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It is regarded that elections are the litmus test for a true democratic political system, since in democracies, the government derives its legitimacy from the people, and going by this democracy means nothing if the people's will are bought or manoeuvred by inducement. It is an undeniable fact that elections in the country amongst other factors determine on who gets what, when and how, as the political office seekers in the process tend to adopt techniques and strategies to gain the heart of voters. Using primary and secondary data, the paper was anchored on the social exchange theory to examine the nature and the extent of inducement strategies on the outcome of the Osun West senatorial bye election. The study reveals that the nature of inducement took the form of vote-buying and the sharing of other material incentives which influenced the outcome of the bye-election. The paper concluded that voters inducement has been a reoccurring decimal in Nigeria politics and thus suggested that there is the need for some ethical codes to be enacted for all elected officials and political office seekers to prohibit them from exhibiting stupendous wealth which gives negative signal to the people that election to public office gives one the rare opportunity

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SENATORIAL BYE-ELECTION.**

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ABSTRACT

It is regarded that elections are the litmus test for a true democratic political system, since in democracies, the government derives its legitimacy from the people, and going by this democracy means nothing if the people's will are bought or manoeuvred by inducement. It is an undeniable fact that elections in the country amongst other factors determine on who gets what, when and how, as the political office seekers in the process tend to adopt techniques and strategies to gain the heart of voters. Using primary and secondary data, the paper was anchored on the social exchange theory to examine the nature and the extent of inducement strategies on the outcome of the Osun West senatorial bye election. The study reveals that the nature of inducement took the form of vote-buying and the sharing of other material incentives which influenced the outcome of the bye-election. The paper concluded that voters inducement has been a reoccurring decimal in Nigeria politics and thus suggested that there is the need for some ethical codes to be enacted for all elected officials and political office seekers to prohibit them from exhibiting stupendous wealth which gives negative signal to the people that election to public office gives one the rare opportunity to amass wealth and that political education should be given to the masses so as to bring about attitudinal change on the part of the electorates.

KEYWORDS: *Nigeria, Democracy, Election, Voters' inducement, Bye-election, political office seekers*



Introduction

Election remains a potent instrument in validating the existence of a democratic entity. As trophies are to champions, so also election is to democracy. This is captured in Sharma's (2006) assertion that the starting point for any democratic process in any country is the conduct of peaceful and credible elections. Peaceful transition of power into new hands comes through election through which the electorates bestow legitimacy on such government to serve in a capacity that gives good life to those they are representing. However since political leaders in democratic institutions are fully aware of the electorate's power which can make or mar their political ambitions, efforts are often being made to either render services which are issue based or using the slightest opportunity to impress by giving gifts especially during political campaigns.

It is good to know that democracy has become a shadow of itself in most African democratic countries. Democracies no longer serve the attendant purposes because of inducement acts which have taken the place of productive leadership. Duru (2002) corroborates this when he asserted that political leaders being conscious of the spoils of office buys people's conscience with incentives rather than rendering developmental service to the nation. This practice affects the emergence of true leadership capable of delivering dividends of democracy to electorates. Easterly and Levine (2009) argue that the essence of democracy is fading in Africa because of weak elections characterized by violence and excessive political patronage in terms of financial and material rewards for electorates. To them, such practices are obstacles to democratisation and development.

Inducement in weak democratic political systems usually takes the form of insincere identification with masses and distribution of cash and material gifts. Onuoha and Jide (2018) capture the above by asserting that political actors adopt cash for vote and vote for cash approach in Nigeria's elections. However, Adeleke (2006) opines that in Nigeria, incentives in exchange for votes during elections have become a culture. In fact, as politicians are preparing to do this, vast number of electorates are getting ready to receive these incentives.

In ideal democratic situation, there is need for a correlation between electioneering campaigns and elections outcomes all over the world. Elections are supposed to be the verdict on all the political parties' campaigns. It should be the voice of the people pronouncing the party or the candidate which or whose promise or manifestoes mostly appealed to them. Unfortunately, this



is not the case with Nigeria's elections. The 2017 Osun West Senatorial bye –election was a result of the death of Senator Isiaka Adeleke on the 23 April, 2017. In accordance with INEC rules, a bye-election was held in 10 local government areas of the senatorial district and was keenly contested between Ademola Adeleke of the PDP and a former senator, Mudashiru Hussien of the APC. Ademola, a younger brother to the deceased Senator Isiaka was declared to have won the election.

The problem of this research arises from the reoccurring event of vote buying through inducement strategies which has eaten deep into the fabrics of electioneering process in Nigeria. Gifts appeal to electorates than the integrity and political will of aspirants. In fact, the highest bidder takes all but can we rightly assert that this is responsible for victory of the winner of the Osun West senatorial bye election? It is based on the statement of problem that this paper is poised at providing answers to the following research objectives:

1. To examine the nature of voters inducement techniques in the 2017 Osun West Senatorial bye-election
2. To examine the extent of voters inducement techniques and its effects on the outcome of the 2017 Osun West Senatorial bye-election
3. To suggest measures that can be used to curtail voters' inducement in Nigeria.

For analytical purpose, the paper has been divided into six sections, this section introduces the paper, the second section reviewed the major concepts in the discourse and provided a theoretical framework for the study. Effort was then made to look into the 2017 senatorial bye-election in Osun west in the third section. The fourth section presented the methodology employed which shaped the structure of the research. The fifth section includes data analysis and discussion of findings of the research. The sixth section was the concluding section after which recommendations was provided in the last section.

Conceptual and Theoretical Issues

To further have an insight on voters' inducement technique; election cannot be neglected because both concepts are in one way or another interdependent. According to the Oxford English Dictionary the word inducement means an incentive that helps bring about a desired state or a thing that persuades or leads someone to do something. However, It is good to note



that the concept of voters inducement is related to or is an offshoot of old concepts such as money politics, and vote buying, Various scholars such as Stokes, Nazareno and Brusco (2004) went ahead to conceptualize vote buying as the proffering to voters of cash or minor consumption goods by political office seekers in office or in contention in exchange for the vote of the electorates.

Schaffer (2002) saw vote buying as the exchange of money, gifts, goods or services for a vote. A vote is literally bought or sold depending on whether one adopts the perspective of the candidate or the voter. In the Nigerian electoral process, contenders for elective positions use money, gift items distribution and even brainstorming as an inducement to persuade and sway their support which might not necessarily be based on persuading the electorates to vote according to their wishes and convictions but on the forces of the strategies and inducements that have changed hands. It is seen as the distribution of particularistic or private material benefits with the expectation of political support at the polls. Levine (1997) focuses on the relation aspect rather than the monetary aspect. He sees voter inducement from the perspective of office seekers creating a scene of relating with the poor and needy in the society especially during campaign or before elections. In like manner he also sees it as the distribution of goods or cash during political campaign. Adeleke (2006) affirmed that in Nigeria elections and campaigns, aspirants give out incentives and material gains such as money, plates, salts, bags of rice, vegetable oil, key holders, customised shirts etc. just to win the hearts of the electorates as against the use of achievement or qualification. Even during the campaign period or before the election, politicians adopts a strategy to garner votes and induce voters by identifying with the poor, petty traders on the street, in the market, prisoners so as to win the hearts of the masses all in the bid for these ones to vote for them. Onuoha (2018) on vote buying made a case for the All progressives Congress (APC) presidential primary in Lagos State before 2015 general election where over 8000 delegates who participated allegedly made US\$5,000 each from the candidates. Election represents a medium for recruitment of political office holders in a democratic setting; the power to participate in a democracy; and a means of accruing legitimacy to government (Dye, 2001). Ojo (2008) sees it as the process of choosing people for particular jobs by voting, or is the process by which a person is brought to an office with due provision for the participation of the people meant to come under the officer in authority. In the political realm, elections are conceived as a formal expression of preferences by the governed, which are then aggregated and transformed into a collective decision about who will govern. Election



determines who should stay in office, who should be thrown out, and who should replace those who have been thrown out. Huntington (1991) observed that the major element of democracy is its electioneering process and that democracy is not possible without election. He observed that the extent at which a political system is democratic is dependent on the organised free and fair elections through which representatives compete for votes from the constitutionally recognised and eligible voters. Elections according to him extend and enhance the involvement of masses in the political activities of a state.

Theoretical framework

The social exchange theory goes back to sociologist George Homans in his work “Social Behaviour as Exchange” (1985). He defined social exchange as the exchange of activity, tangible or intangible and more or less rewarding or costly between at least two persons. Homans work emphasised the individual behaviour of actors in interaction with one another. Although there are various mode of exchange, Homans centered his studies on binary exchange (i.e. exchange based on two fold).

The key tenet of social exchange theory is that human behaviour is in essence an exchange, particularly of rewards or resources of primarily material character (wealth) and secondarily of symbolic attributes. (Cook, 2000; Stolte et al., 2001). Presumably, such exchange transactions permeate all social phenomena including group processes and inter-group relations, which are conceived as sets or joint outcomes of voluntary individual actions induced by rewards (Blau, 1964). In this view, exchange transactions constitute the foundation and open secret of social life, of group processes and particularly of relations. Just like the kind of relations that exist between the political leaders or office seekers and the masses, when there is an exchange, i.e. when the masses are given money, food items in form of inducement so as to get the votes of the masses in return (Homans, 1961).

Exchange theorists have elaborated and summarized the above argument as follows. Arguably, social action is an exchange of (tangible or intangible) activities and rewards/costs between individuals on the grounds that people have always explained their conduct by their means and cost. Exchange represents the basis of human behavior and is pervasive throughout social life. Social exchange theory views social life as consisting of exchanges among social actors



(individuals or collectivities) of a variety of valuable resources, including material goods, financial resources, and intangible social goods, (humor, respect, information) (Dowd,1975). Social exchange may happen on a variety of levels; individuals may exchange with organizations (such as exchanging work effort for a pay check) and governments with each other (such as foreign aid exchange for loyalty).

A politician who seeks to come to power needs your vote to emerge victorious of which will be a difficult task because he isn't appealing to you. He then offers to give you gifts, food items and money whereas you have tentative plans to vote for the opposition party who gave you little or nothing and knowing fully well that this is the best candidate but as a result of the inducement that the first candidate have used you finally agree to vote for him in exchange for the gifts you were given.. In this exchange, both parties reach an agreement based on the level of reward and benefit that something will provide. (A vote for the politician and gift items/food for the voter). Sociologist George Homans (1950, 1958, and 1961) proposed examining such an interaction as an exchange following certain basic economic principles revolving around rewards and costs. For the electorate the costs include going against their will of voting for who they really want to vote for, the rewards being the gifts they were given in form of inducement. In this example it is evident that the electorates and the politicians both feel good about what they are both getting as much or more than they have to forfeit.

The Social exchange theory has received considerable research attention, in part because it explains the mechanisms and strategies inherent in the ever present voters' inducement technique in Nigeria.

The 2017 Senatorial Bye- Election in Osun West

Bye election is usually conducted to fill elected offices that have become vacant due to death or ineligibility of incumbent office holders (Merriam Webster dictionary) following the death of Senator Isiaka Adeleke in 2017, representing Osun West Senatorial district; another Senator had to be chosen by the people of Osun West to fill the vacant seat. The bye election was held in 10 local government areas making up the Senatorial district. Although twelve (12) political parties participated in the bye-election but it was keenly contested between Ademola Adeleke of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and Mudashir Hussein of All progressives Congress (APC). As part of the local dynamics that occurred before the bye-election, the younger brother



of the late Senator Isiaka Adeleke, Ademola Adeleke decamped from the APC to the PDP on the basis of the refusal of the APC to allow him contest on the party's platform.

However, the Nation Newspaper (2017) reported that the PDP candidate won nine out of the ten local government areas in the district making his votes a total of 97,480 while Mudasiru Hussein of the All Progressives Congress only won in Ejigbo council area making his vote a total of 66,116. The result was said to have been announced by Vice Chancellor of federal University of Oye-Ekiti, Professor Kaide Lawal who is the chief returning officer. PulseNews (2018) reported that in various polling booth money were seen distributed to persons, from record it was also given that in most centers the APC distributed amount ranging from 1,000-2,000 naira, the PDP also weren't left out of the play though with lesser amount to those distributed by the APC in the Osun West Senatorial bye-election.

Methodology

The study employed both primary and secondary sources of data collection. Secondary data were sourced from books, journals, newspapers, internet sources, magazines and other published and unpublished materials. The secondary data provided contextual information that supported the primary sources of data meaningfully. The primary data was sourced through the administration of questionnaire which was administered on citizens of Osun west Senatorial district. The study adopted a descriptive design which involves a systematic collection, presentation and analysis of data on voters' inducement techniques and the electoral process in the 2017 Senatorial bye-election in Osun state. It employed a quantitative research method which implies collection of data through the administration of questionnaire. The study was conducted in Osun West Senatorial district which is made up of ten (10) local government areas that include Iwo, Olaoluwa, Ayedire, Ejigbo, Irewole, Ede North, Ede South, Ayedade, Egbedore and Isokan local government. The study population include citizens who are 18 years or older and therefore eligible to vote. A total of 100 respondents were purposively selected based on the fact that they are eligible voters in Osun West Senatorial district and have adequate knowledge on voters inducement techniques. Using simple random sampling techniques, specifically, 10 respondents were selected in each of the 10 local governments that make up Osun West Senatorial district. The data collected were subjected to descriptive statistics. The descriptive statistics employed the use of score counts, percentage, tables and bar charts to analyse and present data.



Data Analysis and Discussion of Findings

This section deals with the presentation, analysis and discussion of data gathered through the administration of questionnaire to assess voters’ inducement techniques and the electoral process in Nigeria using the 2017 Osun West Senatorial Bye-election as a case study.

Research Objective One: What is the nature of voters’ inducement techniques in the 2017 senatorial bye-election in Osun West?

This section of the study analyses the opinion of the respondents on the nature of voters inducement techniques in the 2017 senatorial bye-election in Osun West with a view to unravel the most predominant nature of voters inducement technique in the senatorial bye-election. Data obtained through questionnaire administration were analysed. Respondents were asked to strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree to four assertions made by the researcher. Each are presented in separate tables and analysed below.

Table1.1 The practice of voters’ inducement has always been a reoccurring decimal in Nigeria democracy.

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	10	10.0
Disagree	6	6.0
Undecided	6	6.0
Agree	45	45.0
Strongly agree	33	33.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Reacting to this assumption, 10 respondents, representing (10%) strongly disagreed and 6 respondent, representing (6.0%) disagreed with the assertion. 6 respondent representing (6%) were undecided, while 45 respondent, representing (45%) agreed and 33 respondent, representing (33.0%) strongly agreed that voters inducement has always been a reoccurring decimal in Nigeria.



Table 1.2 Politicians who adopt voters' inducement always had upper hand in the outcome of the election than others.

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	8	8.0
Disagree	18	18.0
Undecided	10	10.0
Agree	39	39.0
Strongly agree	25	25.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Regarding the second assumption, 8 respondents, representing (8.0%) strongly disagreed and 18 respondents, representing (18.0%) disagreed that politicians who adopted inducement techniques had advantage in the outcome of the election. On the other hand, 10 respondents, representing (10%) were undecided, while 39 respondents, representing (39.0%) agreed and 25 respondents, representing (25%) Strongly agreed with the assertion that politicians who adopted voter's inducement technique had an advantage over other contestants in the outcome of the election.



Table 1.3 it can be concluded that food, Money and other incentives are been distributed before and during the election.

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	6	6.0
Disagree	4	4.0
Undecided	6	6.0
Agree	40	40.0
Strongly agree	44	44.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Relating to this assertion, 6 respondents, representing (6%) strongly disagreed and 4 respondents, representing (4.0%) disagreed with this assertion as shown in the table above. 6 respondents, representing (6.0%) were undecided in their response, while 40 respondents, represent strongly (40.0%) agreed and 44 respondents, representing (44.0%) strongly agreed that the food, money and other incentives were distributed during the election.

Table 1.4 The use of Money as an inducement technique have become a dominant determinant factor in Nigeria politics

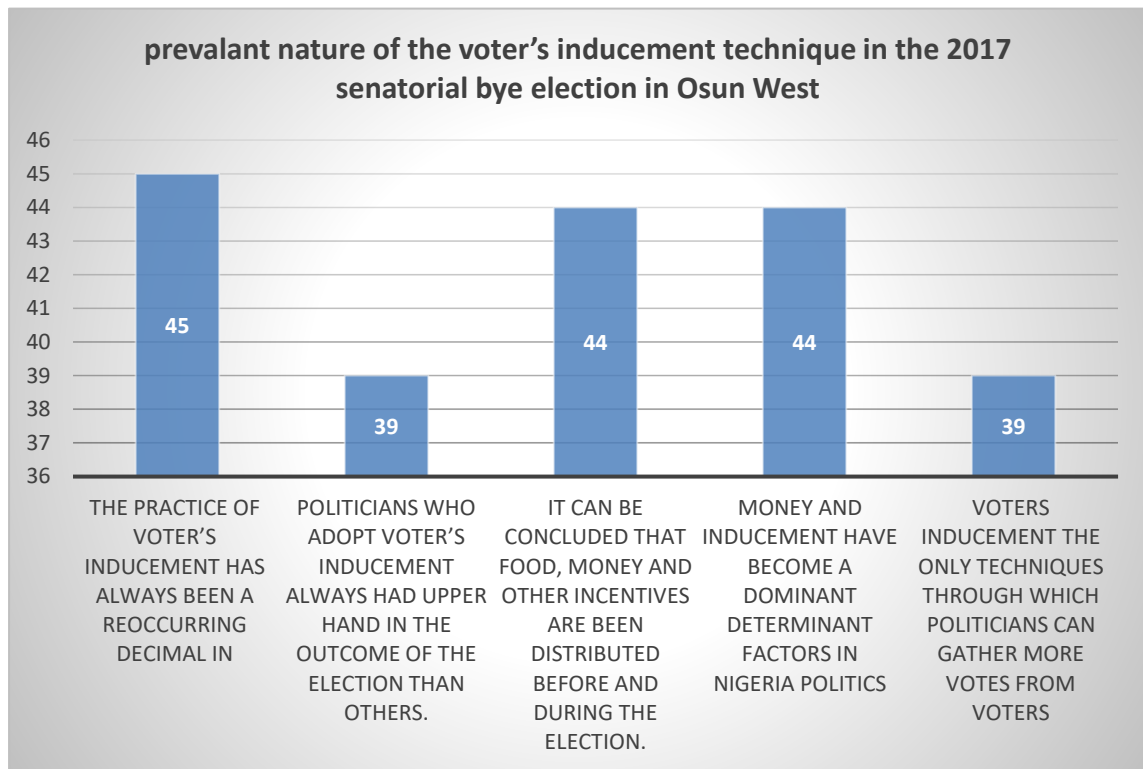
	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	8	8.0
Disagree	6	6.0
Undecided	6	6.0
Agree	36	36.0
Strongly agree	44	44.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Reacting to the fourth assertion, 8 respondents, representing (8.0%) strongly disagreed and 6 respondents, representing (6.0%) disagreed on the above assertion. 6 respondents, representing (6.0%) were undecided about their views. While 36 respondents, Representing (36.0%) agreed



and 44 respondents, representing (44%) strongly agreed that the use of money as an inducement technique have become a determinant factor in Nigerian politics.



Source: Field Survey, 2018.

Figure 1 showed the dominant nature of voters inducement techniques in the 2017 Osun west senatorial bye-election.

Research Question Two: To what extent did voters inducement techniques affected the outcome of the 2017 senatorial bye-election in Osun West?

This section of the study analyses the opinion of the respondents on the extent to which voters inducement techniques affected the outcome of the 2017 senatorial bye-election in Osun West. It investigates the level and kind of influence voters inducement had on the outcome of the senatorial bye-election in Osun West. Data obtained through questionnaire administration were analysed. Respondents were asked to strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree to four assertions made by the researcher. Each are presented in separate tables and analysed below.



Table 1.5 The Osun west senatorial bye-election was mainly decided based on the Inducement techniques adopted by the Political Parties.

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	19	19.0
Disagree	29	29.0
Undecided	20	20.0
Agree	26	26.0
Strongly agree	6	6.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Reacting to this assumption, 19 respondents, representing (19%) strongly disagreed and 29 respondent, representing (29.0%) disagreed with the assertion. 20 respondent representing (20.0%) were undecided, while 26 respondent, representing (26%) agreed and 6 respondent, representing (6.0%) strongly agreed that the Osun West Senatorial bye-election was mainly decided based on the Inducement techniques adopted by the major political parties.

Table 1.6 the party that emerged victorious won because its inducement was more appealing to the electorates.

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	18	18.0
Disagree	30	30.0
Undecided	10	10.0
Agree	29	29.0
Strongly agree	13	13.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Reacting to this second assertion, 18 respondents, representing (18.0%) strongly disagreed and 30 respondent, representing (30.0%) disagreed with the assertion. 10 respondent representing (10.0%) were undecided, while 29 respondent, representing (29%) agreed and 13 respondent, representing (13.0%) strongly agreed that the party that emerged victorious won because its inducement was more appealing to the electorates.



Table 1.7 Voters inducement influenced the voting pattern of the electorates

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	8	8.0
Disagree	26	26.0
Undecided	16	16.0
Agree	39	39.0
Strongly agree	11	11.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Regarding the third assertion, 8 respondents, representing (8.0%) strongly disagreed and 26 respondent, representing (26.0%) disagreed with the assertion. 16 respondent representing (16.0%) were undecided, while 39 respondent, representing (39.0%) agreed and 11 respondent, representing (11.0%) strongly agreed that voters inducement influenced the voting pattern of the electorates

Table 1.8 Voters inducements meet the economic need of people on a permanent basis.

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	29	29.0
Disagree	41	41.0
Undecided	14	14.0
Agree	11	11.0
Strongly agree	5	5.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Reacting to the fourth assertion, 29 respondents, representing (29.0%) strongly disagreed and 41 respondent, representing (41.0%) disagreed with the assertion. 14 respondent representing (14.0%) were undecided, while 11 respondent, representing (11.0%) agreed and 5 respondent, representing (5.0%) strongly agreed that voters inducements meet the economic need of people on a permanent basis.



Table 1.10 The party that lost in the Osun west senatorial election was as a result of little or no inducement.

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	18	18.0
Disagree	31	31.0
Undecided	22	22.0
Agree	27	27.0
Strongly agree	2	2.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Reacting to the fifth assertion, 18 respondents, representing (18.0%) strongly disagreed and 31 respondent, representing (31.0%) disagreed with the assertion. 22 respondent representing (22.0%) were undecided, while 27 respondent, representing (27.0%) agreed and 2 respondent, representing (2.0%) strongly agreed that the party that lost in the Osun west senatorial election was as a result of little or no inducement.

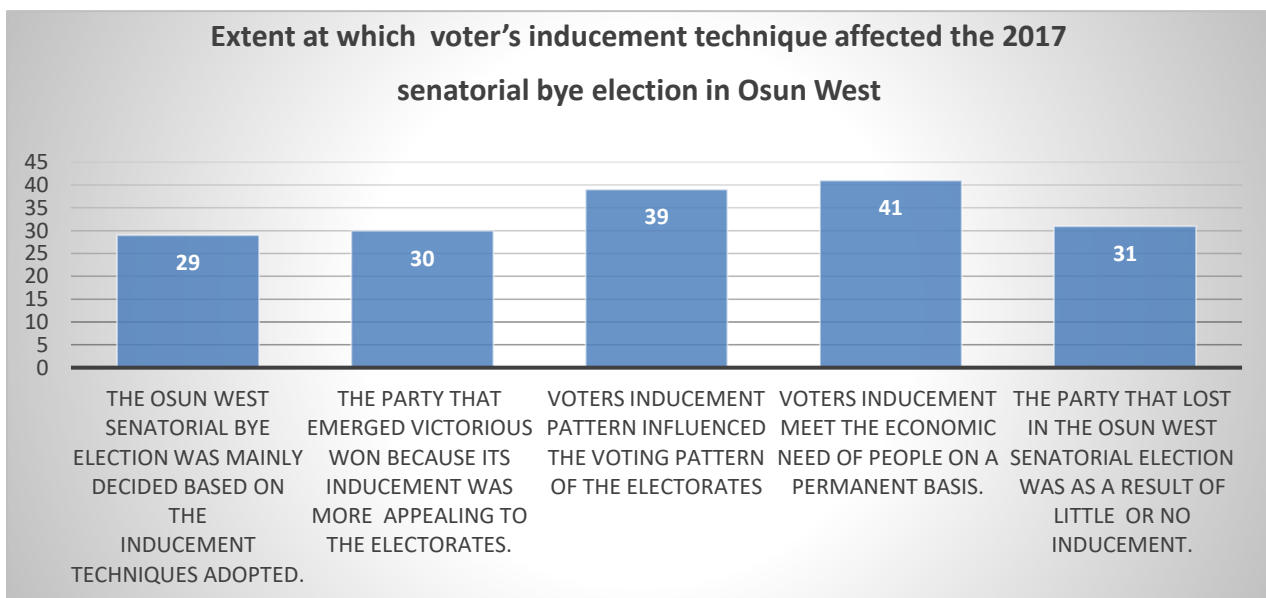


Figure 2 showed the extent of voters inducement techniques in the 2017 Osun West senatorial bye-election.



Conclusion

From the research conducted this study concludes that the voters' inducement techniques and influence have indeed impacted the Nigerian electoral process and this has essentially been through the distribution of money, food and gift items. The importance of money to run elections in terms of campaign, printing of party manifestoes, emblems and other services is well recognized, but the excessive use of money and other inducement techniques with the objective of purchasing votes is counterproductive to good governance. This is because once excessive use of money and these inducements is employed to influence the electoral process; the election becomes synonymous with the gentle art of 'getting votes from the poor and campaign funds from the rich by promising to protect one from the other. The analysis also revealed that the voting pattern in the bye election was influenced by inducement acts from both parties (PDP&APC). Respondents though affirmed that voters were induced, they made it clear also that inducement was not totally responsible for the victory of Ademola Adeleke, the winner of the senatorial bye election. The study also reveals that where voters are not completely or as much as possible insulated from inducement, most especially money, they cannot choose freely.

Recommendations

From the various analysis and findings of the research, a number of recommendations can be put forward to address issues emanating from voters inducement technique and the electoral process in Nigeria. First, the use of inducement techniques should be discouraged in all ramifications before, during and after election. There is the need for some ethical codes to be enacted for all elected officials to prohibit them from exhibiting stupendous wealth which gives negative signal to the people that election to public office gives one the rare opportunity to amass wealth. This type of signal will of course, unnecessarily raise the stake, push the candidates in elections to see the contest as akin to fight to finish affair, and consequently heat up the polity. On the side of the people, they should shun those politicians displaying ill-gotten wealth knowing fully well that the money belongs to them, but being frequently siphoned by the opportune politicians. They should show self-respect for themselves and hold high their dignity by ignoring and showing disrespect to incompetent but wealthy office holders.

More transparent and effective screening methods must be developed by the political parties and the electoral body, to ensure the exclusion of politicians with overt or covert tendency to



corrupt the electoral process and the electorate. There is also the need for political education of the electorate to be more discerning in their electoral choices, and minimize the pressures put on their elected representatives for financial and material rewards for voting.

Again, political parties should refrain from projecting the financial profile of the wealthy candidates and their financial importance to the parties. This is because such candidates have the tendency to want to live up to the image so created by injecting more money into the campaign than is morally justified. Finally and much more importantly, it is also recommended that the Nigerian economy must be improved upon to empower the people economically. This is because where poverty is reduced to the barest minimum; the electorates can then make independent electoral decisions in voting for credible politicians rather than incompetent but money spending politicians.



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