Elections in Constitutional Democracy: Perception of the Conduct of the Enugu State Local Government Areas Elections among Agbani Residents in Enugu State

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Abstract

The study is a non doctrinal legal research on elections in constitutional Democracy: Perception of the conduct of the Enugu State Local Government Areas' elections among Agbani residents in Enugu State. The study was anchored on Positivist School of Thought. The study employed survey research method and relied on structured questionnaire as an instrument for the collection of primary data. A sample size of 400 respondents was drawn from the population of 41,832 using Taro Yamane formula. The data collected were presented with frequency distribution tables and analyzed using simple percentage approach, with the aid of the computer through the application of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software for analysis. Based on the findings, the study discovered that the level at which Enugu State Independent Electoral Commission (ENSIEC)'s compliance with the Electoral Act, 2022 guidelines in the conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections was very low. The study concluded that the ENSIEC's very low level compliance to the Electoral Act, 2022 has negated the regulations and guidelines for the conduct of local councils' elections in Nigeria. The study therefore, recommended among others that the ENSIEC should always comply with the Electoral Act, 2022 in conduct of the State Local Government Areas' elections.

Keywords: Constitutional Democracy, Election, Rule of Law, Campaigns, Perception

Introduction

The idea behind election in constitutional democracy is predicated on the felt need to find the most appropriate, popular and accepted means of carefully selecting or choosing leaders in a democratic society. It is often said that to participate in an election is to perform one's civic responsibility. Election time is not just a time to evaluate the performance of those holding power and their party but a time to get it right, a time for patriotic citizens to vigorously participate in doing something worthwhile. Elections which represent the most modern and universally accepted process through which individuals are chosen to represent a body or community in a larger entity or government is one of the cardinal features of a democracy.

On 21st September, 2024, the Enugu State Independence Electoral Commission (ENSIEC) conducted the Local Government Council elections in the 17 local government areas in Enugu State. As a state commission, ENSIEC has a history of conducting flawed democratic elections leading to invalidation of results, legal tussles at the courts, political violence, and avoidable deaths of its citizens among other unpleasant consequences. Makata (2018) maintained that elections must not merely be symbolic, votes must count. Otherwise, what exists in Nigeria seems to be just a civilian government not democratic government.

Ngene (2023) averred that the Electoral Act, 2022 has orchestrated a new political norm in Nigeria, 62 years after attaining independence. Also, one of the greatest predicaments facing Nigeria is how to organize free, fair, peaceful and credible elections on a consistent basis. The peace and unity of a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi- lingual country such as Nigeria are to a reasonable extent, hinge on its ability to conduct credible and peaceful elections.

Usually, a democratic election would characteristically be competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive and free and fair. Free, in the sense that there is virtually no fraud and intimidation of voters, fair, in the sense that opposition parties are able to campaign on relatively well, without being subjected to repression or harassment, and they are not systematically denied access to the media and other resources.

Appadoria (2010) stated that the idea behind election is predicated on the felt need to find the most appropriate, popular and accepted means of carefully selecting or choosing leaders in a democratic society.

Ordinarily, the citizen participation in the present context must be vertical and horizontal in nature. The vertical participation simply refers to the periodic task of voting at elections to enthrone the rulers of society. Meanwhile, horizontal participation envisages an arena of legal contestation which arises when those who wield political power act in ways that negate the first principles for the evolution of government.

Statement of the Problem

Before the enactment of the Electoral Act, 2022, many citizens had lost hope and interest in electoral democracy due to incessant massive rigging of votes that thwarted the citizens' rights in electing candidates of their choices into positions of leadership in the country. Hence, Electoral Act, 2022 restored hope and interest for the citizens' participation in the 2023 Nigerian General Elections.

Unfortunately, the 2024 Enugu State Local Government Areas' election was marred with massive rigging that characterized the election; there was clear and apparent departure from the Electoral Act, 2022 guidelines on conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Council elections by the Enugu State Independent Electoral Commission (ENSIEC). This was an unfortunate experience considering that any ENSIEC's decision will one way or the other have implication on the rights, liabilities and obligations of the citizens.

Although, there are many research findings on elections, some of these findings only succeeded in establishing the relevance of election in a democratic society. These studies did not dwell much on elections at the grass root level. To what extent did the ENSIEC complied with the Electoral Act, 2022 guidelines in the conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' Elections? It is against this backdrop that this study seeks to assess the elections in constitutional democracy: Perception of the conduct of the Enugu State Local Government Areas' among Agbani Residents in Enugu State.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to assess the elections in constitutional democracy: Perception of the conduct of the Enugu State Local Government Areas' among Agbani Residents in Enugu State. However, other objectives include to:

- 1. Discover the awareness level of the Agbani residents on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' Elections.
- 2. Determine how ENSIEC complied with the Electoral Act, 2022 guidelines in the conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' Elections.
- Determine the nature of perception of the Agbani residents on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' Elections.

Research Questions

- 1. The research questions for this study include:
- 2. What is the awareness level of the Agbani residents on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' Elections?
- 3. To what extent did the ENSIEC complied with the Electoral Act, 2022 guidelines in the conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' Elections?

4. What is the nature of perception of the Agbani residents on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' Elections?

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study can be seen in several ways. Firstly, it will contribute jurisprudentially to the enrichment of literature on legal and media studies, and also, national development. The relevance of this study will go a long way to ensure that the State Independence Electoral Commissions are accountable and responsive to the citizens. It will ensure qualitative representation in the parliament and orderly execution of the laws in the Local government areas. Thirdly, it will provide baseline information through its analysis and discussion to assist and aid the national policy makers in articulating societal developmental policies that will positively impact on national affairs.

Brief Review of Literature

Evolution of Democracy

Okere (2005) stated that democracy is gotten from two Greek words namely, "demos", and "demes"- meaning the people and "kratein"- meaning to rule. Thus, democracy is the rule of the people. Following Abraham Lincoln's definition, we have the popular definition of democracy, "as the government of the people, by the people and for the people".

Osuagwu (2010) observed that democracy is a form of government just like monarchy, plutocracy, oligarchy; it is the "monos" meaning the king that is in-charge of the government. In plutocracy, it is the "plutos" meaning the rich people is in-charge of the government. The oligarchy means the "oligos"- the few. Thus, in democracy, it is the demos meaning the people, all the people or their elected representatives. The import is that what distinguishes democracy from these other forms of government is who rules and for whose benefit. In democratic government, the answer to both questions is the people.

Essien (2010) maintained that democracies are participatory in nature. If one goes to the etymological root of the word, "democracy", which is formed from the Greek words, "demos" meaning the people and "kratos" meaning power. The implication is that the people are in power. In reality, representative democracy tends to limit citizens' participation to voting, leaving actual governance to politicians. Even at that, dissenting individuals are normally oppressed by the tyranny of the majority. This is because the rule by the people which democracy typifies actually refers to majority rule, since the people are rarely unanimous. Democracy, therefore became synonymous with majority rule.

Makata, Okeke, Mba, Obike & Ojabo (2024) noted that despite the seemly and obvious disconnect between citizens and their political representatives in legislature under the constitutional democracy that necessitates representative democracy in Nigeria, law making ought to have involved policy determination which in a constitutional democracy is the function of the political group responsible to the people and engaged to discharge democratic social contract dividends.

Ordinarily, democracy is realizable as long as there is a substantial area of shared values and aspirations among the people and where they have the maturity to rise above differences. Once, this willingness to rub along together among the people disappears and differences become irreconcilable with ethnic or religious divisions, and fragmentations reaches the point of pluralism without a cohesive substrate, then government through democratic participation becomes precarious, if not impossible (Dias, 2013)

Alozie (2024) averred that the pluralistic nature of modern democratic state has led to the emergence of different class of individuals who occupy the various strata of the state either as leaders or the led. William Shakespeare

observed this correctly when he prophesized that some are born great, some achieve greatness, whereas some have greatness thrust upon them. These are the individuals who make things happen, whether good or bad.

Election and Electoral Process

Elections are obviously not a magical device for achieving ideal representation, they still remain the best and most practical device for giving the citizen in a mass democratic society the opportunity to make an intelligent selection, vest decision makers with the mantle of legitimacy and hold their activities in check. Election of public officials is a practical method or a modern ritual which enables the citizenry to invest in certain individuals with authority to make rules and formulate policies. In modern democratic states, it is important to know how many voters actually participate in elections. In many states in Africa, only a small percentage of the population participates in elections (Anyikwa & Nnamani, 2012).

An electoral process is an alternative to violence as a means of achieving governance. When an electoral process is perceived as unfair, unresponsive or corrupt, its political legitimacy is compromised and stakeholders are motivated to go outside of the established norms to achieve their objective. Electoral conflict and violence become tactics in political competition. Thus, when an electoral process becomes conflictive or violent, its function as an umpire for social decision making is damaged (Adegoke & Udeagwu, 2010).

Campaign Programmes and Perception

Moguluwa (2016) noted that executing campaign involves presenting behaviour changing messages to the target group or audience in such a way that they would be sufficiently convinced to adopt them as intended behaviour. Ezeah, Apeh, Omerigwe & Ojo (2014) submitted that campaign must be prepared in a way to accommodate many factors and issues that are vital to make the exercise successful and reduce lack of access to important information by audience in developing nations.

Bovee (2013) stated that perception is the process of being exposed to a stimulus, paying attention to some degree, and then interpreting the received message. For perception to take place, there must be exposure to stimuli with certain level of attention paid to the stimuli and finally, the stimuli are interpreted by the audience. Sinatra & Mason (2012) observed that perception is the interpretation of sensory information

Anaeto, Onasanjo & Osijeso (2008) maintained that the assumption of perception theory is that mass communicators want audience to pay attention to their messages, and make appropriate changes in attitudes or beliefs, or produce the desired behavioural responses. Woolfolk (2014) noted that perception is the process of detecting a stimulus and assigning meaning to it. This meaning is constructed based on both physical representations from the world and our existing knowledge. As perception continues, the features are organized into patterns

Theoretical Framework

The study was anchored on Positivist School of Thought. The major tenets of this school of thought are fundamental to the appreciation of the issue under study. The word, "positive" law derives from the word, "post" which means, "to put or to place". Sanni (2006) stated that positive law is therefore, the law put, placed or imposed upon the situations by the ruler. Some lawyers are content with the view that laws are rules promulgated by the sovereign. Positive law refers to constitution, the statutes enacted by the legislature, case laws and rules and regulations made by administrative agencies.

Dias (2013) maintained that the term, "positivism" has many meanings, which were tabulated by professor Hart as follows: (1) laws are commands. This meaning is associated with the two founders of British positivism, Bentham and his disciple. (2), the law as it is actually laid down, "positum", has to be kept separate from the law that ought to be. Bentham believed that a law must be defined as an assemblage of signs, declarative of a volition,

conceived or adopted by the sovereign in a state, concerning the conduct to be observed in a certain case by a certain person or class of person, who in the case in question are or are supposed to be subject to his power. Bentham's concept of a law is thus an imperative one, for which he himself preferred the term, "mandate". Thus, every law may be considered in eight different respects: source, subjects, objects, extent, aspects, force, remedial appendages, and expression.

Thus, positivist ideas have encountered the heaviest criticism. Professor Olivecrona has pointed out that everyone has a store of experiences of actual commands addressed in the imperative form of expression, there is a tendency to suppose that it must have emanated from a command. He pointed out that duties are ought propositions which are phrased imperatively, and it is a non sequitur to suppress that such phraseology of itself implies command.

Relating the views of the positivists to this study, it is believed that laws and rules are promulgated by the sovereign. Positive law, therefore, refers to the electoral act enacted by the National Assembly. The major focus of this study is the assessment and perception of the conduct of the Enugu State Local Government Areas' Elections in constitutional democracy in Nigeria among Agbani residents in Enugu State. Under the Electoral Act, 2022, every parties including the electoral umpire were expected to obey the laws that regulate the conduct of the Local Government Areas' Elections in Nigeria. Their obedience to the Electoral Act, 2022 is compulsory not obligatory. So, the Positivist School of Thought is in tandem with the principles and ideas enunciated in the Electoral Act, 2022 which is the central concern of the study.

Brief Review of Empirical Studies

Although, there are many research findings on elections, some of these findings only succeeded in establishing the relevance of elections in a democratic society. Empirical studies have established such connection. Gogo (2022) believed that the restoration of democracy in Nigeria in 1999 has significantly impacted on the socioeconomic wellbeing of Nigerians, characterized by yawning social inequality, pervasive poverty, monumental insecurity, hunger, gross abuse of public office, culture of impunity, unemployment and several other social maladies.

Ezike (2010) discovered that the Nigerian general and local government areas' elections were considered as the worst elections ever conducted in the world. Both local and foreign observers always condemned them as not being free and fair. It was believed that the ruling party normally rigged the elections to instill their candidates at both the Federal, State and Local Government levels.

These studies did not, however, dwell much on assessment and perception of the conduct of the Enugu State Local Government Areas' elections in constitutional democracy in Nigeria among Agbani residents in Enugu State. This study is novel in nature unlike many other researches on election.

Methodology

Research Design

Having the nature and objectives of this study in mind, survey research method was used for this task. Nworgu (1991) stated that survey research method is the study which aims at collecting data on, and describing in a systematic manner, the characteristics, features or facts about a given population. Nwodu (2006) maintained that Survey research method therefore, works on the premise that a given population is too large for any researcher to realistically observe all elements in the population. The import is that survey research method focuses on a representative sample derived from the entire population of study.

Scope of the Study

This study covered the elections in constitutional democracy: Perception of the conduct of the Enugu State Local Government Areas' among Agbani Residents in Enugu State.

Area of Study

Ordinarily, the area of study was Agbani in Nkanu-West Local Government Area, Enugu State.

Population of the Study

The population of study consists of the total number of Agbani community which is 41,832 (**Source: National Population Commission, 2006**)

Sample Size

Considering the fact that 2006 is too far a time, the researcher aligned himself with Owuamalam (2012), which maintained that the population of Nigerians has increased significantly since the last census which was held in 2006, and did a projection of 18 years (2006- 2024= 18) using an annual growth rate of 3.2 per cent (UNDP cited in Owuamalam, 2012). The projection formula provides that Pp= Gp x Pi x T

When added to the population of the community, it shall be: 41,832 + 24,095 = 65,927. Based on this, the sample size was determined using Taro Yamane Simplified formula (Isreal, 2012) which stated as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

$$n = 65,927$$

1+ 65, 927(0.0025) $n = 400$. Thus, 400 served as the sample size for this study.

Sample Technique

Interestingly, this study used purposive sampling technique. This method of sampling, Nwodu (2006) observed that it is often called judgmental sampling. Here, the respondents were selected on condition that they meet certain criteria. Also, Uzoagulu (2011) stated that purposive sampling technique ensures that only those elements that are relevant to the research are included. This means that the researcher is at liberty to judge, select or reject a respondent on the basis that the respondent meets or fails to meet the purpose of the research. Thus, purposive sampling technique tends to represent a section of the population that meets specific objective prescribed by the researcher. Ikeagwu (1998) indicated that the basic assumption behind this technique is that with good judgment and an appropriate strategy, one can handpick the cases to be included in the sample and thus, develop samples that are satisfactory in relation to one's needs.

Sources of Data

Bearing the nature of this work in mind, the study used primary and secondary sources of data.

Instrument of Data Collection

The instrument used for primary data collection was structured questionnaire. The copies of structured questionnaire were administered with the help of research assistants to the respondents.

Method of Data Analysis

The data collected were presented with frequency distribution tables and analyzed using simple percentage approach with the aid of computer through the application of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software for analysis.

Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings

Interestedly in this study, as noted earlier, 400 copies of the structured questionnaire were distributed to the

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respondents. However, a total of 398 copies of structured questionnaire were returned. One (1) copy was not returned while one copy was mutilated. Hence, 398 copies of questionnaire constituted the actual number of validly returned questionnaire used in the analysis.

Table 1: Respondents' Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	127	31.91	31.91	31.91
	Female	271	68.09	68.09	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 1 shows that 127 respondents representing 31.91% were males while 271 respondents representing 68.09% were females.

Research Question 1: What is the awareness level of the Agbani residents' on Enugu State Independent Electoral Commission (ENSIEC)'s conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections?

Table 2: The Awareness Level of the Agbani Residents

Variables		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Very high	94	23.62	23.62	23.62
	High	46	11.56	11.56	35.18
	Low	123	30.90	30.90	66.08
į	Very low	135	33.92	33.92	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 2 shows that 94 respondents representing 23.62% indicated that their awareness level on Enugu State Independent Electoral Commission (ENSIEC)'s conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections were very high; 46 respondents representing 11.56% indicated high awareness level on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections; 123 respondents representing 30.90 % indicated that their awareness level were low while 135 respondents representing 33.92% indicated very low.

Research Question 2: To what extent did the ENSIEC complied with the Electoral Act, 2022 guidelines in the conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections?

Table 3: The ENSIEC's Compliance with the Electoral Act, 2022 Guidelines.

Variables		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Very high	43	10.80	10.80	10.80
	High	82	20.60	20.60	31.40
	Low	94	23.62	23.62	55.02
	Very low	179	44.98	44.98	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The table 3 shows that 43 respondents representing 10.80% believed that the level at which the ENSIEC complied with the Electoral Act, 2022 guidelines in the conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections were very high; 82 respondents representing 20.60% believed that the compliance were high; 94 respondents representing 23.62% believed that the compliance were low while 179 respondents representing 44.98% indicated that the compliance were very low.

Research Question 3: What is the nature of perception of Agbani residents' on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections?

Table 4: The nature of Perception of Agbani Residents on Conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections

Variables	Frequency	Percent		Cumulative Percent
Favourable	31	7.79	7.79	7.79
Unfavourable	325	81.66	81.66	89.45
Neutral	42	10.55	10.55	100
Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 4 shows that 31 respondents representing 7.79% indicated that the nature of perception of Agbani residents on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections were favourable; 325 respondents representing 81.66% indicated that their perception on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' election were unfavourable while 42 respondents representing 10.55% were neutral.

Summary of Findings

Based on data gathered, presented and analyzed so far, the following findings emerged.

- 1. It is quite glaring from the findings in table two that showed that 94 respondents representing 23.62% indicated that their awareness level on Enugu State Independent Electoral Commission (ENSIEC)'s conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections were very high; 46 respondents representing 11.56% indicated high awareness level on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections; 123 respondents representing 30.90% indicated that their awareness were low while 135 respondents representing 33.92% indicated very low
- 2. The findings from table three revealed that 43 respondents representing 10.80% believed that the level at which the ENSIEC complied with the Electoral Act, 2022 guidelines in the conduct of the 2024 State Local Government

Areas' election were very high; 82 respondents representing 20.60% believed that the compliance were high; 94 respondents representing 23.62% believed that the compliance were low while 179 respondents representing 44.98% indicated that the compliance were very low.

3. The findings from table four (4) showed that 31 respondents representing 7.79% indicated that the nature of perception of Agbani residents on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections were favourable; 325 respondents representing 81.66% indicated that their perception on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections were unfavourable while 42 respondents representing 10.55% were neutral.

Discussion

From the data available, Agbani residents indicated that their awareness level on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' election were very low. This result is in tandem with the findings of Moguluwa (2016), which maintained that executing awareness campaign involves presenting behaviour changing message to the target audience in such a way that they would be sufficiently convinced to adopt them. It is believed that to participate in a local government areas' elections is to perform one's civic responsibility.

Additionally, majority of the respondents affirmed that the level of the ENSIEC's compliance with the Electoral Act, 2022 in the conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections were very low. This result lends credence to the findings of Ezike (2010), which discovered that the Nigeria general election and local government areas' elections were considered as the worst elections ever conducted in the world. Both the local and foreign observers always condemned them as not being free and fair.

Finally, the majority of the residents indicated that the nature of perception on ENSIEC's conduct of the 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections were unfavourable. This result supports the findings of Sinatra & Mason (2012), which observed that perception is the interpretation of sensory information.

Conclusion

The study concludes that the level of the ENSIEC's compliance with the Electoral Act, 2022 guidelines in the conduct of the 21st September, 2024 State Local Government Areas' elections was very low, and negates the regulations and guidelines for the conduct of local government areas' elections in Nigeria.

Recommendations

Finally, the study recommends that the ENSIEC should always comply with the Electoral Act, 2022 in conduct of the State Local Government Areas' elections. Take for instance, S. 28(1) of the Electoral Act, 2022 made it compulsory that Commission like ENSIEC shall not later than 360 days before the day appointed for holding of an election under this Act, publish a notice stating the date of the election and appointing the place at which nomination papers are to be delivered. The essence of this, is to create awareness on election in order to ensure the citizens' participation and cooperation.

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