



CENTRE FOR DEMOCRACY  
AND DEVELOPMENT

# HISTORY OF CONTESTS & PARTY DOMINANCE

1999-2015



## **NOTE**

The official figures for the 2003 and 2007 elections are problematic because of the high levels of electoral fraud, but they are official statistics, so it is utilised. However, the figures for 2015 are relatively low which likely may be an indication of a higher level of accuracy given the use of card readers in most States

## History of Contests and Party Dominance, 1999-2015

State	1999 President	Governor 1999	2003 President	Governor 2003	2007 President	Governor 2007	2011 President	Governor 2011	President	Governor 2015	2019?
<b>Abia</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PPA		PPA	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	
<b>Adamawa</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	CPC	PDP	APC	APC	
<b>Akwa Ibom</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	
<b>Anambra</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP/APGA		APGA	PDP	APGA	PDP	APGA	
<b>Bauchi</b>	PDP	PDP	ANPP	PDP		ANPP	CPC	PDP	APC	APC	
<b>Bayelsa</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	
<b>Benue</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	APC	APC/PDP	
<b>Borno</b>	PDP	APP	ANPP	ANPP		ANPP	PDP	ANPP	APC	APC	
<b>C/River</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	
<b>Delta</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	
<b>Ebonyi</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	
<b>Edo</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP/AC	PDP	ACN	PDP	APC	

<b>Ekiti</b>	AD	AD	AD	AD		PDP	PDP	ACN	PDP	APC
<b>Enugu</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP
<b>Gombe</b>	PDP	APP	PDP	PDP		PDP	CPC	PDP	APC	PDP
<b>Imo</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PPA/PDP	PDP	APGA	PDP	APC
<b>Jigawa</b>	PDP	APP	PDP	ANPP		PDP	CPC	PDP	APC	APC
<b>Kaduna</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	CPC	PDP	APC	APC
<b>Kano</b>	PDP	PDP	ANPP	ANPP		ANPP	CPC	PDP	APC	APC
<b>Katsina</b>	PDP	PDP	ANPP	PDP		PDP	CPC	PDP	APC	APC
<b>Kebbi</b>	PDP	APP	ANPP	ANPP		PDP	PDP	PDP	APC	APC
<b>Kogi</b>	PDP	APP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	APC	APC
<b>Kwara</b>	PDP	APP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	APC	APC/PDP
<b>Lagos</b>	AD	AD	PDP	AD		AC	PDP	ACN	APC	APC
<b>Nasarawa</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	CPC	PDP	APC
<b>Niger</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	APC	APC
<b>Ogun</b>	AD	AD	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	ACN	APC	APC

<b>Ondo</b>	AD	AD	PDP	PDP		LP	PDP	LP	APC	APC	
<b>Osun</b>	AD	AD	PDP	PDP		AC	CAN	ACN	APC	APC	
<b>Oyo</b>	AD	AD	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	ACN	APC	APC	
<b>Plateau</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	APC	
<b>Rivers</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	APC	PDP	
<b>Sokoto</b>	AD	APP	PDP	ANPP		PDP	CPC	PDP	APC	APC/PDP	
<b>Taraba</b>	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP		PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	PDP	
<b>Yobe</b>	AD	APP	ANPP	ANPP		ANPP	CPC	ANPP	APC	APC	
<b>Zamfara</b>	AD	APP	ANPP	ANPP		PDP	CPC	ANPP	APC	APC	
<b>FCT</b>	PDP		PDP				PDP		PDP		

**GREEN:** Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Ebonyi, Enugu, Rivers and Taraba are the eight states that historically, ONLY PDP have governed since 1999. If the trend holds true in 2019, it will hugely impact the 2019 presidential election.

**BLUE:** Borno, Lagos and Yobe States are historically the traditional APC States. PDP has never ruled these States. It will be an interesting twist to look out for in the 2019.

**MAROON:** Currently, the APC holds sway in 22 states but with varying challenges to its support base in Imo, Ogun and Zamfara. How these states vote should be interesting. In Rivers, APC is not even assured a spot in the contest and this will have major consequences for their support base.

**RED:** Currently, PDP hold sway in 13 of the 14 States, with APGA holding one.

# History of Contests and Party Dominance

1999- 2015



**2019 ?**

Information in the table reveals two epochs with different voting patterns across states between 1999 and 2015. First was the period between 1999 and 2007 and the second was the period between 2011 and 2015. The first was a period of PDP dominance in presidential elections across the majority of the states as most states consistently voted for PDP in the three general elections held between 1999 and 2007. The second epoch was a period of swing from PDP to CPC/ANPP/APC where some states that had voted PDP in the first epoch swung to now consistently vote massively for the main opposition party in the two presidential elections between 2011 and 2015.

Again, four groups of states can be identified based on the voting pattern observed over the five general elections across the states. The first group is made up of states like Plateau, Taraba and Nassarawa have only voted PDP massively in terms of highest number of votes parties garnered since 1999-2015 during presidential elections alongside the South East (Enugu, Imo, Abia, Ebonyi, Anambra and Ebonyi) and South-South (Delta, Rivers, Edo, Cross River, Bayelsa and Akwa Ibom). Surprisingly, the high vote casts for a specific party during the presidential election does not mean the same party will automatically get similar top votes during the governorship of other elective positions. For instance, states like Borno have consistently voted for ANPP/APC at the governorship elections but the voting pattern in the presidential polls have continued to swing from PDP to ANPP/APC, particularly during the 1999, 2007 and 2011 general elections where the PDP won the presidential election in the state but did not win the governorship election. This perhaps could be an indication that citizens across states appear to be more concerned about who they vote as president than who governs them at the sub-national level.

The second group of states include Gombe, Adamawa, Jigawa and Kaduna. The interesting thing about these states is that between 1999 and 2007, they voted massively and consistently for the PDP during the presidential elections but the tide changed between 2011 and 2015 when the same states swung from the PDP to vote massively and continuously for the main opposition like the CPC/APC. The voting pattern suggests that they voted for PDP consistently and massively when the internal zoning arrangement had not become problematic but immediately swung to support the CPC/APC following the perceived attempt by Goodluck Jonathan to truncate the internal zoning arrangement. A feat which automatically deprives the North opportunity to complete its eight-year turn following the demise of Umaru Musa Yar'adua.



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The third group of states that were not consistent in giving a massive vote to any political party in the first epoch (1999-2007), but consistently gave an enormous vote to main opposition CPC/APC during the presidential elections in the second epoch (2011-2015). This includes states like Zamfara, Yobe, Sokoto, Katsina, Kano and Bauchi. For states like this, it is expected that they may still vote massively for APC during the presidential election but may experience a decline in states like Sokoto where the governor defected to the PDP.

The fourth group consist of states that did not consistently vote massively for any political party in either of the two epochs identified throughout the five general elections. These include Oyo, Osun, Ondo, Ogun states. These states, with the exception of Osun, voted massively for AD in 1999, then swung to PDP from 2003 to 2011, but voted APC in 2015.

## **Prognosis/Expectations for 2019**

As the 2019 election draws up, we expect that the states that have consistently given their massive votes to PDP will also maintain the trend in the 2019 presidential election considering most of these states are in the South East (where the PDP Vice Presidential Candidate hails from) and North Central (ravaged by herdsmen menace). We also expect that states like Plateau, Taraba, and Rivers which consistently voted PDP until 2015, would return to give massive votes to the PDP in 2019.

We expect that the second group of states that swung from the PDP to vote massively and consistently for the CPC/APC between 2011 and 2015 would maintain the same trend. Similarly, the third group of states that always gave a massive vote to the CPC/APC between 2011 and 2015 would also massively vote for the APC

We expect that much of the states that have not been consistent like Osun, Ogun, Oyo, Ondo and Lagos would be battlegrounds and their votes would be the deciding votes. Any party that can get massive votes from these states in the presidential elections may emerge victorious.





**Centre for Democracy & Development**

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The Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) was established in the United Kingdom in 1997 as an independent, not-for-profit, research training, advocacy and capacity building organization

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