerian government to provide strategy of improving the economy for better empowerment of people. This is because where poverty reduce to the minimum level, the electorate can make independent political decision in voting for credible candidates rather than incompetent and money spending politicians.

3. There is need for Mass Media to play a very crucial role of creating awareness and voter sensitization to be able to know their civic responsibilities in the course of electing credible candidates.

4. National Assembly should ensure the establishment of the National Electoral Offence Commission (NEOC) with full autonomy to operate and prosecute electoral offenders irrespective of the political affiliation.

5. There is need for Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and Economic Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) to improve their strategic collaborative framework for effective supervision and monitoring of political party's campaign funds to adequately curb the electoral fraud, including vote trading during the conduct of party primaries and general election.

6. There is need for further research by the academicians and research institute in the area of vote trading and its effect on good governance, this will assist INEC and the Legislative body to take strategic measures to curb the menace and ensure effective management of democratic values in the country.

#### **5.4 Implication and Suggestion for Future Research**

The implication of this study is that it has revealed lapses encountered in the 2019 general elections as well as the negative tendencies politicians (vote buyers) and vote sellers played in the election processes.

There it becomes imperative for both the National Assembly who are the law makers, the policy makers and the civil society would found lasting measures or solution to prevent any electoral malpractice in future elections in Nigeria. This study however becomes important due to the forthcoming general election of 2023 and the implementation of the new electoral law. Nevertheless, the society should be able to know that politicians who engage in votes trading to get political office would never provide good governance and efficient service delivery. This study therefore, provide foundation for the future researchers who have interest in conducting study on the phenomenon of vote trading in future General Elections in Nigeria.

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## **Appendix i**

National Institute for Legislative and  
Democratic Studies

Postgraduate School,

Maitama- Abuja.

11<sup>th</sup>-October, 2022.

Dear respondent,

### **Introduction Letter**

I am a post graduate student of the Department of Parliamentary Administration; National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Study, carrying out research on “Appraising the Effects of Vote Buying and Selling on Good Governance in 2019 Presidential Election in FCT: Legislative Responsiveness Towards 2023 election”.

You may wish to assist in providing the appropriate answers to the design questions to enable me gather information required to contribute to knowledge on the subject matter.

I wish to state that all information provided would be treated with utmost confidentiality.

I will highly appreciate your cooperation, please.

Thank You.

**AIYENALE FRED JIMOH**

**PG/NLS/2015063**

## Appendix li

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VOTERS

This questionnaire was divided into two (2) Sections: A and B, Section A contain the demographic characteristic of the respondents, while Section B was the main questions for the respondents.

**INSTRUCTION:** Please tick as appropriate

#### SECTION A

1. Sex: (a) male { } (b) female { }
2. Age: (a) 15-24 { } (b) 25-34 { } (c) 35 and above { }
3. Marital status: (a) single { } (b) married { } (c) divorced { }
4. Occupation: (a) Student { } (b) Public Servant { } (c) Business { }
5. Academic qualification: (a) SSCE/GRADE 11 { } (b) NCE/ND { } (c) Degree { } (d) MS.c { } (e) Ph.D { }

#### SECTION B

1. Did you Participate and Vote in 2019 Election?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

2. Were you paid to vote by party in 2019 General Election?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

3. Voters were given items either foods/property or promise of employment by the politicians before or after voting for their party?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

4. Most of the Voters accredited was the ones voted on the Election Day? There is a difference between the number of registered voters and accredited voters in the conduct of 2019 election compared to the actual vote cast?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

5. Does Vote Buying and Selling produce unpopular candidate on Election Day.

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

6. Buying and Selling of votes brings incompetent candidate as elected leader?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

7. Vote Buying is one aspect of political corruption in the conduct of Nigerian election?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

8. Buying and Selling of votes among the electorates affect Services Delivery by the politicians in governance?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

9. Buying and Selling of votes hinders free, fair and credible election in Nigeria?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

10. Poverty, Unemployment and lack of political awareness are the major causes of Vote Buying/Selling among the Electorate during election?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

11. Good Governance is a panacea to Vote Buying and Selling for Nigerians Election?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed ( )

12. There are Legislative Actions against the conduct of Vote Buying and Selling in Nigeria Election?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

### Appendix iii

#### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COMMUNITY LEADERS

**INSTRUCTION:** Please tick as appropriate

##### SECTION A

1. Sex: (a) male { } (b) female { }
2. Age: (a) 15-24 { } (b) 25-34 { } (c) 35 and above { }
3. Marital status: (a) single { } (b) married { } (c) divorced { }
4. Occupation: (a) Student { } (b) Public Servant { } (c) Business { }
5. Academic qualification: (a) SSCE/GRADE 11 { } (b) NCE/ND { } (c) Degree { } (d) MS.c { } (e) Ph.D { }
6. Do you have a job? Yes { } No { }
7. If yes what type? (a) Civil Servant { } (b) Private Organization { } (c) Self-Employed { } (d) Partnership { }

##### SECTION B

1. Did you Participate and Vote in 2019 Election?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

2. The 2019 General Election witnessed massive issuance of cash/goods giving from politicians to electorates during?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

3. Given Money or Gifts to voters to votes by the politicians during Election Period is a Good Thing.

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

4. Most of the political parties involved in vote buying and selling are the major parties?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

5. Do you think Money/Material Gift Influence the decision of the individual voters in your community during the conduct of 2019 General Election?

Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

6. Vote Buying and Selling hinders Good Governance in the conduct of Nigerian Election?  
Strongly agreed { } (b) agreed { } (c) Neutral { } (d) strongly disagreed { } (e) disagreed { }

7. Several Reasons influence/motivate voter's choice during the conduct of election in Nigeria?

(a) Membership of the Party (b) Campaign Promises/Manifesto (c) Candidate Acceptability

(d) Material/Money Gift from Political Parties (e) Political Party Popularity

8. How can You Rate the Percentage of Voters who Exchange Votes for Money or Gift items During the Conduct of 2019 General Election?

(a) Below 80% (b) Below 60% (c) Below 30% (d) Below 20% (e) All the Voters

9. What is your individual perception on the issue of vote buying and selling in your community during the conduct of 2019 General Election in FCT?

(a) Monetized voting (b) Free and fair Election (c) Violent Election (d) Credible (e) Election

(f) Marred with Irregularities

10. How would you suggest ways of curbing Vote Buying and Selling in the Conduct of Nigerian Election?

(a) National Assembly should ensure the Establishment of Electoral Offence Commission to deal with electoral frauds in the country.

(b) Civil Society Organization (CSO) groups should be advocate and apply pressure for police and other law enforcement agencies to arrest, investigate and diligently prosecute those involved in the act of vote buying and selling.

(c) INEC and EFCC should develop a collaborative strategic framework for effective monitoring of political party's campaign funds.

(d)The electoral Act should be amended to empower citizens to effectively deploy social media tools in facilitating exposure of electoral fraud like vote buying.

## Appendix iv

Table for Determining Sample Size from a Given Population

N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	220	140	1200	290
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	148	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	40	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	169	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	331
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	196	3000	341
80	66	420	200	3500	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	242	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380
190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	1000000	384

Note. —N is population size.

S is sample size.

Source: Krejcie and Morgan (1970)

