

## Voting Behaviour and Pattern of Voting in 2021 Gubernatorial Election in Anambra State, Nigeria

Boris Happy Odalonu and Happiness Nkechi Ogu

*\*Department of Political Science, Federal College of Education, Eha-Amufu, Enugu State. \*\*Department of Social Studies, Federal College of Education, Eha-Amufu, Enugu State.*

Corresponding author: [boris2nice@gmail.com](mailto:boris2nice@gmail.com)

### Abstract

The study examined the factors that influenced voting behaviour and voting pattern in 2021 gubernatorial election in Anambra State, Nigeria. Ex-post facto research design was adopted for the study and secondary data from the official election results released by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), reports of Civil Society Organisations and Election Observer Missions, reports on Newspapers, journal articles and books were used for the study. The data were analysed using the analytical inductive technique. It revealed that voting pattern in 2021 gubernatorial election in Anambra State was largely determined by psychological factors such as party affiliation, religion consideration, credibility and personal qualities of candidate, the influence of the incumbent governor of the state and the party in government. The study also revealed that there have been decline in voters turn in governorship elections in Anambra state but the 2021 governorship election witnessed the lowest voters' turnout in comparison to the previous governorship elections in the state due to high level of insecurity and IPOB sit-at-home order. Based on the findings, the study recommends that IPOB should stop threatening voters to boycott election prior to elections especially in Anambra state, and to address the insecurity challenges, online and internet voting should be included in the electoral act to enable voters cast their votes in the comfort of their homes from any part of the state and there should be regular town hall meetings both at the rural and urban areas so as to address the persistent voter's apathy in Anambra State.

**Keywords:** Election, Voting Behaviour, Voting Pattern, Anambra Gubernatorial Election, Nigeria.

### Introduction

Democracies across the world provide for the citizens' political participation through elections. According to Begu (2007), elections at national, state and local government levels are mechanisms for the allocation of power within society. Elections also have reciprocal effects on political efficacy and increase the sense of belonging in political society (Finkel, 1985). The level of electoral participation of the citizens determines to a large extent the success of the electoral system (Falade, 2015). A low level of electoral participation may prevent elections from performing their three main purposes of accountability effect, legitimacy effect and representative effect (Agu et al, 2013). Voting is the most visible and widespread form of citizens' participation in the electoral process. Consequently, the most widely acknowledged indicator of measuring political participation is voter turnout. The logic is that if a great number of citizens do not create their opinions, elections would produce no incentives for politicians to execute policies in the interest of the people (Agu et al., 2013). However, the differences in voting pattern and voter turnout among democratic nations are a function of political institutions and electoral laws (Wall et al., 2006).

Despite the fact that most African countries, including Nigeria, often declare public holidays to enable people to vote, there is a steady decline in voter turnout following each election in Nigeria (Kuenzi and Lambright, 2007; Nwankwo, 2017). Nwankwo (2017) observes that undemocratic tendencies in Nigeria such as electoral malpractice, corruption and violence discourage mass participation in elections. Similarly, Ibrahim et al. (2015) aver that poor economic conditions such as unemployment and poverty are major drawbacks with regard to voter turnout in Nigeria. Indeed, these factors, especially the unjust and unfair treatment of citizens, facilitate the fading of the centripetal forces that bind different Nigerian nationalities (Anejionu and Ahiaramunnah, 2018). It is in the view of the foregoing, that this study seeks to examine the behaviour of Nigerian voters, not just to explain the reason why they vote in a particular way, but also to set a behavioral platform through which the popular hypotheses about Nigerian voters could be affirmed, modified or rejected.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Voting therefore is picking a particular choice among a set of choices set before voters either for private or public office. In as much as the above explanation is true, voting is not limited to personality or programme of action of contestants alone. Other factors that could be at play in deciding which of the choices set before the voter is the most suitable and appropriate to receive the voter's confirmation as his/her choice may include ethnicity, religion, group or personal gains, desire for new system, etc. (Afolabi, 2018).

Despite the importance of elections as instruments of democracy, experimental and independent surveys of voters' behaviour in multiparty elections and new transitional democracies remain scarce (Adams, & Agomor, 2015). Elections in Nigeria are marred with a political behaviour of rigging, the manipulation of religion, ethnicity, regionalism and nepotism as observed by many scholars (Rufai, 2011; Olayode, 2015). Voters votes during elections based on their affinity with leaders that belong to the same religious groups, ethnic cleavages, region and other sentiments. Obviously, elections were marred with the culture of rigging, malpractices, intimidation of both voters and opposition, use of violence and political thuggery most especially by the ruling party using the power of incumbency (Babayo et al, 2017). Consequently, this at times invited military to overthrow the civilian regimes. This process has led to many Republics in the country emerging and disappearing constantly (Babayo et al, 2017). Currently Nigeria is in her fourth Republic that commenced in 1999. It is our interest in this study to identify those factors that affected voting behaviour and voting pattern in Nigeria electoral system with specific reference to 2021 Anambra governorship election.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The study seeks to examine voters' behaviour with the view to understanding the dynamics of voting pattern, and why such pattern varies and changes even within a stretch of gubernatorial and general elections. Specifically, the objectives of the study are:

1. To examine the factors that influenced voting behaviour and voting pattern in 2021 governorship election in Anambra State.
2. To ascertain the extent of voters turnout in 2021 governorship election in Anambra State.

### **Research Questions**

The basic questions raised for this study are:

1. What factor(s) influenced voting behaviour and pattern in 2021 governorship election in Anambra State?

2. What is the extent of voters' turnout in 2021 governorship election in Anambra State?

## Conceptual Discourse

**Election** – Election simply refers to choosing a candidate among candidates in a contest. Election has been variously described as the expression by vote; the will of the people; the selection of one person from a specific class to discharge certain duties in a state or society; the act of choosing or selection of one or more persons from a greater number of persons (Obegolu 1999 cited in Chukwuma & Okpala, 2018). According to Encyclopaedia Britannica cited in Shehu (2019) election is defined as the means by which the people in a society make political choice by voting for competing candidate or parties. Election is a legal device use by voters (subject) to change or endorse government/administration to continue. Election has also been defined as the process by which members of the community or organization choose one or more persons to exercise authority on their behalf (Mbah, 2007).

Universally, election is regarded as the heart of representative democracy. A credible election not only confers legitimacy on political leadership, it is also crucial to the sustenance of democratic order. Election provides citizens with the freedom to choose their rulers and to decide on public policy (Shehu, 2019). Under any democratic system, citizens who are legally qualified to exercise franchise are provided with opportunity to choose political alternatives and to make decisions that express their preferences. In a multi-party dispensation, this choice is made out of the several parties and candidates competing in the electoral market. In all democracies, election performs several functions: it is an instrument through which the voting public compels accountability from elected officials; it facilitates political recruitment; it enables citizens to make enlightened choices; and it confers moral authority on political leaders (Shehu, 2019).

Democratically, elections have become the most acceptable means of changing leadership in any given political system. However, it has shown that it is usually difficult to hold elections that are completely free and fair, (Yusuf, 2008:1). The problem might be due to the socio-cultural issues operating in the environment at a given period of time. These issues are not limited to developing nations only but the developed and advanced nations of the world are also affected (George-Genyi, 2018). The elements that make people vote or not to vote in an elections are different and dependent on one's socio-cultural background. The nature of Nigerian states, for instance, with the attendant multi-ethnic nationalism and varied religious inclinations has even made the voting, elections and electoral system more problematic (George-Genyi, 2018).

Election is an offspring of, and springs from democracy. Democracy is a system of Government under which the people exercise their governing power either directly or indirectly through representatives periodically elected by them (Appadorai, 1974). Therefore, in a democracy, the people become very important as they constitute the voters who decide the fate of the rulers. This also justifies the reason why the study of their voting pattern and electoral behavior is as important as the study of the state itself.

**Voting** - Voting is one of the most commonly used terms in contemporary democratic politics concerning leadership recruitment. It is the process of changing or supporting an existing government. According to Umaru (2003) voting is the mechanism by which citizens are able to express their interest and needs to their leaders. To Zahida & Younis (2014) voting is seen as the function of electing representatives by casting votes in an election, in addition to the fact that citizens use voting as a means of expressing their approval or disapproval of government decisions, policies

and programmes, the policies and programmes of various political parties and qualities of candidates who are engaged in the struggle to get the status of being representatives of the people.

Rose and Massaavir (2014) cited in George-Genyi (2018) provided a conceptualization of voting that is broad and encompassing in nature. For them, voting covers as many as six important functions:

- a. It involves individuals' choice of governors or major governmental policies;
- b. It permits individuals to participate in a reciprocal and continuing exchange of influence with the office-holders and candidates;
- c. It contributes to the development or maintenance of an individual's allegiance to the existing constitutional regime;
- d. It contributes to the development or maintenance of voters disaffection from the existing constitutional regime; and,
- e. It has emotional significance for the individuals; and for some individuals it may be functionless that is devoid of any significant personal emotional or political consequences. Voting gives rise to the related issue of voting behaviour.

### **Voting Behaviour and Pattern**

Voting behaviour refers to human activity in the context of elections. It is defined as a set of related personal and electoral actions, which may include participation in electoral campaigns, voter turnout at the polls, and choosing for whom to vote (Bratton, 2013). Thus, it encompasses both the actions and inactions of people regarding electoral participation, as well as for whom to support if one decides to engage in the voting process (Rule, 2014). Encyclopaedia cited in Shehu (2019) defined voting behaviour as the main form of political participation in liberal democratic societies and the study of voting behaviour is a highly specialised sub-field within political science". Voting behaviour is the visible and invisible patterns which voters disclosed while casting their vote.

Voting patterns have been linked to group membership characteristics, a sort of cultural alignment that propels voters to align their vote choice to that of the social group to which they are members (Horowitz, 1985; Heywood, 2007). The affinity can regard ethnicity, religion or regions, which reflects the many tensions and divisions within society (Heywood, 2007). Voters support co-ethnic or co-religious candidates or parties as a fundamentally expressive act such that voter choice is not based on a rational calculation of alternatives but is an expression of support for the representatives of one's cultural group (Horowitz, 1985). Earlier African political literature demonstrates a broad connection between voter choice and ethnicities (Melson, 1971; Horowitz, 1985) and new studies have tagged this perspective on voting as an instrumental action – part of a broader category of explanation for voting in which politicians mobilise voters based on ethnic cleavages to attain control over state resources and, in return for their support, voters seek provision of the resources and other benefits (Chandra, 2004; Posner 2005). Electoral geography research shows that voting patterns of electorates can mirror the major fault-lines: religion, ethnicity and regionality in a state (Birch, 2000; West II, 2005; Agnew, 2014).

Voting behaviour can be described as the scientific study of the voting patterns of the electorates of the constituency in an election; it provides insight into the sociology of the voters, factors that influence their voting patterns and the direction of their votes (Antunes, 2008). Among a number of forms individuals could participate in politics, people engage more in voting, the reason being that voting is usually a less costly and more conventional form of political participation most especially in western or developed democracies (Tessler et al, 2008 cited in Afolabi, 2018). The analysis of voting patterns invariably focuses on the determinants of why people vote as they do and how they

arrive at the decisions they make. What inspires voters to turn out for voting and factors they consider in making choices on candidates or parties greatly varies (Afolabi, 2018). According to Anifowose (1999) political behaviour refers to a particular approach, and set of methods for the study of human behavior in politics. Voting behaviour is the result of the total impact on voters by a number of forces operating in the society which the voters form a part. In voting behavior, we talk of why voters vote the way they do. No voter has ever voted without being influenced by one force or another. These forces include: personal identification of the individual voter with one of the political parties, candidates or major issues of the day and a sense of civic obligation to vote in conformity with the group interest, etc (Shehu, 2019).

Voting behaviour is clearly shaped by short-term and long-term influences. Heywood (2007) asserted that short-term influences are specific to a particular election and do not allow conclusions to be drawn about voting patterns. These short-term influences include but not limited to; state of the economy which reflects the link between a government's popularity and economic variables such as unemployment, inflation and disposable income; another short term influence is the personality and public standing of party leaders. Major long-term influences are; ideological concerns and the mass media (Afolabi, 2018).

Voters' choices are likely influenced by a multiplicity of factors. For example, research have shown that the electorate may determine their votes on the basis of one or more of the following considerations: (1) the performance of the government in power, (2) the personality of candidates, (3) the voters' positions or orientations on specific issues, (4) partisanship or party affiliation, (5) the state of the economy, and/or (6) the identity or ethnic background of the candidate (Prysby & Scavo 1993). In same vein, Akpakipan (2009) averred that there are many factors that could influence who a voter casts his vote for in an election. some of the factors are: Level of one's education; Membership of organizations; Sex; Religion; Tradition; Social class; Ideological learning; Position on ideological divide; Party image; Issues, programmes and policy statements; identification with party; Candidate orientation; Economic factor/poverty; Promise of political patronage; Provision of amenities; Force of relationship; Location within the Geo-Politics; Ethnicity and language.

During the 2015 elections many factors influenced voter's choice. According to Sule et al (2011) in the presidential election religion and ethnic sentiments influenced voters' choice with less significant thus affirmed that media and social media socialization account for shift in political, economic and social contexts. On the premise of socialization- campaign promise, Sheriff and Asbdullahi (2015,) noted that fear, in-security, expectations and economic situation accounted for the paradigm shift in voting pattern to address the insecurity in the country. Whereas, to Adamu and Abubakar (2017) ethnic and kinship affiliation played significant role than party, issues and ideology in Anambra state governorship election.

## Theoretical Framework

The factors which influence voter behavior operate within the context of the three main competing and overlapping classical theoretical paradigms: the Sociological model, the Psychological model and the Rational-choice model of voting. The Sociological approach concentrates on the relationship between the individual and the social structure. It situates voting in a social context, examining the effects that variables such as area of residence, social class, ethnicity, and religion have on voting (Harrop & Miller 1987). The psychological approach ties voting decisions to the voter's psychological predispositions and attitudes, such as one's party affiliation, attitude towards candidates, and

positions on issues (Campbell, Converse, Miller & Stokes 1960). Lastly, the Rational-choice approach attempts to explain voting behavior as a rational self-interest decision, stemming from the instrumental cost-benefit calculus of the individual voter (Downs 1957; Olayode 2015).

These three models constitute the basic and underlying theoretical framework of this study. Thus, the three main propositions on voting behaviour in Nigeria were identified to have included sociological approach, party identification model and rational choice. The sociological model emphasise on voting behaviour as a result of impact of social structure suggesting that social group membership influence voting behaviour. This is visible in Nigerian context where belonging to a religious group or ethnic group or certain geographical area determines voters' behaviour in an election. Belonging to a particular social group automatically qualifies a candidate to receive votes of such members of that group. Presidential elections in Nigeria are understood along that line (Daniel, 2015). The party identification approach is a situation where partisanship is highly stable over time. Here, voters are less likely to make distinctions between their vote choice and partisan dispositions. This situation is also applicable within Nigerian context where some sections of the population became attached to a given political party irrespective of the candidate as a result of their partisan position towards that particular party (Daniel, 2015). The rational choice approach lays much emphasis on voters' choice of their candidates in an election based on issues and policy design of the political parties. The choice here is rational. This situation, however, is not obtainable in Nigerian system except to a smaller extent and even this one; is found among elites who chose their party or candidates due to the economic or political benefits they will gain from voting such candidates. But, common voter in Nigerian democracy has no rationality in choice as they tend to vote according to sentiments (Babayo, Mohammed & Bakri, 2017).

The rational choice model explains that a voter's decision and choice are based on the realities of cost-benefits analysis. The argument is that as rational actors in the electoral process, voters are pragmatic and strategic in their motivations. Their preferences and choices weigh in favour of maximising the utility of their votes in terms of future realisation of concrete political, economic and material benefits. Accordingly, "the rational choice theory operates on the basis that all decisions, whether made by the voters or political parties, are rational and guided by self-interest (Saxena, 2017). The foregoing suggests, different theories have their explanatory power, utility and significance. Nevertheless, none can effectively explain voting behaviour independently. There are issues of mixed motivations, complementarities and interconnectedness, raising questions of complexity of causality (Kialee 2019).

### Empirical Review

Mbah et al (2020) examined Separatist Threat, Militarization and Voter Turnout: Exploring the Dynamics of the 2017 Governorship Election in Anambra State, Nigeria. Using the qual-dominant mixed methods approach, this study analysed the impact of the separatist threat and the militarization of elections on voter turnout during the 2017 governorship election in Anambra State, Nigeria. Findings indicate that perceived and real marginalization of the Igbo in Nigeria's state-building is largely driving the neo-Biafra separatist threat to boycott elections in Anambra State. This does not only account for the state militarization of elections in order to guarantee security; it also inadvertently engendered fear among citizens, undermined voter turnout and exacerbated political exclusion. This study concludes that inclusive political development presents an opportunity for de-escalation of separatist threats, demilitarization of elections and enhancement of voter turnout in Nigeria.

Adebiyi (2021) examined the voting pattern of the 2019 general elections in Nigeria. Through a descriptive-statistical analysis of official election results released by the Independent National Electoral Commission and a critical review and analysis of extant secondary data which includes relevant journal articles, books, reports of Civil Society Organisations and Election Observer Missions on the general elections, it is found that voting pattern in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria was largely determined by psychological factors such as ethnic considerations and party affiliation rather than by personal qualities of candidates and performance of the party in government. The paper concluded that though voting based on ethnicity or party affiliation is not necessarily irrational or harmful at least from the perception of an informed voter, there is the need to sensitise the electorate on the need to encourage voting based on accomplishments of candidates and performance of the party in government.

Chukwuma & Okpala (2018) examined voter turnout and the quest for free and fair election with focus on Anambra 2017 gubernatorial election. The study interrogates what account for voter turnout and the specific factor responsible in the Anambra 2017 election. The study was anchored on elite theory, while data for the study were generated through documentary techniques and analysed using the analytical inductive technique. The finding reveals that while efforts are in place to address the recurring low voters' turnout in an election in Nigeria, the challenges persist due to the culture of political apathy that is implicated in elite disposition in Nigeria politics vis-à-vis other multiple factors which IPOB exacerbated in the 2017 Anambra election. Taking cognizance of these, the study recommends regular town halls meetings both at the rural and urban areas so as to address voter's apathy among Nigerians as well as internet voting to address situation of insecurity.

### Materials and Methods

The study adopted ex-post facto research design and data for the study were gathered from secondary sources such as INEC publications, journals, magazines, text books, newspapers and materials relating to voting behaviour and voting pattern in Anambra gubernatorial election. The data derived from this study were analysed based on analytical inductive technique. By this technique, analytical process on phenomena and issues like voting behaviour, voting pattern and voter turnout in 2021 Anambra governorship election were explained. Thus, this analysis is based on data obtained from votes cast in different local government areas across Anambra State in the 2021 gubernatorial election as released by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). This study was conducted in Anambra State. Anambra State is a Nigerian state, located in the southeastern region of the country. Formed in 1976 from the former East Central State, the name was derived from the [Anambra River](#) (Omambala) which flows through the area and is a tributary of the River Niger. The state capital is [Awka](#), a rapidly growing city that increased in population from approximately 300,000 to 2.5 million between 2006 and 2018. The city of Onitsha, a historic port city from the pre-colonial era, remains an important centre of commerce within the state. Anambra State consists of twenty-one (21) Local Government Areas. Anambra state has boundaries with Delta State to the west, Imo State and Rivers State to the south, Enugu State to the east, and [Kogi State](#) to the north. The indigenous ethnic groups in Anambra state are the Igbo (99% of population) and small population of people who are bilingual, they live mainly in the north-western part of the state. Anambra is the eighth-most populated state in the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the second-most densely populated state in Nigeria after Lagos State (Wikipedia, 2021).



## Results and Discussion

The data generated for this study were analyzed in accordance to the objectives and research questions of the study as follows:

1. What are the factors that influenced voting behaviour and voting pattern in 2021 Anambra governorship election?
2. To ascertain the extent of voters turnout in the election?

### 1. The Factors that Influenced Voting Behaviour and Voting Pattern in 2021 Anambra Governorship Election is discussed below:

The November 6 governorship election in Anambra State election was conducted under deteriorated security threat. Prior to the election, the state was threatened in a manner unseen in the region and the country in general. Political parties campaign activities were virtually nonexistent as a result of the fear of violent attacks from the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). A week to the election, IPOB declared one week sit-at-home. However, IPOB announced that it has cancelled its one week sit-at-home earlier declared in Anambra State. Despite the cancellation the fear was still palpable in the election day as IPOB's sit-at-home order has been so successful that even when the group lifts the ban, residents still sit-at-home either out of solidarity or to err on the side of caution (Yusuf, 2021). Prior to the election, the polity was tense, prompting federal government to deploy a large number of police officers. Thus, 34,587 police personnel were mobilized for 2021 Anambra gubernatorial election (Yusuf, 2021). The deployment of over 34,000 police officers and thousands of other security personnel was to stop any violent acts by IPOB and other armed groups during the election, especially as IPOB had declared a sit-at-home order to coincide with the election. However, IPOB only announced the cancellation of the sit-at-home order two days before the election (Yusuf & Onyeji, 2021).

The 2021 Anambra governorship election according to some of the accredited observer groups. YIAGA were marred by community resistance to the conduct of the election, logistical failures that once again resulted in the late opening of polls in several polling units, and severe challenges with the newly introduced BVAS. While election day was peaceful, the pre-election period was characterised by violence, intimidation, and arson resulting to (sic) poor voter turnout (Ojo, 2021). Elections and voting are indispensable aspects of political engagement. The most common form of political participation is exercising the right to vote in elections (Flanigan & Zingale 1998). Election is a basic component of a liberal democratic political system. This assertion is underscored by the fact that democratic representation is built on elections (Flanigan & Zingale 1998). In Nigeria, peoples voting pattern are influenced by their religion, ethnic lopsidedness or poverty/economic factors. In this principle, the choice to vote a particular person may be directed by ones parent, ideological belief, religious belief, political feelings or hunger (Iwundu, (n.d).

It is the voting behaviours of the electorates that builds or mars the elections to produce credible or unacceptable candidates (Iwundu, n.d). Political participation and voting behaviour serve as critical ingredients in a democracy. Apart from guaranteeing the life expectancy of a democratic system, these democratic elements enable individuals to select their leaders at elections, thereby fulfilling their civic obligations as patriotic citizens (George-Genyi (2018). Several factors accounted for the voting participation in the elections. The factors that had more influence on voters were; the credibility of the candidates, the desire to change the party in power due to poor performance, the use of the Smart card reader and fairness of the zoning arrangement. Party image played the least impact in voters' decision to vote (George-Genyi (2018).





















The historic alignments of ethnicity and religion, which have significantly influenced voting behaviour, voting patterns and electoral outcomes in Nigerian politics since independence in 1960 were not striking in the outcome of 2021 Anambra gubernatorial election. However, due to the high insecurity and IPOB threat of sit-at-home order, the 2021 Anambra governorship election had the lowest voters turnout compared to the previous governorship elections in the state. Despite low voters' turnout, several factors accounted for the voting participation in the election. The factors that had more influence on voters in 2021 Anambra gubernatorial election were the credibility of the candidates, the desire to retain the party in power, the use of new technology the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System device better known as BVAS, fairness of the zoning arrangement and support from the incumbent governor.

## 2. The extent of Voters Turnout in 2021 Anambra Gubernatorial Election

The extent of voter's turnout in 2021 Anambra Gubernatorial election were presented in the table and discussed below:

**Table 1. 2021 Anambra State Gubernatorial Election Result**

2021 Anambra State gubernatorial election			
Party	Candidate	Votes	%
 <a href="#">APGA</a>	<a href="#">Charles Chukwuma Soludo</a>	112,229	46.46%
 <a href="#">PDP</a>	<a href="#">Valentine Ozigbo</a>	53,807	22.28%
 <a href="#">APC</a>	<a href="#">Andy Uba</a>	43,285	17.92%
 <a href="#">YPP</a>	<a href="#">Ifeanyi Ubah</a>	21,261	8.80%
 <a href="#">LP</a>	Obiora Agbasimalo	2,802	1.16%
 <a href="#">ZLP</a>	Obiora Okonkwo	2,082	0.86%
 <a href="#">A</a>	<a href="#">Godwin Maduka</a>	2,054	0.85%
 <a href="#">SDP</a>	Obinna Uzoh	842	0.34%
 <a href="#">ADP</a>	Afam Ume-Ezeoke	773	0.32%
 <a href="#">AAC</a>	Chidozie Nwankwo	588	0.24%
 <a href="#">PRP</a>	Nnamdi Nwawuo	437	0.18%
 <a href="#">ADC</a>	<a href="#">Akachukwu Sullivan Nwankpo</a>	324	0.13%
 <a href="#">APM</a>	Geoffrey Onyegebu	301	0.12%
 <a href="#">NRM</a>	Afam Ezenwaofor	213	0.08%
 <a href="#">BP</a>	Chika Jerry Okeke	186	0.07%
 <a href="#">APP</a>	Azubuike Echetebe	139	0.05%
 <a href="#">NNPP</a>	Leonard Emeka Ohajimkpo	117	0.04%
 <a href="#">AA</a>	Ben Etiaba	83	0.03%
<b>Total votes</b>		<b>241,523</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
<b>Turnout</b>		<b>249,631</b>	<b>10.12%</b>

Source: INEC (2021) <https://inecnigeria.org/news-all/anambra-governorship-election-results/>

The table 1 above shows the comprehensive results (scores and percentages) obtained by the 18 political parties that contested for the 2021 Anambra governorship election. As can be deduce from the table, the total votes were 241523 while the total turnout were 249631 representing 10.12 percent.

**Table 2. The Results of the Election by Local Government Area for the four Major Political Parties.**

S/N	LGA	APC	APGA	PDP	YPP	REMARK
1	AGUATA	4,773	9,136	3,798	1,070	APGA
2	ANAMBRA EAST	2,034	9,746	1,380	559	APGA
3	ANAMBRA WEST	1,233	1,918	1,401	357	APGA
4	ANAOCHA	2,085	6,911	5,108	868	APGA
5	AWKA NORTH	755	1,908	840	381	APGA
6	AWKA SOUTH	2,595	12,891	5,498	919	APGA
7	AYAMELUM	2,409	3,424	2,804	407	APGA
8	DUNUKOFIA	1,991	4,124	1,680	1,360	APGA
9	EKWUSIGO	1,237	2,570	1,857	727	APGA
10	IDEMILI NORTH	2,291	5,358	2,312	902	APGA
11	IDEMILI SOUTH	1,039	2,312	2,016	752	APGA
12	IHIALA	343	8,283	2,485	344	APGA
13	NJIKOKA	3,216	8,803	3,409	924	APGA
14	NNEWI NORTH	1,278	3,369	1,511	6,485	YPP
15	NNEWI SOUTH	1,307	3,243	2,226	1,327	APGA
16	OGBARU	1,178	3,051	3,445	484	PDP
17	ONITSHA NORTH	3,909	5,587	3,781	682	APGA
18	ONITSHA SOUTH	2,050	4,281	2,253	271	APGA
19	ORUMBA NORTH	2,672	4,787	1,847	655	APGA
20	ORUMBA SOUTH	2,060	4,394	1,672	887	APGA
21	OYI	2,830	6,133	2,484	900	APGA
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21 LGAs</b>	<b>43,285</b>	<b>112,229</b>	<b>53,807</b>	<b>21,261</b>	<b>APGA</b>
<b>Total Registered Voters</b>		2,466,638				
<b>Total Accredited Voters</b>		253,388				
<b>Total Valid Votes</b>		241,523				
<b>Total Rejected Votes</b>		8,108				
<b>Total Votes Cast</b>		249,631				

Source: The Eagle (2021)

<https://theeagleonline.com.ng/breaking-soludo-declared-winner-of-anambra-poll-full-results>

The table 2 above shows that Prof. Chukwuma Soludo of the All Progressives Grand Alliance polled a total of 112,229 votes to defeat his closest rival, Valentine Ozigbo of the Peoples Democratic Party, who scored 53,807 votes to emerge second. Senator Andy Uba of the All Progressives Congress got a total of 43,285 votes to emerge third, while Senator Ifeanyi Uba of the Young Progressive Party got a total of 21,261 votes to emerge fourth position.

The INEC Returning Officer for the election, Prof. Florence Obi, declared Prof. Chukwuma Soludo the winner of the election on Wednesday 10<sup>th</sup> of November after the collation of the supplementary poll in Ihiala Local Government Area that held on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November, 2021. Previously, INEC suspended the collation of results of the election held on Saturday 6<sup>th</sup> November, 2021 and declared the election inconclusive following the non-conduct of polls in Ihiala Local Government Area. The commission then fixed Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> November, 2021 for the supplementary election in Ihiala.

The data in the above table indicates that Prof. Chukwuma Soludo won in 19 out of the 21 Local Government Areas of the State. These are: Dunukofia, Awka South, Oyi, Anaocha, Ayamelum, Anambra East, Idemili South, Onitsha South, Njikoka, Orumba South, Onitsha North, Idemili North, Ekwusigo, Aguata, and Nnewi South, Orumba North and Ihiala Local Government Areas. The PDP candidate, Valentine Ozigbo won in Ogbaru with 3,445 votes, while Senator Ifeanyi Uba of the Young Progressive Party won in his home Local Government, Nnewi North, in spite of coming a distant fourth in the overall score card with 21,261 votes. From the table it also shown that Anambra State had a total number of 2,466,638 registered voters, but had a total of 253,388 accredited voters for the election. Also, the total numbers of valid votes in the election were 241,523, while 8,108 were void votes.

**Table 3. Voter turnout in governorship elections in Anambra State, 1999– 2021**

Year	Voter turnout (%)
1999	52
2003	69
2007	68
2010	16
2013	24
2017	21
2021	10

**Source:** Centre for Democracy and Development (2019), Mbah et al (2020), Ojo (2021).

Table 3 shows a cursory look at the dynamics of voter turnout in Anambra State from 1999 to 2021. It indicates that there is a progressive decline from the 2007 election which is characterized by high level of electoral malpractices. The figures show that 'within-cycle' governorship elections in Anambra State recorded higher voter turnout than 'off-cycle' elections in 2010, 2013, 2017 and 2021 (Centre for Democracy and Development, 2018, 2019: Mbah et al, 2020; Ojo, 2021). While the general public and the media were predicting an improvement in the 2013 voter turnout due to the high level of electoral competition among three major political parties in the state (APC, PDP and APGA), the 2017 election witnessed a decrease in voter turnout. IDI with the Secretary of INEC on 16 February 2018 shows that the pro-Biafra threat and militarization of the off-cycle governorship election played great role in undermining voter turnout during the 2017 election.

Also, the threat of sit-at-home order by IPOB and insecurity perpetrated by unknown gunmen in the state also directly and indirectly led to low voters turnout in 2021 election (Mbah et al, 2020; Ojo, 2021). This shows the activity of separatist groups such as IPOB is promoting voter apathy and undermining voter turnout in the South-east especially in Anambra State. IPOB's vote and die threat and the subsequent militarization of Anambra State created fears in voters. These engendered voter apathy and low voter turnout in the governorship election (Mbah et al, 2020).

Of the 2.2 million registered voters in 1999, only 1.02 million voted in the 1999 election, representing 46.4 per cent. The 2003 election saw the highest turnout with 47.22 per cent. Of the 1.84 million registered voters in the state in 2010, only 302,000 voted on election day. This translates to about 16 per cent of voters. In 2013, only 465,891 of the total 1,770,127 registered voters actually voted on election day – representing about 25 per cent. In the 2017 election, less than a quarter of the total number of registered voters actually participated in the polls. Of the 2,064,134 residents registered as eligible voters for the election, only 448,711 – about 21 per cent – showed up to vote (Yusuf & Onyeji 2021). The 2021 Anambra gubernatorial election had a turnout of 10 per cent (Yusuf & Onyeji 2021). This shows that lower voter turnout in gubernatorial elections has become a reoccurring decimal in Anambra state. These statistics shows that voter apathy and low turnout of voters have been feeding on the states (Chukwuma & Okpala, 2018).

From the foregoing, this study reveals a lot of sophistication on the part of voters, in addition to their passion and enthusiasm to elect a credible leader. The following findings came out of the study. The 2021 Anambra governorship election according to some of the accredited observer groups. YIAGA Africa, were marred by community resistance to the conduct of the election, logistical failures that once again resulted in the late opening of polls in several polling units, and severe challenges with the newly introduced BVAS. While election day was peaceful, the pre-election period was characterized by violence, intimidation, and arson resulting to poor voter turnout (Ojo, 2021).

The 2021 Anambra gubernatorial election was held under unusual circumstances. The activities of so-called "unknown gunmen" and IPOB sit-at-home order affected the conduct of the election. There were series of attacks by "unknown gunmen," often attributed to IPOB and seemingly targeting the key state institution involved in conducting elections. These attacks sustained a heightened level of apprehension among INEC staff and the general public in the election. Thus, the pre-election period was fraught with violence emanating from inter-communal conflicts, activities of assailants/cult groups and increased activities of secessionist groups in the geo-political zone (Yusuf 2021).

INEC deployed the newly introduced Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS), a replacement to the Smart Card Reader. The BVAS is a voter accreditation technology that uses both fingerprints and facial recognition. INEC expected the BVAS to add credibility of the accreditation process and reduce the number of instances where a voter is disenfranchised due to the failure of the SCR to scan a set of fingerprints (Yusuf 2021).

There were 18 registered political parties that participated in the November 6 Anambra gubernatorial election. The published list shows that Valentine Ozigbo of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Andy Uba of the All Progressives Congress (APC), and Chukwuma Soludo of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA), along with 15 other candidates — all male vied for the governorship position. However, there were seven females that vied for deputy governorship positions (Yusuf 2021).

There was declined in voters' turnout. In spite of the gargantuan resources spent on the election, the 2021 governorship election witnessed the lowest turnout of voters which INEC put at 10.27 per cent. Recall that in 2017 it was 21 per cent, in 2013 it was 24 per cent while in 2010, it was 16 per cent (Ojo,

2021; Yusuf 2021). The review of the previous gubernatorial elections in Anambra State shows a progressive decline in voters' turnout since 2007. For instance, of the 1.84 million registered voters in Anambra state for the 2010 governorship election, only 302,000 voted, a miserly 16 per cent voter turnout. In 2013, a total of 1, 770,127 were registered, but only 465,891 voted, representing 24 per cent. Again, in 2017, out of 2,064,134 residents registered as eligible voters for the election, only 457, 511 voted, representing 21 per cent (Yusuf, 2021). Of the 2,466,638 registered voters in Anambra as announced by INEC, in 2021 gubernatorial election, only 253,388 were accredited. In the end, there were only 253,388 votes cast, of which 8,108, were rejected. This means only 10 per cent of the registered voters in the state voted during the election (Yusuf & Onyeji, 2021).

These figures show that no Anambra state governor has been elected by slightly more than one-tenth of registered voters in the state. (Azu, 2021). Consequently, since the consolidation of democracy in 1999, elections in Anambra State have been marred by low voter turnout. However, although the voter turnout in previous governorship elections in Anambra was low, the 2021 gubernatorial election had the lowest turnout (Yusuf & Onyeji 2021). Thus, the findings of this study revealed that some of the factors that influenced voting behaviour and voting pattern in 2021 Anambra governorship election were:

1. The power and influence of the current governor shaped the outcome of the election.
2. The desire of the voters to retain their assumed political party; APGA influenced their voting behaviour and voting pattern
3. Pedigree and the credibility of the candidates especially the candidate of APGA, Prof Soludo made the voters to vote for him.
4. High level of insecurity and IPOB threat of sit-at-home order affected the turnout of voters.
5. The 2021 Anambra governorship election had the lowest voters turnout compared to the previous governorship elections in the state.
6. Lower voter turnout in gubernatorial elections has become a reoccurring decimal in Anambra state

## Conclusions

This study has analysed voting behaviour and the pattern it formed in the 2021 gubernatorial election in Anambra State. The historic alignments of ethnicity and religion, which have significantly influenced voting behaviour, voting patterns and electoral outcomes in Nigerian politics since independence in 1960 were not striking in the outcome of 2021 Anambra gubernatorial election. However, due to the high insecurity and IPOB threat of sit-at-home order, the 2021 Anambra governorship election had the lowest voters turnout compared to the previous governorship elections in the state. Despite low voters' turnout, several factors accounted for the voting participation in the election. The factors that had more influence on voters in 2021 Anambra gubernatorial election were the credibility of the candidates, the desire to retain the party in power, the use of new technology the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System device better known as BVAS, fairness of the zoning arrangement and support from the incumbent governor.

## Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following were recommended;

1. IPOB should stop threatening voters to boycott election especially in Anambra state.

2. There should be regular town halls meetings both at the rural and urban areas so as to address voter's apathy among Nigerians. This should be carried out before elections in order to encourage citizen's participation in an election.
3. Online and internet voting should be included in the electoral act. This will help address the issue of insecurities and also enable voters cast their votes from any part of the state and in the comfort of their place.
4. Political stability should be maintained and the electoral process must be accommodating to allow for expression of the electoral freedom of the people.

## References

- Adams, S. & Agomor, K. S. (2015). Democratic politics and voting behaviour, *International Area Studies Review*, 18(4), 365-381
- Adamu, S. Y. & Abubakar, M. A. (2017). Election and voting pattern in Nigeria: A study of 2015 governorship election in Bauchi State. *International journal of humanity and social sciences invention*, 6(11), 52-59.
- Adebisi, O. M. (2021). Voting pattern in Nigeria's 2019 general election. *Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Studies* 21(2), 209-223
- Afolabi, O. S. (2018). Voting behaviour and pattern of voting in Nigeria's 2015 general elections: A narrative in transition, *Ife Social Sciences Review*, 26(1), 13- 22
- Agnew, J. A. (2014). *Place and Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Agu, S. U., Okeke, V. O. S. & Idike, A. N. (2013). Voters apathy and revival of genuine political participation in Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 4(3), 439-448.
- Alvarez, R.M. & Brehm, J. (2002). *Hard Choices, Easy Answers: Values, Information, and American Public Opinion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Anejionu, O. & Ahiamunnah, P. (2018). Can current political developments in Nigeria undermine its territorial integrity? *Geopolitics*, 1-47.
- Anifowose R. (2003). Theoretical perspectives on election. In R. Anifowose and T. Babawale (Eds.) *general elections and democratic consolidation Nigeria*. Lagos: Frankad publisher, for Friedrich Ebert Stiftung publications
- Anifowose R. & Enemufo F. (1999). *Elements of politics*. Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications
- Akpakistan, F. J. C. (2009) *Basic issues in partisan politics*. Retrieved from <http://www.akpakistan.basicissuesinpartisanpolitics/html2004>
- Appadorai, A. (1974). *The substance of politics*. London: Oxford University press.
- Antunes, R. (2008). Theoretical models of voting behaviour. In R. Antunes, *Party Identification and Voting Behaviour: Structural Factors, Attitudes and Changes in Voting* (A Doctoral Thesis), University of Coimbra, Portugal.
- Azu, I. (2021, November 4). What happens in Anambra on Saturday? It depends. Retrieved 28 November, 2021 from <https://www.thecable.ng/what-happens-in-anambra-on-saturday-it-depends>
- Babayo, S., Mohammed, A. M. S., & Bakri, M. (2017). Political behaviour and voting pattern in Nigeria: A study of 2015 presidential election, *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, Arts and Sciences*, 4(4), 1-13
- Begu, E. (2007). *Elections in a spatial context: A case study of Albanian Parliamentary elections, 1991-2005*. Available at: [https://publishup.uni-potsdam.de/opus4-ubp/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/675/file/begu\\_diss.pdf](https://publishup.uni-potsdam.de/opus4-ubp/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/675/file/begu_diss.pdf)
- Birch, S. (2000). Interpreting the regional effect in Ukrainian politics. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 52(6), 1017- 1041.
- Bratton, M., Bhavnani, R. & Chen, T. H. (2012). Voting intentions in Africa: Ethnic, economic or partisan? *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 50(1), 27-52.
- Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E., & Stokes, D. (1960). *The American voter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chandra, K. (2005). Ethnic parties and democratic stability. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(2), 235-252.

- Chukwuma, A. N. & Okpala, A. B. (2018). Voter turnout and the quest for free and fair Elections in Nigeria: A study of 2017 Anambra gubernatorial election, *Socialscientia Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 3(3), 70-87.
- Daniel, I. U. (2015). Political participation and democratic culture in Nigeria: A case study of Nigeria, *Humanity and Social Sciences Journal*, 10(1), 32-39.
- Dewa, D. (2009). Factors affecting voting behavior and voting patterns in Zimbabwe's 2008 harmonized elections. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 3 (11), 490-496.
- Downs, A. (1957). *An economic theory of democracy*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers
- Ezeibe, C. C., Abada, I. & Okeke, M. (2016). Zoning of public offices, liberal democracy and economic development in Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 7(3), 328-337.
- Falade, D. A. (2015). Political participation in Nigerian democracy: A study of some selected local government areas in Ondo State, Nigeria. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science Research* 14(8), 17-23.
- Finkel, S. E. (1985). Reciprocal effects of participation and political efficacy: A panel analysis. *American Journal of Political Science* 29(4), 891-913.
- Feldman, S. (1988). Structure and consistency in public opinion: The role of core beliefs and values. *American Journal of Political Science*, 32(2), 416-440.
- Fiorina, M. P. (1981). *Retrospective voting in American national elections*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Flanigan, W. H. & Zingale, N. H. (1998). *Political behaviour of the American electorate* (9 edition),. Washington DC: CQ Press.
- George-Genyi, E. M. (2018). Political participation and voting behavior in Nigeria: A study of the 2015 General Elections in Benue State. Conference paper. Retrieved from <https://www.inecnigeria.org/uploads/2019/02>
- Harrop, M., & Miller, W. L. (1987). *Elections and voters: A comparative introduction*. New York: New Amsterdam Books.
- Hazarika, B. (2015). Voting behavior in India and its determinants. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 20(10), 22-25.
- Heywood, A. (2002). *Politics* (2nd ed.). New York: Palgrave.
- Heywood, A. (2007). *Politics* (3rd ed). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Horowitz, D. (1985). *Ethnic groups in conflict*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- IDEA (2010) *Electoral system design*. Retrieved November 27, 2021, From <http://www.idea.int/esd/>
- Ibrahim, S. G., Liman, A. N. & Mato, K. (2015). The 2015 general elections: A review of major determinants of paradigm shift in voting behaviour and political participation in Nigeria. *International Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Studies* 2(9), 8-16.
- INEC (2021). <https://inecnigeria.org/news-all/anambra-governorship-election-results/>
- Iwundu, I. E. (n.d). Factors affecting voting behaviour in Nigeria electoral System: Realities or illusion? Institute of African Studies University of Nigeria, Nsukka
- Lazarsfeld, P.F., Berelson, B. & Gaudet, H. (1944). *The people's choice: How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kialee, N. (2019). Voting without choosing: Ethnic voting behaviour and voting patterns in Nigeria's 2015 Presidential election and implications for institutionalisation of social conflicts, *Nokoko* 7, 79-112.
- Mbah, C. C. (2007) *Foundations of political science*. Anambra: Rex Charles and Patrick Publisher.
- Mbah, O. P., Nzeadibe, C. T., Nwangwu, C., Iheanacho, O. A., Eze, O. C. & Ezeibe, C. C. (2020). Separatist threat, militarization and voter turnout: Exploring the dynamics of the 2017 governorship election in Anambra State, Nigeria, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 00(0), 1-15.
- Melson, R. (1971). Ideology and inconsistency: The "cross-pressured Nigerian worker 1. *American Political Science Review*, 65(1), 161-171.
- Nwanegbo, C. J. & Ikenna, M. A. (2011). Incumbency factor and democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic. *The Social Sciences*, 6(2), 125-130.
- Nwankwo, C. F. (2019). The spatial pattern of voter choice homogeneity in the Nigerian presidential elections of the fourth republic. *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series*, 43(43), 143-165.



- Nwankwo, C. F. (2017). 2015 Nigerian presidential election: Which factors drive voter turnout the most? *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs* 5(3), 1-3.
- Nwankwo, C.F. Okafor, U.P. Asuoha, G.C. (2017). Principle Component Analysis of Factors Determining Voter Abstention in South Eastern Nigeria. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 10(3), 249-273.
- Nwankwo, C. F. Okafor, U. P. (2017). Voting in Nigeria: Determinants of turnout in the 2015 presidential election. *Statistics, Politics and Policy*, 8(2), 249-260.
- Nwankwo, C. F. (2018). Vote buying in the 2018 governorship election in Ekiti State, Nigeria. *Open Political Science*, 1(1), 93-97.
- Ojo, J. (2021, November 17). Review of Anambra 2021 governorship election. Retrieved 28 November, 2021 from <https://punchng.com/review-of-anambra-2021-governorship-election/>
- Olayode, K. A. (2015). Ethno-regional cleavages and voting behaviour in the 2015 general elections: Issues and challenges for democratisation and nation building. National Conference on 2015 Elections in Nigeria. The Electoral Institute (TEI) Abuja p.1-23.
- Oladipo T (2019) *What we've learnt from the Nigerian election*. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-47385552>
- Omodia, S. M. (2009) Elections and democratic survival in the Fourth Republic of Nigeria. *Journal of Pan African Studies* 3(3), 35–42.
- Popkin, S. L. (1991). *The reasoning voter, communication and persuasion in presidential campaigns*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Prysbey, C. L., & Scavo, C. (1993). *Voting behavior: The 1992 election*. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association
- Rufai, S. A. (2011). The interplay of power and religion in Nigeria from colonisation to democratisation, *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilisation*, 1.1(3),168-177.
- Rule S. (2014). Voting behaviour. In A. C. Michalos (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research*. Springer, Dordrecht.
- Saxena, S. (2017). Cybernetic model of voting behaviour. *Journal of Social and Administrative Sciences*, 4(1), 87-104.
- Shehu, E. A. (2019). A study of factors that influenced voters' behaviour: A case of Billiri Local Government (2019 general elections), *International Journal of Political Science*, 9(4), 33-42.
- Sheriff, G. I., Abdullahi, N. L. & Kabir, M. (2015). The 2015 general elections: A review of major determinant s of paradigm shift in voting behaviour and political participation in Nigeria. *International Journal of Research in Humanity and Social Studies* 2(9), 8-16
- Shiveley, W. P. (2005). *Power and choice: An introduction to political science*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Sule, B., Sani, M., & Mat, B., (2017). Political behaviour and voting pattern in Nigeria: A study of 2015 Presidential election. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, Arts and Sciences*. 4(4), 1-16
- Sule, B. (2019) The 2019 presidential election in Nigeria: An analysis of the voting pattern, issues and impact. *Malaysian Journal of Society and Space* 15(2): 129–140.
- The Eagle (2021). <https://theeagleonline.com.ng/breaking-soludo-declared-winner-of-anambra-poll-full-results>
- Umaru, A. (2003). *Rigging ways: The constitution and the electoral process in Nigeria*. Kaduna: Alexis research agency limited.
- Wall, A., Andrew, E., Ayman, A., Carl, W. D., Joram, R. & Sara, S. (2006). *Electoral management design: The International IDEA Handbook*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- Wikipedia (2021). Anambra State. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anambra\\_State](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anambra_State),
- Yusuf, K. (2021, November 25). Fact sheet: 10 important things to know about Anambra governorship election. Retrieved 28 November, 2021 from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/493620-fact-sheet-10-important-things-to-know-about-anambra-governorship-election.html>
- Yusuf, K. & Onyeji E. (2021, November 10). Analysis: Anambra 2021 governorship election records 'historic low' voter turnout. Retrieved 28, the 2021 from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/ssouth-east/494588-analysis-anambra-2021-governorship-election-records-historic-low-voter-turnout.html>

Zahida, A. & Younis, A. S. (2014). Determinants of voting Behaviour in India: Theoretical perspectives, Public Policy and Administration Research.