

## **An Analysis of Factors Responsible for Low Voters' Turnout in the 2023 Presidential Elections in Northeast, Nigeria**

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### **ABSTRACT**

**T**his study examined consolidation of democracy through election and good governance in the Fourth Republic with specific reference to factors responsible for low voters' turnout in the 2023 Presidential Election in the North-East, Nigeria. The trend of General Elections conducted since 1999 showed that Nigeria witnessed a consistent decline in electoral voting. The voting turnout for the Presidential election was 52% in 1999, 69% in 2003, 58% in 2007, 54% in 2011, 44% in 2015, 35% in 2019 and 27% in 2023. The study area is North East Nigeria that comprises Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe states. For the purpose of data collection - Borno, Gombe and Yobe were conveniently selected. The study employed Mixed Method Research that involved quantitative and qualitative techniques of data collection and analysis. Primary and secondary data were sourced through questionnaire administration, Key Informant Interview with traditional rulers, political party members, INEC officials as well as document analysis. The findings of the study revealed that failure of democratic system in place to provide good governance that can promote and guarantee development of education, healthcare, good road network, water supply, housing and security among others. Other factors include insecurity and incidence of election related violence, CBN cashless policy (cash scarcity), desire of ruling class to remain in power at all cost and lack of internal party democracy. The study recommended the need for good governance that can guarantee security and welfare of the people.

**Keywords:** Democracy, Election, Democratic Consolidation, Voters' Turnout, Presidential Election

### **INTRODUCTION**

Scholarly works on election in particular and democracy in general have established that higher voters' turnout in an election is an important indicator of stable democratic and political system. Active political participation through election shows the extent of acceptance of democracy as a system of government. It is considered very vital to democratic consolidation. Indeed, voting paves way for the emergence of governments who in turn utilize their mandates in the design and execution of policies and programs, based on democratic values, to improve the living condition of their citizenry. Thus, election has become one of the most important aspects of democracy. This is because, through elections people confer mandate and accord legitimacy to, or withdraw it from, political leadership.

Despite the imperative of elections, keen observers of democratic behaviour can detect incidents of electoral boycotting and voter abstinence. For example, the Nigeria's 2023 Presidential Election recorded low voters' turnout. Out of the total 93,469,008 million registered voters, only 24,965,218 million persons voted in the Presidential and National Assembly elections. This turnout represents 27%, the lowest since the return to democratic dispensation in 1999 (Ojukwu, Umeifekwem & Okeke, 2023; Awotayo, Oderinde, Olaniran, & Akinrinde, 2023; Hassan, 2024; INEC, Report of the 2023 General Election).

The low voter turnout in the 2023 General Election has not only raised serious concerns about the participation of citizens in choosing leaders through democratic means but also put to question the viability and hope for consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. It is against this background that this study intends to interrogate factors responsible for low voter turnout in the 2023 Presidential Election and its implications for democratic consolidation in the North-East region of the country.

### **Democracy, Election and Voters' Turnout In Nigeria**

Democracy is a form of government in which the political constituents of a country (its citizens) have the right to choose its leaders through free and fair elections. Indeed, free and fair election is the benchmark of the democratic system of governance. In other words, democracy implies that the people have the opportunity to decide who governs them (Ojukwu, Umeifekwem & Okeke, 2023). In the world today, democratic system of government is widely believed to be the ultimate ideals that modern civilization strives to create and sustain because it gives room for popular will, legitimacy, extensive representation, as well as substantive citizens' participation and views that fit into the functioning of a fair and just society (Isiaka, Ibrahim & Kolawale, 2021).

For a state to be regarded as democratic it has to fulfil certain tenets. First, it has to conduct elections where the people's choice will be put in power (Ikenga, 2024). Elections in democracies play a vital role in ensuring the representation of popular will and securing the legitimacy of the political system (Temple, Chukwunyenye & Funmilayo, 2024). Elections serve the purpose of selecting leaders according to the rules and regulations of societies. It provides the opportunities for the smooth transfer of political power from one administration to the other, and from groups to groups thereby ensuring political and socio-economic stability in societies (Oluwatusin, Daisi & Oluwatusin, 2020). Regular elections offer the people the opportunity to accept or refuse the men who are to govern them. It is the political right enjoyed by the people to decide who should govern them in a free and fair election that separates democracy from any other kind of political system (Ojukwu et al., 2023).

Elections, thus, serve as medium for democratic participation. As a vital ingredient of democracy, political participation is utilized to authenticate and legitimize a government for general acceptance (Obi, Asogwa & Ibenekwu, 2023). Indeed, popular participation in elections will help create room for the emergence of credible leaders through a credible election process (Udenta & Udenta, 2024). The success of any democracy depends on the ability of citizens to hold elected officials accountable and the responsiveness of elected officials to the needs of their constituents.

The fact that Nigeria successfully continues to conduct elections is a major achievement in its political history. For instance, the 2019 Presidential Elections were followed with great expectations because of the improvements recorded in the previous general elections in 2015 which generated positive perception of the electoral process for a number of reasons. For the first time in Nigeria's electoral history, a winner emerged from the opposition party, and there was a successful alternation of power (Onapajo & Babalola, 2020).

Second, good governance is a requisite for democratic process. It ensures justice, fairness, equity and inclusion for all (Udenta & Udenta, 2024). Additionally, good governance creates the enabling environment for free and fair election (Folu, 2020) through which citizens are expected to participate in all the political spheres of the state, government should make provision for a viable democracy (Isiaka, Ibrahim & Kolawale, 2021) (Isiaka et al., 2021).

However, governments at all levels of Nigeria's polity have failed to live up to the promises of good governance made to the people (Udenta & Udenta, 2024). The consequence of this

failure is glaring deficits in governance (Obi et al., 2023) manifested through election rigging, violence, thuggery, God-fatherism (Udenta & Udenta, 2024). Thus, Nigeria’s current political landscape characterized by materialistic politics, ineffectiveness and exclusion requires re-evaluation (Itesi et al., 2024)

Breaking this cycle requires a concerted effort to promote political education, civic engagement, and strong institutions that promote transparency, fairness and accountability (McArthur Foundation, 2022). The introduction of the core citizenry enlightenment subjects, in the form of Civic Education and Social Studies, has been effective in stimulating citizens to avoid violence in elections as well as in encouraging spurring their participation in the electoral process and other democratic activities (Omoniyi & Adebisi, 2022).

Indeed, the corrupt use of money during election is the bane of democracy in Nigeria (Folu, 2020). It undermines the integrity of the electoral process. Although laws exist to regulate political financing in Nigeria, they lack robust provision for transparency and accountability in political funding. Political parties are not required to disclose their sources of funding. This lack of transparency makes it challenging to monitor and prevent illicit financial flows in the electoral process or to hold elected officials accountable for their actions (McArthur Foundation, 2022).

Incidences of political violence during and after elections in Nigeria have always led to loss of lives and property (Oluwatusin et al., 2020). However, consequences of bad governance, insecurity, electoral violence as well electoral mal-practice has resulted in voters’ apathy in the country. Blais, (2006) raised this fundamental question to guide an investigation titled “What Affects Voter Turnout?” The basis for this question was due to the fact that voters’ turnout differs across regions and countries in some elections. Some factors are responsible for the variation in voters’ turnout. Though, the dominant view in the literature has established some robust patterns that are responsible for it. It is scientific, institutional and contextual investigation that can reveal the reality under a particular political environment.

Fagunwa, (undated) Abdullahi and Arabo (2023) observed and argued in respect of voters’ turnout in Nigeria’s democratic journey that political participation through election is a major component of democracy. Through election, the citizens of a given country have the opportunity to decide who represents them in governance at the local, state and national levels. Contrary to this expectation in Nigeria, the elections over the years and even in recent times have been affected by decreasing level of political participation. Voters’ apathy which is an element of political apathy has continued to undermine Nigeria’s voting process. This is in fact evidential in the 2015 General Election where less than half of the registered voters, 42.76%, officially voted. That clearly shows millions of Nigerians were not satisfied with the democratic process and therefore, level of political apathy measured through voting was very low.

**TABLE 1.1 TREND OF VOTERS’ TURNOUT IN NIGERIA’S FOURTH REPUBLIC (1999 TO 2023)**

<b>General Elections</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Total Votes cast</b>	<b>Percentage of turnout</b>
1999	57,938,945	30,280,052	52%
2003	60,823,022	42,081,735	69%
2007	65,567,036	35,397,627	58%
2011	73,528,040	39,469,484	54%
2015	67,422,005	29,432,083	44%

2019	84,004,084	28,614,190	35%
2023	93,469,008	24,965,218	27%

**Source: Developed based on INEC Presidential Election results & other Works**

**TABLE 1.2: 2023 VOTERS' TURNOUT IN THE 6 GEOPOLITICAL ZONES**

<b>GEO-POLITICAL ZONE</b>	<b>REGISTERED VOTERS</b>	<b>TOTAL VOTES CAST</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE OF TURNOUT</b>
<b>North East</b>	12,542,429	3,612,527	28.80
<b>North West</b>	22,255,562	6,912,574	31.10
<b>North Central (&amp; FCT, Abuja)</b>	15,363,731	4,730,591	30.80
<b>South East</b>	10,907,606	2,282,212	20.92
<b>South West</b>	17,958,966	4,440,366	24.73
<b>South South</b>	14,440,714	3,011,093	20.85
<b>Total</b>	<b>93,469,008</b>	<b>24,989,363</b>	

**Source: Culled from Hassan (2024:328)**

Moses and Edet (2023) investigated the role of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in conducting credible elections in Nigeria and the challenges it faced as the Election Management Body (EMB) in conducting 2023 presidential election. The findings of the study revealed that the election had low voters turn out with only 24 million voters; the winner secured only 8.79 million votes which was the lowest in the history of Presidential Elections in the country since 1999. Though, some factors that affected the election included the Naira redesigned policy, electoral violence, low voter turnout, suppression of voters and technological failure are identified as challenges that hindered the credibility of 2023 presidential election.

Idowu, (2022:146) observed that in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, the quality of elections is compromised, raising questions about the critical role of the Election Management Body (EMB), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and other electoral stakeholders, including the electorate. Compromising quality of elections is responsible for voter suppression and intimidation, election violence, vote buying, partisanship by security personnel, abuse of incumbency, journalists' harassment, and operational deficiencies and campaign on Election Day among others. Considering history of elections in Nigeria, electoral malpractices characterized many elections in the polity.

### **Democratic Consolidation through Credible Election: Impact of Good Governance**

Awotayo, Oderinde, Olaniran, and Akinrinde's (2023) work on "Low Voter Turnout in Elections in Nigeria: A Call for better Management of Elections and Government Commitment to Growing Voter Participation" observed that there is inadequacy of empirical data on the alarmingly low rate of voter turnout in Nigeria's elections in recent times and its adverse implications for democratic consolidation in the country. Based on the methodology and theoretical approach adopted, the investigation discovered some factors responsible for the low voter turnout and the overall attitude of the Nigerian electorate towards political election. The higher the credibility of the election, the higher the turnout in an election. Therefore, management of election by the Election Management Body (EMB) credibly will lead to high voter turnout and by extension contribute positively democratic consolidation.

Ojukwu, Umeifekwem, and Okeke's (2023) study titled: "Democracy and 2023 General Elections in Nigeria: Retrospect and Prospects" The study recognized democracy as a form of government in which citizens have the right to choose their leaders through free, fair and credible elections. When election has taken under this atmosphere then, people have the opportunity to decide who governs them. Regular elections offer the eligible citizens to accept or voted out those that fail to deliver their mandates. Election is a fundamental constitutional right of the people to decide who should govern them under democratic political system. The 2023 general election is the seventh election in the Fourth Republic.

the election witnessed the application of new technology; the Bi-modal Voting Accreditation System (BVAS) and INEC Results Viewing Portal (IReV), to improve credibility of the 2023 polls. Despite the successes recorded due to the application of the new technology; the election was conducted under a deeply contentious atmosphere, including widespread insecurity and was greatly marred by numerous challenges such as inefficient management of permanent voters cards (PVCs) distribution, failure of operational and logistical arrangements, malfunctioning of election technology, vote manipulation, vote buying, political violence, lack of transparent results collation and declaration process, and poor crisis communication among others as reported by local and international election observers. With regards to methodology, it relied on qualitative data gathered from secondary sources. The study revealed that the election fell short of Nigerian citizens' expectations and democratic principles.

Seriki, Jimoh and Daniel (2023) assessed the 2023 Presidential Election in Kwara State, Nigeria. The work examined the 2023 Presidential Election in Kwara State, as one of the states in North Central, Nigeria. Major objective of the study was to analyse the Presidential Election the in State through an in-depth analysis from an electoral behaviour perspective. The work employed Altruism theory of voting behaviour. The research generated both primary (interview) and secondary data (available document). The sources of the primary data comprised of Key Informant Interviews (KII) with INEC officials, party agents, and electorates; the secondary data include texts, journals, television media, and newspapers. The findings show the APC candidate was the winner of the presidential election. Though, there were technical challenges related to the operation of the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS). The study recommended the need to improve the technology for smooth conduct of election.

### **Methodology**

This study employed Mixed Method Research. For the purpose of this study, primary and secondary data were generated. Documentary sources such as books, journal articles, reports, and newspapers constituted relevant data for the study. At the same time, primary data were generated through Key Informant Interview and questionnaire administration in respect of the problem investigated. Population of this study comprised staff of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Traditional Rulers, Political Parties/politicians, voters/the general public. Research design is the master blueprint, which provides direction to the work concerning the effectiveness and the method used in the data collection, identifying the nature of data to be collected (Creswell, 2009; Creswell, 2013). With regards to data analysis, descriptive aspect of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and Thematic Content Analysis were used in analyzing the quantitative and qualitative data.

The study covered the 3 states in North-East Nigeria, using Local Governments (2 LGA in each state = 6 Local Governments),

- 3 States were Yobe, Borno and Gombe.

- In each of the selected LGAs, one political ward was selected totalling 6 using Purposive Sampling,
- Political wards were drawn from the sampled LGAs, this is to ensure adequate spread and representation of the sampled respondents.

300 respondents were selected using quota and convenience sampling techniques of non-probability sampling method for questionnaire administration. For the qualitative data (KII), 18 participants were purposively chosen, as presented below:

**TABLE 1.3 SAMPLE SIZE FOR THE KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW (KII)**

S/N	Category of Population	Research instrument	Method of selection	State	Sample Size
A	INEC officials	Key Informant Interview	Purposive	Borno	6
B	Political parties/politicians	Key Informant Interview	Purposive	Gombe	6
C	Traditional rulers/Community leaders	Key Informant Interview	Purposive	Yobe	6
<b>Total</b>					<b>18</b>

Source: Developed by the Researcher, 2025

### DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This section presents the results of data obtained from the respondents in frequency counts, percentages and mean. A total of three hundred (300) questionnaires were administered while two hundred and eighty-two were retrieved. Therefore, 282 were duly responded and subsequently used for the analysis. For the qualitative data (KII), 18 participants contributed for the study.

#### DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF THE RESPONDENTS

**Table 1.4 Distribution of Administered and Retrieved Questionnaire**

S/N	States	Local Government	Ward	Number of Questionnaires Distributed	Cumulative Questionnaires Retrieved	Cumulative Percentage Retrieved
1	Borno	MMC	Gamboru	50	92	33%
		Jere	Old Maiduguri	50		
2	Gombe	Gombe	Shamaki	50	91	32%
		Akko	Pindiga	50		
3	Yobe	Damaturu	Damaturu central	50	99	35%
		Tarmuwa	Babbangida	50		
	<b>Total</b>			300	282	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

Table 1.4 shows the distribution of administered and retrieved questionnaire in respect of respondents from three states in the North East Nigeria. Generally, out of the 300 questionnaires distributed, only two hundred and eighty-two were retrieved.

**Table 1.5 Categories and Identity Codes of the Respondents**

S/N	Code	Key	Number of Respondents	Category
1	RRI (1-6)	Research Respondent INEC	6	INEC staff
2	RRT (1-5)	Research Respondent Traditional	6	Traditional Rulers/Community Leaders
3	RRP (1-6)	Research Respondent Party	6	Political Parties/Politicians
	<b>Total</b>		<b>18</b>	

**Source: Field Surveys, 2025**

**Key:** RRI = Research Respondent from INEC, RRT = Research Respondent Traditional, RRP = Research Respondent Party

Generally, the first two (RR) stood for Research Respondent while the other letter is generated uniquely from the different categories of the respondent. In the first category, the third I represented INEC; means Research Respondent INEC (RRI). For the second category T stood for Research Respondent Traditional (RRT). For the third category of the respondent's letter P represented Research Respondent Party (RRP). Each category of the population has five respondents that is why the code is from RRI, RRT, and RRP 1-6. Therefore, a total of 18 respondents for the three categories of the population. This is in order to protect the personal identity of the research respondents and for the purpose of guaranteeing their confidentiality, codes were developed. This is due to the fact that identity needs to be protected at all stages of the research activities, particularly when analysing and reporting research results (Creswell, 2009).

**Table 1.6 Distribution of the respondents based on gender**

S/N	Gender	Borno	Gombe	Yobe	Cumulative frequency	Percentage
1	Male	62	64	88	214	76%
2	Female	30	27	11	68	24%
	<b>Total</b>	92	91	99	282	100

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

Table 1.6 shows distribution of the respondents based on gender. 214 respondents representing 76% were males while 68 respondents were females representing 24%.

**Table 1.7 Age of the respondents**

Age	Borno	Gombe	Yobe	Cumulative Frequency	Percent
18 – 35	53	56	62	171	61%
36 – 50	29	24	34	87	31%
51 – 65	8	6	3	17	6%
66 and above	2	5	0	7	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>91</b>		<b>282</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2020**

Table 1.7 shows age distribution of the respondents. Respondent between the ages of 18 – 35 were 61%; 36 – 50 31%, 51 – 65 were 6% and 66 and above 2%.

**Table 1.8 Occupational Distribution of the Respondents**

Occupation	Borno	Gombe	Yobe	Cumulative frequency	Percent
Civil servants	20	17	41	78	26.0%
Traders`	19	19	12	50	17.7%
Farmers	14	21	16	51	18%
Artisans	5	3	17	25	8.8%
Students	21	7	9	37	13%
Others	13	24	4	41	14.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

Table 1.8 shows occupational distribution of the respondents 26% were civil servants; 17% Traders; 18% farmers; 8.8% artisans; 13% Students and 14% which included bankers and house wives.

**Table 1.9 Level of Education**

Level of Education	Borno	Gombe	Yobe	Cumulative frequency	Percent
Primary education	2	3	13	18	6%
Secondary education	17	39	25	81	29%
Tertiary education	62	35	60	157	56%
Islamic/Qur`anic education	11	14	1	26	9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

Table 1.9 indicated the level of education of the sampled population for this research. 56% belongs to the tertiary category; 29% are respondents that attended secondary school; 6% are those that attended Islamic/Qur`anic education school and 9% with primary education.

**Table 1.10 Factors responsible for low voters' turnout during the 2023 Presidential Election**

S/N	Item	N	M	Decision
1	Poor governance and non-fulfilment of electoral promises by the elected leaders	282	1.09	A
2	Some voters are of the view that their votes don't count	282	1.25	A
3	lack of political enlightenment	282	1.59	D
4	Lack of trust in the Election Management Body (INEC), its procedure and conduct discourage voters to vote during elections	282	1.31	A
5	Low voters' turnout results in minority rule instead of majority rule	282	1.55	D
	Grand Mean		1.35	

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

**Key:** *N* = number of respondents, *M* = mean, agreed (**A**) = 1.00-1.49, Disagreed (**D**) =1.50-2.49, and Undecided (**U**) =2.50-3.0

Table 1.10 showed the mean responses on the factors responsible for low voters' turnout during the 2023 Presidential Elections. Three scales A (Agreed), D (Disagreed), and U (Undecided) were used to present their responses. Table 1.10 showed that item one, two and four had their mean value ranged from minimum and maximum between 1.00-1.49, which means all the items have significant influence on low voters' turnout. While three and four had no influence on declining voters' turnout in the case study area (RRT:1,2,3,4; RRP:1,2,4, &5).

**Table 1.11 Effect of Violence on Voters' Turnout during the 2023 Presidential Election in Nigeria**

S/N	Item	N	M	Decision
1	Incidence of election related violence, harassment and intimidation of opposition lower voter turnout	282	1.28	A
2	Desire of ruling class to remain in power at all cost and by all means is a factor responsible for electoral rigging	282	1.29	A
3	Rigging and snatching of ballot papers discourage voters to vote during general elections	282	1.33	A
4	Ruling political parties use state power and resources to manipulate the electoral process to their advantage	282	1.21	A
5	Nigeria's election has been characterized by violence; that has contributed to low voter turnout	282	1.34	A
	Grand Mean		1.29	

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

**Key:** *N* = number of respondents, *M* = mean, agreed (**A**) = 1.00-1.49, Disagreed (**D**) =1.50-2.49, and Undecided (**U**) =2.50-3.0

Table 1.11 presented results on effect of violence on voters' turnout during the 2023 Presidential Election in Nigeria. Three scales - A (Agreed), D (Disagreed), and U (Undecided) were used to categorize their responses. Data in Table 1.11 revealed agreement with respect to item one, two, three, four and five. Therefore, these items have their mean values ranged from minimum and maximum of 1.00 – 1.49 meaning incidence of election related violence, rigging, harassment and intimidation of opposition lower voters' turnout (RRI:2,3; RRT:1,4,5; RRP:1,2&6).

**Table 1.12 Effect of Institutional Impediments on Voters' Turnout in Nigeria**

S/N	Item	N	M	Decision
1	Weak Election management that conducts election without integrity lower voter turnout	282	1.30	A
2	Unprofessional conduct of INEC staff undermines quality of the election and resulted in voter apathy	282	1.62	D
3	Election is key to sustenance of democracy and people's rule	282	1.36	A

4	Aspirants' past record, merit and integrity is of secondary importance when it comes to electing candidates for general election in Nigeria	282	1.64	D
5	Political party primaries are characterized by undemocratic conduct and norms when nominating/electing candidates for general elections	282	1.36	A
	Grand Mean		1.45	

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

**Key:** *N* = number of respondents, *M* = mean, agreed (**A**) = 1.00-1.49, Disagreed (**D**) =1.50-2.49, and Undecided (**U**) =2.50-3.0

Table 1.12 showed the mean responses on the effect of institutional impediments on voters' turnout in Nigeria. Three scales A (Agreed), D (Disagreed), and U (Undecided) were used to present their responses. Table 1.12 showed that item one, three and five had their mean value ranged from minimum and maximum between 1.00-1.49. While item two and four on unprofessional conduct of INEC staff as a factor that undermine quality of the election and consequently resulted in voter apathy had mean ranged 1.50-2.49 showing conduct INEC did not decrease voters' turnout.

**Table 1.13 Factors Responsible for High Voters' Turnout and promoting democratic consolidation**

S/N	Item	N	M	Decision
1	Responsible democratic leadership that can guarantee security and welfare of the people.	282	1.11	A
2	Trust in electoral process and strong Election Management body that conduct credible election	282	1.30	A
3	High voter turnout enhances democratic consolidation	282	1.42	A
4	Financial and material inducement has influence on enhancing voter turnout	282	1.50	A
5	Credible election administration is very vital for consolidation of democracy and stability of political system	282	1.29	A
6	Application Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) enhance public trust in the electoral process	282	1.71	D
	Grand mean		1.38	

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

**Key:** *N* = number of respondents, *M* = mean, agreed (**A**) = 1.00-1.49, Disagreed (**D**) =1.50-2.49, and Undecided (**U**) =2.50-3.0

Table 1.13 showed the mean responses on the factors that enhance voter turnout and promote democratic consolidation in Yobe State. Three scales A (Agreed), D (Disagreed), and U (Undecided) were used to present their responses. Table 1.13 showed that all the six items had their mean value ranged from minimum and maximum between 1.00-1.49 with the exception of six that fall between1.50-2.49. The five items with mean response of between1.00-1.49 (Agreed), means that responsible democratic leadership that can guarantee security and welfare of the people; credible election administration that conduct credible election as well as political stability are factors that enhance voting turnout and by extension promote democratic consolidation in North East Nigeria (RRI:1,2,3&6). While application Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) has not enhanced public trust during the

conduct of election therefore, has no effect on voters' turnout (item six with mean value ranged from 1.50-2.49).

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study concluded that failure of democratic leadership over the years to deliver good governance based on campaign promises and trust in Election Management Body to conduct credible elections in Nigeria are major contributing factors to voters' turnout. In order to address these challenges and promote democratic consolidation, the study recommends:

- i. Good governance: Accountability, transparency, openness, consultation, respect for the rule of law among others in discharging constitutional responsibilities.
- ii. Greater public enlightenment on importance of election and its implication to socio-economic development.
- iii. Guarantee dividends of democracy: Ensure voters and the generality of the people benefit from the welfare programmes of government at all levels.
- iv. Transparency and accountability (public trust): Leaders should prove beyond electoral promises through action that resources/tax payers' money are utilized prudently and judiciously for the overall interest of the people.
- v. Provide security: Guarantee the general security of lives and property; and ensure conduct of peaceful election without harassment, intimidation, violence and related tendencies.
- vi. Enforce online transmission of election result for the purpose of announcement.

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