PROGNOSTICATION OF NIGERIA'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ON APRIL 9, 2011

By Dr. Emmanuel Ojameruaye

emmaojameruaye@yahoo.com

Introduction

On April 9, 2011, Nigerians will go to the polls to elect a new President. Political pundits have been predicting the outcome of the election. However, most of the predictions are not scientific or analytical while some are subjective and deceptive. Any attempt to make objective and evidence-based predictions of election outcomes in Nigeria is fraught with many difficulties. Firstly, Nigerian elections are characterized by massive fraud and rigging. Human Rights Watch (2007) captured this in its analysis of the 2007 elections when it noted that "*the country's widely anticipated 2007 polls proved to be another violent farce. Many seasoned observers stated that the 2007 polls were among the worst they had ever witnessed anywhere in the world.*"[i] Secondly, most voters are gullible and are easy swayed by financial and materials inducements from candidates. Thirdly, many voters are influenced by primordial sentiments such as ethnicity and religion of candidates instead of the platform and qualification/experience of the candidates.

In this paper we attempt to predict the outcome of the presidential election sated for April 9, 2011 based on a simple mathematical model that utilizes the likely voters turnout rates and proportion of voters that are likely to vote for each of the presidential candidate in each of the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) in the country.

The Model

The model is $W_j = \sum R_i T_i P_{ij}$, where R_i = number of registered voters in state i; T_i = voter turnout rate in state i; P_{ij} = expected proportion of voters in state i who will vote for candidate/party j, $V_i = R_i T_i$ = the expected total votes in state i; $W_{ij} = V_i P_{ij}$ = expected total votes in state i for candidate/party j ; and $W_j = \sum W_{ij} = \sum V_i P_{ij}$ = expected total votes received by a party/candidate from all the 36 states and the FCT (i.e., n= 37 in the April election).

The model (5) states that the total votes a party/candidate expects to receive in the election (W_j) is a function of the number of registered voters (R_i), voter turnout rate (T_i) in each state/FCT, and the proportion of voters in each state/FCT that will vote for the party/candidate (P_{ij}). Thus,

if turnout rate is assumed to be uniform, a party/candidate this is popular in states with large number of registered voters (Ri) will most likely win the election provided the number of such states is large enough. As per Section 134 (2) and (3) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution, *for a candidate to be declared the winner of a presidential election, he/she must score the highest number of votes and not less than one-quarter of the votes in each of at least two-thirds of all the states of the federation and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.* This means that for candidate j to win the election, (a) his Wj must be greater than any other Wm (where m #j); and (b) his $Pij \geq$ 0.25 in at least two-third of the 36 states and FCT, i.e., 2/3 of 37 = 0.667x37 = 24.67 = 25 states/FCT, i.e. 25 states without the FCT or 24 states and the FCT.

Assumptions

As with most quantitative forecasting, it is necessary to make certain assumptions with regards to the parameters of the model. We assume that: (a) The voters register compiled by INEC for the election is valid and reflects the true population of voters who registered in each state; (b) Only persons listed in the register will be allowed to vote, and there will be no rigging. Also, no registered voter or group of voters will be deliberately prevented from voting. This means that the Pij will neither be inflated nor suppressed; (c) Voter turnout rates (Ti) will be uniform throughout the country. We assume that Ti = 70% for each state/FCT based on the 69% average turnout rate in the 2003 election which was adjudged to be better than the 2007 election[ii]. In reality, this rate will vary from state to state, but the author does not have enough time and resources to conduct a pre-election survey in each of states/FCT to determine the likely turnout rates (Ti) as well as likely percentage of registered voters that will vote for each candidate (Pij).

On the first assumption, there were several reports of irregularities during the last voters' registration exercise. However, the provisional voters register figures published by INEC on February 21, 2011 (at **www.inecnigeria.org**) seem to reflect the population distribution of the country with a few anomalies[iii]. The correlation coefficient between number of registered voters and population is 0.927 which is statistically significant at 5% level of better. As a measure of the validity of the number of voters registered in each state, we adopted the ratio of registered voters to the population in each state.[iv] A wide variation of this ratio from the mean ratio could be an indication of "over" or "under" registration (or inflation or suppression) of the registered

voters. The mean ratio (m) is 0.4825 while the standard deviation (s) is 0.1091. The results show that only Niger State had an extremely low voter registration rate, with only 18% of the population registered as against the national average of 48.25%. In fact, the ratio for Niger State is less than the mean minus two times the standard deviation (m − 2s). Four other states − Bayelsa, Benue, Cross River and Ekiti − all have relatively lower voter registration rate, less than the mean minus standard deviation (m −s). On the other hand, four states − Borno, Lagos, Plateau and Nassarawa − have relatively higher voter registration rate, more than the mean plus standard deviation (m + s). The registration rate in all the other 27 states fall within the range (m − s) and (m+s), i.e., between 0.3734 and 0.5916. In other words, 27 out of the 36 states and FCT have mean registration rate within the 99% confidence interval while 36 have rates within the 95% confidence interval. While changes in the population of these states since the 2006 census could account for the variation in the registration rates, there may very well be other factors.

Estimation

Although there are about 20 presidential candidates in the election, most observers agree that only four of them are in contention. These are the incumbent President Jonathan of the People Democratic Party (PDP), retired General Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), ex-EFCC boss Ribadu of Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), and Governor of Kano State Shekarau of the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP). We will restrict our analysis to these four candidates /parties. All other candidates/parties are grouped under "Others".

In the model, the Ri's are known (published by INEC). Therefore, if we assume a constant turnout rate (Ti), all we need to estimate the expected number of votes for a candidate in each state (Wij) are the Pij, i.e. the expected proportion of voters in each state who will likely vote for party/candidate j. The Pij coefficients can be estimated through an objective and well-structured pre-election survey. In stable democracies, the Pij coefficients are fairly stable and can be estimated with a high degree of certainty or confidence[v]. However, in many nascent democracies, the Pij coefficients tend to be unstable and volatile. The reliability and predictive power of the model depend on reliability of the predicted Pij coefficients.

In view of time and resource constraints, the author is unable to undertake the necessary surveys to estimate the Pij coefficients. The author has therefore used an eclectic approach to estimate the Pij coefficients based on recent information and reports in newspapers, results of some recent opinion polls (by Pollstar and NOI Gallup), and quasi-Delphi techniques[vi] Given this rather unscientific and crude approach, the estimated Pij's can be regarded as "guesstimates". Consequently, the estimated Wj should also be regarded as guesstimates.

Table 2 show the estimated Pij's for each state. Using these Pij's, the constant Ti's and the Ri from INEC website, we computed the expected number of votes by each candidate/party (Wj) are shown in table 3.

Results

The results displayed in table 3 show that Buhari/CPC will likely score the highest number of votes (12.8 million votes), thus satisfying the first condition for winner of the election as stipulated Section 134 (2) and (3) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution. However, he will score 25% of the votes in only 18 states and the FCT, i.e. 19 of the required 25 states/FCT. Thus, he will not meet the second condition of a winner as stipulated in the Constitution. Coming next to Buhari in terms of expected votes received in Jonathan with 12.3 million votes. He will have slightly better geographical spread, scoring at least 25% of the votes in 20 states/FCT but will also fall short of the required 25. Coming third will be Ribadu/ACN with 11.1 million votes and scoring at least 25% of the votes cast in12 states/FCT as against the required 25. Coming fourth is Shekarau/ANPP with 9.7million votes and scoring at least 25% of the votes in 15 states/FCT, still short of the required 25.

The results thus indicate that there will be no clear winner in the first ballot on April 9. A run-off election between Buhari/CPC and Jonathan/PDP will therefore be held. In the run-off election, both the CPC and PDP will make every effort to form an alliance with either ACN or ANPP or both, but the ACN will be the bride and decider of the outcome of winner of the run-off election. If PDP is able to form an alliance with ACN, and CPC forms an alliance with ANPP, it is most likely that PDP/ACN will win. However, if CPC is able to form an alliance with ACN and PDP forms an alliance with ANPP, then the CPC/ACN will win. However, newspaper reports indicate

that both the ACN and ANPP are more likely to form an alliance with CPC rather than with PDP. If both the ACN and ANPP refuse to form an alliance with PDP, then Jonathan/PDP will lose the election. If both ACN and ANPP refuse to form an alliance with CPC, then CPC will also lose the run-off election.

Discussion of Results

To understand why CPC may score more votes than PDP, it is necessary to look at the distribution of registered voters by geographic zones as shown in Figs. 1, and table 4.

Fig. 1: Distribution of Registered Voters and Population by Geographical Zones
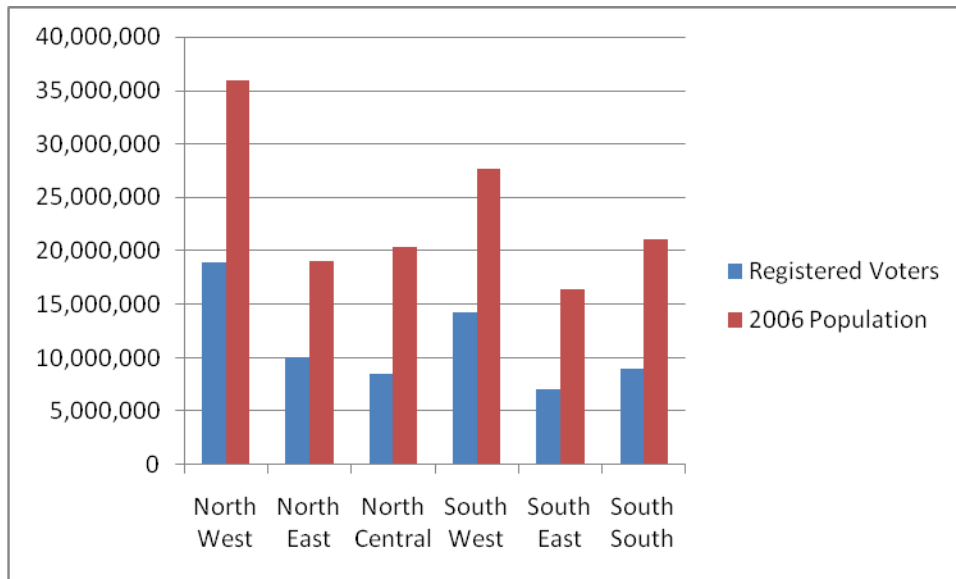
As shown in table 5, Buhari/CPC is expected to do very well in the North which accounts for 56% of registered voters (and 54% of the population), with the NW zone alone accounting for 28% of registered voters. The South where Jonathan is expected to do better than Buhari accounts for 44% of the registered voters (and 46% of population) with the SW (where the ACN is expected to better than PDP) accounting for 21% of the registered voters. The SS and SE zones combined (where Jonathan/PDP is expected to do far better than the other candidates/parties) account for only 24% of registered voters. Thus, while the ANPP may receive a significant number of votes in the North, the CPC will receive more votes. In addition, the CPC will receive more votes in the South than the ANPP because Buhari is better known than Shekarau. Given the crisis that has bedeviled the PDP in the SW and the fact that ACN is

5

traditional a SW party, the ACN will deny the PDP a significant number of votes in the South. The ACN has also made significant incursions into some of the SS states like Edo, Rivers and Cross Rivers. While Jonathan/PDP is expected to receive a majority of the votes in the SE, that zone accounts for only 10% of registered voters.

Table 4: Distribution of Population, Registered Voters and Projected Share of each Party in the Projected Votes in each Geographical Zone

Geographical Zone	2006 Population	Registered Voters	70% of Registered Voters	PDP	CPC	ACN	ANPP	Others	Total
North West	35,915,467	18,900,543	13,230,380	0.186	0.421	0.107	0.286	0.000	1.000
North East	18,984,299	10,038,119	7,026,683	0.167	0.358	0.133	0.342	0.000	1.000
North Central	20,369,956	8,561,699	5,993,189	0.243	0.286	0.200	0.221	0.050	1.000
South West	27,722,432	14,298,356	10,008,849	0.208	0.192	0.500	0.092	0.008	1.000
South East	16,395,555	7,028,560	4,919,992	0.500	0.100	0.150	0.150	0.100	1.000
South South	21,044,081	8,937,057	6,255,940	0.433	0.100	0.283	0.080	0.103	1.000
Total	140,431,790	67,764,334	47,435,034						

Table 5: Projected Number of Votes Received by each Party in each Geographical Zone

	70% of Registered Voters	PDP	CPC	ACN	ANPP	Others
North West	13,230,380	2,457,071	5,575,660	1,417,541	3,780,109	-
North East	7,026,683	1,171,114	2,517,895	936,891	2,400,783	-
North Central	5,993,189	1,455,489	1,712,340	1,198,638	1,327,063	299,659
South West	10,008,849	2,085,177	1,918,363	5,004,425	917,478	83,407
South East	4,919,992	2,459,996	491,999	737,999	737,999	491,999
South South	6,255,940	2,710,907	625,594	1,772,516	500,475	646,447
Total	47,435,034	12,339,754	12,841,851	11,068,009	9,663,907	1,521,513

Why is the ruling PDP facing such a formidable challenge from the other three parties? After 12 years of controlling the Federal Government and over 70% of the State Governments, the

fortunes of PDP have been waning due to a combination of many factors. Firstly, the zoning issue within the PDP has caused significant disaffection in the North. Many Northerners feel that the PDP should have made a Northerner its flag-bearer in order to complete the "tenure" of late President Yar'Adau. Even though this feeling is unjustified and appears driven by the "born-to-rule" syndrome, it is strong among most Northerners who will prefer to vote for one of their own irrespective of the party. Unfortunately, there is no such feeling for Jonathan among the Southern electorates. However, many Southerners are sympathetic to him in view of the fact that this will be the first (providential) opportunity for a candidate from the SS to win a presidential election. Most voters in the SW are not keen in supporting a PDP presidential candidate from the SS because it will increase the time the presidency will rotate to the SW. They believe that they have a better and quicker chance of ascendancy to Presidency again if they vote for an ACN or CPC presidential candidate since both parties have a SW person as vice presidential candidate. The SE appears confused. While voting for Jonathan will increase the time a SE person will become the PDP presidential candidate, they do not seem to a better option because neither ACN or CPC has as SE vice presidential candidate.

Secondly, many Nigerians are yearning for change. The "change" ("Yes We Can") "virus" seems to have spread to Nigeria. The yearning for change is not unrelated with the relatively poor and disappointing performance of the PDP over the past 12 years. Although Jonathan is a nice and humble person, some observers say he is flying a wrong flag. According to one observer, "*Jonathan has portrayed himself as a man of the status quo while Buhari has portrayed himself as a man of change ... the PDP on which Jonathan stands has been stained beyond redemption*". Prof. Soyinka's criticism of PDP is even more scathing when he said that "*It will take total blindness to vote for the PDP in 2011. only 4 sets of people can vote for the PDP in 2011: (1) Those who are intellectually blind. (2) Those who are blinded by ethnicity. (3) Those who are blinded by corruption and therefore afraid of the unknown, should power change hands; and finally (4) Those who are suffering from a combination of the above 4 terminal sicknesses*". Many Nigerians believe that PDP has failed to deliver the "dividends" of democracy to the masses and to resolve the deeply seated problem facing the country including religious/ethnic/resource-based conflicts, corruption, erratic and unreliable electric power supply,

fraudulent and violent elections. If Jonathan loses the election, it will be a vote of no confidence on PDP, but not necessarily on the person of Jonathan.

As for Buhari, he seems to have waxed stronger after losing both the 2003 and 2007 elections. His tenacity and experience seems to be paying off. His main problem is wining the hearts and minds of many Southerners who still see him as an Islamic fundamentalist who may foist Sharia law on the entire country. Others see him as a strong disciplinarian who will re-introduce the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) and other draconian measures. Corrupt officials and politicians fear he will terrorize them. For South-South (Niger Delta) region, there are fears that he will not address the resource control issue and may resort to use of military might to pacify the region. In order to dispel the fears of Islamic fundamentalism, he has appointed a fiery Pentecostal pastor, Bakare, as his running mate. However, he must also address the other concerns before and after the elections if he is to win general acceptability in the South.

With regards to Ribadu, his police background, limited experience in governance, and some of the controversies that trailed his chairmanship of the EFCC are points for concern for many voters. His youthfulness is however an appeal to many voters. While he may score the majority votes in the SW because that region is the home of the ACN, it is unlikely that he will do very well in the other zones. He will however do well in some SS states where corruption has been an issue and people are craving for an anti-corruption crusader.

As for Shekarau, he seems to be a replica of the legendary Aminu Kano. He is a progressive with limited outreach and not well-known outside Kano and neighboring states.

Conclusion

To the extent that some voters in the South see the CPC, ACN and ANPP as pursing the "born-to-rule" Northern agenda, these three parties may not have enough votes in the SE and SS to reach the 25% threshold in many of the states in these two zones. These parties must therefore present themselves as agents of genuine change and must form alliance in order to capture power from PDP. Despite the challenges facing the PDP, it has the advantage of incumbency which it can use to its advantage. If PDP performs very well in the National Assembly elections on April 4, it will benefit from a "bandwagon effect" because most Nigerians prefer to join the winner

than risk joining or voting for the opposition because of the "winner-takes-it-all" syndrome in Nigerian politics. The modified open ballot system (MOBS) which INEC has decided to adopt for all the elections will however blunt the "incumbency advantage" enjoyed by PDP in the 2003 and 2007 elections because the party in power usually has more power to rig elections.

From all indications including the predictions in this paper, a run-off election between Buhari and Jonathan is very likely and the winner of the run-off election will be the party that is able to form an alliance with the ACN. While there are indications that ACN will most likely form an alliance with the CPC, in politics anything is possible and we cannot rule out a PDP/ACN alliance, hence a PDP victory.

Finally, in order to strengthen democracy in Nigeria at this stage of the country's political development, it is important to address the issue of zoning not only within the parties but at a constitutional level. Since zoning has become a contentious issue in Nigerian elections, it should be entrenched in Nigerian constitution. To this end, a President should be entitled to only a one-term of 5 years and in each presidential election, the presidential candidates of all parties must come from the zone to which he Presidency is zoned in for that election. The Presidency should then rotate from one zone to another every five years, alternating between northern and southern zones in alphabetical order, i.e. NC, SE, NE, SS, NW and SW. If such was the situation, then all parties would have fielded SS presidential candidates in this year's election, and the contest would have been more on development issues, competency and record of the candidates. For instance, it would have been easier for all the "opposition" parties to form an alliance with Prof. Patrick Utomi (from the SS zone) as their candidate. Imagine a run-off election between Utomi and Jonathan (both are from the SS one) or among Buhari/CPC, Shekarau/ANPP, Ribadu/ACN, Babangida or Atiku/PDP (all from the North), similar to the 1999 election between Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo/PDP) and Chief Olu Falae/AD-APP (both from the SW zone). It will certainly be a more interesting election that will produce the best candidate as President and a more virile opposition

Table 1: Population, Registered Voters and Voter/Population Ration in the 36 States and FCT

State	Registered Voters	2006 Population	% of Voters	% Share of Population	%V - %P	V/P ratio
ABIA	1,481,191	2,845,380	2.19	2.03	0.16	0.52
ADAMAWA	1,714,860	3,178,950	2.53	2.26	0.27	0.54
AKWA IBOM	1,714,781	3,902,051	2.53	2.78	-0.24	0.44
ANAMBRA	1,758,220	4,177,828	2.60	2.98	-0.38	0.42
BAUCHI	1,835,562	4,653,066	2.71	3.31	-0.60	0.39
BAYELSA	472,389	1,704,515	0.70	1.21	-0.52	0.28
BENUE	1,415,162	4,253,641	2.09	3.03	-0.94	0.33
BORNO	2,730,368	4,171,104	4.03	2.97	1.06	0.65
CROSS RIVER	1,018,550	2,892,988	1.51	2.06	-0.55	0.35
DELTA	1,900,055	4,112,445	2.81	2.93	-0.12	0.46
EBONYI	876,249	2,176,947	1.29	1.55	-0.26	0.40
EDO	1,412,225	3,233,366	2.09	2.30	-0.22	0.44
EKITI	750,753	2,398,957	1.11	1.71	-0.60	0.31
ENUGU	1,301,185	3,267,837	1.92	2.33	-0.40	0.40
FCT	886,323	1,406,239	1.31	1.00	0.31	0.63
GOMBE	1,266,993	2,365,040	1.87	1.68	0.19	0.54
IMO	1,611,715	3,927,563	2.38	2.80	-0.42	0.41
JIGAWA	1,852,698	4,361,002	2.74	3.11	-0.37	0.42
KADUNA	3,565,762	6,113,503	5.27	4.35	0.92	0.58
KANO	5,135,415	9,401,288	7.59	6.69	0.89	0.55
KATSINA	2,931,668	5,801,584	4.33	4.13	0.20	0.51
KEBBI	1,603,468	3,256,541	2.37	2.32	0.05	0.49
KOGI	1,215,405	3,314,043	1.80	2.36	-0.56	0.37
KWARA	1,115,665	2,365,353	1.65	1.68	-0.04	0.47
LAGOS	6,247,845	9,113,605	9.23	6.49	2.74	0.69
NASSARAWA	1,224,206	1,869,377	1.81	1.33	0.48	0.65
NIGER	721,485	3,954,772	1.07	2.82	-1.75	0.18

OGUN	1,869,326	3,751,140	2.76	2.67	0.09	0.50
ONDO	1,558,975	3,460,877	2.30	2.46	-0.16	0.45
OSUN	1,293,967	3,416,959	1.91	2.43	-0.52	0.38
OYO	2,577,490	5,580,894	3.81	3.97	-0.17	0.46
PLATEAU	1,983,453	3,206,531	2.93	2.28	0.65	0.62
RIVERS	2,419,057	5,198,716	3.57	3.70	-0.13	0.47
SOKOTO	2,065,508	3,702,676	3.05	2.64	0.42	0.56
TARABA	1,308,106	2,294,800	1.93	1.63	0.30	0.57
YOBE	1,182,230	2,321,339	1.75	1.65	0.09	0.51
ZAMFARA	1,746,024	3,278,873	2.58	2.33	0.25	0.53
TOTAL	67,764,334	140,431,790	100.13	100.00	0.13	0.48

Table 2: Projected Share of Votes received by Party in the 36 States and FCT (Pij)

State	Registered Voters (Ri)	70% of Registered Voters (Ti)	PDP (Pi1)	CPC (Pi2)	CAN (Pi3)	ANPP (Pi4)	Others (Pi5)	Total
ABIA	1,481,191	1,036,834	0.500	0.100	0.150	0.150	0.100	1.000
ADAMAWA	1,714,860	1,200,402	0.250	0.350	0.150	0.250	0.000	1.000
AKWA IBOM	1,714,781	1,200,347	0.350	0.100	0.400	0.100	0.050	1.000
ANAMBRA	1,758,220	1,230,754	0.500	0.100	0.150	0.150	0.100	1.000
BAUCHI	1,835,562	1,284,893	0.200	0.400	0.200	0.200	0.000	1.000
BAYELSA	472,389	330,672	0.650	0.050	0.100	0.050	0.150	1.000
BENUE	1,415,162	990,613	0.400	0.300	0.200	0.050	0.050	1.000
BORNO	2,730,368	1,911,258	0.100	0.300	0.100	0.500	0.000	1.000
CROSS RIVER	1,018,550	712,985	0.600	0.100	0.250	0.030	0.020	1.000
DELTA	1,900,055	1,330,039	0.300	0.100	0.300	0.100	0.200	1.000
EBONYI	876,249	613,374	0.500	0.100	0.150	0.150	0.100	1.000
EDO	1,412,225	988,558	0.300	0.150	0.350	0.100	0.100	1.000
EKITI	750,753	525,527	0.200	0.200	0.500	0.100	0.000	1.000
ENUGU	1,301,185	910,830	0.500	0.100	0.150	0.150	0.100	1.000
FCT	886,323	620,426	0.350	0.300	0.200	0.100	0.050	1.000
GOMBE	1,266,993	886,895	0.250	0.350	0.150	0.250	0.000	1.000
IMO	1,611,715	1,128,201	0.500	0.100	0.150	0.150	0.100	1.000
JIGAWA	1,852,698	1,296,889	0.250	0.350	0.150	0.250	0.000	1.000
KADUNA	3,565,762	2,496,033	0.350	0.300	0.100	0.250	0.000	1.000
KANO	5,135,415	3,594,791	0.100	0.450	0.100	0.350	0.000	1.000
KATSINA	2,931,668	2,052,168	0.050	0.650	0.100	0.200	0.000	1.000
KEBBI	1,603,468	1,122,428	0.100	0.450	0.100	0.350	0.000	1.000
KOGI	1,215,405	850,784	0.200	0.300	0.150	0.350	0.000	1.000
KWARA	1,115,665	780,966	0.150	0.300	0.350	0.200	0.000	1.000
LAGOS	6,247,845	4,373,492	0.150	0.150	0.600	0.050	0.050	1.000
NASSARAWA	1,224,206	856,944	0.100	0.450	0.100	0.350	0.000	1.000

NIGER	721,485	505,040	0.300	0.250	0.150	0.250	0.050	1.000
OGUN	1,869,326	1,308,528	0.300	0.200	0.400	0.100	0.000	1.000
ONDO	1,558,975	1,091,283	0.200	0.200	0.500	0.100	0.000	1.000
OSUN	1,293,967	905,777	0.200	0.200	0.500	0.100	0.000	1.000
OYO	2,577,490	1,804,243	0.200	0.200	0.500	0.100	0.000	1.000
PLATEAU	1,983,453	1,388,417	0.200	0.100	0.250	0.250	0.200	1.000
RIVERS	2,419,057	1,693,340	0.400	0.100	0.300	0.100	0.100	1.000
SOKOTO	2,065,508	1,445,856	0.250	0.350	0.100	0.300	0.000	1.000
TARABA	1,308,106	915,674	0.100	0.450	0.100	0.350	0.000	1.000
YOBE	1,182,230	827,561	0.100	0.300	0.100	0.500	0.000	1.000
ZAMFARA	1,746,024	1,222,217	0.200	0.400	0.100	0.300	0.000	1.000
TOTAL	67,764,334	47,435,034						

Table 3: Projected Number of Votes received by Party in the 36 States and FCT (Wij)

States	70% of Registered Votes	PDP (Wi1)	CPC (Wi2)	ACN (Wi3)	ANPP (Wi4)	Others (Wi5)
ABIA	1,036,834	518,417	103,683	155,525	155,525	103,683
ADAMAWA	1,200,402	300,101	420,141	180,060	300,101	-
AKWA IBOM	1,200,347	420,121	120,035	480,139	120,035	60,017
ANAMBRA	1,230,754	615,377	123,075	184,613	184,613	123,075
BAUCHI	1,284,893	256,979	513,957	256,979	256,979	-
BAYELSA	330,672	214,937	16,534	33,067	16,534	49,601
BENUE	990,613	396,245	297,184	198,123	49,531	49,531
BORNO	1,911,258	191,126	573,377	191,126	955,629	-
CROSS RIVER	712,985	427,791	71,299	178,246	21,390	14,260
DELTA	1,330,039	399,012	133,004	399,012	133,004	266,008
EBONYI	613,374	306,687	61,337	92,006	92,006	61,337
EDO	988,558	296,567	148,284	345,995	98,856	98,856
EKITI	525,527	105,105	105,105	262,764	52,553	-
ENUGU	910,830	455,415	91,083	136,624	136,624	91,083
FCT	620,426	217,149	186,128	124,085	62,043	31,021
GOMBE	886,895	221,724	310,413	133,034	221,724	-
IMO	1,128,201	564,100	112,820	169,230	169,230	112,820
JIGAWA	1,296,889	324,222	453,911	194,533	324,222	-
KADUNA	2,496,033	873,612	748,810	249,603	624,008	-
KANO	3,594,791	359,479	1,617,656	359,479	1,258,177	-
KATSINA	2,052,168	102,608	1,333,909	205,217	410,434	-
KEBBI	1,122,428	112,243	505,092	112,243	392,850	-
KOGI	850,784	170,157	255,235	127,618	297,774	-
KWARA	780,966	117,145	234,290	273,338	156,193	-
LAGOS	4,373,492	656,024	656,024	2,624,095	218,675	218,675
NASSARAWA	856,944	85,694	385,625	85,694	299,930	-
NIGER	505,040	151,512	126,260	75,756	126,260	25,252
OGUN	1,308,528	392,558	261,706	523,411	130,853	-

ONDO	1,091,283	218,257	218,257	545,641	109,128	-
OSUN	905,777	181,155	181,155	452,888	90,578	-
OYO	1,804,243	360,849	360,849	902,122	180,424	-
PLATEAU	1,388,417	277,683	138,842	347,104	347,104	277,683
RIVERS	1,693,340	677,336	169,334	508,002	169,334	169,334
SOKOTO	1,445,856	361,464	506,049	144,586	433,757	-
TARABA	915,674	91,567	412,053	91,567	320,486	-
YOBE	827,561	82,756	248,268	82,756	413,781	-
ZAMFARA	1,222,217	244,443	488,887	122,222	366,665	-
TOTAL	47,435,034	12,339,754	12,841,851	11,068,009	9,663,907	1,521,513

Endnotes

[i] Human Rights Watch (2007). Criminal politics: Violence, Godfathers and Corruption in Nigeria, p.2

[ii] Ibid, 14 – 16.

[iii] After the completion of the analysis, there were newspaper reports that INEC has issued a revised voter register on March 23, 2010 (see Tribune of March 25, 2011). The revised voters' register seem to have corrected some of the anomalies and concerns raised by some Governors (especially Niger State Governor) by increasing the number of registered voters in those states. For instance, the Tribune reported that the number of registered voters in Niger State was increased to 2.44 million from the previous level of 0.721 million, but the number in some states such a Osun state remained unchanged. The revision of the register has raised serious credibility issues. Also, at the time of completion of this paper (on March 27, 2010), INEC had not published the revised numbers on their website. The numbers on the website are still the provisional figures published on Feb. 21, 2011.

[iv] Another measure is the difference between the percentage share of registered voters and the percentage share in population (see sixth column in table 1).

[v] Writing on voter behavior in the United States, Brams (2004, p. 247-248) notes that "*if there is anything that has emerged from research on electoral behavior over the past 40 years, it is that most people make up their minds about whom they will vote for in a presidential election well before the onset of campaigning...although campaign changes few minds...for the typical 20 to 40 percent of the electorate undecided about the choice of a candidate at the start of a presidential campaign, the campaign will not only be decisive to their voting decisions but will also prove decisive to the choice of a candidate by a majority or a plurality of the electorate. This 20 to 40 percent minority of the electorate is usually more than sufficient to change the outcome of a presidential election, which is why campaigns are waged to make only marginal changes in the distribution of voter preferences*" See Brams, S.J.(2004). Game Theory and Politics. Dover Publications, Inc. NY.

[vi] This is through the sounding of the views and opinions of some experts and observers of Nigerian politics.