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Ethnic sentiments influence on elections, through pre-voting and voting behavior in Africa: A case study of Nigeria elections

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Abstract

Voting behavior influences the electoral process and voting pattern in every democratic government. When it especially pertains to any multicultural society there is often this global applicability of similar tendency to have similar historical reality when it comes to voting behavior. The Africa societies specifically have these similar tendencies mostly. In Nigeria, the country's political and socio-economic surroundings, as well as its historical backdrop, affected electorates' behavior and voting patterns in the state's history-to-date national campaign. Ethnicity offers one leap of influence and adjusts the reality of each election. Especially in the presidential elections, Nigeria, being a multicultural nation, experiences this reality not only in presidential elections but also in governorship elections because of the diversity even within an ethnicity. However, the focus is on the presidential election because it offers a large set of statistics and a clearer motif to understand this peculiar situation. More so it allows for the global applicability of findings to other multicultural society around the world.

This thesis investigated the influence of ethnicity in a multicultural society on voting behavior: A study of the Nigerian presidential election is the focus. Using the sociological theory and the constructivism approach the thesis utilized the data collected from 18 interviews of respondents along with historical data presentation to critically analyze the 2015 Presidential Election to understand information about the electorate's voting habits and voting patterns along the ethnic line.

The thesis makes use of Thematic analysis and conclusively outlined and discovered essential themes that are applicable to the way ethnic influence were formed by voters.

The study conclusively discovered that although other indicators are also responsible for voting behavior. Ethnicity encouraged by economic partiality among ethnic group groups remains a strong reason voters vote the way they do. Also, although ethnicity may exact a strong influence on voting behavior, communication, fair and equitable governance is discovered to be a sure way to greatly reduce ethnic voting

I further make recommendation as to the reality of my findings and conclusion, for further research.

Keywords: Ethnicity, voting behavior, Multicultural society, Election and Nigeria

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1. Introduction

This thesis key purpose is to understand how ethnicity affect voting behaviour in the pre and election period of a multicultural nation. To adequately understand the relevance of this purpose one must consider several relevances of the topic. First is the benefit that a democratic society with the right values and democratic principles offers the larger nations of the world. The context of Nigeria is a culturally diverse ethnic creation, still learning the process of democracies and emerging with the various realities that are starting to form as far back as immediately after independence. Like any democratic nation, there have been many tests of Nigeria's democratic governance, having gone through many disruptions and resuscitations of democratic government in the country. Having tested many forms of government, from the unitary government to parliamentary government, presidential government, and a federal system of government. With a history of such rhetorics, it is expedient to continually explore better ways to address issues often arising from the election process as a vehicle for achieving these democratic principles. No gain saying then that the thesis will achieve a new way of understanding how this historical and democratic reality in Nigeria interacts during elections and influence the choices of voters. This will in turn have the effect of further understanding Nations which share similar historical reality with Nigeria. Especially the Ecowas Nations or any Muticultural Nation of Africa or the global community at large.

In any case, several other realities that stem from ethnic differences also add further necessity for the study and also relevance too. first is the recent agitation for regional government by several sections of the ethnicity to increase the concern about ethnic voting. Most African nations often witness ethnic agitation for self determination before a preceding break away like Sudan, South Africa etc. Even in the western world countries like Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia, Palau all exhibited these examples of attempts at self governance by a group seeing themselves as sharing similarity away from another or the rest. Although , it may diverge from the reality of Africa, these socio groupings with a strong tone agitation for self

governance often have a strong ideal of fighting for its self interest and oftentimes with less consideration of general interest. This thesis offer an understanding of this socio issues stakeholders in Nigeria and interested international parties will have a more deeper understanding of the historical realities of Nigerian elections and also the present trajectory of both event in the pre and election period.

This thesis is therefore relevant in that by the findings further insight will be revealed about how the populace feel towards issues like this. Furthermore, Nigeria's multicultural reality especially when it comes to representation in government is one essential reason why the study of this thesis becomes important. In terms of contribution to the entrenchment of democratic values, Nigeria being the case study also offers a critical relevance to the development of the world because of the peculiar entity of its political and geographical markup and also has the most populous Africa Nation and black Nation. It stands at a critical point in the history of the world and its effects often create ripples that sound across the continent of Africa and also beyond the shores to the western world. This critical status and its inherent political markup as a multicultural society, with diverse ethnic vying for political recognition makes this thesis an important one to all studies of quality democracies and good governance in nations of the world with similar trajectory and set up.

All the above listed relevance necessitated the reason I embarked on this research, to understand how voters behavior in this multicultural society is influenced by ethnic sentiments in both the pre and during election process. Of no doubt the advent of this thesis will add to the understanding of ethnic voting in a democratic setting of most divers' ethnic or socio groups convergence. Also to get a glimpse into the mind of the electorate in this kind of setting and how they justify their rationale for voting the way they do in an election. It will also be of huge interest to political observant, political analysis and socio critics but in the international and national circle.

There is a profound foundation for the post of this thesis. Elizabeth Carlson explores ethnic voting and Accountability in Uganda Her work explores how incumbent retain votes in their ethnicity despite their low performance. Her work offered bear as striking observation to the reality of this thesis case study. (Elizabeth, 2015). The discussion, assumptions and findings is to the reason why voters in a multicultural society of Africa vote the way they do. Keith et al explained that "Africans are often assumed to vote ethnically, and elections are thus viewed as little more than ethnic censuses propelling relevant cleavage structures of society into the public sphere (Keith et al, 2011). Keith et al in their study of Ghana elections have shown then how deviation from ethnic voting has then become to emerge, concluding in essence that

voters are often rewarding the performing governance and punishing the other party that has the intent of using clientelism to achieve its desired objectives of winning elections (Keith et al, 2011).

This thesis understood the more complex issue of ethnicity and its influence, buried in the very complex reason why people may vote. It is forever easy to see patterns emerge that suggest this deviation at the detriment of the long-held view of the influence of ethnicity. However, this study explores the influence that ethnicity still exerts on the voting populace, first as the first criteria that may likely work in favor of candidates for presidential elections, especially untested candidates in the political arena. Also, the study assumes that it could likewise be the determinant when candidates' perceived popularity is at per.

Lindberg likewise offers another realistic conclusion about voters in Africa and Ghana specifically where goods are given and presented to influence the voting choices. (lindberg, 2013) discover that the electorate in African society expect the presentation of these goodies during elections, with each seeing it as a major way of furthering their interest and lacking immediate needs of food, cash, and clothing. For Liberg, this hardly has an influence on the decisions of the electorate at the poll. Rather, the Individual electorate go-ahead to collect these goods while evaluating the performances of the party to inform its decisions in elections. This conclusion will supposedly chip away at the assumptions and the views that ethnic voting is a strong determinant of voters. One could easily find the description of this position playing in African elections and in the way the electorate act during the mark-up to the actual voting. However, the thesis position rests on the fact that most studies informing the low effect of ethnicity on the electorate hardly consider presidential elections as a console determinant. Moreso, they often use legislative elections for their study. Here it is easy for the electorate to measure economic benefits directly in their constituencies and thus may inform while performance may be given more credence as constituency projects are often readily verified by the most electorate, and more impactful anyway. For a larger presidential election where advantage and development are often more shared among a larger ethnic and the impact of economic policies and socio amenities provided may be less directly felt by all. It then becomes difficult to use performance often as the determinant.

Also in some Multicultural societies, especially the case study of Nigeria. Using legislative elections to measure ethnicity will achieve a minimal measurement of showing the

strength of its influence or the weakness the same, seeing that most legislative representatives are often drawn from their ethnic groups. As observed, although other ethnic may reside within this legislative representative, they are least likely to be picked for representation. All this encourages the interest of this research to understand that the literature on ethnic voting still has a verse of discovery waiting to be explored, and thus prickles the interest of this endeavor.

1.1 Research Purpose

This study aims to contribute to the existing research on how ethnicity remains a strong reason why voters in a multicultural society select candidates for an election.

There is a plethora of literature about African ethnic politics. The degree of links between ethnicity and party voting in African countries has been investigated through qualitative investigation of specific election campaigns and comparison of aggregate election outcomes at the district level (Christopher, 1996; Ake, 1996; Takougang, 1996; Burnell, 2002). According to Posner (2007), the desire for a share of national resources is likely to impact the voting patterns of members of a given ethnic group. A candidate may choose to base his/her campaign on policy concerns or ethnic feelings and make promises on that basis. Using the latter campaign approach helps ethnic politics. Much attention has been paid to Nigeria's election experiences, democracy, colonialism, federalism, government performance, and so on, as well as their links to ethnic politics. With these concerns, comparative studies of Nigeria in terms of ethnicity and voter behavior in the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria appear to be sparse. As a result of the above, there is a vacuum in the literature that this study seeks to address and understand

Using the presidential elections offer a more robust chance to achieve an adequate measurement of ethnic voting in African societies. I am using both Historical data and interviews to understand the deeply rooted issue of ethnicity in elections in Nigeria. Historical data and facts are used to adequately understand how the narrative of ethnic voting is formed and sustained. This pattern, if proven, would add to a greater proof of the historical evidence of the continuous ethnic points of view. For example, if a country clearly identifies its ethnic background or shapes its political representation amongst ethnic lines and persistently continues to do so. There is a more likelihood that such a nation would probably vote according to its ethnic interest. The historical data will allow us to prove this.

1.2 Research Question

This section is followed by the literature review, including the theoretical background that develops the framework within which the study of ethnic voting uses sociological theories and is viewed from the point of view of constructivism. The study nonetheless attempts to discuss the other theory of Primordialism and instrumentalism as ethnic choice theories that may likewise achieve the understanding of ethnic voting behavior.

The Thesis attempt to answer the following research question.

- Did the 2015 Presidential Election vary from prior Presidential Elections in Nigeria because of the electorate's voting habits and voting patterns?

The theory of constructivism remains the favored approach under the sociological theory of view for this thesis. The reason for this choice will be adequately identified in the subsequent chapter. The thesis then moves on to a literature review and the analysis using themes as an analytical technique. The study then offered a conclusion and recommendation based on the findings.

2. Background of the Study

2.1 Historical Review of Election in Nigeria

Since the so-called independence of Nigeria, elections have taken place through several succeeding and interfering realities. A civil way and Military consistent overthrow offer certain disturbances that heighten the political mistrust, distrust, and envious intent at power tussle among the predominant ethnic groupings. This historical reality rested on the colonial division that has often guided the association and dissociation of the groups. They hardly from the onset ever saw a unified Nigeria, rather, a regional nationality under a conscious flag called Nigeria. Indeed, this sentimental reality is best understood when one considers the words of the writer JP Clark as reciting that “the colonizer had put people that could not understand each other's language into the same room. How can we hear each other speak underline meaning extends to the fact that the three tribes are more different than the same, in ideology and way of life and consequently plan and expectations? Perhaps the earlier sign ignored by all parties involved in the independence is the reluctance of Northern Nigeria to collect independence when the southern part was already in full agitation for self-governance. The paintings on the wall were real and from the early days of that independence period. Southern

politicians on parade around the country were booed by all in the Northern part of Nigeria, History records that the action was likewise returned later in the southern part of Nigeria to the Northern leader.

In the lead-up to the early elections in Nigeria, some criteria were examined by the eligible voters in these elections before they cast their ballots for their political representatives or political parties. They include, among other things, ethnicity, religion, poverty, regionalism, personality, party allegiance, and the incumbency factor. The pattern of voting behavior between 1922, when the elective principle was implemented, and 1960, when Nigeria got independence, was thought to be heavily impacted by ethnic and linguistic factors driven by religious differences. Candidates who gained seats at any level had a larger percentage of votes from their ethnic groupings, religious groups, towns, villages, or regions (Isiaq, 2008). As a result, little or no thought was given to the candidates' personalities or the content of their manifestos. Ethnicity, regionalism, and the fear of dominance all played important parts in the conflict. After achieving independence in 1960, political activity escalated with elections to regional assemblies and federal legislatures. Nationalist movements, with the help of political parties such as the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), Action Group (AG), and the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC), among others, were able to achieve this. Political activities were bolstered in succeeding elections; 1964, 1979, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, and 2015, albeit they were bolstered even more in the fourth republic (1999 to the present) due to no disruption of the electoral process by the military.

Before voting for their favored candidates or political parties in these elections, electorates examined several variables mostly including among other things, ethnicity, religion, poverty, regionalism, personality, party allegiance, and incumbency. In Nigeria's first republic, ethnicity, regionalism, and fear of dominance all had a significant impact on voting behavior (1960-1966). The Northern People's Congress, Action Group, and National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon were the major political parties during the first republic. Fear of dominance also affected electorates' decisions. Minority ethnic groups in the three and subsequently four areas voiced fear of dominance by majority ethnic groupings.

The socioeconomic state of the people, ethno-regionalism, and the incumbency factor were the key elements that impacted voters' behavior. Given Nigerians' low level of political knowledge and a high degree of poverty, little incentives such as money, Maggi, salt, and

wrappers were offered to persuade electorates to vote for their parties or candidates. According to the results of the 1979 and 1983 presidential elections, most of the political parties of the second republic were reincarnations of the first republic political parties. The third republic's voting habits painted a different picture of what it used to be. People weighed in on the personalities of the candidates as well as their manifestos before deciding who to vote for. M.K.O Abiola of the Socialist Democratic Party (SDP), a Yoruba from the south-west, beat Bashir Tofa of the National Republican Convention (a Hausa) in Kano state, his hometown (Isaiq, 2008).

As a result, ethnicity, and religion played little roles. Nigeria entered its fourth republic following the 1999 presidential elections. Nigerians have voted in five presidential elections since 1999: 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, and 2015. Various variables such as personality, poverty, religion, incumbency, party affiliation, ethnicity, and others impacted voting behavior in these elections. This paper, on the other hand, is focused on the variables that impacted voters' behavior in the 2015 presidential election.

2.2 The 2015 Presidential Election

The period and time I selected are unique because of the alertness of the majority to the election's time and the wide percentage of participation. But the reason is that the ethnic division and sentiment were one of the obvious bases of the decision of the electorate. The 2015 national elections in Nigeria were a watershed moment in the country's political history. The entire electoral process was ascribed to radical and huge information by the electorates, which surely affected their decision to align and identify with a political party of their choice based on issues and in accordance with modern democracies party identification rather than prior ethnic and religious preferences.

The 2015 presidential election in Nigeria was not completely devoid of ethnic alignment, though they strongly held the view that the voting behavior of the electorates was more influenced by national problems and party identity than ethnic factors. Animashaun (2015), Owen and Usman (2015), Ewi (2015), and Orji (2017) have all focused on explaining why Jonathan lost and Buhari won in the 2015 presidential election. The incumbent President Goodluck Ebele leads the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). Jonathan lost power to the All-Progressives Congress nominee, Muhammadu Buhari (APC). The election was particularly notable in that Jonathan peacefully passed overpower to Buhari, a transfer that was free of litigation and post-election violence, both of which are common in other African

countries. Scholars appear to agree that the March 15, 2015, elections were intensely contested, largely fair, and less violent than previous in Nigeria's electoral history. Indeed, popular votes were tabulated, and it was dubbed a "win for democracy" (Ewi, 2015, p. 207). As a result, the election represented a significant step forward in Nigeria's domestication of liberal democracy since the third wave of multiparty democratic elections that swept over Africa in the 1990s.

Apart from the surprising turn of events that the 2015 presidential election presented, it likewise offers definite credence, as many factors that are determined as natural were uniquely surprising. The observation of the study thesis is that ethnicity was still a major drive towards the election. However, a closer pruned by me discloses the ethnic agenda within the appearance of National consciousness. In any way, all the regions of the country obviously possess their definite agenda placed above national interest. Not surprising then that despite the widely accepted discrepancy in economic management by the incumbent president and the call from all regions to change him for fear of national crises. The bulk and entirety of his vote were massive from his region, winning in a large landslide at his place of region and region of origin.

This testament in the face of facts is one baffling reality that continually reveals the unyielding strength of ethnic voting in African societies. My attempt with this thesis is to add to the existing election literature by questioning ethnic voting behavior and voting patterns seen in the election and raising concerns about their implications for the institutionalization of social disputes in multicultural African societies using Nigeria as a case study. The study relies on Staffan and Lindberg (2008) Olayode (2015), Anejionu et al. (2016), Olasile and Adebayo (2016), and Lawal (2017)'s comparative research on the geographical structure of voting patterns and distribution of election outcomes in the 2015 presidential elections to establish a clearer understanding of the complicated links between ethnicity, geography, and class-based forms of solidarity in the determinants of voting behavior in Nigerian politics, and what they entail for emergence and reinforcement

3. Literature Review

The goal of this thesis is to evaluate past research on ethnicity and voting behavior. As a result, the study questions' independent and dependent variables: ethnicity and voting behavior led the literature review. There is a wealth of literature on the relationship between ethnicity and census figures, party formation, voter behavior, and other factors that contribute to ethnic politics.

It is then convenient to find some literature agog in many analyses on the issue raised by this thesis.

3.1 Ethnicity and Voting behavior

In today's heterogeneous communities, ethnic group identification provides everyone with an ethnic identity. Ethnicity, like every other subject in social science, has multiple definitions. 'Ethnicity represents a shared identity and is founded on the notion that a group has its origins in shared ancestry, heritage, religion, culture, nationality, language, and a region,' writes Afkhami (2012, p. 6). According to Nnoli (1978, p. 5), ethnicity is a social phenomenon linked to interactions between members of different ethnicities.

The terms ethnicity and ethnic nationalism or ethnonationalism are occasionally used interchangeably. Ethnic nationalism is a more intense version of ethnicity. While ethnicity is sought within the framework of a state, ethnic nationalism strives for an ethnic group's sovereignty or statehood. Both phrases apply to the Nigerian situation since several ethnic groups have voiced a push for independence from the federation, which peaked with the civil war incident. Ethnic nationalism is an intense belief toward an ethnic group, which is typically aggressive in its competitive drive.

This intent by major ethnic to stand alone in Nigeria is one obvious reality that suggests and strengthens the reality of the Nigerian voting behavior. It portrays the strength placed on ethnicity as a communal survival strategy by each of the ethnic groups, which thus spills to all levels of National representation. Need to say this gave birth to reality like zoning, rotation of all languages submitting the sharing of political powers among the ethnic group. This indirectly raises the consciousness of the reality of how deeply ethnic beliefs inform most people's decisions, especially in elections matters.

Enloe (1978, p. 33) defined ethnicity as "an artificial foundation of identification and collective organization contrived by outsiders searching for an effective weapon of political and economic domination." According to Azeez (2009, p.2), ethnicity is a strategic weapon used by a disadvantaged minority to seek political redress, or by a privileged group to maintain its advantages. In a similar spirit, Oladiran (2013, p. 698) says that ethnicity should be expected in any circumstance when a group of individuals, regardless of size and with different cultural and linguistic characteristics from other groups, utilizes a sense of oneness as a channel to engage with others (Edlyne 2000 cited in Oladiran, 2013 p. 698). Ethnicity may in essence be described as a group's sense of oneness and solidarity based on sociocultural

characteristics such as language, customs, tradition, and ancestral origin that separate this group from others.

In the study of ethnicity in Nigeria, many methodologies have been used. Various scholars have employed both the Marxist and liberal approaches. In his analysis, Nnoli (1978, 12) used a Marxist methodology. He sees ethnicity as a component of society's superstructure (infrastructure). According to this viewpoint, class consciousness (Onimode, 1981). Marxists contend that socio-cultural differences are adequate to explain the survival of ethnic loyalty and that biological differences are sufficient to explain the origins of racism. Ethnicity only serves the interests of those who wish to shift attention away from analyses of the society's economic difficulties. This is required to avoid the revolutionary consequences of the people becoming class-aware, which may lead to the overthrow of the social order.

According to the liberal/modernization viewpoint, ethnicity connotes the traditional notion of a national grouping. Mair (1967) favors the word "national groupings" to "tribes." An ethnic group (or tribe) is a collection of people who share the same historical experience, culture, language, and future beliefs. Ethnicity, according to liberal thinkers, is a result of modernization or political growth. Using colonialism in Africa as an example, Zoberg A (1968) contends that the coming together of numerous ethnic groups resulted in competition for societal ideals (Ibid 1968). Because they regard ethnicity because of modernity or political development, the scholars consider ethnicity to be solely an African or third-world phenomenon.

However, ethnic characteristics may be discovered daily in politically developed countries. The viewpoint appears to diminish the efficacy of the modernization strategy. This is not to mean that every component of liberal modernization theory should be ignored, since valuable contributions from other liberal thinkers may still be discovered. Oyovbaire (1974), for example, sees the definitional border of ethnicity as established by how interests converge and are handled inside the political system. Common interests do not necessarily align along tribal lines, and an ethnic group might be larger or smaller than a tribe or a community. Ethnic communities, according to liberal thinkers, are formed around a set of similar activities, which may be political, social, economic, or psychological.

In their analyses of ethnicity in Africa, both schools of thought share similar grounds. Ethnicity in Africa, according to Marxists, is related to capitalist growth in Europe, which culminated in imperialism and colonialism. The liberal/modernization theorists share this idea of an external effect on the evolution of ethnicity. There is some common ground on other issues, such as the function of the elite or ruling class in society. While the Marxist solution

implies the eradication of all liberal structures to establish a classless society, the liberal school of thinking contends that further modernization will eventually obviate ethnicity. The focus on what fuels ethnicity is important as it exposes where the root problem comes from and, in essence, reveals, perhaps, a solution. But the study aims to understand the reality now, the issue raised by both schools of thought offer a supposed historical background to the nature of ethnicity that is fast becoming a bit farther from reality. Not that the western world does not still avert influence on the country and sometimes fuel this ethnicity, perhaps not directly but by silence and sometimes endorsement or accommodation of specific interests over another. Nonetheless, most of this view is often personal to the ethnic groups themselves and the malicious intent of their representatives. This view is further understood when you observe the way each ethnic group separates who is who even within their ethnic reality and uses this for who to support politically. Although the view of this thesis is entirely focused on ethnicity and to broadly categorize the innate intent to politically participate in elections which frequently influence electorate behaviors is often driven by many separatist strategies disguised in Religious, Ethnic, Social, and class sentiments.

The above views present the reality of ethnic politics. This thesis will further advance this opinion and show how these critical views are observed in politics and how they influence voting behavior. By extension, the Thesis will reveal particularly how its ethnicity exposes the true intent of voting and allocation of what is termed “slots” according to ethnic sentiments.

3.2 Ethnic voting

Ethnicity is a key predictor of vote choice in culturally diverse and emerging democracies. Elections in these nations result in group voting in which party support overlaps with a country's census because voters pick co-ethnics or block-vote in multiethnic alliances. Existing research points to two major routes that may connect ethnicity and voting behavior: strong declarations of identity and assumptions of favoritism or policy preference. "Perhaps the greatest improvement in voting analysis, moving toward a parsimonious approach, has been specifying voting rationale along two dimensions: the orientation of evaluation in terms of retrospective versus prospective voting and the object of evaluation in terms of the individual representative or political party' (Lindberg and Morrion, 2008).

In considering the theories that highlight the influence of ethnicity in voting, steaming from the sociological broad theoretical category. If voters' express notions of voting in this

manner, they are in essence voting prospectively having the intent to know how such a party will perform in favor of their collective ethnic agenda. The observed below represented summary reasons that voters may vote for co-ethnic candidates. That they have nearly uniformly positive evaluations of in-group members and want to express social harmony associated with group attachment. Negative appraisals of out-group people strengthen these strong in-group ties, which can lead to ethnic dread, anxiety, and enmity. Voters will vote for co-ethnics to escape what they believe to be the bad repercussions of another ethnic group's government. Voting for co-ethnic candidates or block voting in multiethnic coalitions may result because of this. (Horowitz 1985, Clifford Geertz, 1963, Jack L. Snyder 2000, Eric Dickinson, and Kenneth Scheve, 2006.) Studies have then revealed that areas that exhibit this characteristic often are rated high in ethnic voting. It is important to note that the above will inform the analysis of the data, and the structure of the interview questions given to respondents. To reveal if ethnicity indeed is a huge influence on voting behavior in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria, Voters may choose co-ethnics to receive patronage or club goods on behalf of their ethnic group. Understanding African politics requires an understanding of the existence, depth, and significance of patronage.

Clientelism is a method used by politicians to channel commodities toward co-ethnics, such as public sector positions, in exchange for electoral support. This argument is extended beyond the transmission of customized commodities to encompass racial prejudice in service delivery. Politicians employ partiality, such as school and road development, to benefit co-ethnic followers. While patronage politics are not unique to Africa, experts studying the continent frequently suggest that politicians distribute favor along ethnic lines. (Lindberg and Morrison, 2008, Posner 2005)

Patronage and policy favoritism may reflect ethnic lines since shared identification gives superior techniques of coordination and mobilization, or because linguistic and cultural commonalities create tighter networks and reciprocal norms that allow for easier sanction of in-group members. As a result, ethnicity is a valuable source of information for voters on what to expect from their elected representatives. (Lindberg and Morrison, 2008, Posner 2005; James Fearon and David Laitin, 1996, Bates; Russell Hardin, 1995, James et al, 2013)

The above highlighted ethnic voting reason given by scholars will assist to form the themes of analysis later in chapter four under analysis.

3.3 Ethnic voting in Multicultural Society of Africa

Almost every study of African elections and political parties includes ethnicity as a significant element; however, researchers disagree on why this is true. Previously, ethnicity was thought to influence voting patterns because voters backed co-ethnics as a statement of identity. A range of scholars (Lijphart 1991, Horowitz 1993, Reynolds 1995, Reilly 2001) earlier were concerned about the "ethnic census," in which election outcomes would reflect the distribution of ethnic groups in a country through ethnically oriented parties. In the subsequent argument over whether electoral systems are most suited to multi-ethnic, emerging democracies, ethnicity is frequently thought to shape voting. According to Horowitz, (1993) one of the reasons Africans votes depending on the ethnicity of the leader is that traditionally, a lot of power has been concentrated in the executive position. The implication has been that a lot of Africa Nations are then focused on getting the topmost power for their ethnicity. Horowitz's assertion informs the stronger notion that the voting populace has towards ethnic voting or sometimes in Nigeria's case a call for true federalism that will see the power of the center truly weakened.

This reality on the ground informs why many African nations have presidential regimes, and even after political liberalization from colonial rulers, presidents retain considerable power over policy formulation and execution. The high degrees of discretion over choices include distributive allocations, which means that many advantages have been dispersed to ethnic communities, such as financing for schools and roads, university scholarships, and positions in the bureaucracy (Horowitz, 2019, Branch & Cheeseman 2006)

Using concepts from the constructivist approach to ethnicity, Chandra and Posner hypothesized that, depending on the circumstances, voters will draw on different characteristics of ethnicity (and politicians and parties will stress different dimensions of ethnicity). Recent research also indicates that voters rely on ethnic signals because leaders give political benefits to their ethnic communities. Conducted research on negative ethnicity and its impact on national unity during a presidential election in Africa by (Posnor, 2013) saw A cross-national survey employed in 20 African nations for the study. According to the findings of the study, there were ethnic dynamics that altered throughout time. It also suggested that when election seasons approached, the chance of a responder appealing to their ethnic group increased dramatically. As a result, respondents defined themselves as co-ethnic members. The study, however, did not uncover the function or significance of those acute ethnic consciousnesses among various ethnic groups. It also could not explain why ethnic identity became politicized in the run-up to presidential elections.

According to (Chandra, 2004, Posner, 2005, Dunning & Harrison 2010, Salih & Markakis 1998, Horowitz 2019), Africans expect their co-ethnic political candidates to be favorable to them. This is also the premise of the instrumentalist theory, according to which African voters prefer co-ethnics because they believe they will benefit from it in terms of access to state resources. For a variety of reasons, voters may believe that electoral promises made by co-ethnic politicians are more credible than those made by non-co ethnics. In another study, Lindberg and Morrison (2008), discussed how political parties lead to the institutionalization of ethnic politics during Ghana's presidential electoral campaign. Between June and July 2003, survey data were collected over 6 weeks. A total of 700 respondents were drawn from six constituencies in four regions: Volta, Ashanti, Central, and Accra. The study discovered that, while deleterious ethnicity and patronage affected voting behavior among Ghanaian electorates, they were not the only factors that influenced voters. According to the survey, voters could evaluate candidates based on their prior performance in government. The electorates were eager to evaluate presidential candidates' policy platforms and put them to use. The result however failed to take into consideration the presidential elections, which will offer significant insight into ethnic voting, considering the previously mentioned assertion of the strong ethnic interest in the presidential powers. This is one of the considerations furnished in this thesis research.

3.4 Voting Behavior

A variety of scholars, (Bratton and Van de Walle 1997; Ferree 2004, 2008; Lindberg et al, 2008) argue that in Nigeria, voting behavior is mostly impacted by some type of identification elements such as ethnicity, family lineages, religion, and so on. Significant empirical data support the assumption that Africans in general, and Nigerians in particular, vote predominantly for identity. In many circumstances, voting in Nigeria is little more than an ethnic census. Nigeria has been a democratic state with a federal governmental structure; the country also has a diverse ethnic makeup. Nigeria's national commitments were undoubtedly enhanced by these ethnic combinations. Most of the current social institutions are based on ethnic identification. This complicated national phenomenon may be traced back to colonial and post-independence Nigerian politics when political climates were finely tuned on the pedestal of three main ethnic groupings. According to Austin and Nwosu (2014), the study of ethnicity in Nigeria began during the colonial era. The threefold fight between the elite or spokespersons of the three major ethnic groups made ethnicity highly prominent for the first time. Each of these ethnic groups held Individual voters utilize ethnicity as a proxy

for the benefits they expect from voting for a specific candidate. Simply expressed, voting in Nigeria is seen to be heavily influenced by ethnic affiliation. Erdmann (2007) discovers that ethnicity has a significant impact on voter alignment and party allegiance. The demographic advantage over other ethnic groups in each of the then-existing countries, in each of the three different regions, these ethnic groupings commanded a population the national life and has been blamed for many of Nigeria's ills. Problems such as election fraud and the incapacity to implement democratic government are, to a significant extent, rooted in ethnicity. Military intervention in politics is perceived as racially motivated in several circumstances. Another case is the subject of censuses in Nigeria, which have never been carried out satisfactorily without extensive malpractices and protests from diverse regions of the nation. These actions, like the Holocaust, are primarily committed in the name of ethnic communities.

Ethnic nationalism has given us vivid and unpleasant experiences, such as the massacre of the thirty dark months of the civil war and numerous civil unrests that have claimed many lives. As a result of strict ethnic loyalty, Nigerian voting behavior and political outcomes in the past can barely be assessed by any rigorous modern party identification. As a result, although not exclusively, political parties in Nigeria tend to be dominated by ethnic communities rather than on the basic principle of ideology. As a result, in Nigeria, there is a high level of ethnic politics and rivalry, with most people voting primarily on ethnic identification rather than skill. (Nnoli, 1978) stated that ethnicity has increased political competitiveness in election contests. Religions and ethnic concerns are frequently used to align and identify voters. For example, the electoral tendencies of the failed Third Republic and the current Fourth Republic have gravely harmed Nigerian electoral choice, which is mostly based on ethnic factors, as the elections from pre-independence through the Second Republican election revealed. Candidates fared well in areas other than their ethnicity.

In some cases, candidates fared well outside their ethnic homelands, while in others, they fared poorly inside their ethnic communities. Based on the preceding, one can conclude that ethnic nationalism, as formerly shown in Nigerian voting patterns, is rapidly becoming archaic in the more recent Nigerian political process. The irony of this development is that it has increased ethnic nationalism at the expense of central nationalism, a tendency that has recently been seen in the creation of numerous ethnic militia organizations in various sections of the country (Austin and Nwosu, 2014). What is widely obvious is that the move away from supposed voting for ethnic identity to ethnic interest sometimes masks the true intent that often

underlines such voting. In other words, an observer may quickly summarize, seeing that a voter rejected their ethnic counterparts to favor another ethnicity. However, a thorough brood will reveal that ethnicity one Hinge on nationalism is what drives this voting behavior. Voting for the ethnic interest on a grander national platform informs some of these political parties. I must quickly relate that this is one point of the study, a crucial one, in that the elections of the study are significant in its outcome. Prompting a larger number of studies to discuss the possibility that voters are moving towards a larger national interest and ignoring ethnic voting habits. I however suspect that the undertone of ethnic nationalism and interest is the reason why voters behaved as such in the 2015 Nigeria presidential election. My decision to discuss these makes it expedient to present the pattern of ethnicity in Nigeria dating back to some few presidential elections. I believe a reader seeing this pattern would recognize the same in the election of study in which the 2015 presidential elections are more a conviction of its continuity.

4. Theoretical Framework

This theoretical framework will cover the theories that are familiar with the scope of the research topic. The aim here is to express a certain preference for the chosen theory and perspective as to others. This expressive preference is not because other theories are insufficient or lacking. Rather, it is because the theory thus preferred to offer a certain ease and more expressiveness of the research objectives. In any way, the essence of the subsequent section is adequately explained.

The theories that attempt to explain voting behavior are incredibly diverse and perhaps as diverse as the many factors that rested on voting behavior itself. First are the historical factors, Political factors, Sociocultural factor, and economic factors. Many fields of the study, therefore, find it expedient to get into the issue of voting behavior to understand why people vote the way they do vote. It is thus not surprising as science, social—sciences and Humanities are birthing several theories that are well on point to explain the phenomenon. One can does not expect a thesis to cover all areas of these theories to find one that best suited its objective. In any case, the widely descriptive and accepted theories of voting behavior have all stem out of the three well-known divisions of Sociological theories (Lazarsfield et al., 1944; Lipset 1960); called the Columbia school, Psychological called the Michigan School (Campbell et al. 1960 and Rational choice theoretical model (Downs 1957; Fiorina, 1981). The question often asked by models or theories of voting is essential if voting is an affirmative or a choice act? This is the core issue on which voting models disagree or partially agree.

4.1 Sociological theory

The present thesis makes use of this theory, largely because when addressing ethnic sentiment, the sociological theory offers a more realistic understanding of the in-depth feeling. It could probe a deeper level of attachment through the observation of social group interaction and cleavages formed within a social setting, especially in political conditions. Although the psycho-social theory is within it an element of the social group innate build to largely influence decisions. In the political science literature, their third theory is a more strictly sociological approach to voting. The structural or 'radical model' is one form of this. The sociological approach emphasizes the role of social structure in the formation of political parties. It mostly ignores the individual elector and, to the extent that it does focus on persons, it emphasizes the social foundation of values and interests rather than the processes that transform them into voting behavior.

Often, when political parties begin to respond along ethnic lines and respond to regional needs at the detriment of National interest; it bends more to observing the social issue driving that changes and movement. A brief look at Nigeria's setting, for example, will largely reveal this political drift and reality. The forming of ethnic nationalism gains credence and rises to a crescendo that largely begins to inform a large scale of voters about elections. This particularly was one interesting fact that encouraged my interest, for once the occurrence of this is easy to spot in Nigeria's political landscape and formation. This idea informs my intent to show Historical facts and portrays how this formation emerges to drift into ethnic nationalism that consequently begins to shape into ethnic voting. This historical pattern will make the reader of the thesis observe this shaping and thus understand better respondents' answers and thus give better weight to the findings. It is thus safe to assume that I come to this analysis with the approach that ethnic voting influences a larger percentage of the decisions of voters in elections in Nigeria. Belonging to an identified social group myself, and as an observer in the election period. I attempt to remain as objective as possible, especially in data gathering and analysis. However, I can largely claim that my choice of sociological theory as the best fit for this analysis of the thesis topic is largely influenced by my experience on the ground as an observer in many elections and participating in the same. Lipset and Rokkan (1967) discuss the issue and offer me a guide. The scholars themselves during theory analysis begin with a historical and macro-sociological approach that sees the Western European party system as reflecting historical divisions that stem from the national revolution. Cleavages between center and periphery and state/church and the industrial revolution, cleavages between urban/rural and cap capital/labor Manza and Brooks, 1999), also affirm

that when social groups develop perceptions of these differences, they become important political cleavages, and as a result, they become institutionalized in the political system.

It cannot be ignored that the sociological model has difficulties that have been highlighted by scholars of other theories. In fact, some of these limitations inform the emergence of psychosocial theory. For example, sociological theory struggles in explaining vote variances caused by economic reasons unique to each election. Social variables may explain the long-term stability of voting behavior, but they do not explain the fluctuations in voting behavior observed in various elections. Nor can they explain as related by these scholars why individuals belonging to specific social groups vote differently than persons belonging to other social groups. My observation is that when studying ethnic voting which can be seen in larger turnout, little variance are sometimes noises in the market of reality. For example, certain reasons explain some of this variance in elections. One is that elections in Africa or even in any part of the world are hardly smooth. In Nigeria specifically, they are even more so. Illiteracy of the voters sometimes account for certain discrepancies, as mistakes can occur during voting as voters are sometimes not well-informed about the symbols or insignia of party choices. Another important reality is gift and monetary inducement especially in the spot where elections are taking place, leaving instances of certain voters being swayed by that. Especially those naturally not acclimated to voting, or those voting for the first time.

Another point is that since most parties, though having ethnic inclination, are represented nationally, all regions have party members charged with responsibility that they are naturally inclined to be accountable for. Taking such an individual from that equation, and you find them voting along with the majority. Also, the issue of inter marriage, association, and interaction of all ethnic, also offer an explanation to the discrepancies, for once, women who are often subtly or sometimes hardly involved in the electioneering process often vote by the influence of their father, husband, brother, or even friends. This often means such voters sway from a voting process she may have considered to another. This explains social group voting, and yet the irony being that they may sometimes inform the discrepancies, especially if the reasons are not properly probed by the researchers.

Scholars have also made the claim that the theory does not offer solutions, but rather only descriptive ones. I agree that there seems to be the appearance that the theory just states the existence of the problem. But one must understand that ethnicity is a rather special problem, psychological in fact. Meaning, this biased way of making decisions hardly follows a natural way of profaning solutions. By understand the recognition of ethnic sentiment which

sometimes the voters may not even be aware of, there then could be a conscious call to sensitization towards the danger in such ideology.

My choice of this theory consequently leads to the next session of the approach to adopting in this analysis; I favored the constructivism perspective of ethnic voting, the reason being that. The strict ethnic divide was sharply recognizable in Nigeria and although several modern realities have since blurred these lines. It often does not translate well to the political parties, to the extent that during the voting period the question often ask is whose child, is he? Where did he come from? Politicians in recognition of this often twist reality and exaggerate the truth to accommodate the ethnic sentiments that are often displayed. It is not surprising that with few exceptions to certain states in Nigeria, most elective and representative positions in the country even in states with a wide business entity and boasting of diverse ethnicity leaving and succeeding for years in that state are occupied by indigenes of that state and region. Despite these, most of these positions from the historical inspection are held by ethnic sons and daughters of the land or adaptive politicians who have managed to somehow claim a sonship or daughter-ship of the land. Truly, one could not begin to ignore this reality now, as these occurred begs attention as to answer if this is true.

4.2 Instrumentalist, constructivism, and primordialist

The research work uncovers ethnicity in African society elections as it affects voting behavior specifically in Nigeria, to understand it within the framework of an ethnic group. According to Van Evra (cited in Hale, 2004), ethnic groups form and once formed, they tend to endure firmly. As a result, the question is whether ethnicity is a natural order or a social construct. Analysts have divided their arguments into opposing sides: primordialism and instrumentalism.

The above definition highlights the definition of Hale (2004) defining an ethnic group as a group of people who believe they have similarities. For example (social, political, and economic) and that their similarities are captured by a tag. For Examples, the Banda and Chewa of Niger, Akan in Ghana, Kikuyu in Kenya, and Ibo, Yoruba, and Hausa/Fulani in Nigeria.

There are general assumptions that in a multi-ethnic state or society, there will be distinct ethnic groups with” generally incompatible values” (Fearon and Laitin, 2000:849). These ethnic groups are built and ready to defend and maintain their boundaries to boost their self-esteem against those who are perceived to be outside the group for whatever reason.

4.3 Instrumentalist Approach

The Instrumentalist perceives ethnicity from the angle of the instrumentalization of the circumstance as a tool for scoring political points. Thus, Individuals who see ethnicity as a useful tool in achieving their social and political goals can motivate and inspire the ethnic group for political action. As a result, ethnic groups are "purposeful groups; their common purpose is that they are arbitrarily created and sustained for pragmatic utility" (Seo, 2008: 347)

Using this approach when studying ethnic voting is often best used from the perspective of the politician rather than the voters, as this approach centers on using this ethnic sentiment when due to achieve political objectives. It thus occurs that in Nigeria it is not so difficult to see politician claims that someone was not from the area and thus should not be supported to the detriment of the real sons of the soil. Instrumentalism is fundamentally divided into a two-fold paradigm. First, it contends that ethnic conflicts are caused by elite wants and needs for economic or political gain (Gellner 1983; Gurr 1993; Collier & Hoeffler 2004). Cohen Abner pointed out that political elites, on occasion, develop and use ethnicity to gain more voters and followers. Secondly, According to Ruane and Todd, feelings of belonging and mass sentiments associated to ethnic identity are exploited to motivate many individuals to participate in these ethnic wars. It contends that generating ethnic animosities by logical planned manipulation of the ethno segment of society causes those demands and requirements (Banton 1983; Hechter 2004). As a result, multiethnic cultures are prone to ethnic instrumentalization (Horowitz 1985; Varshney 2002).

4.4 Primordialism Approach

The primordialism school of thought held such a view as discussed by Fearon and Laitin (2000) who define ethnic identity as a combination of group membership rules and cultural characteristics such as religion, language, traditions, and shared historical mythologies. Individuals united by common ancestry or fate are thought to make up the community. Their trust belief is that this loyal ancestral root is the reason for a collective voting behavior from these ethnic groups. In most African settings, the above school of thought seems to be firmly coherent with the reality on the ground. In the Yoruba tribe of Nigeria for example, there is a widely accepted saying that "Omo eni o ni buru ka le fekun paje" translated to mean that "one does not because one's child is bad sent it to be eaten by wild animals" another often used by politicians and in campaign tours, or ground, especially

in their area of ethnic abode is" Omo wa ni ke je ko se" meaning that " we should allow our child to do it".

The above groups of ethnicity theories suggest that specific people are concerned with politics, the theory relates far more to collective and general goals and interests; stating that social identification, particularly ethnicity, has a large impact on voting choices and party support in traditional agrarian societies with low levels of education and limited access to the news media. These phenomena are significant not only for understanding the foundations of election behavior, but also for the implications for the process of democratization and nation-building. The approach itself offers a reality to Nigerian settings where tribal and ethnic lines are clearly divided, obviously in the appearance of the people, culture, beliefs, and even geographical conditions. These clear differences open ethnic solidarity within each group. A person born into a particular ethnic group is culturally defined by that group, according to this perspective. Even though ethnic identities are not etched in our genes, Van Evera asserted that once formed, groups tend to endure firmly. Ethnic identity is perceived as a need for meaning and belonging. (Van Evera, 2001) Obviously, the thesis would have very much favored this approach, but certain limitations were observed, especially that it carries in relation to Nigeria. Or rather also important is the appropriateness of the last approach soon to be mentioned. Nigeria's historical incidents, like the civil war, ethnic battles of the pre-colonial and colonial era, and religious issues like the Boko Haram, can be said to lay claim to the importance that this approach carries within the Nigerian ethnic reality.

The above approach summaries are important as a highlight of the reality of their relevance in the Nigeria and any multicultural society. Elements of their views are often revealed as one consider several ways that ethnicity are utilize or fashion to influence voters' behavior towards winning an election. I intentionally refer to them so that reader at a glance will recognize elements of these in the sentiments of the Respondents answers in the research data presentations. This summary discussion also serves as a justification for the below favored approach.

4.5 Constructivism

Constructivism centers around the vocal role those common thoughts and standards play in social and political life. The center occupants of constructivism are: (a) human communication is molded basically by ideational elements, not just material ones; (b) the main ideational elements are generally shared or" intersubjective" convictions, which are not

reducible to people; and (c) these common convictions develop the interests and characters of likely actors. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, p. 393).

The focus shifted from defining ethnicity to the process of constructing it with this approach. The instrumentalist theories underpin the constructionist approach, which views ethnicity as a social construct. Ethnicity is fluid in this place, constantly and endlessly constructed through social interaction by both elites and ordinary people. Conquest, colonization, and immigration, according to (Wimmer, 2008), are all used to create ethnic identity. Ethnic identity emerges from social, economic, and political processes. Furthermore, Brass, and other constructivist authors contend that each society has a historically constructed narrative that political elites use for manipulation to gain more power. (Brass, 1976)

Irrespective of whether ethnic identities are constructed or not, Smith's constructivist theoretical approach contends that such identities could become incorporated and integrated in such a way that they have significant meaning for a particular ethnic group and elicit the same emotions as primordial identities do because ethnic groups tend to share a persistent common bond of interest and identity based on shared historical experiences. All this particularly makes this theory an interesting one as it involves both the deliberate act of the elite in manipulative stands for political control and the primordial effects of ethnic belongings as felt by the people. In the case of Nigeria, there needs now be a creation of ethnic identity by politicians to group individuals, rather than their existing primordial grouping that is often utilized readily by the elite. Nevertheless, the politicians typically exaggerate this effect maliciously for their own gain. If anything could best illustrate this, the regional agitation has often been seen in the six geopolitical zones that made-up the country.

The constructivist theoretical approach that integrates multiple dimensions serves as the primary framework for this thesis. The constructivist approach focuses on the likely causes and sources of ethnic conflict by investigating historical events and processes to demonstrate the effects of the socioeconomic and political environment on the emergence of ethnic violence. The emphasis on the role of elite manipulation, and the socio-economic and political environment makes it important for this thesis. Furthermore, for constructivists, the role of language, history, symbols, and culture in instigating and sustaining ethnic rivalry will be the theoretical framework used for the research of nationalism discourse in literature and politics.

I will use Anthony Smith's definition of ethnic nationalism, which is highlighted above, for the purpose of this thesis. Smith agreed that one can do not disengage ethnicity from Nationalism. Showing the understanding that an ethnic group and its self-awareness is often the distinguishing factor that shows a clearer differences between an ethnic group and a

national one (Paul R. Brass. 1976, Anthony Smith 1981). This self-awareness for example is what carved the Biafra group, the Yoruba group under the name Oduduwa nation agitation, and the Fulani/Hausa hegemony. For Smith, this self-consciousness and shared ethnic identity is an imposition by the elite and the political class belonging to those ethnic groups. Serving consequently as a politician for communication and manipulation, claiming that what transforms an ethnic group into a nation is the ideology of politicization.

This understanding informs a certain reality in Nigeria as political indices begin to shape into Nationalism of the different ethnic groups. One way to view this is to understand that it is easy for such a construct to happen, seeing that the poor governance of the entire central body is a discouragement to the citizens and a tool for the ethnic leaders to utilize to further cause this divide. The aim of this thesis is to investigate how far and deep this construct has been able to adequately convince the voters, the stream, that they frequently prefer their ethnic interest as the only viable means of electing impactful leaders. The approach of constructivism, as explained by Adam Smith once again, will be the approach adopted by this thesis.

5. Methodology

5.1 Case selection and Limitation

There are five types of qualitative research approaches: narrative, case study, ethnography, phenomenology, and grounded theory. This study will be making use of a qualitative case study because it examines the case of the 2015 presidential election in a specific area of study, considering the voting pattern and the issues that resulted from it.

Chaal and Daloz express the difficulty of studying voting patterns in African Multicultural societies, especially in comparison with western societies. (1999:148). In essence, case studies often are preferable when you ask typical “how” and “why” questions. A case study is likewise effective when one seeks to explore a deeper and more detailed understanding of the phenomenon one is researching (Andersen 1997).

It should be noted that Nigeria, a multicultural setting, recognized three ethnic tribes and other sub-ethnic tribes. Using the geopolitical zones instead of the three larger divisions of North, South, and West that is typically used to describe the three widely recognized tribes allows for a larger representation of views and opinion. The Six geopolitical zones allow for a larger coverage of diverse ethnic identities and opinions, which will in turn give more credibility to the proof of ethnic influence in elections from various ethnic views.

Nigeria's geographical landscape and historical/ political setup mark it as an important and significant case study when it comes to ethnic voting. Interestingly it remains the most populous black nation and has a wide array of ethnic divides up to 250 multi-diverse ethnic groups and diverse representations of religion; divided between the larger groups of Christian and Islamic religion and the minority groups of Traditional religion in diverse entities. This unique setting makes it a wise setup case. The choice of the 2015 presidential election was notable for a variety of reasons. For starters, it was a rematch of the incumbent President versus the retired General. Goodluck Jonathan won the 2011 Presidential election, which pitched these candidates against each other, by a margin of 59 percent to 32 percent (Animashaun, 2015). This previous scenario made the 2015 presidential elections a surprising one. Many indices clamp together to make it indeed a surprise for every analyst and observer of political realities as unfolding in the country.

The election was a litmus test for the incumbent President's ability to retain the support of the people who had grown tired of government graft scandals, high unemployment, and the Boko Haram insurgency in the country's north-eastern region. These problems and issues were of great concern to the general populace, and in a way offer a rational reason for voters to consider. This informs why researchers who had so far studied the election of 2015 presidential used the Rational theory to analyze the occurrence, as they suspected that most voters voted rationally in the election. To add credence to their assumptions is the fact that for the first time in the history of the Nation's elections, an incumbent was defeated in the presidential election.

Finally, is the fact that the candidates came from two different parts of the country, while the incumbent was from the southern part of the country, the other was from the Northern part of the country. The result, however, shows that the bulk of their votes came from their coethnic individual. This result, one may see, reveals the influence of ethnic voting in the regions. The limitation is that there is a general assumption that parliamentary votes are a better portrait of ethnic voting, But I maintain that in the case of Nigeria, the presidential elections offer more realistic data for measuring ethnic voting. The parliamentary elections are set up to present representatives of the specific regions and elections produce candidates, of the coethnic group, naturally. Also, the study though limited to Nigeria as a case study as suggested above is a great sample for other multi-society of Africa especially.

5.2 Location of the research

Although the research aims at a study of the multicultural societies of Africa, the target and setting of the research will be Nigeria. Nigeria offers a robust study for any study of ethnicity, largely because it is a heavily multicultural society with over 250 languages and diverse cultures. Interestingly, most ethnic groups find it easy to fall into the category of three ethnic groups: Yoruba, Igbo, and the Fulani/Hausa. Thus, these three groups were equally split into three regions West, East, and North, respectively. Although much had changed, the colonial division of the country into these three regions still offers a sense of belonging or allegiance to either of the groups by other ethnic entities that may not have naturally fit into any further division. The research will maintain the larger divisions of the geopolitical zones because it is still mostly relevant to the interest of the study and because it offers more ease for study considering the time factor. The six geopolitical zones are South-West, South-South, Southeast, North-Central, Northeast, and Northwest.

In the historical presentation of data and Elections, materials were used from these regions in consideration to show how votes emerge over time till the more recent presidential election, showing consequently the reality of ethnic voting in the regions.

Also, the respondents were drawn from all six regions of the country as presented below in the image.



Image credited to www.legit.ng (Accessed April 20, 2022)

5.3 Research Method Selection

I will make use of the qualitative approach as a research design for data collection and analysis in this study. A qualitative approach entails the use of strategies and paradigms to collect a large group of qualitative data from selected targeted informants who have in-depth knowledge or experience of the subject of research (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Braun & Clarke, approach as 2013; Creswell, 2014; Lune & Berg, 2017; Sharan, 2009).

The choice of using a qualitative approach is informed by the timing of the research study and the specific interest of the research objectives. I am also interested in including historical data from INEC (Independent Electoral Commission) This is the body charged with elections in Nigeria, it is responsible for the preparation, overseeing, and conducting of elections at all levels of government) as part of my secondary sources of materials. Thus, the interest of this research is to use historical facts on election statistics to support my primary sources of data, which are the semi-structured questions administered through interviews as the main sources for the data collected. This means that the historical data are useful as a presentation to support the assertion that the pattern of ethnicity existed which may have consequently informed the result of the present analysis. Given this reality, the qualitative approach I believe will allow for a more in-depth analysis of the situation goal of qualitative research is to investigate, comprehend, and explain social events in their natural context. Researchers strive to collect more information and acquire a more thorough picture of topics, instances, or occurrences by adopting a qualitative researcher technique (Arora and Stoner 2009). They aim to investigate the why and how of an issue, not just the what, where, and when.

5.4 Semi-structured Interview

The research focused on both primary and secondary data sources. The primary data are derived from two major sources: a semi-structured personal interview with a few selected participants on the topic of study, and historical data from the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The respondents were chosen from six (6) geopolitical zones of the country based on their relevance and possession of reliable, quality information. The interview is a qualitative data collection method in which two people discuss a specific human or social issue. The researcher frequently uses interview techniques to gain the interviewee's perspective by analyzing the significance of the stated events (Kvale, 1996).

A few 18 respondents were drafted from these zones, using the simple representation of three per geopolitical zone. These respondents are both gender-inclusive, involving both men and women; also, consideration is given to ensuring that respondents were selected from the elite perhaps in the urban centers, and respondents from rural settlements. It is observed that literacy may offer slight differences in reason for voting behavior when it comes to ethnic influence, and I am also interested in ensuring that, that is also reflected if it thus follows. It may seem that the numbers are few, or there may be a concern as to if the numbers may truly represent the majority view of each zone on the ethnic election. However, the general interest

of the research is to prove the persistent influence majorly of ethnicity in elections in a Multicultural society, thus it is the view of this research that the sample used is enough representation of the general measure of the influence of ethnicity in Nigeria the additional use of historical data will also offer more credibility to the research. The semi-structured interview method allows the researcher to include or exclude any component of the pre-planned questions. The semi-structured interview comprises numerous essential questions that serve to determine the study topics of interest. Semi-structured interviews are commonly used by researchers to allow interviewees to comment on certain problems (Dörnyei, 2007).

The open-ended nature of interviews also encourages participants to divulge more about themselves, which enriches the qualitative data. This useful tool enables the interviewer to efficiently investigate the interviewee's ideas, feelings, and opinions. In a manner that other approaches do not, the interviewer may follow up on the thoughts, feelings, and ideas underlying the replies. The interviewee's thoughts and experiences reflect the subjective character of the interview. This trait allows the interviewer to learn more about the interviewee. Furthermore, interviewing allows for the explanation or clarification of questions or responses, so improving the accuracy of the data acquired. The interviewer, who is frequently a researcher, might describe the questions to the subject.

However, certain limitations were also faced in the process of conducting the interview. The researcher needs time to schedule interviews, collect and record data, transcribe code, and evaluate the data (Bryman, 2012, p. 228). Scheduling proper time is a significant interview flaw that may influence respondents' responses. Another limitation is since some of the interview processes were conducted via zoom, and where zoom is unavailable there were used call recordings. This technology was limited in some of the rural areas and those interviewed were not averse to its use. There was thus an extra effort to ensure that a guide was on set to assist with the use of this new technology.

In using the historical data from INEC, I attempted to use at least two prior presidential elections to present historical facts alleging the history of the influence of ethnicity in Nigeria, especially how over time the importance of ethnicity became prominent. More elections may however be referenced. I specifically found the interview as a method appropriate personally, one it is best to use for an understanding of patterns in a social context. Also, it offers the flexibility to direct the research purpose towards the desired objectives, one must agree especially considering Nigeria, which is the case study really, that questions about ethnicity are often answered guardedly, which may then need a follow-up inquiry, especially to the elite and the educated who may not want to answer a question that may portray them

has been Tribalistic. Whereas the less literate may tend to not understand critically the intent of the research with just a research questionnaire, an interview thus surfaces as an excellent choice.

In addition to the semi-structured interview questions, which serve as the main source of data. Secondary sources like textbooks, journals, and other sources of materials will likewise be effective. Historical sources as mentioned above from INEC (Independent National Electoral commission) will likewise be presented as historical facts and figures that support elections recordings as recorded via zones and regions and states. At least the previous presidential elections were presented to show the pattern of ethnic voting emergence. This I believe is a double consideration and interestingly adds more credence to the final analysis.

5.5 Research Instrument

Key Informant Interview (KII) schedules will collect data. The questionnaire for the study will comprise closed and open-ended questions divided into two sections. The first component gathered demographic features of voters; the second piece examined voting behaviors among voters. The importance of using the Key Informant instrument is that it offers more detailed insight into the socio issue. Scholars often agree that it is one instrument that is appropriate to get an insightful and detailed understanding of socio issues, as it involves the actual participant in the phenomena speaking of their experience.

Respondent proposed that the case of this study will be drawn from the six zones of the country. The interview process will follow questions that will be attached to the Appendix. The interview process will be conducted via zoom for others that may be constrained for one reason or another from utilizing the zoom technology. A scanned copy of the interview questions was provided for them to answer. The respondents that are selected for the interview are voters in the Six geopolitical regions. Some criteria for choosing these respondents will be the number of presidential elections in which they have participated. At least respondents must have participated in three presidential elections from the 2015 presidential elections and presidential elections prior to that.

5.6 Ethical Consideration

Before conducting the research project, the researcher will obtain permission from the necessary authorities. I seek permission from the agencies whose data I accessed; the targeted

participants will be made aware that their participation was entirely voluntary. I also clarify the study's purpose and explain to the participants why they were chosen to participate in the study. The confidentiality of the obtained data was assured, and I also inform the participants that the acquired data will be utilized solely for the objectives of this research. Contact information, such as names and initials, will not be recorded.

One critical issue was that providing a volunteer with a completely thorough and technical briefing about the research was not always appropriate. Participants may not comprehend this or the implications of engaging in the study. As a result, decisions must be made on which aspects of the research participants must know and which they do not need to know or can enjoy and comprehend without technical training. This suggests that study briefings for participants should be revised to improve comprehension. This is a difficult concept since informed consent implies that the Respondent should be provided with all available information to make an educated decision, whereas what is truly necessary is complete comprehension. There may also be problems that participants must consider, such as the possible ramifications of study publication that would not normally be included in a briefing for participants. However, it is critical to use caution when withholding information from participants, and it should only be done to improve participant comprehension (British Sociological Association, 2004; British Psychological Society, 2011). As a result, the material provided to participants is a result of careful selection and researcher skill. Participants must be as well-informed about the research as feasible.

6. Data Analysis

The collected data will be presented in the discussion section, where it would be analyzed and interpreted for findings. The discussions were conducted using content analysis, in which data were categorized into themes and addressed thematically alongside existing knowledge on the subject matter and the application of the adopted theory to strengthen the analysis. The study made extensive use of simple statistical tools, particularly tables, in presenting the results of the various elections at all levels in the state as a simple percentage and for an easy grasp of the voting pattern. The perspectives of the informants, as well as the applicability of the adopted theoretical framework, were included in the discussions.

Beyond being a flexible and researcher-friendly method that can aid in the beginning stages of qualitative research, thematic analysis is well comprised of scientific steps and an organized base of analytic elements, making the process a highly recommended method in the qualitative research domain (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Crawford et al., 2008). Thematic analysis is a widely used analytic technique. Its popularity stems in part from its independence from any specific theoretical or epistemological persuasion (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As a result, it will be useful to social science researchers who work within either realist or constructivist paradigms (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is useful in the context of investigating voluntary civic participation because it allows us to examine, from a constructionist methodological standpoint, the meanings that people attach to their civic participation, the significance it has in their lives, and, more broadly, their social constructions of it. However, this strategy has the best effect, when researchers are interested in identifying themes and evaluating deeper level ideas and meaning from data sets gathered from more than one participant. Hence, making it a choice option for this work, simultaneously, it allows me to investigate how these constructions reflect the reality of participants' lived experiences, as well as the material and social contexts in which they occurred.

6.1 Historical Data from past elections Analysis

The first republic of Nigeria set rolling by the Clifford Constitution of 1922 enjoys the beginning if ethnic elections because of the set-up. Pre-independence Nigerian party politics and political party creation took on an ethnic hue. During this period, political parties as will be shown below were allowed to form along ethnic lines. According to Oladiran (2013, p. 699), ethnic politics were sowed during this time, sprouting in the First Republic, and then spreading to successive republics.

6.2 Pre- Independence Nigeria election

The Nigerian National Democratic Party became the first political party to be formed (NNDP). Following this, other ethnic-based political groups developed. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe headed the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), afterwards renamed the National Council of Nigerian Citizens; save to say it was basically an eastern dominated party and won elections in that region. Sir Ahmadu Bello led the Northern People's Congress (NPC), which was an offspring of a Hausa sociocultural organization called Jamiyar Mutanen Arewa (association of the people of the north). The Action Group was created and established by Obafemi Awolowo the later premier of the southwest and the Yoruba leaders.

In recognition of the above discrepancy, the second republic attempted to remedy this error by predominantly adding a clause for the registration of political parties in Nigeria. The clause informs that all political parties must have a national outlook. The parties were formed with an undertone of National political consciousness, but this outward appearance did not reflect inward, rather the result of the election reflected the same ethnic and religious sentiments as before.

6.3 1979 Party formation

The political parties that were registered to run in the general elections of the Second Republic: although attempting to sound national in line with the 1979 constitution.

The Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN),

the National Party of Nigeria (NPN),

The Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP),

The Nigerian People's Party (NPP)

The People's Redemption Party (PRP).

These parties were really the carbon replicas of the political parties of the First Republic. The Unity Party of Nigeria developed from the remnants of Action groups which was led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, whereas the National Party of Nigeria led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was an offshoot of the Great Nigerian People's Party, while Ibrahim Waziri. Other parties represent other different regions like the middle belt and the south south. So, to say that although the parties had a national outlook, they are more the less ethnic and regional parties masquerading as National party.

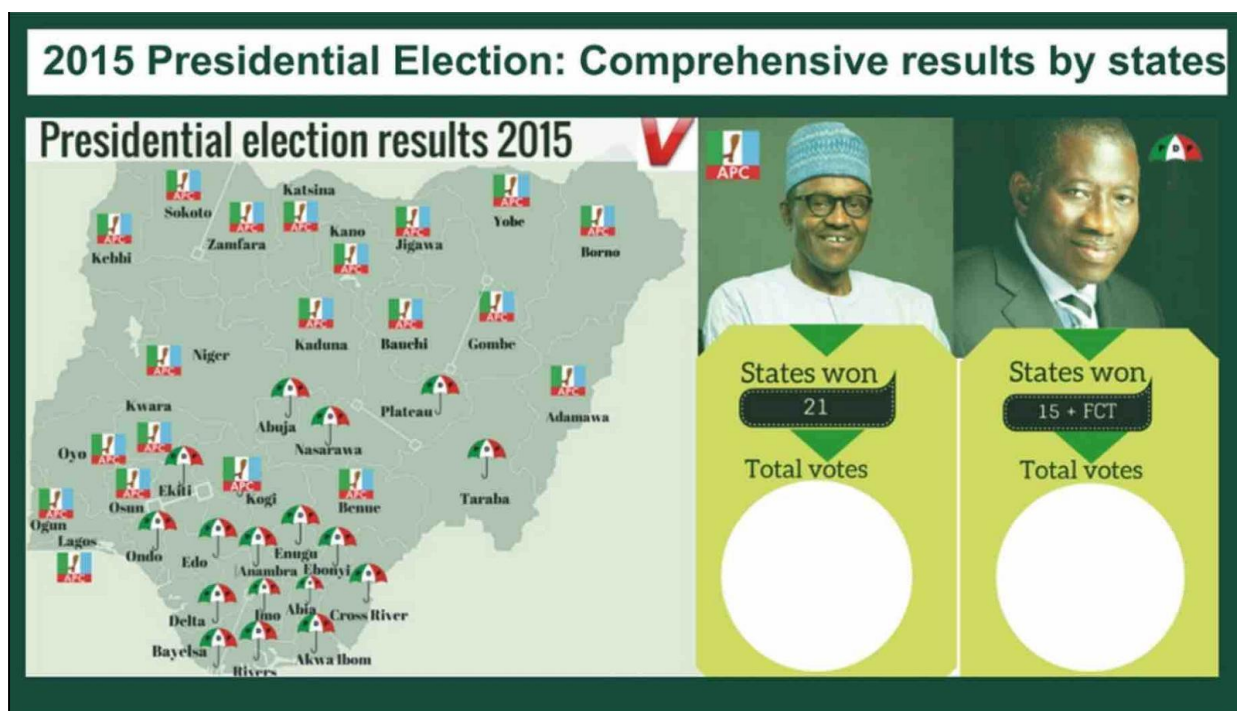


Image credited to www.vanguardngr.com. (Accessed on 14 May 2022)

According to Nwolise (2007), the votes gained by the major political parties in the 1979 presidential election as follows: The NPN Presidential candidate, Alhaji Shehu Shagari (from Sokoto in Northwest Nigeria), received 5 688 857 votes out of a total of 47 433 757 registered voters. An examination of the election results indicates that the NPN presidential candidate earned most of his votes from the geopolitical zones of the Northwest, Northeast, and North Central. Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the UPN presidential candidate from the Southwest, finished second with 4 916 659 votes, with a major amount of his votes coming from the Southwest states of Ogun, Ondo, Oyo, Lagos, and the Mid-Western state of Bendel.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (Anambra), the NPP presidential candidate, finished third with 1 764 762 votes. A substantial amount of this party's votes came from the South-East states of Anambra and Imo, as well as the South-South states of Rivers and Cross Rivers. Even though the Constitution prohibits the establishment of sectarian organizations, political groups maintained strong linkages and appeals to their ethnic affinities. This election drew widespread criticism because the Supreme Court issued a contentious decision on the election's winner, Alhaji Shehu Shagari. This was predicated on the employment of a dubious mathematical theory to decide the winner rather than the use of an electoral college as allowed for in the Constitution (Nwolise, 2007).

6.4 2011 presidential elections

2011 Presidential Election Result in the Northern Geo-Political Zone

Geo-Political Zone	Jonathan (PDP)	Buhari (CPC)	Ribadu (ACN)	Shekarau (ANPP)
North-West	3 395 724	645 3437	146 216	612 514
North-East	1 832 622	3 624 919	84 273	198 837
North-Central	3 123 126	1 612 999	306 684	40 175
FCT	253 444	131 576	2 327	3 176
Total North	8 351 472	11 691 355	537 173	851 553
Total Country	22 495 187	12 214 853	2 079 101	917 012

2011 Presidential Election Result in the Southern Geo-Political Zone

Geo-Political Zone	Jonathan (PDP)	Buhari (CPC)	Ribadu (ACN)	Shekarau (ANPP)
South-West	2 786 417	321 609	1 369 943	30 906
South-East	4 985 246	20 225	25 577	20 357
South-South	6 118 608	49 978	144 141	11 026
Total South	13 890 270	391 922	1 539 601	62 289

S/N	State	APC	PDP	Winner
1	Ekiti	120,331	176,466	PDP
2	Ogun	308,290	207,950	APC
3	Enugu	14,157	553,003	PDP
4	Kogi	264,851	149,987	APC
5	Osun	383,603	249,929	APC
6	Ondo	299,889	251,368	APC
7	FCT	146,399	157,195	PDP
8	Oyo	528,620	303,376	APC
9	Nassarawa	236,838	273,460	PDP
10	Kano	1,903,999	215,779	APC
11	Jigawa	885,988	142,904	APC
12	Katsina	1,345,441	98,937	APC
13	Kwara	302,146	132,602	APC
14	Kaduna	1,127,760	484,085	APC
15	Anambra	17,926	660,762	PDP
16	Abia	13,394	368,303	PDP
17	Akwa Ibom	58,411	953,304	PDP
18	Benue	373,961	303,737	APC
19	Borno	473,543	25,640	APC
20	Cross River	28,368	414,863	PDP
21	Delta	48,910	1,211,405	PDP
22	Edo	208,469	286,869	PDP
23	Imo	133,253	559,185	PDP
24	Kebbi	567,883	100,972	APC
25	Lagos	792,460	632,327	APC
26	Niger	657,678	149,222	APC
27	Yobe	446,265	25,526	APC
28	Plateau	429,140	549,615	PDP
29	Bauchi	931,598	86,085	APC
30	Gombe	361,245	96,873	APC
31	Ebonyi	19,518	323,653	PDP
32	Sokoto	671,926	152,199	APC
33	Zamfara	612,202	144,833	APC
34	Rivers	69,238	1,487,075	PDP
35	Bayelsa	5,194	361,209	PDP
36	Adamawa	374,701	251,664	APC
37	Taraba	261,326	310,800	PDP
	TOTAL	15,424,921	12,853,162	
		APC	PDP	

Image credited to www.nairaland.com. (Accessed May 30, 2022)

The outcome of the 2011 presidential election revealed the effect of ethnicity on election outcomes. Even though Acting President Goodluck Jonathan won the presidential election, he received fewer votes in the north, except for Borno state, according to Oladeji (2015, p. 22). This was "due to the general perception of state citizens that the state had suffered so much and lacked much federal presence simply because they have always been in opposition," according to the report (ibid.). Which suggests that the collective decision is still not so because of any rational decision but rather the influence of a socio group. Goodluck Jonathan, the PDP's candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Nuhu Ribadu of the ACN, and Shekarau of the All-Nigerian People's Party were the major contenders in the election (ANPP). The Tables above illustrate the geopolitical zones breakdown of presidential election results. As can be deduced from the table the bulk of the votes for the candidates is from their regions of abode. One notable exception is the southwest which wasn't represented in the position and thus their votes were split along interest in the state level. A further prick will reveal that.

The two incidents are just a sample of the Nigeria election over time to show a graphic presentation of this biased voting which is always reflected in all the presidential elections. This historical account has cemented the understanding that there exists strongly the existence of ethnic voting, which as though metamorphosed into many dynamics, nevertheless exists as a strong influence. This brief historical consideration, therefore, is not a thorough examination, but rather a graphical presentation of samples of reality. The cause of this is not explored, but the problem is nonetheless established. One may then tend to ask why the existence of historical presentation then, is the interest of this thesis to allow the observer and reader of this thesis to have a solid foundation of this historical pattern of ethnic voting right from inception to the very reality of the present studies.

This analysis will now attempt to observe the data from the interviewed respondent on the 2015 presidential elections to understand why they voted as they did. The analysis will then be juxtaposed with the result and tabular presentation of the data. This will serve as our third Historical data presented and will be the final analysis. However, vise a vice the respondent answers analysis, through the sociological theory and the constructivism perspective and approach. I hope I will be able to greatly understand the themes that are consequential to the trend persistently of ethnic voting in any multicultural society, also in Africa and specifically in Nigeria.

6.5 Thematic Analysis of Obtained data

Having obtained data from the respondent, I proceeded in having a transcription of the audio text and analyzing to derive themes that are obvious in the response of the respondent. This is put into five general themes, with some having sub-themes. To protect the identity of the respondent, they are labeled in alphabetical order as their names were not taken down during the interview process.

The five themes that were derived from these interviews were.

- **Ethnic division and Distrust**
- **Agitation for disintegration**
- **Propaganda news and clientelism**
- **Resources and Power sharing**
- **Political awareness and Kinship**

6.5.1 Distrust

Most of the respondents from the six geopolitical zones express this notion of distrust in their interviews. Respondents A, B, C from the southwest region relate that, there is an eternal mistrust of some of the tribes as regard voting and thus they prefer to vote for their ethnic candidates who could be trusted. In fact, Respondent A expresses the notion that it is preferable to vote for one's ethnic group as they will be more accountable since they will have to "come back home" after the representation in elections anyway.

Respondents in responding to the question, why vote for an ethnic candidate, over others in an elections'

"I do not know; I just did but I feel that they are my tribe. I am sure if I vote for another, they will do all the things they want to do in their region"

When further asked, about the other election that saw the emergence of the president from the respondent ethnicity. Respondent A thought that although he could not be certain if they did well for the region, but he felt such a president did.

Respondent B expresses the notion of distrust by claiming that she can never vote for a particular ethnic group no matter who they field.

" Me oo, I can vote for anybody but not an Ibo man, and Hausa man is more friendly. But Ibo loves to dominate everywhere. In the shop where they sell for example. Though they are strangers here they will be acting like they own the place"

The respondent was asked if her opinion will change if she is sure the Ibo president will perform. Her reply was reflective of this internal distrust as she said that the kinsman of such a president will not allow him to perform " *they will just be dominating everything*'.

Respondent C's reflection of distrust was reflected in the sharing of the economy. She said that she voted in the 2015 elections for the party because though the president was from another ethnic group but the Vice President was from her ethnic group so she knew he would be impactful to her region in that capacity.

she also relates further that the incumbent that he voted for did everything only for his region. " *When I check everything, Jonathan did, it was for the south-south,*"

When I inform the respondent that, the administration did something in the other region and sight example. she continued that those things were nothing compared to what the incumbent did in his own region.

Other respondents from the northeast and southeast express this notion of distrust quite differently. Respondent k, for example, discusses that everyone from my village voted for the same party because their leaders express the reason being that it is in that way that basic amenities would continue.

" *We do not always know, even other part campaigning, our leaders will come and tell us to vote for this because the other party will not do anything in our region*"

Respondent E and H affirm that they voted for the incumbent. When asked why. They relate that he was from their region and has done well about what he did for the region.

When both respondents were asked further about the economic crises and the problem that the other party was highlighting as the mistake of that administration then. They both agreed that there was an issue. Yet claim they voted anyway because he still did something for their region and did not believe that other ethnic candidates could have done more than he did.

Also, the two respondents both agreed that another reason is that is because of the fear of religious incursion.

" *Me we didn't vote for Buhari, no be that time they were saying he will turn everyone to Muslim. That we want to make the country an Islamic nation*"

Respondent E.

Respondent L

" Baba Buhari is Fulani me. I be Fulani, why I no go vote for am"

When asked what the respondent thought a Fulani president could do and that another ethnic president could not. He affirms his standby saying.

" What will the other president, would know about cattle rearing"

When the respondents were asked about rotation, they affirm that it is important as it will allay the fear of domineering and ensure equal representation.

Yet other respondents claim that they will still vote to form their coethnic no matter rotation or not.

Respondent E

" Rotation good oo, at least we go get our president too. See I voted for Jonathan because he is close to my region. But he is not from my region. Do you know that we have not had a president since the civil war? And you can see there are little or no amenities in the Southeast"

6.5.2 Theme of Agitation for disintegration

Through the discussion of the Respondents D, E, C, and I. This theme was drawn out. Express the notion of disintegration as it was belief by them that they have not been given an opportunity to be a president in the country

When the respondents were questioned about if it's not more important to have a president that could perform well.

Interviews: but why are you concerned about having a president in your region? Don't you believe the presidency is about performance?

Respondent D: so, don't young think we have competent competitors too, that can also perform well if given a chance.

Interviews: Would you say that is the reason why there is secessionist agenda?

Respondent D: *Look, every other tribe has been president. Only us are yet to.*

Respondent C also highlights the effect of agitation for disintegration, especially on how it is reflected in voting behavior. Her testament was important in shedding light on a breakaway movement in the southwest in the guise of Odua republic.

"See, making Yoruba have its own republic is better. Sunday Igboho is already fighting for that. Look in this area we vote for APC because it's mostly the party that represents our interest the more"

Respondent P

“ See I am from noeth central, and we have never been anything close to the presidency, not vice president or president. Even then not senate president, but the north east is closer, we are all in the north. I think it explain why we feel comfortable voting for them ”

Respondent Q, J, and O, reveal that they believe Nigeria and its other region agitations for self-government that is, however, making it difficult to trust them with vote.

Respondent J's particular assertion pushes this rhetoric significantly the most.

In response to the question, what was his view on the rotation of presidency amongst the regions?

“We don't vote for another ethnic group; they are the ones asking to leave Nigeria. Why would they want to be Nigeria's president? They may just make Nigeria disintegrate”

6.5.3 Propaganda news and clientelism

There are several illustrations of these themes in many of the respondent's responses to the interview questions. Some express the notion that news items were specifically circulated and which they held believable at the time. Some of this propaganda news according to some of the respondents are by Pastors and Imams leading congregations and right on the platform. Respondent F for example remembered how the pastor was particularly campaigning for PDP saying the APC presidential aspirant is a known Fulani fanatic whose mission was to Islamize the country.

“ I personally think that many of the people I know and those from the church voted because of that reason alone. ”

When asked if some of the voters, she knows, would have voted differently if not for the propaganda. She responded that the news though more or less made the decision firmer, especially since they will be induced with payment and some could have swayed, but the information makes it a bit difficult to do that.

“Maybe some would have changed their mind, but they cannot know. If they know, it will be tagged a betrayer. I know a few that were bold to say Buhari will bring change, and they were not often liked in my area”

Almost all the respondents affirm that yes, they were given monetary goods to vote in the elections. Some said they refused, and most said they collected the cash and goods as they feel that is the only time it could benefit from the government.

Respondent H for example affirms that.

“It is all our money now, so I collected the money and shirts and food items that were distributed. But I still voted for whom I wanted. I voted for Goodluck Jonathan. Although all the party shared something which i collected. But I voted for good luck because of where we both came from, and as I say before he did well for us. Plus, who knows when is going to be our turn again”

Respondent M

“I collected money from the party I wanted to vote for, and I refused for the other party”

Respondent A

“Most of us collect money, although the money finished before it was my turn, and I was promised money after the election. But it wouldn't have changed my intention. I already, made up my mind who i was going to vote for”

Respondent R

“ I collected rice and some staple food, but in any case we were just given and not forced to vote for anyone”

6.5.4 Resources and Power sharing

Although, most of what was said has reflected the theme of resources and power-sharing, but most of the respondents were keenly agitating about the lack of equal sharing of both power and resources by the three regions or the six geopolitical zones.

Respondent I for example reinforced the fact that it was the first time they were ruling the country as the president for the first time

“Do you expect him to just do a term and then leave when all other regions usually complete 8 terms”

When reminded that it is not fixed to use eighth terms as per constitution Nigeria's constitution. He said that it was just right and fair for their region to have a complete term.

When asked about resource sharing. He illustrates that since the inception of the Goodluck Jonathan a lot of things have improved for the region.

“See now, since he came, a new university has been established in the region. We had many juicy ministries from our region. He created the ministry of the Niger Delta”

I tried to investigate further by making the respondent realize the so-called Ministry of Delta was created by a former president when Jonathan was the Vice president, and he was a Fulani man from the northeast. After asking the question doesn't that show that anybody can deliver for any region?

Respondent I after a short disagreement as to the fact of my assertion answered that although it may be true, nonetheless:

“Jonathan also was a vice president and must have had a hand in it anyway”

Respondent Q: *“the resources belong to everyone; I don't know if it is equitable, but I am certain that if their president gets, they also get a lot of the share more than us”*

When asked if that was the reason Jonathan was not voted by him or perhaps his region in the 2015 election. His answer illustrates that although Jonathan did well and quite so for the Northern region in his first term. They are sure they would gain more having a northern president.

“You know, there is nothing like presidential power. It is quite powerful”

Respondent M affirm that she particularly does not have a preference, but everyone was voting for a particular president then.

“I do not know about voting, my husband often dictates who we voted for”

7. Major findings and Conclusion

7.1 2015 election result

S/N	Geopolitical Zone	No. of votes polled by APC (Buhari)	No. of votes polled by PDP (Goodluck)
1	North Central	2,411,013	1,715,818
2	North East	2,848,678	796,588
3	North West	7,115,199	1,339,709
4	South East	198,248	2,464,906
5	South South	418,590	4,714,725
6	South West	2,433,193	1,821,416
	Total	15,424,921	12,853,162

Source: INEC, 2015.

I went through a lot of theories in my attempt to pick sociological theory to critically understand ethnic voting in Nigeria in the 2015 presidential election. Using the constructivism approach. Lipset and Rokkan (1967) discuss the issue and offer me a guide. The scholars themselves during theory analysis begin with a historical and macro-sociological approach that sees the Western European party system as reflecting historical divisions that stem from the national revolution. Thus, using the historical pattern, I was able to discover the established

notion of ethnicity in several forms, especially from the two previously discussed presidential elections. The result has one will easily find out was like that of the 2015 presidential elections with regions voting along ethnic interests. In fact, some of the expressive notions of the respondent indicated such intentional voting practices.

Although the historical references made were so to offer more credence to my findings. It also allows us to understand the historical reality of the Nation and see the actual replay of circumstance over time and how these issues become effective on the voting psyche of the voters. Some of these historical challenges like civil war, which is one example of the reason for the distrust amongst the ethnic group, some of these ideas were also expressed to the respondent. With the historical review, then, anyone exposed to this thesis will easily understand the point of view of the respondent. This I believe achieves a better understanding of the background intrigue, and this in no small measure improves the analysis of the thesis.

Examining some themes proclivities, I discovered evidence that party identification is conditionally crucial depending on, it is no longer a key determinant of election behavior in Nigeria. According to some of the respondents they are identified with the party solemnly to vote and thus consider more the candidates than the party. Although some of the respondents show a preference with party it is as observed based on where the party stands and usually the consideration is often on ethnic biases.

Clientelist networks do exist in Nigeria, but my study is ambiguous on the extent to which they influence electoral behavior; further research is required to make any definitive conclusions. I found out though it hardly has any influence as most of the voters claim they collected cash or goods gifts from all parties involved in the election and went ahead to vote for whom they will vote for.

However, I would suggest that I discovered evidence that Resources and power sharing influence election behavior in Nigeria. This may be difficult to determine at times just by looking at election results. As past injustices and sentiments of marginalization amongst some ethnic groups have become stronger, ideology, economic values, and ethnicity are all reinforcing each other and leading to similarity in voting since Nigeria inception and accounting to the voter's conscious attention towards ethnic proclivity.

7.2. Conclusion

I made a concise attempt to study how ethnic influence voting behavior in multicultural nations. Nigeria 2015 presidential election was used as a case study and critically, experienced voters were interviewed determined by the years of voting. Their responses were analyzed to determine the influence of ethnicity in voting behavior in a multicultural society. I make use of the sociological theory and constructivism approach to answer the thesis research questions; how the 2015 Presidential Election vary from prior Presidential Elections in Nigeria because of the electorate's voting habits and voting patterns? The Sociological theory and constructivism approach aids me to critically analyze the respondent answers and research questions and to extract themes from the responses which in essence lead to the conclusion on the subject of the theme. The above lead me to conclude my thesis as following:

According Brass, and other constructivist authors contend that each society has a historically constructed narrative that political elites use for manipulation to gain more power. (Brass, 1976). The political divisions associated with these highlighted issues correspond very well with the country's major ethnic lines. This, I contend, is what inevitably gives ethnicity its critical importance in the complexities of Nigeria power politics and voting behavior. Thus it was deduced that every one of these respondent rationales are mostly influenced based on a fight for control and allocation of resources through the state bureaucracy, not simply in the form of basic preconceptions about gaining advantages through unethical favoritism, but also in the sense that political concerns and disagreements over economic allocation and management become important election issues. All these are often utilize by the elite and political leaders to have more power in the guise of ethnic power. Especially through propaganda news and stories.

The theory of sociological and constructive approach thus reveal how symbols, culture, traditions of each of the ethnic group were the main tool for the elite to influence and drive bloc vote from each ethnic region.

Also, the 2015 presidential election was thus influenced largely by ethnic sentiments. Where ethnic domination was a more convincing reason why the electorate voted. It was discovered however that propaganda and rumors were also used by the politicians to allow for sentiment, especially along ethnic and religious lines. This is testament to the recognition by the political elite of the existence of these ethnic sentiments.

The idea of the power-sharing although not expressly stated in the constitution of Nigeria is often implied in political rhetoric as party officers attempt to field candidates from the region where it is supposedly next to produce the president. This also offers a debatable reason for voters to vote along that sentiment in what could be called a gentleman agreement. In some cases, it explains why some voters vote for other ethnic members because as some candidates relate “it is their turn”. This sentiment, typically, enhanced the loud biases of ethnic voting. Ethnicity remains a strong driving force in voting behavior in the Nigeria system. It is perhaps not the only reason. In fact, voters have been observed, through the respondents, of having the tendency to vote rationally based on performance as explained by some of the respondents. However, most related to ethnicity as a safer bet, in a Rational pool of uncertainty.

Thus, although ethnicity may exact a strong influence on voting behavior, communication, fair and equitable governance is one sure way to greatly reduce ethnic voting. In fact, a large percentage of the voters although claimed they voted along ethnic lines, also cited the yarn for change as one important reality because they voted also, and the fear that the incumbent government then was perhaps leading the country on a wrong path. Although the sentiment was largely echoed by the other ethnic group and rarely by the coethnic group nonetheless it is a testament to the fact that the ethnic biases are a precondition to the bad governance experience of each of the ethnic groups watching out for individual interest

7.3 Recommendations.

This thesis critical review exposes the existence of ethnic voting and its strong influence on voters in the multicultural settings of Africa. From the research analysis, the following recommendation is proposed

- A critical campaign of the media is important to greatly inform the voters of the danger inherent in ethnic voting.
- During elections, INEC (Independent National Electoral Commission) should be empowered to retaliate Politicians promoting ethnic propaganda and sentiments.

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Appendix

Interview Questions

The Interview questions are listed below: been a Semi open questions they only serve as a guide and are not strictly followed but at the interviewer discretion. Follow up questions were

also asked, to further probe issue as per the discretion of the research. None the less they offer a guide throughout the interview period of the work.

- Why vote for an ethnic candidate, over others in an elections’
- Do you believe in rotation of the presidency by the regions?
- Why are you concerned about having a president in your region? Don't you believe the presidency is about performance?
- Do you consider propaganda news during election, how do they affect choices of vote?
- Were you offered monetary by the parties during election period?
- Do you believe that there was equitable distribution of good governance to all region, or do you believe it is often or sometime lopsided?
- Do you believe in regional governance in favor of federal governance?
- Do you believe that the agitation for regional government by certain region, affects election? How in your opinion do these happen?

Respondent Demographic

Southwest

Respondent A

Male

Profession: Teacher

Location: Ibadan, Oyo State

Respondent B

Female

Profession: Trader

Location: Ibadan, Oyo State

Respondent C

Female

Profession: Fashion Designer

Location: Ondo, Ondo State

Northeast

Respondent L

Male

Profession: Shoemaker

Location: Bade, Yobe State

Respondent J

Male

Profession: Administrative Officer, with a government Agency

Location: Adamawa, Adamawa State

Respondent K

Female

Profession: Stay at home wife

Location: Maiduguri, Borno State

Southeast

Respondent D

Female

Profession: Pharmacy

Location: Nsukka, Enugu State

Respondent E

Male

Profession: Electrician

Location: Onitsha, Anambra State

Respondent F

Female

Profession

Location: Owerri, Imo State

South South

Respondent H

Female

Profession: Works in an Insurance firm

Location: Warri, Delta State.

Respondent I

Male

Profession: Works offshore

Location: yenogua, Bayelsa State.

Respondent G

Male

Profession: Farmer

Location: Auchi, Edo State

North Central

Respondent Q

Male

Profession: Lawyer

Location: Ilorin, Kwara State

Respondent R

Female

Profession: Own a saloon

Location Gwagwalada, Abuja.

Respondent P

Male

Profession: Small business owner

Location: Lokoja, Kogi State

Northwest

Respondent O

Female

Profession: Teacher

Location: Gwale, Kano State

Respondent M

Female

Profession Stay at home Mum

Location: Kaduna, Kaduna State

Respondent N

Male

Profession: Public Driver

Location: Kaduna, Kaduna