Sapientia Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Development Studies (SGOJAHDS), Vol.9 No.2 June, 2026; pg. 505 – 514; ISSN: 2695-2319 (Print); ISSN: 2695-2327 (Online)

WEAPONIZATION OF POVERTY AND ETHNICITY IN NIGERIA'S ELECTORAL POLITICS: AN X-RAY OF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN THE BUILD-UP TO THE 2027 GENERAL ELECTIONS

Professor Mary C. Ezeajughu
&
Dr. Victor Ezeajughu

Abstract

Nigeria's democratic experience since the return to constitutional rule in 1999 presents a complex picture of institutional progress alongside persistent socioeconomic and political challenges. While regular elections have strengthened democratic continuity, electoral competition continues to be influenced by structural realities, particularly poverty, ethnicity and patronage politics. This paper examines how poverty and ethnic identity have evolved as instruments of political mobilisation in Nigeria, with particular attention to the emerging political environment preceding the 2027 general elections. Using a qualitative documentary research approach, the study draws from scholarly literature, official reports, election observation findings and contemporary political developments to analyse the interaction between economic vulnerability, identity politics and electoral behaviour. The paper argues that widespread multidimensional poverty, unemployment, inflation and declining purchasing power have created conditions in which many citizens become increasingly exposed to clientelist relationships, vote buying and short-term political inducements. Similarly, ethnic identity continues to shape electoral strategies through narratives of representation, inclusion and access to state power. However, the study contends that neither poverty nor ethnicity alone determines voting behaviour; rather, they operate within a wider political economy shaped by institutional weaknesses, elite competition and unequal access to resources. As Nigeria approaches the 2027 elections, the challenge is not merely conducting credible elections but ensuring that democratic choices are increasingly guided by policy alternatives, competence and accountability rather than socioeconomic vulnerability or identity-based mobilisation. The paper concludes that poverty reduction, institutional strengthening, civic education and issue-based political competition remain essential for deepening Nigeria's democratic consolidation.

Keywords: Poverty, Ethnicity, Electoral Politics, Democratic Consolidation, Vote Buying.

Introduction

Democracy is founded on citizens' ability to choose leaders through competing ideas, policy alternatives and evaluations of governance performance. Elections therefore function as mechanisms for accountability, enabling citizens to reward effective leadership and sanction poor governance (Diamond, 2008; Lindberg, 2013). However, in many developing democracies, electoral behaviour is shaped not only by policy preferences but also by structural factors such as socioeconomic inequality, identity politics, institutional weakness and historical legacies (Sen, 1999; Stokes et al., 2013).

Nigeria demonstrates this complexity. Since independence, democratic development has been influenced by challenges surrounding ethnic diversity, resource distribution and institutional capacity (Suberu, 2001). Although the Fourth Republic, established in 1999, represents

sustained civilian governance and important democratic progress, political competition remains affected by poverty, patronage networks, clientelism and identity-based mobilisation (Diamond, 2008; NBS, 2022).

Recent electoral reforms, including the introduction of the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS), have improved aspects of electoral administration; however, challenges such as vote buying, misinformation, electoral violence and political interference persist (INEC, 2023; Yiaga Africa, 2023). These issues are particularly significant ahead of the 2027 elections, occurring amid economic hardship following major reforms, including fuel subsidy removal and foreign exchange liberalisation, which have contributed to inflation and declining household purchasing power (World Bank, 2024).

Poverty and ethnicity therefore remain central influences on Nigerian electoral politics. Poverty can limit political autonomy by increasing vulnerability to clientelism, while ethnicity may be exploited by elites to mobilise support through identity-based narratives (Sen, 1999; Suberu, 2001). This paper argues that electoral behaviour in Nigeria reflects the interaction of economic insecurity, ethnic mobilisation and institutional weaknesses, rather than either poverty or ethnicity alone.

The political atmosphere preceding the 2027 general elections is significant because it emerges during a period of economic uncertainty. Since assuming office in May 2023, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration introduced economic reforms, including petrol subsidy removal and foreign exchange reforms aimed at improving fiscal sustainability and attracting investment (World Bank, 2024; International Monetary Fund [IMF], 2024). While these policies have been justified as necessary for long-term economic transformation, their immediate effects include rising inflation, higher food prices, increased transport costs and reduced household purchasing power (World Bank, 2024; Afrobarometer, 2024).

Economic hardship has renewed debate about poverty and democratic participation in Nigeria. Poverty extends beyond income deprivation and represents a limitation of individuals' capabilities to participate in political life (Sen, 1999). Where citizens experience economic insecurity, electoral choices may become influenced by immediate material needs rather than long-term assessments of governance quality (Stokes et al., 2013). This creates opportunities for political actors to utilise vulnerability through vote buying, patronage and clientelist exchanges, weakening democratic accountability (Diamond, 2008; Stokes et al., 2013).

Ethnicity remains another factor shaping Nigerian politics. Nigeria's ethnic diversity has made identity central to representation, political belonging and access to state resources (Suberu, 2001). However, political elites have frequently transformed ethnic identity into an electoral strategy by presenting competition as a struggle for communal interests, regional inclusion or resource control (Suberu, 2001; Diamond, 2008). Such mobilisation can weaken issue-based competition where institutions remain fragile (Lindberg, 2013).

The 2023 general elections highlighted democratic progress and persistent challenges. Increased youth participation, digital engagement and civic mobilisation demonstrated changing patterns of political involvement; however, regional voting patterns,

misinformation, electoral disputes and identity-based narratives remained concerns (INEC, 2023; Yiaga Africa, 2023; Afrobarometer, 2024). Although reforms such as BVAS improved electoral processes, observers continued to identify weaknesses in logistics, transparency and institutional capacity (INEC, 2023; Yiaga Africa, 2023).

As parties prepare for 2027 through alliances and coalition-building, debates surrounding economic hardship, governance, representation and national unity are becoming increasingly important (International IDEA, 2023). This paper argues that poverty and ethnicity should not be examined separately but as interconnected forces operating within Nigeria's political economy. Their influence on electoral behaviour reflects interactions between economic insecurity, elite competition, institutional weaknesses and unequal access to resources (Diamond, 2008; Stokes et al., 2013; Suberu, 2001). Understanding this relationship is essential for evaluating democratic consolidation and promoting a more accountable, inclusive and issue-driven political system over time.

Historical Evolution of Poverty and Ethnic Politics in Nigeria (1960–2023)

The contemporary relationship between poverty, ethnicity and electoral politics in Nigeria is rooted in the country's historical development. Colonial governance significantly shaped political identities through the British system of indirect rule, which strengthened regional administrative structures and contributed to the emergence of ethnically based political competition (Suberu, 2001; Diamond, 2008). The Northern People's Congress (NPC), Action Group (AG) and National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) developed strong regional support bases, reflecting how colonial structures influenced early political mobilisation and representation (Suberu, 2001).

Following independence in 1960, political competition became increasingly connected to struggles over control of state resources. Nigeria's rent-based political economy, particularly its dependence on oil revenues, made access to political power closely associated with access to economic opportunities, public appointments and development benefits (Suberu, 2001; Diamond, 2008). Consequently, political elites often relied on regional and ethnic networks to secure support and compete for control of state resources (Stokes et al., 2013).

The military era between 1966 and 1999 suspended electoral competition but reinforced centralised state structures and unresolved debates surrounding federalism, resource allocation, minority rights and political inclusion (Suberu, 2001). Although military rule weakened democratic institutions, it did not eliminate identity-based politics; instead, questions of representation and access to national resources continued to shape political relations after the return to civilian government in 1999 (Diamond, 2008; Lindberg, 2013).

The Fourth Republic created expectations that democratic competition would become increasingly centred on policies and governance performance. However, persistent poverty and inequality have limited this transition. Despite Nigeria's significant natural resources, especially petroleum wealth, multidimensional poverty remains widespread, with millions of citizens experiencing deprivation in health, education and living standards (National Bureau of Statistics [NBS], 2022; World Bank, 2024). These socioeconomic conditions influence citizens' political choices by increasing vulnerability to patronage and clientelist relationships (Stokes et al., 2013).

Conceptually, poverty extends beyond financial deprivation. Sen (1999) argues that poverty represents a lack of capabilities and freedoms required for meaningful participation in society. Within democratic systems, economic insecurity may reduce citizens' ability to evaluate political alternatives independently and participate effectively in accountability processes (Sen, 1999; Diamond, 2008).

Ethnicity also requires careful interpretation. While ethnic identity can provide legitimate forms of representation and social belonging, political elites may transform identity differences into mechanisms of exclusion, mobilisation and electoral competition (Suberu, 2001). In Nigeria, poverty and ethnicity frequently interact, as economic inequalities create grievances while ethnic networks provide channels for political mobilisation (Stokes et al., 2013; Afrobarometer, 2024). Understanding this relationship is essential for analysing electoral behaviour and the political dynamics surrounding the 2027 general elections.

Poverty

Poverty remains a significant factor influencing electoral behaviour in Nigeria. Although democratic theory assumes citizens make political choices based on policies, leadership quality and governance performance, socioeconomic conditions often shape voters' political priorities and available choices (Diamond, 2008; Lindberg, 2013). For many Nigerians experiencing unemployment, rising living costs and limited social protection, immediate economic concerns can strongly influence electoral decisions (Afrobarometer, 2024; World Bank, 2024).

Despite its substantial natural resources, particularly oil wealth, Nigeria continues to experience widespread multidimensional poverty. Persistent challenges including unemployment, inadequate healthcare, educational inequality and weak social protection systems have contributed to economic vulnerability among citizens (National Bureau of Statistics [NBS], 2022; World Bank, 2024). These conditions can reduce citizens' ability to engage in democratic processes independently and critically evaluate political alternatives (Sen, 1999).

Vote buying represents one of the clearest ways poverty intersects with electoral politics. Election observers have reported the distribution of money, food, transportation assistance and other material incentives during elections (INEC, 2023; Yiaga Africa, 2023). However, transactional voting should be understood within broader structural inequalities rather than solely as individual political failure. Economic insecurity can encourage voters to prioritise immediate survival needs over longer-term assessments of governance (Stokes et al., 2013).
Political elites may exploit these vulnerabilities through patronage networks, constituency projects and targeted interventions that can strengthen electoral loyalty (Stokes et al., 2013). Following the 2023 economic reforms, inflation, increased living costs and declining purchasing power have further intensified economic concerns within political debates (World Bank, 2024; Afrobarometer, 2024). As Nigeria approaches the 2027 elections, addressing poverty's democratic consequences requires investment in employment, education, healthcare and social protection to strengthen citizens' political autonomy (Sen, 1999).

Ethnicity

Ethnicity refers to collective identity based on shared ancestry, language, culture, history and traditions. In diverse societies such as Nigeria, ethnic identity remains an important source of social belonging, representation and political organisation (Suberu, 2001). Nigeria's complex ethnic composition has historically influenced political structures, party formation and patterns of political mobilisation, particularly where questions of inclusion and resource distribution remain contested (Suberu, 2001; Diamond, 2008).

However, ethnicity itself is not inherently incompatible with democracy. Diverse societies can achieve democratic stability when institutions provide fair representation, protect minority interests and promote inclusive participation (Lindberg, 2013). The challenge emerges when political elites strategically manipulate ethnic identities to secure electoral support, frame political competition as communal struggles or weaken opponents through identity-based narratives (Suberu, 2001; Diamond, 2008).

In Nigeria, ethnicity has therefore operated as a double-edged force. On one hand, it provides communities with mechanisms for political representation and collective expression; on the other, its exploitation during elections can reinforce divisions, encourage patronage and shift political competition away from policy debates and governance performance (Stokes et al., 2013). Recent electoral experiences demonstrate that identity-based mobilisation continues to influence voting patterns alongside economic and institutional factors (INEC, 2023; Yiaga Africa, 2023). Understanding this distinction is essential for analysing ethnicity's continuing influence on Nigeria's democratic development.

Poverty and Electioneering in X-ray view

The relationship between poverty and democratic participation is central to understanding electoral behaviour in developing democracies. Sen (1999) argues that poverty extends beyond income deprivation and represents a lack of capabilities required for individuals to participate meaningfully in social, economic and political life. From this perspective, severe economic insecurity can restrict citizens' ability to evaluate political alternatives independently, demand accountability and engage effectively in democratic processes (Sen, 1999; Diamond, 2008).

Stokes et al. (2013) demonstrate that clientelist politics is more likely to develop where poverty, inequality and weak institutions limit citizens' access to state resources. In such contexts, political actors may use material incentives to secure electoral support, transforming democratic relationships from policy-based evaluation into transactional exchanges between voters and elites (Stokes et al., 2013). This dynamic remains relevant in Nigeria, where economic vulnerability has contributed to the persistence of patronage networks and electoral inducement (Afrobarometer, 2024).

Research on African democratisation highlights the distinction between holding elections and achieving democratic consolidation. Lindberg (2013) argues that repeated elections can strengthen democratic institutions, but challenges including weak accountability, patronage and identity-based mobilisation may prevent deeper democratic development. Similarly, Diamond (2008) emphasises that democracy requires more than electoral procedures; it depends on institutional effectiveness, accountable leadership and active citizen participation.

Within Nigeria, ethnicity represents another important dimension of electoral mobilisation. Suberu (2001) argues that ethnic diversity is not inherently harmful to democracy; rather, the challenge lies in ensuring institutions provide equitable representation and reduce perceptions of exclusion. When political competition becomes dominated by ethnic calculations rather than policy debate, democratic accountability may be weakened (Suberu, 2001; Diamond, 2008).

Recent evidence from electoral observers indicates that vote buying and political inducement remain significant concerns in Nigeria, although digital platforms and technological reforms such as BVAS have altered electoral practices (INEC, 2023; Yiaga Africa, 2023). However, institutional reforms alone cannot eliminate the socioeconomic conditions that sustain transactional politics (World Bank, 2024).

Afrobarometer (2024) further identifies unemployment, insecurity, corruption and economic hardship as major concerns influencing citizens' perceptions of governance. This study therefore examines poverty and ethnicity as interconnected forces shaping political mobilisation and electoral behaviour, particularly within the evolving political environment preceding Nigeria's 2027 general elections.

Poverty as an Instrument of Electoral Mobilisation

Poverty remains a significant structural factor influencing electoral behaviour in Nigeria. Although democratic theory assumes that citizens choose leaders based on policies, competence and governance performance, socioeconomic conditions often shape voters' political priorities and available choices (Diamond, 2008; Lindberg, 2013). For citizens experiencing unemployment, rising living costs and limited social protection, immediate economic concerns may influence electoral decisions and perceptions of political leadership (Afrobarometer, 2024; World Bank, 2024).

Nigeria presents a paradox of substantial natural resource wealth alongside widespread multidimensional poverty. Despite its oil resources, millions of Nigerians experience deprivation in areas including employment, healthcare, education and living standards (National Bureau of Statistics [NBS], 2022; World Bank, 2024). However, poverty does not automatically determine voting behaviour; rather, it creates conditions in which material concerns may become increasingly important within electoral calculations (Sen, 1999). Economic insecurity can reduce citizens' capacity to evaluate political alternatives independently and participate fully in democratic accountability processes (Sen, 1999; Diamond, 2008).

One major consequence of economic vulnerability is the persistence of vote buying and clientelist politics. Electoral observers have documented the distribution of cash, food items, transportation support and other incentives during Nigerian elections (INEC, 2023; Yiaga Africa, 2023). Such practices should not be interpreted solely as individual failures of political judgement but understood within wider structures of poverty and inequality that encourage transactional relationships between voters and political elites (Stokes et al., 2013).

Political actors have historically exploited socioeconomic vulnerabilities through patronage networks, empowerment programmes and constituency interventions designed to strengthen electoral support (Stokes et al., 2013). While some initiatives may contribute to local

development, they can also reinforce political dependency when they substitute short-term benefits for sustainable socioeconomic transformation (Diamond, 2008).

Since 2023, economic reforms including fuel subsidy removal and foreign exchange restructuring have intensified public debates surrounding inflation, living costs and declining purchasing power (World Bank, 2024; Afrobarometer, 2024). As Nigeria approaches the 2027 elections, economic hardship is likely to remain central to political narratives concerning governance performance and legitimacy. Addressing poverty's democratic consequences requires investment in employment, education, healthcare and social protection to strengthen citizens' political autonomy and promote more accountable democratic participation (Sen, 1999).

Ethnicity and the Political Economy of Electoral Competition

Alongside poverty, ethnicity remains one of the most enduring factors influencing Nigeria's electoral politics. As one of the world's most culturally diverse states, Nigeria has historically faced the challenge of balancing national integration with recognition of multiple ethnic identities (Suberu, 2001). Since independence, governments have introduced mechanisms such as the federal character principle, state creation and power-sharing arrangements to address concerns surrounding representation, inclusion and equitable access to political power (Suberu, 2001; Diamond, 2008). However, electoral competition continues to reflect regional and ethnic considerations, particularly in contests involving control of national political institutions and access to state resources (Lindberg, 2013).

Ethnic identity performs complex functions within Nigeria's political system. It represents cultural belonging, shared historical experiences and a basis through which communities organise politically and seek representation within the state (Suberu, 2001). Ethnicity is therefore not inherently incompatible with democracy; in plural societies, identity-based mobilisation can provide legitimate channels for participation and ensure that diverse interests are recognised within political institutions (Lindberg, 2013). The democratic challenge arises when political elites transform ethnic identity into an instrument of exclusion, polarisation or electoral manipulation (Diamond, 2008).

In Nigeria, political actors have frequently mobilised ethnic narratives by emphasising historical marginalisation, regional inequality and competition over national resources (Suberu, 2001). Such strategies often gain support because political power remains closely connected to access to government appointments, infrastructure development, economic opportunities and public resources (Diamond, 2008). Where institutions are perceived as weak or unequal, ethnic networks can become important mechanisms through which citizens seek protection, representation and access to state benefits (Stokes et al., 2013).

The persistence of ethnic considerations is also linked to Nigeria's federal structure and resource distribution system. Because the federal government controls significant national resources and political appointments, electoral contests are frequently viewed by different groups as struggles for inclusion, recognition and security (Suberu, 2001; World Bank, 2024). Consequently, political competition may shift from debates about policy performance towards questions of regional balance and group representation.

Recent electoral experiences demonstrate that ethnicity continues to interact with other factors, including economic hardship, governance concerns and institutional trust, in shaping voter behaviour (INEC, 2023; Yiaga Africa, 2023; Afrobarometer, 2024). Understanding ethnicity as both a source of representation and a potential tool of political manipulation is therefore essential for analysing Nigeria's democratic development and the dynamics surrounding the 2027 elections.

The political realignments emerging ahead of the 2027 general elections demonstrate both continuity and change in Nigeria's ethnic mobilisation. Although contemporary coalition-building increasingly seeks to cross traditional regional boundaries, considerations of zoning, geographical balance and ethnic representation continue to influence political strategies and alliance formation (Suberu, 2001; Diamond, 2008). This indicates that while Nigerian politics is becoming more complex, identity remains an important factor in political bargaining and competition (Lindberg, 2013).

However, ethnicity should not be viewed as the sole determinant of electoral behaviour. Nigerian voters increasingly consider broader issues, including economic management, insecurity, corruption, employment and leadership performance (Afrobarometer, 2024). Rising urbanisation, improved access to information technology and greater youth political engagement have contributed to changing patterns of political participation, particularly among younger voters (Yiaga Africa, 2023).

Therefore, ethnicity should be understood within Nigeria's wider political economy rather than as an independent explanation of voting behaviour. Ethnic mobilisation often interacts with poverty, institutional weakness and unequal access to state resources, creating conditions in which political elites use identity alongside socioeconomic concerns to organise support (Stokes et al., 2013; Suberu, 2001). Understanding this interaction is essential for analysing Nigeria's evolving democratic landscape and electoral dynamics ahead of 2027.

The Emerging Political Climate in the Build-up to the 2027 General Elections

The political environment preceding the 2027 general elections reflects the interaction of economic pressures, political realignments and evolving patterns of citizen engagement. The election outcome is likely to be shaped by how political actors respond to public concerns surrounding economic hardship, governance performance and national development (Afrobarometer, 2024; World Bank, 2024).

Economic conditions remain central to political debate. Rising inflation, unemployment, food insecurity and declining living standards have influenced citizens' perceptions of government effectiveness and are likely to remain key issues in electoral competition (World Bank, 2024; Afrobarometer, 2024).

At the same time, Nigerian political parties are undergoing strategic repositioning through alliances, defections and coalition-building. Although such developments are common in democratic systems, Nigerian alliances often involve negotiations concerning regional representation, identity and access to political power (Suberu, 2001; Diamond, 2008).

Youth participation is another significant feature of the changing political landscape. The 2023 elections demonstrated increased youth engagement through digital platforms, civic activism

and demands for transparency, employment and accountable leadership (Yiaga Africa, 2023). However, the future of Nigerian democracy will depend on whether these emerging forms of participation can challenge persistent patterns of patronage, clientelism and identity-based mobilisation (Stokes et al., 2013; Lindberg, 2013).

The Role of Social Media, Disinformation and Political Communication

Digital communication has become an increasingly important feature of Nigeria's electoral politics. Platforms such as Facebook, X, WhatsApp, Instagram and TikTok have transformed political engagement by enabling voter mobilisation, civic awareness and election monitoring, particularly among young citizens (Yiaga Africa, 2023). The 2023 elections demonstrated the growing role of digital platforms in expanding political participation and shaping public discourse (INEC, 2023).

However, digital politics also presents significant challenges. Online platforms can facilitate misinformation, propaganda, ethnic narratives and political polarisation, especially during election periods (Afrobarometer, 2024). Ahead of the 2027 elections, the influence of digital campaigning and targeted political messaging is expected to increase. Its democratic benefits will depend on digital literacy, responsible communication and effective strategies to address misinformation (Lindberg, 2013).

Democratic Implications

The interaction between poverty and ethnicity has significant implications for Nigeria's democratic consolidation. Poverty-driven electoral practices can weaken accountability by encouraging transactional relationships between voters and political elites, shifting attention away from policy performance and sustainable development (Stokes et al., 2013; Diamond, 2008).

Similarly, excessive reliance on ethnic mobilisation may undermine national cohesion when political actors exploit identity to create exclusion or deepen divisions. Although ethnic identity remains a legitimate form of representation, its manipulation can weaken issue-based democratic competition (Suberu, 2001).

Socioeconomic inequality further limits meaningful participation by reducing citizens' capacity to engage consistently in governance processes (Sen, 1999). However, Nigeria's democracy also demonstrates potential for progress through increased youth participation, civic awareness, digital engagement and growing demands for accountability (Yiaga Africa, 2023; Afrobarometer, 2024). The challenge remains addressing the structural inequalities that sustain poverty-based and identity-driven politics.

Recommendations

Strengthening Nigeria's democratic future ahead of the 2027 elections requires addressing both socioeconomic and institutional challenges. Poverty reduction should remain a priority through employment creation, investment in education, healthcare, agriculture and effective social protection systems to reduce citizens' vulnerability to patronage politics (Sen, 1999; World Bank, 2024).

Electoral institutions must continue improving measures against vote buying, illegal campaign financing and electoral manipulation through stronger enforcement and transparency mechanisms (INEC, 2023; Yiaga Africa, 2023). Political parties should promote issue-based campaigns focused on development, security, education and governance rather than excessive ethnic mobilisation (Diamond, 2008; Suberu, 2001).

Expanding civic and voter education through schools, civil society and digital platforms can strengthen democratic participation and resilience against manipulation (Lindberg, 2013). Inclusive leadership that recognises diversity as an asset remains essential for democratic consolidation.

References

Afrobarometer. (2024). *Nigeria Round 10 survey: Summary of results*. Afrobarometer Research Network.

Diamond, L. J. (2008). *The spirit of democracy: The struggle to build free societies throughout the world*. Times Books, Henry Holt and Company.

Independent National Electoral Commission. (2023). *Report on the 2023 general elections*. Independent National Electoral Commission.

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. (2023). *The global state of democracy 2023: The new checks and balances*. International IDEA.

International Monetary Fund. (2024). *Nigeria: 2024 Article IV consultation—Press release; staff report; and statement by the executive director for Nigeria* (IMF Country Report No. 24/101). International Monetary Fund.

Lindberg, S. I. (2013). *Democracy and elections in Africa*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

National Bureau of Statistics. (2022). *Nigeria multidimensional poverty index survey 2022*. Federal Government of Nigeria.

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford University Press.

Stokes, S. C., Dunning, T., Nazareno, M., & Brusco, V. (2013). *Brokers, voters, and clientelism: The puzzle of distributive politics*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107324909

Suberu, R. T. (2001). *Federalism and ethnic conflict in Nigeria*. United States Institute of Peace Press.

World Bank. (2024). *Nigeria development update: Staying the course—Progress amid pressing challenges*. World Bank Group.

Yiaga Africa. (2023). *Watching the vote: Final report on Nigeria's 2023 general elections*. Yiaga Africa.