

SECURITY AND THE 2019 ELECTIONS: Reflections from Criminology

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ABSTRACT

Multiparty elections have become the bellwether by which all democracies are judged and the spread of these systems across Africa has been widely hailed as a sign of the continent's progress towards stability and prosperity. But such elections bring their own challenges, particularly the often intense internecine violence following disputed results. While the consequences of such violence can be profound, undermining the legitimacy of the democratic process and in some cases plunging countries into civil war or renewed dictatorship, little is known about the causes. By mapping, analyzing and comparing instances of election violence in different localities across Africa, this collection of detailed case studies sheds light on the underlying dynamics and sub-national causes behind electoral conflicts, revealing them to be the result of a complex interplay between democratization and the older, patronage-based system of "Big man" politics.

INTRODUCTION

There have been several cases of insecurities during elections in Nigeria as most of the elections in Nigeria are characterized by violence and intimidation of opponents, selection of aspirants is not based on merit which is creating a problem for our young and nascent democracy. In addition to the above, the economic situation is not stable, there is a lot of people dying of hunger and starvation in Nigeria, this is common in the past election most people even go to the extent of thumb printing on ballot papers throughout the night when official voting has not started, this is a cardinal point of rigging an election using the INEC officials to supply voting materials to top politicians in a particular area, hence a resident electoral commissioner of INEC do visit a big name (Politician) in its territory of jurisdiction as a mark of loyalty to pave way for smooth flow of their corrupt tendency perpetuated at the polls.

Also, Thuggery is rampant in the aspect of Nigerian youths, today most politicians have thugs whom they use to disrupt election and steal ballot boxes from polling stations, these are jobless youths who are trying to earn a living from dubious antecedents, these are the same youths who they use in carrying out their nefarious activities ranging from political rallies, political assassination etcetera (The Guardian, 2015).

Elections are central to competitive politics of the modern era especially under the "third wave" of democracy (Jega, 2015, 2013; Momah, 2016:40; Obianyo, 2008:42). And during transitional period "elections will be not just a foundation stone but a key generator overtime of further democratic reforms" (Carothers, 2002:8). Some observers have argued that regular elections and the associated political rights and civil liberties being experienced in new

democracies like Nigeria are an indication of democratic progress and optimism (Agbu, 2016; Lynch and Crawford, 2011; Posner and Young, 2007; Uddhammar et al, 2011). In Nigeria as in much of Africa, “electoral competition is becoming more common” (Weghorst and Lindberg, 2011:1208). Regular conduct of elections is not only “central to democratization”, but also “contributes to the maturation of nascent democratic cultures” (Bratton, 2004:155). For as Lindberg avers, “an uninterrupted series of competitive elections imbues society with certain democratic qualities- namely participation, competition and legitimacy” (Lindberg, 2006b:139). Unfortunately, “In Nigeria, however, elections have been one of the main problems of the democratic process” (Omotola, 2010:535).

The conduct of free and fair elections has always been a problem which continues to threaten the very survival of the country and questions the relevance of democracy (Agbu, 2016:4). Indeed, “the problems associated with elections have direct impact on the performance of democratic institutions” (Wapmuk, 2016:99). The Nigerian Government acknowledges that, “Controversies over highly rigged elections have been the forerunner to political violence and instability in Nigeria” (FGN, 2014b:39).

From the forgoing, it is pertinent we note that, the process of democratization and survival of Nigeria as a country must start from the act of properly planning and executing elections in Nigeria.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The need for Nigeria to put in place reliable security measures during elections cannot be overemphasized. Having elections where security issues are encountered tend to have massive effect on the confidence of voters because these electorates gradually loose the trust they have in their votes because they believe their votes may not be counted due to the security issues encountered.

Overtime in Nigeria, government has not been putting in place enough security personals that could comfortably eradicate or at least curb the issues that threaten security during elections. Until this issue is solved, development may not occur at a rapid rate in the country.

The paper therefore focuses on security and 2019 elections, drawing examples from previous elections that have been held in the country in a bid to understand the dynamics of security in Nigeria and most importantly to proffer solutions and avoid reoccurrence. To address the issues in context the paper seeks answers to the following questions: What are the causes of election violence in Nigeria? What are the roles of security agencies in election in Nigeria? What are the ways of improving the situation?

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING

Anifowose (1982), provides us with three of such theoretical explanation that can be used either collectively or individually to explain election related violence. These are:

1. The relative deprivation, rising expectations and frustration-aggression hypothesis;
2. The systematic hypothesis; and
3. The group conflict hypothesis

Although, the three hypotheses have their relevance in explaining election related violence, it must however be mentioned that, the first hypothesis, the relative deprivation, rising expectations and frustration-aggression theory aptly explains why electorate most a time, react negatively and spontaneously through demonstration, riots and arson when their expectations do not tally with outcome of election results which are believed to have been

manipulated. Such were the cases during the 1964 general elections, 1965 Western Regional election and the 1983 general elections. The only way to avoid such related crisis is to secure the confidence of the electorate through impartiality and transparency in the conduct of elections. The two other hypotheses better explain political violence holistically both in their social and group contexts. Apart from these hypotheses, one other approach that have reliably explained election related violence such as the use of thugs during elections, snatching of ballot boxes, intimidation and assassination of political opponents, is the political economy approach.

Scholars like Claude Ake, Bade Onimode, Julius Inhovbere and others have impressively employed this approach to explain why the Nigerian political class holds unto political power so tenacity, not minding the means or methods used. Among the reasons given by these scholars for this political altitude is that the political class relies heavily on political power in order to accumulate wealth fraudulently, and since the political class has no economic base, everything, ranging from elections to assassination of political rivals must be done to remain in power.

INSECURITIES AND ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

There are clearly difficulties in understanding and conceptualizing dynamics of prevailing electoral insecurity. A situation in which electoral chaos dominates the electoral process, this undoubtedly causes both policy and analytical problems for scholars who recognize election to be an organized system of choosing political office holder as representatives of the people (Alapiki, 2000). However, the separation of security from election is inherently problematic as there is inherent interrelationship. Since the viability of the electoral system is determined by the political environment, election should be termed free, fair and credible to the extent that security is maintained in line with stipulated electoral guidelines, law and order.

Election is a creation of the Nigerian colonial state. It is tied to the quest for political office and power acquisition. In post-colonial Nigeria, studies on election and security have emerged to offer a serious challenge to the dynamics of electoral system in Nigeria (Ogundiya and Baba, 2005; Mohammed, 2007), which largely seeks to investigate the institutional and individual apparatus deployed in the conduct of elections, and in particular the extent dominant power relations and elite interest results in violence and its security implications to the wider development of the society.

In recognition of the complex nature of election, there have been divergent understanding and conceptual exploration of the term leading to a number of useful debates on the failure of the Nigerian State to conduct free, fair, credible and violent free elections since the return to democracy. The poor transition debate argues that election has largely failed to be transformational due to inadequate transition (Diamond, 1997). The contention has been that both the political office seekers and the electorates are rarely given adequate education on the function and basis for elections resulting in poor conduct of elections. Diamond (1997) recounts that the return to democracy in most developing countries has been largely a transitory phase in which through repeated practices democracy deepening and consolidation could be achieved. In this particular context, the electorates directly or indirectly elect their representatives who are accountable to them. Beyond this ideal notion, the basis of the argument is that the electorates are stakeholders in the electoral process.

The reason for the renewed interest in election and security is perhaps informed by the panic and fear that arises in the polity whenever election comes up and in particular the problem it has created towards evolving a true democracy in which the wishes of the people could be allowed to prevail untampered by the elite whose political interests are often paramount. This

has often resulted in the conceptualization of election within the context of violence and its possible effects on democracy consolidation. For instance, Ogundiya and Baba (2005) argued that electoral violence in Nigeria has been a central factor in evaluating the prospects and challenges of democracy consolidation in Nigeria. They chronicled a number of electoral crisis and violence pointing to the relevance of security. This trend also partly accounts for the increasing pressure within Nigeria for free, fair and credible elections. Thus, the return to democracy had opened to a number of political trends in Nigeria such as multi-party system, periodic elections, novel electoral enlightenment or voter education suggestive of democracy resurgence.

Beyond these, how nascent democracy has fostered transparency in elections is less conceptualized. A major concern is how election could redirect the political orientation of both political office seekers and the electorates in line with the changing political system created by democracy. It becomes important to examine what the literature is saying about election in Nigeria and understand its salient implications for development and policy options. At the conceptual level, there are divergent terminological uses of the term election in the literature. Most debates point out that election is central on selecting public office seekers and beyond that determines the quality of government. Egwu (2014, p.1) recounts that elections lie at the heart of representative democracy and constitute a mirror of the peoples understanding and appreciation of democratic norms. A number of factors determine the credibility or otherwise of elections which calls for closer look at the dynamics of the conduct of elections and in particular, how available literature is saying about the term election. To capture these conceptual debates, research on election applies a wide range of issues, stemming from various disciplinary backgrounds and operating on various levels of government notably ward, local, state and national. While this divergent background makes it difficult to adopt a one for all conceptual perspective of election, particular attention is paid to attempts at conceptual clarifications which could be useful to create novel insights. Gwinn and Norton (1992) argue that election is the formal process of selection of a person for public office or accepting or registering a political proposition by voting. They contend that election is one of the means by which a society ay organize itself and make specified formal decisions they argue that where voting is free, it acts as a springboard for making rational decisions regarding the power relations in a society and as a method for political allegiance and sacrifice of the individual freedom.

There are debates which link election with exclusive individual choice. For instance, Eya(2003) recounts that election is seen as the selection of a person or persons for office as by ballot and making choice between alternatives. There are studies in the literature which argue that electoral politics in Nigeria has been likened to war fare (Adekanya, 1989; Ake, 2001; Ogundiya and Baba, 2007).

Equally, attentions in the literature have also been drawn to the prospects and challenges of democratization in Nigeria, Jega (2006, p.5) provides an outline of the constitutive elements of the liberal democratic tradition'as follows; Representation: freedom to choose 'Participation: getting involved 'Responsive and responsible/accountable government, Equality before the law transparency and accountability in public conduct.

Debates espousing the persistent challenge of poor democracy culture and issues of democracy deepening have reinforced useful insights in understanding the persistent electoral crisis in post 1999 elections in Nigeria (Ogundiya and Baba, 2007). Part of the challenge of democracy transformation and institutionalization of democracy culture has been the nature of the western styled democracy which is alien to the Africa traditional setting as Ake (1993) pointed

out that Western type democracy is inappropriate that what is needed is that democracy which provides people with power to decide their affairs. This has been the consequence of democracy failures in Nigeria as the patterns of democracy has been riddled with imperfections and contradictions often at variance with the ideals of liberal democracy (Ibeanu, 2007) Diamond(1997,p.12) identified constitutive dimensions of democracy deepening which include deepening democratic structures to make the ore liberal, accessible, accountable and representative; strengthening the formal institution of democracy; including parties, legislatures, and the judicial system and improving regime performance, both economically and politically by maintaining order, safeguarding liberty and combating corruption.

This informs and underpins the need for rethinking of both democracy and the electoral processes in Nigeria. Diamond, et al; (1999) had argued on the need for individual freedom as the basis for democracy as they contend that democracy encompasses extensive protection of individual and group freedoms, inclusive pluralism in civil society as well as party politics; civilian control of the military, institutions to hold officeholders accountable, and strong rule of law secured through an independent, impartial judiciary. Election thus, remains an integral part of democracy akin to features such as popular sovereignty or one man one vote, individual liberty or human rights, rule of law or supremacy of the constitution, party competition, the active participation of citizens in public participation through their electoral representatives directly or indirectly (Appadorai,1975).

Understanding of election in Nigeria should transcend rhetoric and look at more practical terms and connection with everyday life of the people. Osaghae (2002.p.152) enumerates four related factors in Nigerian elections; (1) —the ethno-regional character of the political parties and the zero sum nature of politics which compels politicians to seek to secure power by any means, fair or foul;(2)the manner in which electoral commissions are composed which does not insulate it from partisanship;(3)the misuse of State owned media by incumbent parties to the disadvantage of opponents and (4) the partisan use of police and other security forces. Regarding the conceptual exploration of security, the return to democracy in 1999 has increasingly created novel notions of understanding electoral security including the complexities associated with the carting of ballot boxes, buying of votes have resulted in concepts such as marketization or commodification of election (Ibeanu, 2007). The concept of election security suggests the existence of threats to the conduct of elections (Ighodalo, 2012).

These security threats include malpractices such as: election rigging, snatching and stuffing of ballot boxes, political intimidation and assassination prior to, during and after elections (Ighodalo, 2012). Bawa (2013) argues that election security involves actions or steps taken to secure the electoral process. Thus, security in electoral contexts can be conceptualized within the power relations imbedded in the dynamics of capitalist accumulation ethos in which the poor are used to articulate and actualize the political interest of the elite at the expense of the poor. Election is thus transformed into a mobilizing element not only for contesting of political office but also for false consciousness and access to state power within a context of competing and conflicting elite, in which various means (including violent) are devised as a modality for coordinating social forces to the interest of a particular group.

Beyond the usual notion of electoral competition and access to power, patronage becomes germane in the electoral system (Joseph, 1992). The electoral system in Nigeria reflect the dynamic realities inter elite interests and relations through which the acquisition of power is actualized. Electoral security has also become a novel arena for demonstration of hooliganism

conceptualized within the framework of arson and carting away of ballot boxes, use of fireworks and guns to intimidate perceived opponents.

The conceptualization of election creates a tendency to engage in a somewhat peculiar abstract analysis of the relations between election and security and its wider interface with development. Amadi, et al; (2016) had argued that the elite fail to fully recognize the relevance of the youths in the economic development of the region, hence the perverse rise in youth restiveness in the region which had taken several forms in pre and post- election periods including militancy, abduction, vandalization of oil equipment etc. This trend has eaten into the fabric of the region as a result and largely accounts for repeated electoral violence as the youths are largely unemployed (UNEP, 2011). On this basis, the concept of marketization of election through the buying of votes for elections become a common practice among the political elites who pay money to secure more votes (Ibeanu, 2007). Within this state of affairs re-moralizing the political space becomes a big problem as the flawed system seems to hold sway against constitutional provisions of the electoral act. In this particular circumstance unemployed youths could hold on to the material inducements from the political class for survival irrespective of

As Olurode and Haamanga (2013) argued that election is a security affair, getting it right boils down to economic development. Similar orientation can be found in the debates by Ibeanu and Jega (2007) who contend that election insecurity creates persistent systemic problems in the polity. It is clear that election has expanded to engulf the economic, rather than the entirely political conception of the practice. The logic of this strand stems from the logic of the fact that through political processes i.e. the election of the holders of political and economic powers (government) emerges to take key decisions encompassing economic and political. Thus the nexus between election, security and development is significant for a possible sustainable and equitable development of Nigeria. This nexus is clear with the evidence of poor governance and refusal of the elites to make the votes of the electorates count, hence perverse rise in economic hardship, youth unemployment and poverty (Egwu, 2014). This is a serious development issue, with adequate electoral security, the choice of the people prevails and in turn political accountability and transparency could be actualized. Outside this, the supposed development might be negatively impacted. This contention that electoral security facilitates economic development has a meaningful and relevant interface with this research, and is an essential part of a pro people and pro- development version of popular claims about the constitutive centrality of election and development nexus. The key argument here is that security is key to a hitch free election and could systematically create to a large extent the desired fair playing ground for political office seekers. Jega (2006) contends that election creates an avenue for competitive quest for elective offices. Boucher (2008) re-echoes that the effect of this is that many of these theorists work within what he calls the charmed circle of ideology, which he uses to refer to post-Marxism's tendency to reduce politics and economics to ideological struggles. Thus, from this perspective and based on the expansive definition of election it is important to understand the need for security in the electoral process. These problems as the available literature suggest, have been identified in the spate of killings in elections in Nigeria including similar issues such as hooliganism and thuggery that currently characterizes elections in Nigeria.

For instance, Ibeanu and Jega (2007) argue that electoral crisis has been to a large extent the resultant effect of poor electoral system. This suggests that despite a firm rhetorical emphasis on election as central to democracy, there is a serious challenge linking the ongoing practice with effective security mechanism. The quest for acquisition of political power thus overrides electoral transparency with issues of bribery and electoral fraud as a common place since

nascent democracy in Nigeria. Ibeanu (2007) re-emphasizes the originally theoretical basis of the term machine politics to provide clearer understanding of what he termed primitive accumulation of votes. He builds on Smith and Zurcher (1944,p.190) which argued that a political machine is an organization controlled by a boss or a small coterie of leaders which subjects party organization and public officials to its will and operates efficiently and ruthlessly in exploring governmental activities of nearly every sort for the private gain of its members.

Mohammed (2007) attempts to transcend his rendition of election in which votes must count. However, adequate apparatus to make votes count have been ineffectual resulting in irregularities. It is hard in my modest opinion to see how election could be free and fair without effective security apparatus. Security is integral to the conduct of free, fair and credible elections. The term election security seems not to have been satisfactorily put in proper scholarly perspective particularly in the developing societies. The security challenges have made politics generally a game for hoodlums (Joseph, 1992).

Uganden (2010, p.90), argues that politics in Nigeria is particularly plagued with historically rooted ills that five decades of sovereign statehood have failed to eradicate. This points out the need for conceptual exploration of the concept of electoral security. The concept of electoral security provides a controversial discourse as studies in electoral security and party politics largely depend on a less clear conceptualization of the term (Olurode, 2013). Security is of great concern to all human beings (Klare, 1996). The realist school conceive security in military terms suggesting various forms of military response to security threats. With the end of the Cold War, the military focus of security had a shift from a number of perspectives. There has been a number of perspectives on security particularly at the individual level. This has seen the emergence of election security debate, jostling for disciplinary space in political science, but most closely associated with the understanding of the dynamics and nature of the conduct of elections. Electoral security is notable for its rearticulating of some of the conventional questions of political participation pertaining to elections, particularly the relationship of the electoral body such as INEC in the particular case of Nigeria with the electorates and the security forces, in a distinct manner that puts the domain of security frontal in the electoral process. In particular, election security has challenged the existence of real or latent threats to free, fair and credible elections, and has argued instead for the guarantee of the security of all stakeholders during elections (Olurode, 2013; Bawa, 2013).

This orientation has given rise to a number of conceptual debates, including the changing forms of election such as electoral violence (Bawa, 2013), codification of election and the buying of votes, carting of ballot boxes, shooting and arson during elections. These insecurity triggers arising from the conduct of elections have vitiated the understanding of election as organized and systematic mode of choosing political office holders under a party label. This creates analytical tension and contradictions which have been problematic in discourses on elections. The treatment of election in Nigeria as a –do or die affair has resulted in increasing need to conceptualize it from the perspective of security. This is particularly important as security threats have created distortions in the conduct of elections in Nigeria (Ogundiya, 2000). Debates on the emergent field of electoral security attempts to remedy deficiencies associated with the conduct of elections particularly on three fronts namely the protection of electoral materials, electoral officers and the electorates (Olurode, 2013; Bawa, 2013) , as electoral security scholarship succeeds in providing novel scholarly arena to understand the dynamics of election and security, it fails to fully resolve the difficulties associated with the conceptual challenges of the term . This has resulted in attempts to examine studies linking election to security and to possibly create conceptual edge on the term electoral security and reaffirm the importance of such concepts in the electoral system of Nigeria. Thus, electoral

security form part of a general vocabulary that people could deploy to understand the processes, practices and social relations which shape the electoral system. Yet, it has also been contentious as many political, economic and social factors that affect elections in security contexts have not been adequately examined. This opens this study to a number of future researches as well as important conceptual debates which have often affected the common basis of conceptual consensus on the term. Despite this, there is a widespread assumption that electoral security is integral to the success of elections. Igini (2013) provided some theoretical conception of elections and argued that election security is integral to the integrity of the overall conduct of elections including the electorates electoral personnel election materials contestants election monitors; observers and other stakeholders who participate in the electoral process. On his part, Alapiki (2000) argued that the abuse of incumbency power has been a major trigger of electoral insecurity. According to Olurode and Haamanga (2013) electoral security constitute an integral element of the success of elections and represent an advance on electoral reform agenda in which the safety of the electorates are guaranteed before; during and after elections. This has given rise to the need for a critical re-engagement with electoral system in Nigeria beyond voting and being voted for in elections.

Equally, while greater attention in the literature is paid to election, the impact of electoral processes and outcome on development is poorly examined from my research trajectories, I do not believe that economic development could be actualized without credible elections. That is, the restructuring of modes of carting of ballot boxes, use of fireworks to scare voters, shooting at both perceived opponents and the electorates, buying of votes, deploying of youths and at times the police in favour of a particular political office seeker etc. These problems which have been a re-occurring challenge since the return to democracy have not been adequately discussed in the literature on elections in Nigeria. This becomes particularly important since democracy deepening has been often termed a missing agenda in Africa's democracy (Ake, 2001).

DATA ANALYSIS**Table1: showing in details the categorization of Violence related to Elections**

DIMENSION OF ELECTORAL VIOLENCE	COMPONENTS
PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical assault on individuals during campaign, elections and when election results are released • Assassination of political opponents or people perceived as a threat to one's political ambition • Burning down of public or opponent's property and cars among other • Shooting, shoot outs • Killing of individuals • Partisan harassment by security agents, arrests, forceful dispersal of rallies, or shooting, wounding or killing of people • Kidnapping and hostage taking • Bombing of infrastructure • Forceful disruption by thugs at political and campaign rallies • Destruction of ballot boxes and ballot papers from polling agents • Free for all fight
PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Threats against and harassment by security agents of opponents of the ruling regime or party, which create political apathy • Shoot-on-sight orders that breed fear in voters • Terror inflicted by political assassinations, which makes people scared to participate in politics or elections • Publication or broadcast of abusive, insulting, or intimidating material or advertorial • Threats to life through phone calls, text messages , etc.
STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coercion of citizens by government to register or vote or be denied certain national facilities • Exclusionary acts and policies • Unequal opportunities for political parties and candidates • Deliberate changes in dates, venue or times of events to the advantages of others • Partisan delimitation of electoral constituencies and location of pooling stations/booths • Excessive fees for the collection of party nomination forms • Absence of free campaign • Reliance on money and brute force instead of moral integrity and competence • Restraints imposed on voters • Use of the incumbency factor to give undue advantage to some candidates • Announcement of false or fraudulent results • Lengthy delays in announcing election results • Absence of adequate voting materials and electoral result forms • Delay in voting • Absence of electoral officers from polling booth at an appropriate time • Partisan behaviour of police and other security agents • Discriminatory acts and policies

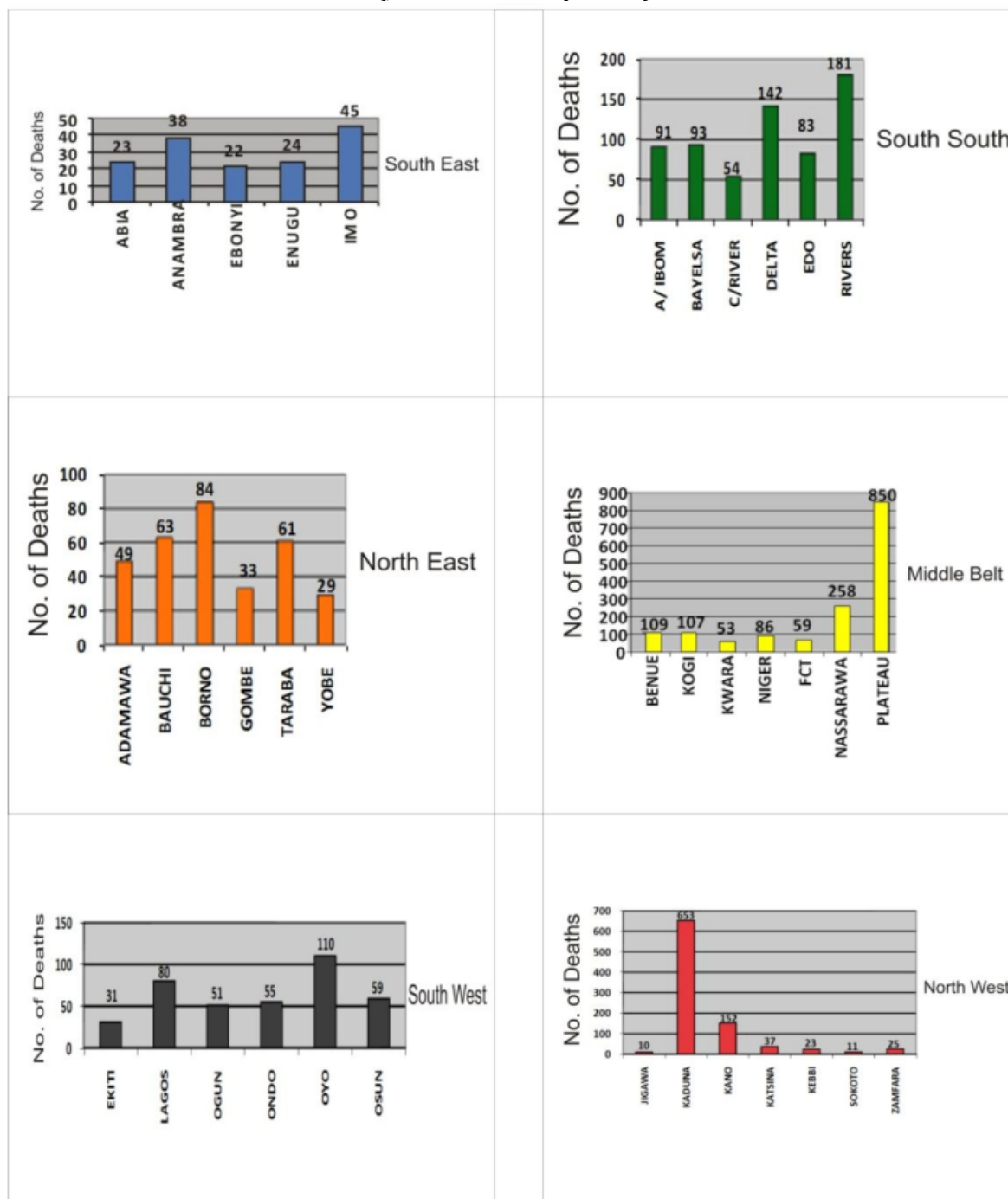
Source; update from Nwolise OBC , Electoral violence and Nigeria's 2007 elections Journal of African Elections vol 6 No.2 October 2007 pp. 155-179

Table 2: Ranking of states from highest to lowest prevalence of political/electoral fatalities (2006-2014)

RANKING	STATE	NUMBER OF FATALITIES
1	PLATEAU	850
2	KADUNA	653
3	NASARAWA	258
4	RIVERS	181
5	KANO	152
6	DELTA	142
7	OYO	110
8	BENUE	109
9	KOGI	107
10	BAYELSA	93
11	AKWA IBOM	91
12	NIGER	86
13	BORNO	84
14	EDO	83
15	LAGOS	80
16	BAUCHI	63
17	TARABA	61
18	FCT	59
18	OSUN	59
19	ONDO	55
20	CROSS RIVER	54
21	KWARA	53
22	OGUN	51
23	ADAMAWA	49
24	IMO	45
25	ANAMBRA	38
26	KATSINA	37
27	GOMBE	33
28	EKITI	31
29	YOBE	29
30	ZAMFARA	25
31	ENUGU	24
32	KEBBI	23
32	ABIA	23
33	EBONYI	22
34	SOKOTO	11
35	JIGAWA	10
TOTAL	3,934	

Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, n°49

**Figure 1: Number of Fatalities from Electoral Violence per state and per zone.
(June 2006 – May 2014)**



Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, n°49

After presenting the above charts on number of fatalities from electoral violence per state and per zone, it is important key states with high incidences of electoral violence are analyzed and discussed. The states discussed are Kaduna State (North West), Oyo (South West), Plateau state (North Central), Rivers state (South-South), Bauchi State (North-East) and Imo state (South-East).

Table 3: Major electoral violence events in Kaduna (2006-2014)

Event description	No. of deaths	Date	LGA
Violence during the elections	4	14/4/2007	Kaduna North
Mayhem over elections, CPC vs. winning PDP killed at least 60 persons, the bodies being brought to Kaduna hospitals. Churches, mosques, and homes were burnt. The fighting opposed Bajju Christians to Hausa Fulani Muslims. According to Human Rights Watch, 10 Christians were killed and 335 Muslims were recorded buried.	69	16/4/2011 to 19/4/2011	Jema'a
	147	16/4/2011 to 19/4/2011	Zangon Kataf
	331	19/4/2011	Kachia
Pro Buhari members protested the results of the presidential elections. Two policemen, one lecturer, and four students were killed. Many houses, churches, and government properties were burnt. According to Vanguard, Dr. Ali Obge of the Department of Guidance and Counseling, Faculty of Education, Ahmadu Bello Zaria, was one the scores of academics and students killed.	17	17/4/2011	Zaria
The town of Maraba Rido was razed during the presidential elections aftermath. Houses, shops, and the main mosque were torched. A total of 28 Muslims were killed.	28	19/4/2011	Kaduna North, Kaduna South

Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, n°49

Table 4: Cases of electoral violence in Oyo State (2006-2014)

Event description	No. of deaths	Date	LGA
Thugs went on the rampage, killing people, burning houses, and kidnapping several persons linked to the state governor, A. R. A. Ladoja. The violence was linked to a factional crisis within the NURTW. Loyal to Governor Ladoja, the factional chairman of NURTW, A. G. Abubakar, was detained at the home of L. Adedibu.	5	24/5/2007	Saki East, Saki West
50 political thugs attempted to attack the former Governor of Oyo State, Senator Rashidi Ladoja. They were overpowered by security men; 3 gunmen died.	3	3/7/2007	All Ibadan LGAs
Hoodlums carrying a large banner of Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu, veteran politician and PDP chieftain, blocked Governor Christopher Adebayo Alao-Akala of Oyo State's convoy on his way home from a ceremony. They demanded their mobilization money as earlier agreed with the organizers of the ceremony and began to throw stones when the governor refusal.	2	11/9/2007	Ibadan North
PDP hoodlums stormed the rally of AC Senator Rashidi Ladoja, just after AP members attacked them. Two apprentices at the market died in the pandemonium and 22 were injured.	2	6/4/2011	All Ibadan LGAs

Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, n°49

Table 5: Major electoral violence incidents in Plateau State (2006–2014)

Event description	No. of deaths	Date	LGA
Governorship aspirant of ACD, J. Aruku, was murdered after a political rally.	2	2/6/2006	Jos North
Christians from the PDP were declared winners of the state elections but Muslims from the ANPP contested the results. A clash ensued, and homes, mosques, and churches were burnt. A Muslim charity said it collected more than 300 bodies; the Information Minister for Plateau Nuhu Gagara reported 200 dead. According to the Nigerian Red Cross, 10,000 people fled their homes and camped in various locations in the metropolis. On 30 November, Agence France Press reported that 381 bodies were placed in a mosque. On 1 December, a Muslim official at the main mosque, Murtala Sani Hashim, reported 367 bodies. Health officials reported at least 400 bodies. Other sources reported 500 buried in mass graves on 1 December. On 30 December, Agence France Press reported that the police carried out more than 90 summary executions in the course of suppressing violence. Human Right Watch reported that at least 130 people were killed by policemen and soldiers. On 29 July it was reported that sectarian attacks in Jos claimed nearly 1,000 lives in total. Mercenaries were said to have been brought from neighbouring states (perhaps linked with Boko Haram). Muslim religious authorities in Jos registered between 469 and 632 dead amongst Hausa/Fulani and 23 amongst Catholics. The Stefanos Foundation named 103 Christians dead in Congo-Russia, Nasarawa, Rikkos, Sarki Mangu, and Tudun Wada. Ajibola Plateau State Judicial Commission stated that 312 people were killed, including 118 Christian Ibo and 31 Yoruba.	540	27/11/2008 to 29/11/2008	Jos East, Jos North, Jos South
Hausa youths escorted by Special Task Force (STF) members for voter registration were attacked by Christian youths. One Hausa boy was killed. The STF gunned down one Christian boy while dispersing the mob. One electoral official was reportedly lynched and burned, and two soldiers were wounded.	3	17/1/2011	Jos North
At least one person was killed and three others injured in a pre-dawn attack. In the governorship election period, many actions by some politicians to pitch the Berom against other ethnic nationalities were uncovered by the state government.	1	22/4/2011	Riyom

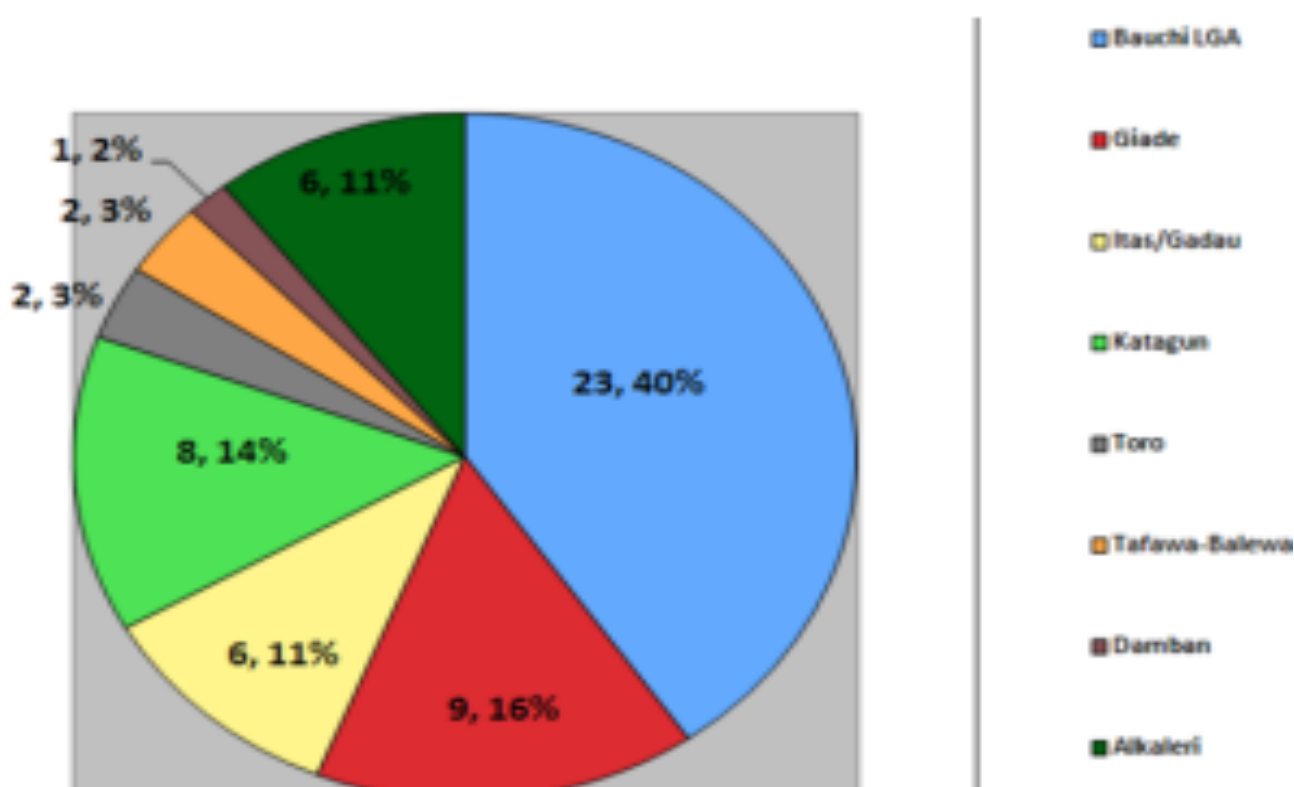
Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, n°49

Table 6: Major electoral violence incidents in Rivers State (2006–2014)

Event description	No. of deaths	Date	LGA
Rival cult groups, Deebam and Deewell, fought for two politicians, respectively Kenneth Kobani (State Commissioner for Finance) and Gabriel Pidomson (Member of the Rivers State House of Assembly), who were engaged in a 2007 elections battle with militias to control Bodo. Streets were deserted and schools were closed. Three more persons died on 29 July.	9	20/7/2006	Gokana
Two PDP members were shot dead in a gun battle during a PDP congress.	2	17/11/2006	Tai
Gunmen allegedly hired by PDP invaded Port-Harcourt, terrorizing many strategic areas, shooting into the crowd, into the air, or at guards in front of Governor Peter Odili. Helicopters flew over the city as police pursued the assailants. A bus conductor was shot in the head, and another in the rib near Abali Park. A woman selling plantain and a man were shot dead at the Fire Service and Water Line Junctions.	4	24/5/2007	Port Harcourt
A PDP member was shot dead by 8 gunmen who invaded the venue of a party meeting.	1	8/5/2011	Ikwerre

Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, n°49

Figure 2: Number and percentage of deaths from electoral violence per Local Government Area, Bauchi State, cumulated figures (2006–2014)



Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, n°49

Table 7: Major electoral violence incidents in Bauchi State (2006 –2014)

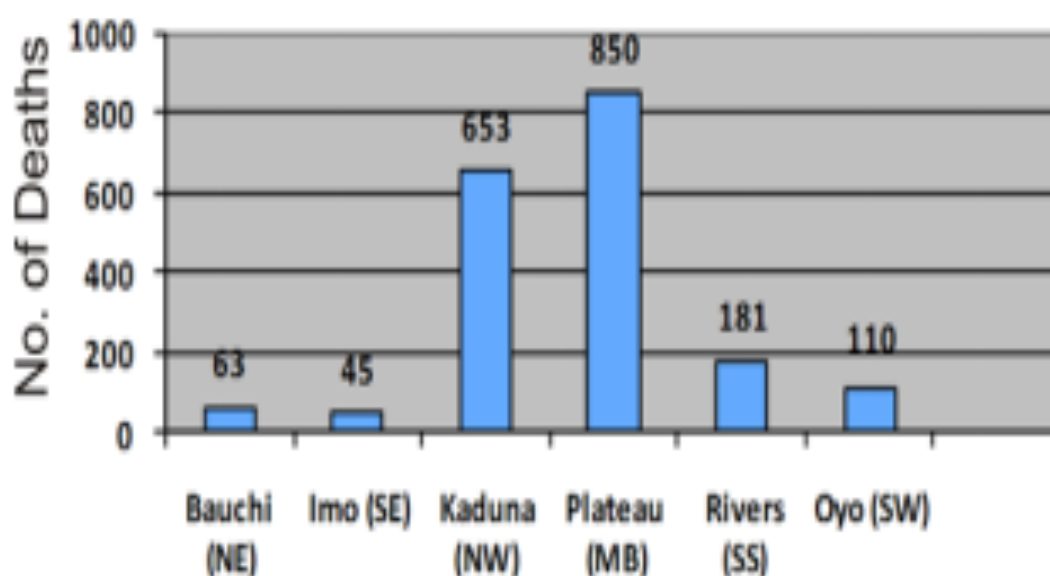
Event description	No. of deaths	Date	LGA
Thugs killed a schoolteacher during rivalries between PDP Governorship candidate Alhaji Nadada Umar and his ANPP counterpart Malam Isa Yuguda	2	25/1/2007	Bauchi LGA
The convoy of the gubernatorial candidate of the ACN, Senator Baba Tela, was attacked by thugs sponsored by PDP stalwarts. Seven persons were injured.	1	19/3/2011	Giade
Aliyu S. Bello, a poly student of the Department of Food Science and Technology, was killed by hired political thugs.	1	16/4/2011	Bauchi LGA
At least 32 Christians were killed by Hausa thugs, including 11 corps members. A total of 72 churches were burnt in the state over presidential elections results.	6	16/4/2011 to 17/4/2011	Katagun

Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, n°49

Table 8: Major electoral violence incidents in Imo State (2006–2014)

Event description	No. of deaths	Date	LGA
Thugs attacked the electoral officer, who was saved by police. Five people were shot dead.	5	14/4/2007	Njaba
PDP thugs killed an INEC official and took away the ballot boxes.	1	14/4/2007	Ikeduru
House of Assembly aspirant, Marcus Ebeziem, escaped assassination, but gunmen killed his gateman.	1	30/10/2010	Ehime Mbanjo
Gunmen stormed the place of Chairman of Nwangele LGA, Chief Chukwukere, killing him and five other persons. The Chairman had cash to distribute during elections.	6	8/4/2011	Nwangele

Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, n°49

Figure 3: Number of deaths from electoral violence by highest occurrence per geopolitical zone (2006–2014)

Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, n°49

CONCLUSION

The act of conducting credible elections has been a major problem affecting Nigerian democracy. Elections are usually fraught with a lot of irregularities that raise questions about their credibility (Agbu, 2016:1- 8). The lack of credible elections in most part has had serious and fundamental impact on democratic consolidation despite the commonality and regularity as it were in the conduct of elections in the country's current democratic dispensation that began in 1999.

At the centre of the whole democratic deficit is the Election Management Body (EMB), namely the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), which over the years but for the 2011 and 2015 general elections is generally weakened by the challenges bedeviling the electoral process. Indeed, the slight improvement recorded in the last elections resulting in political power alternation in the country is fundamentally due to the electoral reform embarked upon by the political class to address the identified institutional deficits and/or defects of the electoral process particularly in the EMB.

The hope of democratic consolidation depends in large part to the consolidation of the reform itself. This requires that all and sundry including the EMB and the political actors must take the electoral reform more seriously if Nigeria's democracy is not to be seen as mere „window-dressing or what some describe as elections without democracy (Diamond, 2002; Schedler, 2002).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on facts seen from secondary data and literature review. The following recommendations were made:

1. Government should provide enough funds for INEC so they will be able to carry out elections properly without having to need help from other individuals.
2. Community policing should be strengthened in communities in Nigeria so the culprits of electoral violence can be known and dealt with on time.
3. Government should ensure many soldiers, police officers and other security agencies are available during elections.
4. Further research should be embarked upon to understand insecurities during elections in Nigeria as this study is by no means exhaustive of the subject matter.

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