

**FINANCIAL INDUCEMENT ON VOTERS
BEHAVIOUR IN NIGERIA**

**A Case Study of 2019, General Election in
Zaria Local Government Area**

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In partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Award of Bachelor Degree in Political Science

(B.Sc Political Science)

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CERTIFICATION

This project by ABUBAKARR IDRIS LAMIDO (1610206038) has met the partial requirements for the award of Bachelor of Science Degree in Political Science, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University, Gusau and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

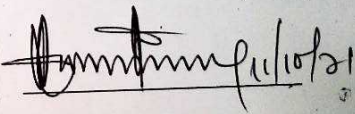


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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to the most high, Allah (S.W.T) for his guidance, wisdom, love, tender affection and compassion and reserved kindness which saw me through my studies and the successful completion of this project. To him be the glory, honour and power. I also dedicate this work to my wonderful parents Alh.Garba Lamido and Haj Umma Sambo whose love, prayer and support i will always cherish.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the financial inducement on voters behaviour in Nigeria, with specific focus on 2019 General Election in Zaria Local Government Area. The objective of the study is to examine how financial inducement affected voters behaviour in 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area. The study used both primary and secondary sources data. The study therefore reveals that financial inducement affected voters behaviour in 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area. This is due to poverty and unemployment in Zaria Local Government Area. The study recommends among others that electoral and other institutional reforms should be effective and Anti-corruption agencies need to collaborate with banks and other financial institutions to monitor the movement of money during elections

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The Phenomenon of financial inducement in Nigeria politics is not new, especially after independence, Nigeria politics was largely influenced with buying and selling of votes.

Many Scholars such as (Davies, 2016, Walecki, 2016 and Ojo, 2015) have written on financial inducement and vote buying in Nigerian politics because of the devastating impact of the phenomenon on the body politics. The Nigerian state often experiences governmental instability in the forms of bad policy options and implementation.

Democracy which is adjudged to be the one of the best form of government as explain by Oromareghake (2017) is being constantly assaulted in Nigeria due to the phenomenon of financial inducement and vote buying. Although, Nigeria enthroned democratic governance in the fourth republic on May 29th, 1999, the dividends of democracy to the people are very scant and far apart. This is because the concept and practice of democracy appears to be at variance in Nigeria. Actually financial inducements have vitiated the good qualities of democracy in the country. In fact, the destructive power of money politics has been fingered as one of the factors that undermine good governance in Nigeria (Ovwaso, 2016).

The effect of financial inducements in Nigeria politics today have earned the politicians a dominant position in the election into position of authority where they can authoritatively

decide who gets what, when and how. Money seems to have taken the center stage in the political process in Nigeria, it is sadly now playing an increasing critical role to such an extent that the word, 'money politics' have crept into the country's political space. The problem with this situation is that the electoral process is often compromised resulting in elections not being free and fair (Davies, 2016). The Nigerian state has experienced instability resulting from illegal practices emanating from Nigeria politics.

The Nigerian Fourth Republic has been characterised with high degree of political instability due to irregularities in the conduct of elections and this evident in the nullification of many election results by the election petition tribunals across the country (Micheal, 2015). It is based on this that the study try to examine how financial inducement affects voters' behavior in the 2019 general election in Zarja Local Government Area of Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Financial inducement in Nigerian political system today has paved way for the political actors in the country to dominate and occupy key elective and appointive political positions in the country. However, when explaining its causes and outcome one should stress that the misuse of money in politics scan create some major problems for a political regime. Nigeria has a history of bad governance characterized by corruption, social injustice and political instability. It discovered and argued that money in Nigeria politics 'being an acceptable means of electoral financing, shifted to vote buying in the

year 1960s during the Second Republic and later become pervasive and more wide domination; especially since 1999.

However, decades of military rule distorted democratic social values and undermine democratic institution. Corruption has become pervasive in all cycle of public and private lives (Oromareghake, 2017). It is pertinent to observe that it is not in any way being suggested that the use of money by political parties, any person or group of persons in politics has inherent corruption influence. Thus, money is needed for sundry services and logistics such as mobilization for political campaigns and rallies, printing of posters and manifestoes, production of party emblems and other symbols. This study therefore seeks to examine financial inducement on voters' behaviour in 2019 General Election in Zaria Local Government Area.

1.3 Research Questions

This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. How did financial inducement affect voters behaviour in Zaria Local Government Area during the 2019 General Election?
2. What are the causes of financial inducement in Zaria Local Government Area during the 2019 general Election?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to examine the impact of financial inducement on voters behaviour in Nigeria, with specific reference on 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area. Other specific objectives are:

1. To examine how financial inducement affected voters behaviour in 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area.
2. To examine the causes of financial inducement on voters behavior in 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area.

1.5 Assumptions of the Study

This work will be guided by the following propositions:

1. That financial inducement affected voters' behaviour in 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area.
2. That voters accept financial inducement because of poverty and unemployment in 2019 General election in Zaria Local Government Area.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This research is significant, because it seeks to examine how financial inducement influence voters behaviour in Nigeria. This research will also provide more analysis and explanations on the literatures that have explained factors that influence voters' behaviour particularly in the 2019 general elections in Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna State. This work will also help the Kaduna State Independent Electoral Commission(KADSIECOM)), and the Independent National Electoral Commission

(INEC), to come up with better electoral policies and programmes for the betterment of our democracy in Zaria Local Government, Kaduna State and Nigeria at large. Finally, this study will also contribute to the body of knowledge and encourage other researchers on the subject matter.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of this research is to examine the impact of financial inducement on voters' behaviour in Nigeria using the 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area as the case study. The limitations of the study will be time and access to important sources of primary data. The researcher would have loved to interview the INEC Chairman as well as resident INEC Commissioners; however, this will pose as a difficult task owing to the academic level of the researcher and the busy schedules of the personalities. These limitations however will in no way hinder the reliability and validity of the project, as the researcher will do all within his care to ensure that the project is properly written and its findings properly articulated.

1.8 Conceptualization of Terms

Politics: Saliu and Lipade (2015) define politics as persistent pattern or exercise of power that involves in a significant extent of power, authority and legitimacy, it can also be defined as a way through which scarce societal resources should be allocated to the people in society. Harold Laswell, defines politics as a science of who gets what when and

how. Politics in this sense is a battlefield in which various interest compete for the distribution and redistribution of societal resources.

Financial Inducement: Financial inducement in politics can be defined as the phenomenon in the Nigeria electoral process whereby contenders for elective positions use money or money is used on their behalf as an inducement to sway their support which is not based on persuading the electorates to vote according to their wish and conviction but on the force of money that has changed hands (Davies, 2016). Related to this, is outright vote-buying.

Voting Behaviour: The term voting behaviour explains the factors responsible for individual's actions or behaviour in elections and why do people behave the way they do politically. In voting behaviour, combination of attitudinal, social and psychological factor are related to individual voting behaviour.

Election: Mozaffar and Schedler (2015) see elections as a set of activities leading to the selection of persons out of many to serve in positions of authority. They contended that elections are viable instruments for fine-tuning the workings of democracy and consummating representative government, and being a means of leadership turn-over.

1.9 Organization of Chapters

The study will be grouped into five chapters. Chapter one will introduce the study and gives a description of the general background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study, assumptions of the study, significance of the

study, scope and limitations of the study and definition of terms. Chapter two will consist of the literature review and theoretical framework. Chapter three will contain methods of collecting data. Chapter four will look at data presentation, interpretation and analysis. Chapter five deals with summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the work of researchers and scholars in the field of financial inducement and voters' behaviour. The chapter presents financial inducement, money politics and vote-buying in Nigeria, financial inducement and voters' behaviour in Nigeria, impact of financial inducement on voters' behaviour in Nigeria and the theoretical framework adopted for the study.

2.2 Financial Inducement in Nigeria Elections

Saliu and Lipade (2015) explain that financial inducement is evidence in Nigeria today through vote buying and godfatherism are applied regularly to portray the dubious electoral behaviour of politicians, political parties, voters and electoral officials. These dubious activities involve godfathers' money bags and incumbents using security personnel to harass voters and subvert the electoral process. Money politics is fast becoming highly influential undermining the political process determining who participates and acquire power in Nigerian politics.

Saliu and Lipade (2015) further observe that financial inducement and vote-buying have become strategies by many politicians today in the world and Nigerian politicians in particular. The simple logic behind the adoption of the method is because of their inability to convince the electorate through their manifesto as what they stand for, their

mission and vision and most importantly, what the electorate stands to benefit if voted into power. Money politics can therefore, be defined as the phenomenon in electoral process whereby contenders for elective positions use money or money is used on their behalf by their agents as an inducement to sway their supports which is not based on persuading the electorate to vote according to their wish and conviction but on the use of money that has changed hands.

Ovwas (2016) argue that vote-Buying on the other hand connote the exchange of voting right by the voters with money from the candidates in an election. It is a process whereby voter's conscience and views are manipulated to the advantage of the political parties' candidates in an election through the use of money or other material things to induce and appeal to the electorate directly or indirectly. The use of money to buy vote does not even stop at the election time. It is a common practice in Nigeria as it is in many other countries, for numerous private interest groups and political action committee which seek policy goal and legislations to serve their narrow private needs to continue to use all the means at their disposal including money, to solidify or extend their influence on the elected officials.

Ovwas (2016) further argued that the idea of financial inducement is one of the major factors inhibiting credible elections in contemporary Nigeria. The relative ease with which the elected officials show their gratitude by endorsing the legislative and policy proposals of campaign contributors seems to support the hypothesis that there is correlation between special donations to political parties and candidates and legislative

votes. Money has, in fact, been made to become the mother milk of politics, which political gladiators must drink to remain in business. The most unfortunate aspect of financial inducement in Nigeria is that, the majority of people with adequate knowledge of suffering and needs of the masses are always denied of the opportunities to participate and contest in elections because of the dominant nature of money and material influences in the process.

As noted further by Ovwasa (2016), although politicians were known to distribute T-Shirt, Caps and badges with party emblems, some food stuff and sundry items, to voters at political rallies, there was no huge funding by individual candidates to win elections as obtain currently in the political activities of the candidates. Money politics and vote-buying escalated during the second republic in 1979. Some wealthy Nigerians who made money during Nigeria civil war between 1967-1970, by probably supplying arms and ammunitions to both parties to the war and those who were government contractors, reconstructing projects after the destructive civil war.

To justify these assertions, Saliu and Lipade (2016) noted that; a great chunk of population is excluded from the mainstream of political process due to institutionalised social and economic constraints. For instance, the emphasis on certified education and acquisition of properties obviously put the elite in more vantage position to dominate the vast majority.

Ologbenla and Adisa (2016) posits that the phenomenon of financial inducement became prominent in post-independence Nigeria even then; their influence was very minimal in the first republic between the years 1960-1966. During the first republic, appeals to ethnic and religious sentiments were the most important weapons our political leaders and tribal heroes deployed to ensure electoral victories. This was possible because the strength and popularity of the major political parties and their allies were essentially enhanced by the primordial ties they had with the people in their regions. The parliamentary system that was in practiced then, also made it possible for the political parties to exercise considerable controls over the candidates to be fielded for elections.

Davies (2016) summarised the situation as follows; There was so much display of affluence and use of money by the wealthy contractors and the mercantile class that those who emerged victorious in the conventions and the primaries of some of the political parties, notably, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), The Nigerian People's Party (NPP) and the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) belonged to the business-managerial group. The situation was even worse in 1993 as the act of money politics and vote-buying took very firm root in the political activities of contestants. This was because the political campaign for the conduct of 1993 elections demonstrated excessive use of money during the party primaries and presidential elections. At the primaries for example, the use of money to win party nomination was pervasive while complain of bribery trailed the results. A candidate who lost out claimed that money was paid to party functionaries, who were demanding and negotiating the amount of money to be given to them for

payment to win offices and others and how votes will be allocated to aspirants (Nwosu, 2015).

Oromareghake (2017) reported that it suffices to note that, the current probe into the office of the past National Security Adviser, Colonel Sambo Dasuki in 2015 by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari is a good example of how our politicians spend huge amount of money on election issues. Raymond Dokpesi, the founder of DAAR Communications Plc and Ray Power FM who was implicated in the crime admitted that the sum of N2.1b was collected by him from the office of NSA for the purpose of publicity/advertisements his organisations did for People Democratic Party (PDP) during the 2015 presidential election.

Oromareghake (2017) explain that the situation of financial inducement and vote-buying is not limited to electorates alone; it has permeated every facets of electoral process and equally destroyed our judicial institution. The situation in Osun state between Olagunsoye Oyinlola and Engineer Rauf Aregbesola in 2008-2010 remains one of the best examples of how money politics and vote-buying syndrome destroys our democratic society. In a country where money politics is very high, the opposition candidates are in disadvantage position before the polls.

The fact that the politician is out of power, having lost patronage easily loses followership makes matter worst. And because most politicians today cannot look beyond their nose, they soon become orphans. It is now obvious from the analysis so far

that, financial inducement in Nigeria has negative impact on the democratic development and the entire polity. The general processes is characterised by this reckless, blatant and shameless use of money to buy vote and even conscience. In no different ways, politicians are ready to channel their financial and material resources to secure electoral victory at the polls or election tribunals.

2.3 Financial Inducement and Voters Behaviour in Nigeria

According to Ojo (2017), the term voting behaviour tries to seek explain into the factors responsible for individual's actions or behaviour in elections and why do people behave the way they do politically. It is different from money politics and vote-buying even though they possess similar characters and characteristics. In Voting Behaviour, combination of attitudinal, social and psychological factor are related to individual voting behaviour. Attitudinal factor such as assessment of the personal characters and characteristics of the candidates' evaluation of government performance, orientations of specific policy issues, party identifications and ideology are some of the determinant factors in making choice of candidates and their various political parties. For social factor, race, religion, region and social class are all factors contributing to voting behaviour.

Durotoye (2016) observe that it is pertinent to note that, in the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, most of these factors contributed tangibly to the end of PDP long-term rule in the history of Nigerian political system. Factor like general evaluation of the government performance influences most peoples' decision during the presidential election.

Durotoye (2016) posits that electoral changes can be divided into two types; short-term and long-term. Evaluation of candidate qualities and general government performance are short-term forces capable of substantial shift from one election to the next. Party identification and ideology are much more stable in the short-term. Nigerian political parties are fluid in with their ideological orientations. In most cases in Nigeria, people join political parties mainly on sentimental grounds based on their affinity with party stalwarts or based on their assessment with political fortune in a particular party. Issues orientations are not so intense.

The use of emotional appeal in the political campaign to increase support for candidates or decrease support for a challenger is a widely recognized practice and a common element of any campaign strategy. Campaign often seek to instil positive emotions such as enthusiasm and hopefulness about their candidate to improve turnout and political activism while seeking to raise fear and anxiety about the challenger.

Ohman (2013) furthermore stated that a democratic society must of necessity be characterized by ongoing dialogue with its citizens and this process requires funding. He noted further that the concern is that money has the capacity to make politicians more responsive to contributors than to the electorate. In view of the centrality of money to politics, he emphasized the need for controlling its impacts in order to drive it function to positive aspects, while keeping at bay its negative aspect and influences.

Losing election in Nigeria means to be expelled from political life; the winner takes all, those who in elections do so at the expense of the losers. Once opponents, for whatever

reasons, scuttle an individual chances they become completely irrelevant in the political process. He or she cannot contest an election again. It is against this backdrop that one works so hard to win election. Which results to do or die.

Ologbenla and Adisa (2015) argue that when a candidate is sure of losing an election, follower's votes are traded for positions in the regime of the winners. Vote buying at the party or flag bearer level becomes one of the most accessible means of securing political relevance and participation. If negotiations fail to produce a workable bargain at this level, then violence take over.

Looking at the dynamic use of money in politics, a growing academic interest in 'money in politics' in recent decades has produced a quiet number of works, the writing range from conceptual variation (Lucky,2013) to its manifestations (Transparency International, 2015), irrespective of the focus, however, the 'use of money' in politics has always constituted whole features of virtually all the electoral processes in the world over, primarily because of the undeniable worldwide convention of election finance as an essential component of democracy, even as it is frightening and disdainful. Persons seeking political office deploy money to run electoral campaigns, offices and address pressure and other interest group, as well as foot advertising and legal costs, policy research and political education, lobby services and so on.

Ohman (2013) posit that unlike money use in electoral and political process of the advanced societies strictly within legal limits, Nigerian politics become excessively monetized, with widespread, often illegal and undetected use of money by politicians in

elections taking the front burner, under guises such as 'dividends of democracy; 'votes buying' 'food or stomach politics' 'money bags' 'god father' etc. the legal regime funnel is full of holes, allowing politicians to refuse to keep, and disclose, full and accurate records of all election finances in accordance with the electoral (Amendment) Act 2011, and Political Finance and Manual,2011.

According to Durotoye (2016), one obvious implication of the unbridled illegal use of money in elections, it's potential to undermine citizen's access to the political process, affording the rich and powerful individuals, corporations and big business the mechanism to wrest political influence out of the hands of the great majority. Since the restoration of civilian rule in 1999, attempts to strengthen the democracy through elections have been severely imperilled by a complex web of four broad categories of hindrances that either sprout at particular polls, or have persisted across all elections, to significantly block the processes.

Davies (2016) maintain that these include the transformation of money use in elections and the behavioral and attitudinal postures of voters and politicians, party organizational and strategic gaming, the political contexts of elections and weaknesses within election management body. In particular, Nigeria exceeds the usual bounds to monetized' political culture began as a pleasant 'use of money' in the 1960's and grew somewhat during the period of military rule.

Asobie (2017) observe that from 1999, its fallout has taken the form of widespread illegitimate use of money in elections, where political aspirants unhesitatingly deploy huge sums to buy electoral officers, oppositions party agents, security, the electorate etc. purchase of votes, unfortunately, take place using multiplicity of method. Some fallout of the 'monetization of elections is to breed corruption in the entire political system and diminish the prospects of deepening democracy, primarily because it dampens the strengthening of citizen interest and faith in democracy. Such a possibility is fraught with obvious dangers.

2.4 The Effects of Financial Inducement on Voters Behaviour in Nigeria

According to Ovwasa (2016), so many reasons can be adduced as being responsible for the persistent and increasing level of financial inducement and voting behaviour in Nigeria. Some of these factors include ignorance on the parts of the electorates, apathy, poverty, inadequate information or lack of awareness and inadequate sensitization, willingness on the part of the voters and deceit by the politicians. There is also attitudinal problem on the side of the people involved in both buying and selling. Our attitude toward politics is not good because most politicians view it as a call to investment from which huge benefits is expected and not a call to serve humanity. Electorate on their parts sees politics especially during elections as an opportunity to sell their vote to represent their own share of national cake since they do not have access to where the national cake is being shared.

Asobie (2017) maintain that the inability of many political parties and contestants to put in place comprehensive and comprehensible manifestoes for scrutiny by voters, instead of clear-cut manifestoes that could enable electorate to make a rational political choice, meaningless slogans, demagogic and rabbleroising speeches are made. Such speeches either over-estimate or underestimate the political perception of the voters, but are rarely educative and convincing. Many voters seem to be unimpressed by all the tricks the parties and the candidates employ, hence the need to bribe them for their votes.

Saliu and Lipade (2015) explain that political cynicism on the part of the voters who believe that political office holders are incurably corrupt, self-seeking and incompetent, that politics is a dirty and dishonourable enterprise, that the whole political process is a fraud and betrayal of public trust. This cynical view of politics is further accentuated by unfulfilled promises made by the winners of past elections. Thus, asking for pay-off, another way by which people receive their own share of national cake. On the other hand, the candidate who gave money to voters probably believes that they are investing against electoral future.

Micheal (2015) argues that focusing on personalities rather than on issues. By the mode of their campaigns, most candidates draw the attention of the electorate away from the political parties to themselves. The consequence of this is that, the political parties and their messages become less important to the electorate. The candidates then take the centre stage and therefore, need to spend more money than their party could afford in order to mobilize support for themselves. The peoples' perception greatly reinforced by

obscene display of opulence by public office holders and ostentatious living of many politicians that every elected or appointed public officer is amassing wealth from the public treasury. This seems to have strengthened by the resolve of many voters to sell their votes to the highest bidder.

Davies (2016) explain that the penchant of politicians to strive to win elections, even at the primary level at all cost, makes desperate contestants to engage in all sort of malpractices including offering of financial and material inducement to voters. Working on the poverty of the people, Nigerian politicians have been known to distribute food stuffs and other consumable material to voters shortly before the elections and sometimes, on the election days, contrary to the provision of the extant electoral law that prohibits such practice. Instances abound too, where candidate threw some money into the air during campaign rallies, making people to scramble for it and getting injured in the process.

Fakanbi and Raji (2015) observe that the noticeable weakness in a party whip, characteristics of party politics in presidential system, when elected members exercise considerable degree of freedom when voting on legislative proposals. Such freedom makes legislators to be more susceptible to receive gratifications from the private interest groups. The interest groups employ what shank calls legalized bribery. They make large donations to some spurious private gift to the legislators or sponsor their overseas travel, and so on, all in the name of public relations to secure votes of the legislators in the legislature.

Davies (2016) observe that the absence of any legislation that put any ceiling on financial contributions to political parties and candidates by group of individual. One of the major causes of money politics in Nigeria is the nature of Nigeria's political arrangement. Nigeria is a Federal state with three tiers of governments including Federal, State and Local governments. Thus, the Federal Government emerged stronger at the centre and wields enormous powers against the other tiers. This, made competitive politics for securing control at the centre heavily expensive and costly turning Nigerian politics into a monetary venture. The inability of the electoral body; INEC to monitor political parties and politicians in terms of their campaign expenditure is another reason why money politics emanated and grow stronger in Nigeria where today money influences and determines who contest for a given position or who win a given position during election.

Davies, (2016) further explain that the above reasons are greatly responsible for the increasing levels of money politics, vote-buying and voting behaviour of politicians and electorate in Nigerian democratic dispensation therefore, hampered other essential aspects of elections and development in all ramifications. For instance, the resolve by the electorate to sell their votes to the highest bidder put their own lives and development of all kinds in serious jeopardy because that act of vote selling will continue to grant those who have accumulated their money primitively to continue to thrive over the credible ones with financial constraints.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

The Rational Choice Theory propounded by Kenneth Arrow (1986) is adopted and used for this work. The origin, basic assumptions, weakness and applicability of the theory within the context of this work are discussed in this section. The Rational Choice Theory of voters is on the notion of rational choice of consumer theory or behaviour in determining how to efficiently use the scarce resources at hand for a better choice and satisfaction. Anthony Downs in 1957 coined the term "An Economic Theory of Democracy" which later became commonly known as "Rational Choice Theory". The theory was later advanced by Kenneth Arrow in 1986.

According to Walecki (2017), rational choice theory is a framework for understanding and often formally modelling social and economic behaviour. The basic premise of rational choice theory is that aggregate social behaviour results from the behaviour of individual actors, each of whom is making their individual decisions. The theory also focuses on the determinants of the individual choices (methodological individualism). Rational choice theory then assumes that an individual has preferences among the available choice alternatives that allow them to state which option they prefer. These preferences are assumed to be complete (the person can always say which of two alternatives they consider preferable or that neither is preferred to the other) and transitive (if option A is preferred over option B and option B is preferred over option C, then A is preferred over C). The rational agent is assumed to take account of available information, probabilities of events, and potential costs and benefits in determining preferences, and to act consistently in choosing the self-determined best choice of action.

Rationality is widely used as an assumption of the behavior of individuals in microeconomic models and analyses and appears in almost all economics textbook treatments of human decision-making. It is also used in political science, sociology, and philosophy.

Danjibo and Oladeji (2015) observe that the premise of rational choice theory as a social science that the aggregate behaviour in society reflects the sum of the choices made by individuals. Each individual, in turn, makes their choice based on their own preferences and the constraints (or choice set) they face. At the individual level, rational choice theory stipulates that the agent chooses the action (or outcome) they most prefer. In the case where actions (or outcomes) can be evaluated in terms of costs and benefits, a rational individual chooses the action (or outcome) that provides the maximum net benefit, i.e., the maximum benefit minus cost.

2.5.1 Assumptions of the Theory

The major assumption of rational choice theory is that patterns of behaviour in societies reflect the choices made by individuals as they try to maximize their benefits and minimize their costs. Indeed, people make decisions about how they should act by comparing the cost and benefits of different courses of action. The rational choice theory according to Milton (1953) allows preferences to be represented as real-valued utility functions and to that extent, provides a compact that makes empirical predictions possible. More so, the flexibility and tractability of rational choice model ensures that it

remains an important part of both economic and political analysis (Milgrom and Levin, 2015).

2.5.2 Relevance of the Rational Choice Theory to this Study

The Rational Theory is a good explanation of financial inducement, voting behaviour and Nigerian politics particularly election. The electorates vote for their democratic leaders based on who paid his way into power with money. Issues such as vote buying, offering of food items, clothes and other material benefit tend to occur on Election Day and those who offered such materials and cash better than their counterparts win the election. This means the voters in Nigeria are rational with their pockets and stomach just like consumers of a product while the politicians are rational with their resources or investment just like corporations. The politicians pay while the voters sell their votes for those who will pay better.

Contemporaneously, rational choice theory suggests that an individual acts as if balancing costs against benefits to enable him arrive at action that maximizes personal advantage. In this regard, the rationality is seen as a property of patterns of choices, rather than of individual choices.

2.5.3 Weaknesses of the Theory

The major weakness of this theory is its assumption that voters are rational and that there is rationality in their choice. Most often times, in Nigerian context, they collected money or items and vote for a candidate who pays higher irrespective of the credibility of the

one with less money to buy their votes. Also, the assumption that domestic political system is constant just the way the market environment in consumer theory is constant is faulty. There might be circumstances and changes that can alter the rationality or choice of a candidate by voters.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research design, the population size, methods used for collecting data, sampling methods and techniques of data analysis

3.2 Research Design

A survey approach will be adopted in generating data for this study. Survey research is an important technique employed for the collection of primary data; essentially it involves gathering data directly from the field. It is a form of descriptive research in which large and small samples are collected from the population, in order to collect data that examine their distribution, incidence and the interaction of a given phenomenon, it helps to establish relationship between observed characters. It's economical in that it involves representative samples and the result of the study of these samples can be used for generalization on what happen to the population.

3.3 Population Study

The projected 2016 population of Zaria LGA according to National Bureau of Statistics was 975,153. Zaria has thirteen Political Wards which include: Dambo, Dutsen Abba, Gyallesu, Kaura, Kufena, Kwarbai "A", Kwarbai "B", Limancin-Kona, Tudun Wada, Tukur Tukur, Ung. Fatika, Ung. Juma and Wucecciri.

3.4 Methods of Data Collection

The methods of data collection include both primary and secondary. The secondary sources are both published and unpublished articles, journals and publications from renowned organizations and international bodies on the topic under study. The secondary data will enable the study to explain the conceptual issues in the topic under investigation. Primary data will be derived from interview method with some top government functionaries, politicians, and NGOs on financial inducement on voters' behaviour in 2019 General Election in Zaria Local Government Area.

3.5 Sampling Method

Random sampling technique will be adopted for the survey component of the study. Simple random sampling is a sampling technique where every item in the population has an even chance and likelihood of being selected in the sample. Here the selection of items completely depends on chance or by probability. In this technique, each member of the population has an equal chance of being selected as subject. The entire process of sampling will be done in a single step with each subject selected independently of the other members of the population. Thus, 25 questionnaires will be randomly distributed to six political wards in the study area making a total of 150 questionnaires.

3.6 Techniques of Data Analysis

Data to be obtained from the oral interview will be drawn by examining the numbers of responses to which oral interview will be administered to, the interview will be

conducted in lines with the objectives of the study. Also, content analysis will be used to analyse the data, the content analysis will enable the researcher to scrutinize the contents of the interview in order to understand their underlying structure, ideas and the message they relate in the study. In order to analyse the data collected effectively and efficiently for easy management and accuracy, the simple percentage method of analytical tools will be used for easy analysis of the responses and grouped for analysis using frequency tables, and percentages for representation of the data collected and for summarizing responses from the respondents.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter is aimed at presenting, interpreting and analysing the result of the questionnaires collected in the course of the research study. The research questions raised and the objectives stated at the beginning of the work would be answered through the analysis of the responses in the questionnaire

4.2 Data Presentation, Interpretation and Analysis

One hundred and fifty (150) questionnaires were administered, out of which one hundred and forty three (143) were returned. Thus, the analysis of the data would be based on the one hundred and forty three questionnaires retrieved from the respondents.

Table 4.1: Age bracket of Respondents

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
18 – 25	19	13.29%
26-35	52	36.36%
36– 45	47	32.87%
46 and above	25	17.48%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Table 4.1 shows the distribution of respondents' age bracket. The information on the table indicates that the 19 respondents represented by 13.29% fall from eighteen to twenty-five years of age. Still on the same table, the 52 of the respondents represented by 36.36% fall from 26-35 years. The 47 of the respondents represented by 32.87% fall

from 36-45 years, while 25 of the respondents represented by 17.48% are forty-six years of age and above. This imply that majority of the respondents are youths within 26-35 years of age.

Table 4.2: Gender of the Respondents

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Male	81	56.64%
Female	62	43.36%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Information in the table indicates that 81 respondents represented by 57.64% are male, while 62 respondents represented by 43.36% are female. The data on the table showed that there is no much disparity among the males and females in the study area.

Table 4.3: Marital Status of the Respondents

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Single	27	18.88%
Married	76	53.15%
Divorced	13	9.09%
Widowed	27	18.88%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Work, 2021

Information in Table 4.3 reveals the marital status of the respondents. The table shows that 27 respondents represented by 18.88% are single, 76 respondents represented by 53.15% are married, 13 respondents represented by 9.09% are divorced, while 27

respondents represented by 18.88% are widowed. This implies that majority of the respondents are married.

Table 4.4: Respondents Religious Affiliation

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Christianity	32	22.38%
Islam	102	71.33%
Traditional	9	6.29%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 32 respondents representing 22.38% are Christians, 102 respondents represented by 71.44% are Muslims, while 9 respondents represented by 6.29% says they practice traditional religion. This indicates that majority of the residents in Zaria LGA are Muslims.

Table 4.5: Occupation of the Respondents

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Farming	24	16.78%
Civil Servant	46	32.17%
Student	26	18.18%
Trading	27	18.88%
Unemployed	20	13.99%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Information in the table 4.4 reveals that 24 respondents represented by 16.78% are farmers, 46 respondents represented by 32.17% are civil servants, 26 respondents

represented by 18.18% are students, 27 respondents represented by 18.88% are traders, while 20 respondents represented by 13.99% are unemployed. This shows that majority of the respondents are civil servants.

Table 4.6: Causes of financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Ignorance	27	18.88%
Poverty	76	53.15%
Deceit by the politicians	13	9.09%
All of the above	27	18.88%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021.

Table 4.6 reveals that 27 respondents represented by 18.88% are of the opinion that ignorance is the cause of financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area, 76 respondents represented by 53.15% says poverty, 13 respondents represented by 9.09% believe deceit by the politicians, while 27 respondents represented by 18.88% says all of the above. This implies that majority of the respondents believe poverty is the cause of financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area.

Table 4.7: The forms of financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Illegal expenditure	40	27.97%
Paying the electorates	52	36.36%
Funding from infamous sources	20	13.99%
All of the above	31	21.68%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Table 4.7 reveals that 40 respondents represented by 27.97% are says illegal expenditure is the form of financial inducement in 2019 General Elections Zaria Local Government Area, 52 respondents represented by 36.35% says paying the electorates, 20 respondents represented by 13.99% believe funding from infamous sources, while 31 respondents represented by 21.68% says all of the above. This implies that majority of the respondents believe paying the electorates is the form of financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area.

Table 4.8: The effects of financial inducement on voters' behaviour in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Political instability	34	23.78%
Corruption	58	40.56%
Absence of foreign investors	23	16.08%
Unemployment	28	19.58%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

As indicated in table 4.8, 34 respondents represented by 23.78% believe political instability is the effect of financial inducement on voters behaviour in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area, 58 respondents represented by 40.56% says corruption, 23 respondents represented by 16.08% says absence of foreign investors, while 28 respondents represented by 19.58% says unemployment. This shows that majority of the respondents believe corruption is the effect of financial inducement on voters behaviour in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area.

Table 4.9: Financial inducement affected voters' behaviour in 2019 General Election in Zaria Local Government Area

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Yes	91	63.64%
No	29	20.28%
Undecided	23	16.08%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

As indicated in table 4.9, 91 respondents represented by 64.64% says financial inducement affected voters behaviour in 2019 General Election in Zaria Local Government Area, 29 respondents represented by 20.28% says otherwise, while 23 respondents represented by 16.08% are undecided. This implies that majority of the respondents believe financial inducement affected voters behaviour in 2019 General Election in Zaria Local Government Area

Table 4.10: Financial inducement negatively affected the political development in relation to voters' behaviour in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Yes	87	60.84%
No	24	16.78%
Undecided	32	22.38%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Table 4.10 shows that 87 respondents represented by 60.84% are of the opinion that financial inducement negatively affected the political development in relation to voters behaviour in 2019 General Election in Zaria Local Government Area, 24 respondents represented by 16.78% says No, while 32 respondents represented by 22.38% are undecided. This reveals that majority of the respondents are of the opinion that financial inducement negatively affected the political development in relation to voters behaviour in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area.

Table 4.11: Voters accept financial inducement because of poverty and unemployment in 2019 General Elections Zaria Local Government Area

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Yes	91	63.64%
No	29	20.28%
Undecided	23	16.08%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Information in table 4.11 reveals that 91 respondents represented by 63.64% answered Yes that voters accept financial inducement because of poverty and

unemployment in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area, 29 respondents represented by 20.28% says otherwise, while 23 respondents represented by 16.08% are undecided. This implies that majority of the respondents believe voters accept financial inducement because of poverty and unemployment in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area.

Table 4.12: Building adequate capacity for election management will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Yes	87	60.84%
No	24	16.78%
Undecided	32	22.38%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Work, 2021

Information in Table 4.12 shows that 87 respondents represented by 60.84% are of the opinion that building adequate capacity for election management will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area, 24 respondents represented by 16.78% says No, while 32 respondents represented by 22.38% are undecided. This reveals that majority of the respondents believe building adequate capacity for election management will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area.

Table 4.13: Implementing voter and civic education intensively and on a large-scale to empower citizens to exercise their franchise will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Yes	84	58.74%
No	26	18.18%
Undecided	33	23.08%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Information in Table 4.13 reveals that 84 respondents represented by 58.74% answered Yes that implementing voter and civic education intensively and on a large-scale to empower citizens to exercise their franchise will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area, 26 respondents represented by 18.18% says otherwise, while 33 respondents represented by 23.08% are undecided. This shows that majority of the respondents believe implementing voter and civic education intensively and on a large-scale to empower citizens to exercise their franchise will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area.

Table 4.14: Enabling a process of election observation that helps to build confidence in the electoral process will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Yes	87	60.84%
No	24	16.78%
Undecided	32	22.38%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field survey, 2021

Table 4.14 shows that 87 respondents represented by 60.84% are of the opinion that enabling a process of election observation that helps to build confidence in the electoral process will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area, 24 respondents represented by 16.78% says No, while 32 respondents represented by 22.38% are undecided. This reveals that majority of the respondents believe enabling a process of election observation that helps to build confidence in the electoral process will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area.

Table 4.15: Improving the transparency of the vote counting process and the transmission and tabulation of result will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Yes	84	57.74%
No	26	18.18%
Undecided	33	23.08%
Total	143	100%

Source: Field survey, 2021.

Information in table 4.15 reveals that 84 respondents represented by 57.74% answered yes that improving the transparency of the vote counting process and the transmission and tabulation of result will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area, 26 respondents represented by 18.18% says otherwise, while 33 respondents represented by 23.08% are undecided. This shows that majority of the respondents believe improving the transparency of the vote counting process and the

transmission and tabulation of result will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections Zaria Local Government Area.

4.3 Summary of Major Findings

This study examines the financial inducement on voters' behaviour in Nigeria, with specific reference on 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area. Thus, Analysis from the study reveals that

1. Financial inducement negatively affected voters' behaviour in 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area.
2. Voters accept financial inducement because of poverty and unemployment in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area.
3. Financial inducement negatively affected the political development of Zaria Local Government Area in relation to voters' behaviour in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter is aimed at presenting the summary of the research, conclusion of the research and recommendations of the research.

5.2 Summary

This study examines financial inducement on voters' behaviour in Nigeria, with specific reference on 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area. The objectives of the study were to examine financial inducement on voters behaviour in 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area, to examine the causes of financial inducement on voters behaviour in 2019 general election in Zaria Local Government Area and to examine how financial inducement affected voters behaviour 2019 General Election in Zaria Local Government Area.

Chapter one focused on the background to the study, statement of the research problem, research questions, objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitations of the study, definition of terms and organisation of chapters. Chapter two presented literature review and theoretical framework. It discussed financial inducement and vote-buying in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, financial inducement and voters behaviour in Nigeria, factors responsible for financial inducement in Nigeria and the theoretical framework adopted by the study. Chapter three focused

on methods of collecting data. Chapter four contained data presentation, interpretation and analysis, while chapter five dwells on summary, conclusion and recommendation of the study.

5.2 Conclusion

This study revealed that financial inducement has a great setback on voters' behaviour in 2019 general elections in Zaria Local Government Area of Kaduna State. It is necessary to conclude that all legislative processes should be implemented in time to enable the voters to appreciate the operating laws for the exercise of elections.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following recommendations are made:

- i. Electoral and other institutional reforms should be effective and anti-corruption agencies need to collaborate with banks and other financial institutions to monitor the movement of money during elections.
- ii. Democratically elected leaders should ensure good governance, and improve the conditions of the ordinary people.
- iii. Voters should have moral objections to vote buying. Thus, there is less need for voter education than for a system of incentives and capabilities that will allow ordinary people to resist these misguided efforts to appropriate their votes.
- iv. The Government should establish a National Commission on Electoral Offences with the responsibility of investigating and charging electoral offenders to court.
- iv. Enforcement of the existing electoral regulations on party finances including campaign programmes should be implemented.

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Appendix

Department of Political Science
Faculty of Management and Social
Sciences,
Federal University Gusau,
Zamfara State.

Dear Respondents,

I am an undergraduate student of the above named Department in Federal University Gusau. I am currently conducting a research on the topic titled "**Financial Inducement on Voters Behaviour in Nigeria (A Case Study of 2019 General Election in Zaria Local Government Area)**".

I therefore plead for your kind assistance in completing the attached questionnaire and returning same to me. You are therefore assured that all information given will be treated with utmost confidentiality and used for the purpose of the study.

Yours Faithfully,

Abubakar Idris Lamido

1610206038

Questionnaire

Instruction: Please tick () as appropriate and write where necessary

Section A: Bio Data of Respondents

1. Age bracket of Respondent

- a) 18-25 [] b) 26-35 [] c) 36-45 [] d) 46 and above []

2. Gender of Respondents

- a) Male [] b) Female []

3. Marital Status of Respondents

- a) Single [] b) Married [] c) Divorced [] d) Widowed []

4. Religious affiliation of Respondents

- a) Christianity [] b) Islam [] c) Traditional []

5. Occupation of Respondents

- a) Student [] b) Civil Servant [] c) Farming [] d) Trading [] e) Unemployed

[]

Section B: General Questions

6. What are the causes of financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area?

- a). Ignorance [] b). Poverty [] c). Deceit by the politicians [] d). All of the above []

]]

7. What are the forms of financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area?

a). Illegal expenditure [] b). Paying the electorates [] c). Funding from infamous sources [] d) All of the above []

8. What are the effects of financial inducement on voters behaviour in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area?

a). Political instability [] b). Corruption c). Absence of foreign investors d). Unemployment

9. Do you believe that financial inducement affected voters behaviour in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area?

a). Yes [] b). No [] c). Undecided []

10. Do you believe that financial inducement negatively affected the political development in relation to voters behaviour in 2019 General Elections Zaria Local Government Area?

a). Yes [] b). No [] c). Undecided []

11. Do you agree that voters accept financial inducement because of poverty and unemployment in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area?

a). Yes [] b). No [] c). Undecided []

12. Do you agree that building adequate capacity for election management will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area?

a). Yes [] b). No [] c). Undecided []

13. Do you agree that implementing voter and civic education intensively and on a large-scale to empower citizens to exercise their franchise will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area?

a). Yes [] b). No [] c). Undecided []

14. Do you believe that enabling a process of election observation that helps to build confidence in the electoral process will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area?

a). Yes [] b). No [] c). Undecided []

15. Do you agree that improving the transparency of the vote counting process and the transmission and tabulation of result will curb financial inducement in 2019 General Elections in Zaria Local Government Area?

a). Yes [] b). No [] c). Undecided []