

Electoral Violence, Insecurity and the Credibility of the 2023 General Election in Nigeria

Abdulrahman Barau Yusuf¹ & Auwalu Saminu²

¹Department of Political Science and International Studies,

Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Kaduna State

Corresponding author: yusfadah@yahoo.com

²Federal College of Education Zuba, Abuja

Abstract

This paper assesses how electoral violence and insecurity affected the credibility of the 2023 general elections in Nigeria. The problem in this study is that insecurity and electoral violence are often used by politicians as tools to succeed in their political affairs. This can be in the form of organizing armed thugs to disrupt the electoral process by destroying election materials, attacks on the election staff, displacement and intimidation of voters, assassination of political opponents, innocent voters and election staff. In all political activities in Nigeria, violence and insecurity are reflected. These act of violence and insecurity started from the pre-election to post-election periods. This made success in conducting credible elections difficult in the country. The research method used is qualitative with a descriptive approach. Data collection was carried out using, participant observations, and literature studies. Triangulation method of data analysis was used. As for the results of this study, first, many of the political candidates use violence as a weapon to win elections, the violent nature of elections and the threats from certain terrorist groups, and bandits have succeeded in reducing the voter turnout as many are scared of endangering their physical well-being. *Accordingly, some recommendations and policy implications became important. For instance, innovative security strategies and deployment for the protection of voters, election personnel, materials, as well as the general public became necessary for a credible election to hold.*

Keywords: Credible, Election, Insecurity, Nigeria, Violence

Introduction

The emergence of political leadership in the modern world cannot be attained without considering the intrinsic relationship between the successful conduct of free, fair, and credible elections and the institutionalization and consolidation of democracy in a nation. This arises from the notion that in a democracy, the role of the people is to produce a responsible government, and elections are the institutional frameworks and arrangements for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide in a competitive struggle for the people's votes. The way and manner elections are conducted in a country goes a long way to determine the level of political culture, political participation and good governance in that country. These assertions give prominence to the importance of a credible

and transparent electoral system in a country.

Elections are thus often perceived as a procedure for regulatory competition for political power through competition for votes. Therefore, elections are the fundamental building blocks of democracy (Report of the electoral reform committee, 2008). The electoral system of any given country plays a fundamental role in sustaining and shaping the political behaviour of its citizens (Okolo, 2000). It has been established that the best approach for the emergence of political leadership in the modern world is through the electoral process. Many countries are constantly refining and/or reforming their electoral processes to ensure the emergence of the right kind of political leadership. In Nigeria, the process of reforming the electoral process has been a recurrent one. The return

to civil rule in 1999, ushered in the fourth republic after many years of military rule.

There are a lot of challenges with the conduct of elections in Nigeria from the 1999 election to the 2019 general elections (Abdulahi., 2016; Akpan, 2017). As noted by Adebayo & Ikyase (2015):

Elections in Nigeria are constant tales of violence, fraud and bad blood. The challenges include among other things irregularities, which put the credibility of the entire electoral process in doubt; problems with the legislative framework which puts constraints on the electoral process; several organisations are not playing their roles to ensure credible, free and fair elections. The electoral system does not give room for inclusiveness; lack of independence of electoral commissions; the long process of election dispute resolution; irresponsible behaviour by politicians and followers manifesting in thuggery and violence; lack of effective democratic institutions and monetisation of politics.

The paper is thus, aimed at examining the nature, causes, and impact of electoral violence, insecurity and the credibility of the 2023 general elections in Nigeria. This study is important because of the security threat, dangers that led to low voter turnout in some of the areas bedeviled with security challenges. This trend can adversely affect not only the legitimacy and stability of the electoral process but also impede many eligible voters from taking an active part in electoral participation and endangering the democratic consolidation of their country due to feelings of insecurity and incidences of violence. The data collected were classified, analyzed and organized categorically and chronologically in an attempt to effectively interrogate the

interplay of interests driving the debate on violence, insecurity and the credibility of the 2023 general election in Nigeria. It is against this backdrop that this paper examines political violence and the credibility of elections in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarification

Election

Elections are thus often perceived as a procedure for regulatory competition for political power through competition for votes. Therefore, elections are the fundamental building blocks of democracy (Report of the Electoral Reform Committee, 2008). The electoral system of any given country plays a fundamental role in sustaining and shaping the political behaviour of its citizens (Okolo, 2000). It has been established that the best approach for the emergence of political leadership in the modern world is through the electoral process. Many countries are constantly refining and/or reforming their electoral processes to ensure the emergence of the right kind of political leadership. In Nigeria, the process of reforming the electoral process has been a recurrent one. The return to civil rule in 1999, ushered in the fourth republic after many years of military rule.

Violence

Violence could be an instrument employed by non-governmental organizations, individuals and groups to press forward their demands. However, violence when it is endemic and persistent or unmanageable may become an impediment to political stability and economic progress. In our conceptualization, electoral violence is synonymously used as political violence, looting, arson, thuggery, kidnapping etc. spontaneous or not, which occur before, during and after every election (Ilufoye, 2006). Violence has been explained from the point of the force illegitimately to enforce decisions or actions on other people against their will (Kolawole, 1988; Høglund, 2006; Keane, 1996). Subsequently, violence can be construed in terms of the employment of physical force

or power deliberately (whether as treated or attempted) against one's self, another person, a group or a community that has the likelihood to or results in psychological harm, deprivation, and an injury or death (WHO, 2002).

Electoral Violence

Ladan (2007) describes electoral violence as any act of violence perpetrated in the course of political activities that may include any of the following acts; thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or the use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process, or to cause bodily harm. He therefore considers violence as part of the political culture of Nigeria so much that all elections are almost violence-ridden. Similarly, Fischer (2002) defines electoral violence as, “any random or organised act that seeks to intimidate, physically harm, blackmail or abuse an electoral stakeholder in seeking to determine, delay or otherwise influence the electoral process” (cited in USAID, 2010).

Igbuzor gave a resounding definition of electoral violence thus: Any act of violence perpetuated in the course of political activities, including pre, during and post-election periods, and may include any of the following acts: thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or the use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process or to cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with electoral processes (Igbuzor, 2010). Electoral violence could take two dimensions that are pre-electoral violence and post-electoral violence (Tamuno, 1991). The pre-electoral violence may occur when electoral laws or provisions are seen to favour a particular candidate at the expense of the other. It could also occur when a particular candidate is over-ambitious and perhaps sees the signals that he may likely lose the election to the opponent. It may be engineered by individuals who feel cheated, alienated or deprived by the unfairness of the electoral

process. This deprivation may be real or perceived. In Nigeria, the purpose of such violence apart from seeking redress through illegal means is also to destroy it, if we cannot have it (Afolabi, 2007).

Insecurity

Security is the cornerstone of development and progress in a free society, and security is a guarantee of the well-being of citizens and the stability of the state. Insecurity is conceived variously as the absence of safety; the presence of danger, violence, uncertainty; lack of protection, and the lack of ability to carry out socioeconomic and political activities without subjecting to physical challenges or threats from groups or individuals (Abdulrahman, 2022). Insecurity can constitute a form of attacking individuals or groups causing panic. Jubril & Jimoh (2020), insecurity is conceived as a situation where the human and national security of a state is compromised by internal or external forces or interests exacerbated by the former's weak or poor economic, military and /or human resource development conditions (Jubril & Jimoh, 2020).

In this regard, security encapsulates the ability to be secure and free from both fear of physical and psychological abuse, violence, persecution, or death and from wants such as food, health and a good job (Asma'u & Abdulrasheed). Security is also the absence of threat to the peace, stability, national cohesion, and political and socio-economic objectives of a country (Igbuzor, 2011 & Oche, 2001).

Theoretical Framework

The Nigerian political uprisings could be analyzed from various theoretical perspectives. This can be a result of the multiplicity of factors responsible for electoral violence in Nigeria. Thus, this paper considered conflict theory. At the development stages of this theory, some of the proponents, Karl Marx, and Max Weber based their arguments on the fact that a conflict situation is created when a person or group of persons attempts or succeeds in carrying out its or their will by overcoming

the resistance of other groups or person and their interests in situation of scarcity of resources. Conflict theory seeks to explain the general contours of conflict in society: how conflict starts and varies, and the effects it brings. The central concerns of conflict theory are the unequal distribution of scarce resources and power. Conflict theorists generally see power as the central feature of society, rather than thinking of society as held together by collective agreement concerning a cohesive set of cultural standards.

Semel, (2010) cited in Wilson, (2011) also posits that conflict theorists view society as an arena or “social battlefield” where different individuals and groups contest one another to obtain scarce and valued resources, most of which have economic implications which, in turn, have implications for access to influence in our society and the so-called “levers of power.” The general assumption is that in our economic system, wealth is power and that we also have a stratified social system (i.e., social classes) that is differentiated primarily by the ability of its members to generate wealth.

It is on this note that the Nigerian state is confronted by a plethora of inconsistencies and tension of various proportions arising from differences between individuals and groups' interests in political succession and sharing of the perquisites of office, the tension sometimes results in political violence. Omoweh & Okanya (2005) in Segun (2013) noted that political competition for the control of the state and its political power is now bloody warfare as the state holds the key to wealth. Situating the situation of political violence and insecurity as it affects the credibility of the 2023 elections in Nigeria, Conflict theory becomes an important tool for explanation. It further enhances the scientific understanding and stands as an operational tool to further assess the role of political violence and its impact on democratic consolidation and stability in Nigeria.

Historical Background to Electoral Violence in Nigeria

In the words of Alanamu (2005), the history of violence in Nigerian politics dates back to the colonial era. From the 1950s, elections in Nigeria approximated a war wage to determine “who gets what, when and how” (Oyediran 1997). All weapons were available for those combatants to use which include religion, ethnic sentiments, outright bribery, the power of incumbency, corruption, the abuse of electoral processes etc. Indeed, the evidence before us proves that electoral behaviour in Nigeria has never been guided by ideology, party programmes or the merit of those standing to be elected, but by a political calculus based on ethnic geopolitics, the means to assume power at all costs, either singly or by a small power bloc around a big power bloc to fight the war to win, rule and then share the anticipated national cake.

In the 1960s too, there were no parties that were not regionally biased: The Northern People's Congress (NPC), Action Group (AG) and National Council of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC) were based in the North, West and East respectively. After independence, the first major national election by the political parties degenerated into conflict (Ogundiya, 1999). More importantly, the crisis within the AG which spread to other areas of the Western region and the whole country, affected in no small way the election (1964) in its conception, execution and outcome (Oyediran, 1997). For example, the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) brought the NPC and the Akintola-led Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), and other minor political parties together under one umbrella.

Alibi (2004) observes that the electoral officers were terrorized into absconding from their offices once they receive the nomination papers of governing party candidates with no opportunity of registering their nomination papers. So flagrantly was the electoral procedure abused that at the close of nominations, some 88 out of the total of 174 NPC Candidates in the North had their

candidature unopposed. In the West, about 30 per cent of the NNPC were supposed to have been unopposed. The situation in the East was not much different. Our analysis shows that the electoral fraud of 1964 brought about the crisis that eventually led to the coup of 15th January 1966. The situation in 1979 and 1983 was not cordial (Agubamah 2008).

The 1998/99 general elections lacked bitterness, boycotts, thuggery and other malpractices usually associated with the electoral process in the country (Nnadozie, 2007). However, electoral violence was also a major issue of concern throughout the 2007 election process. While some states enjoyed nearer (EU Report 2007 in Alfa & Otaida, 2012). The announcement of the results of the 2011 presidential election sparked up violent demonstrations in some Northern states of the country. Following the declaration of President Goodluck Jonathan as the winner of the election, people believed to be supporters of the opposition Congress for Progress Change (CPC), burst into violent uprisings unleashing terror, and destroying properties worth millions of naira. The house of the Vice President, Namadi Sambo was looted and raised and palaces of prominent traditional rulers in the North were attacked. Several members of the National Youth Service Corps were killed in mayhem in Bauchi, Gombe among others. (EU Report, 2011 in Alfa & Otaida, 2012). The most dreaded insurgency of the Fourth Republic has come to be that of Boko Haram (Dearn, 2011 in Alfa & Otaida, 2012).

Causes of Electoral Violence in Nigeria

Within the context of this paper, we may not be able to enumerate all the causes of political violence as they are somehow complex. Khadiagala (2009) & Baregu (2009) identified three main causal factors related to election violence which are: social and economic divisions, resulting from poor governance; regimes inimical to political change; and weak institutions and institutional rules guiding the electoral process. These can be in the form of massive poverty of the people caused by the

socioeconomics of under-development. Election rigging equally contributes to electoral violence in our country. Experience has shown that rigging has been the single most important cause that pervades free and fair elections and this has been responsible for grave consequences for democratic stability in Nigeria.

Electoral violence can also be categorized into remote and immediate causes. The remote causes may include a low level of internal party democracy, a culture of impunity, economic vulnerabilities, primordial loyalties, weak state capacity to provide security and law enforcement, erosion of trust in the electoral justice system as well as a low level of political education. The immediate authority, neutrality or partisanship of election management authority, lack of confidence in the Electoral Commission, lack of independence of the Electoral Commission, and the perception that an election was rigged may play a major role in instigating electoral violence. Doubts over the authenticity of declared results can lead to frustration among politicians and party stalwarts', which can metamorphose into violence. (Human Rights Watch: 2003, 2005, 2007; Adewale, 2005).

Impact of Electoral Violence, Insecurity on the Credibility of Elections in Nigeria

Electoral violence and insecurity have made the credibility of elections in Nigeria questionable. Uncontrolled electoral violence has the potential of truncating democratic consolidation in a country. More so, given the nature of our politics, electoral violence is a luxury can ill afford. A consequence of this is sabotaging the will of the electorate at the elections. It may lead to a situation where leaders that emerge, are elected by the minority because the majority that has fears for their lives will not go near the electoral process (Amaka, 2005). More so, large-scale electoral violence hurts democratic stability because it negates the essential purpose of elections as a popular basis for government, for instance; a government which by electoral violence sustains itself in power against the wishes of

the majority of the electorate lacks the legitimacy or the moral authority that popular mandate bestows (Ezeani, 2005).

Electoral violence has created room for the emergence of incompetent persons who occupy vital electoral positions made possible by some political gladiators. The fact that such people are mediocre, they cannot deliver the dividends expected by the masses. It is also important to note that due to political violence, some of the best brains in political and economic management are not in governance as a result of victimization, while others are even brutally eliminated as was the case of Dr Cuba Okadigbo and Chief Bola Ige (Ezeani, 2005).

The Magnitude of Electoral Violence, Insecurity and Credibility of Elections

As noted by Adekanye (1989) & Ake (2001), elections have become smeared with distrust, doubts, and threats of insecurity to lives and property in Nigeria. Bergman (2006) asserts that the rise of violent activities represents a formidable threat to the stability of democratic institutions around the world. Citizens exposed to violent activities tend to show signs of dissatisfaction with their country's democratic framework thereby displaying low-level support for political institutions (Fernandez & Kuenzi 2010). Previous research has shown that citizens residing in violence-affected areas are less likely to vote on Election Day.

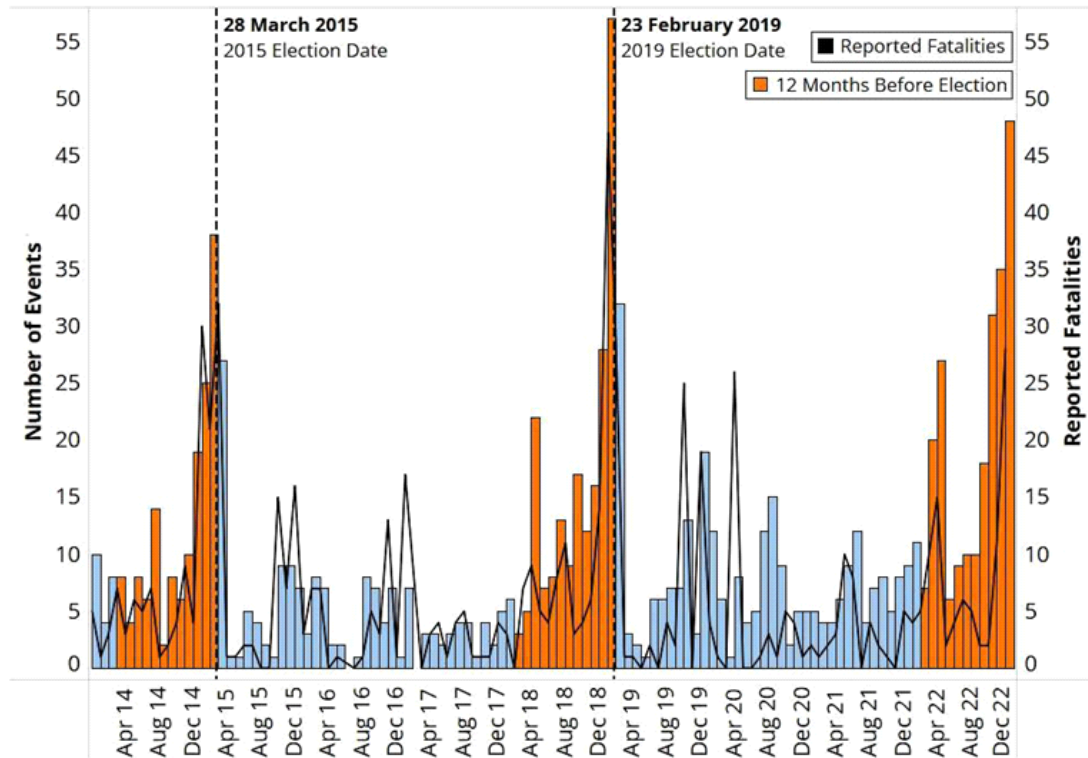
In his analysis of the 2007 general elections held in Nigeria, Bratton (2008) posited that violence hurts electoral participation and that the experience of the menace of violence portends the most powerful effect on turnout. Adopting a probabilistic model, Bratton discovers that 'for an average Nigerian, with other variables held at their mean, a threat of violence reduces the odds of intending to vote by 52%' (Bratton 2008).

Still, out of the 93.5 million registered voters, only 87.3 million had collected their permanent voter's cards on Election Day, and less than a third of them cast a ballot. Thus, the outcome of the election Recorded the lowest-ever voter turnout of 27 % (Idayat, 2023). As rightly observed in Abuja on the eve of the election, most of the electorate refuses to show up in the early hours of the election for fear of uncertainty and election violence. Despite the fear of violence, violence erupted in many pooling units in Gwagwalada Area Council where the ballot box was destroyed, voters were chased out of the polling unit, and INEC officials have to run for their lives as the political thugs became more vicious and destructive (Participant Observation, 2023).

The growing insecurity that had plagued the pre-elections certainly had contributed significantly to dampening turnout. For example, INEC recorded over 134 attacks on its offices or personnel (Gavin, 2023). The pre-elections were marred by electoral violence. In the 12 months preceding the election, over 200 violent events had been recorded involving party members and supporters, resulting in nearly 100 reported fatalities (Serwat & Carboni, 2023).

This corresponded largely with the run-ups to the previous two election years, with over 150 events and more than 100 reported deaths between 2018 and 2019, and an estimated 115 events and over 90 deaths between 2014 and 2015. According to the International Crisis Group, the 2019 elections recorded cases of electoral violence. Violence associated with the election resulted in the death of 150 individuals (policy vault. Africa, 2023). The Niger Delta and the South East accounted for the largest share of violence against INEC offices and staff in the run-up to the 2023 elections (Serwat & Carboni, 2023).

Violence Involving Political Parties in Nigeria 1 January 2014 to 31 January 2023



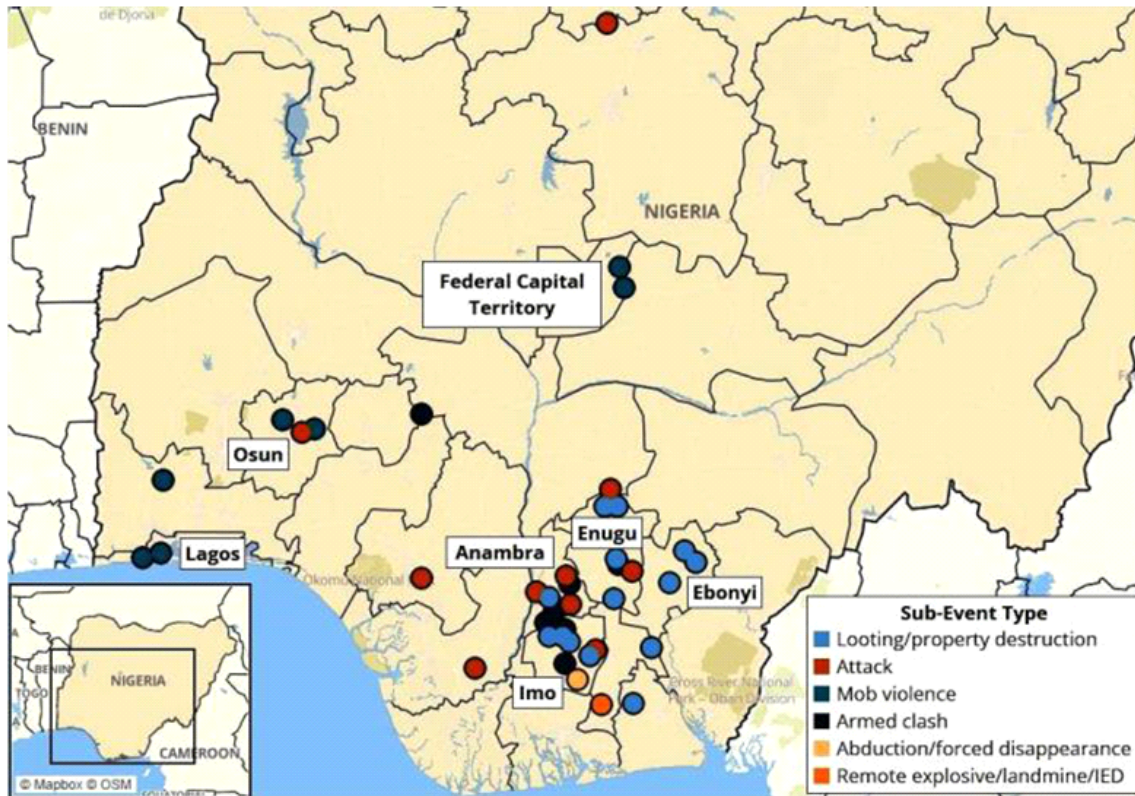
Source: Graph: Christian Jaffe, Text: Serwat & Carboni, 2023 in Dirk, 2023 ACLED, Election Watch, 2023

This is why the security agencies were so much concerned with the situation engulfing the 2023 elections in Nigeria. On June 8, 2022, the Inspector General of Police, Usman Alkali, approved the establishment of the electoral offences desk at the Force Criminal Investigation Department, (FCID), Force Headquarters Abuja. This was coming as a result of some governors using armed thugs and State Security outfits to disrupt campaigns and other political activities. The IG accused such Governors show of “traits of political intolerance” which create political tension in the country (Thisday Newspaper, 2023).

On the same note, the Director General of the State Security Service (DSS), Mr

Yusuf Bichi warned political leaders to do away with the usage of thugs when carrying out their activities and urged the youth not to make themselves willing tools for politicians. This is in agreement with the statement of the National Security Adviser (NSA), Major General Babagana Monguno (Rtd), warning the Governors that are using thugs to prevent opposition parties from mounting campaign materials in their domain that security agencies would soon descend on them. He further said that he was aware that in the last month, at least 52 cases of electoral violence across 22 states including politically motivated assassination of candidates, had been reported (Thisday Newspaper, 2023)

Violence against INEC offices and staff 1 January 2021 to 18 February 2023



Source: Graph: Christian Jaffe, Text: Serwat & Carboni, 2023 in Dirk, 2023 ACLED, Election Watch, 2023

A Human Rights Watch report stated that widespread protests led to the death of over eight hundred (800) people in the Presidential election of 2011 and over sixty-five thousand (65,000) people were displaced internally in Borno, Zamfara, Katsina, Jigawa, Adamawa, Gombe, Bauchi, Kano, Kaduna, Sokoto, Niger and Yobe states (HRW, 2011; Bekoe, 2011; Adesote, & Abimbola, 2014; Udu 2015; Oladele, Anthony, Olaniyi, Sunday, & Ojo, 2019; CDD, 2019).

These have also constituted a serious threat to the conduct of credible elections. It has been confirmed that elections cannot take place in over 40 local government areas in different parts of the country which are firmly under the control of various armed gangs, including bandits, terrorists, and known and unknown gunmen. The territories seized by the criminal gangs are in Borno, Kaduna, Katsina, Niger, Sokoto, Zamfara, Abia and Imo States. It also shows that, security of electoral officials and

materials cannot be guaranteed in the seized territories (Falana, 2023 in Thisday Newspaper, 2023). There is therefore, no similar outbreak of violence in the 2023 elections so far. However, it cannot be ruled out that even after the election, disgruntled losers will incite violence. Also, it is apparently of little importance, what the candidates promised during pre-election campaigns. In general, Nigerians vote with a shallow knowledge of what the political parties and candidates have to offer.

Conclusion

The situation of electoral violence continues to be a hindrance to the general conduct of credible elections in Nigeria with dire consequences on the life of the electorate, officials of the National Electoral Commission (INEC) and materials. These are some of the factors that are affecting the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria because many of the eligible voters are denied their rights and

privilege to cast the ballot. This violence is mostly politically motivated where various political leaders are the brain behind various attacks, destruction of election facilities, the assassination of political opponents and voter's intimidation. The growing insecurity and electoral violence that had plagued the pre-elections and post-election certainly contributed significantly to the decline in voter turnout across Nigeria.

Recommendations

- 1. There must be innovative security strategies and deployment for the protection of voters, election personnel, and materials as well as the general public.**
- 2. INEC must consider the installation of security cameras across all the polling units in Nigeria to monitor security situations during elections.**
- 3. There must be synergy between INEC and security agencies to set up a social media platform where the electorates can track, monitor, and report activities in their polling units.**
- 4. There must be synergy between INEC and the judiciary to streamline the timeline for the resolution of electoral disputes and to ensure consistency in electoral laws and electoral proceedings.**
- 5. The judiciary and the security agencies must also be proactive in arresting and prosecuting individuals and political parties engaged in electoral violence.**

References

Alanamo, A. (2005). Issues in Political Violence. Hamson Printing Communication. Ilorin.

Adekanye, J. B. (1989). Politics in a Military Context. In Ekeh, P. P. et al (eds.), *Nigeria since Independence: The first 25 years*. Vol. V, 186-205. Heinemann.

Afolabi, O. (2007). Electoral Violence and

the Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria. Nok Publisher, London

Agubamah, E. (2008). Electoral Violence and Democratic Stability in Nigeria. A paper presented At the 27th annual NPSA conference at Benue State University, Makurdi.

Amaka, B. (2005). *Electoral Violence: The Bare of Democracy*. Enugu: Ikenga Press

Ake, C. 2001. *Democracy and Development in Africa*, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.

Adele, R. (2005). 'Violence in the Citadel: The Menace of Secret Cults in the Nigerian Universities', *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 14(1), 79-98.

Alfa, P. I. and Otaiya, E. (2012). Political Violence and Negation of Democratic Stability in Nigeria; the Implication for Nigerian Fourth Republic, *Journal of Physical Science and Innovation*, Vol. 4, 43-51. Available in www.cenresinpub.org.

Bratton, M. (2008), Vote Buying and Violence in Nigerian Election Campaigns, in *Electoral Studies*, 27(4), 621-632.

Ezeani, E. O. (2005). *Fundamentals of Public Administration*. Enugu: Snaap Press Ltd.

Falana, F. (2023). The State of Insecurity and the 2023 General Election. Thisday Newspaper, 17th January 2023.

Fischer, J. 2002. Electoral Conflict and Violence: A Strategy for Conflict and Prevention. Washington, D.C.: IFES <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/mgroups/public/documents/etc/unpan019255.pdf> Accessed 17/04/2013.

Fernandez, K.E., and Kuenzi, M. (2010). Crime and Support for Democracy in Africa and Latin America, in *Political Studies*, 58(3), 450-471

Hassan, I. (2023). Washington D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 23 February 2023

Human Rights Watch (2010). "Nigeria: Post Election Violence 800 Killed <http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/05/16>

- /Nigeria-post-electionviolence- killed
p. 1-3 Accessed 4/8/2013
- Igbuzor, O. (2010). *Electoral violence in Nigeria*. International Foundation for Election Systems. Asaba: Action Aid Nigeria.
- Ikyase, T. J. & Egberi, A. E. (2015). Political violence and democratic stability in Nigeria: Reflecting on the past and charting the way forward. *Review of Public Administration and Management*, 4 (8).
- Ilufoye, F. (2006). *Electoral Violence in Nigeria. Political History*. Lagos: Spectrum *Review of Public Administration and Management Vol. 4, No. 8, December 2015* 40
- Kohnert, D.** (2023). QAnon and other conspiracy ideologies' impact on Sub-Saharan Africa in the age of Global Capitalism. MPRA WP No. 15917, 21 p.
- Keane, J. (1996). *Reflections on violence*, London: Verso. Kivimäki, T., & Laakso (2003). 'Agents, motives and instruments of African conflicts', *International Journal of Development Issues* 1(2), 17-44.
- Kolawole, D. (1988). Political Violence - A Case Study of Ondo State, In V. Ayeni and K. Soremekun (eds), *Nigeria's Second Republic*, Nigeria: Daily Times of Nigeria.
- Ladan, M.T. (2006). *Enforcement of electoral law and electoral violence in Nigeria*. Retrieved on 18th March 2022 from www.gamji.com/article6000/NEWS6681.htm.
- Nnadozie, U. (2007). History of elections in Nigeria. In Attahiru Jega and Oke, I (Eds.) *Elections and the future of democracy in Nigeria*. Nigeria: Nigerian Political Association.
- Ogundiya, P. (1999). *Elections and Democracy in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Epectrum Publishers.
- Oyediran, P. (1997). *Electoral Violence and Party Politics in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Oduduwa Press.
- Policy Vault (2023). *Nigeria' 2023 General Elections and Violence*.
- Segun, J. (2013). Democracy and Violent Conflicts in Nigeria: Implications for National Development. *An International Multidisciplinary Journal, Ethiopia* Vol. 7 (3), 324-339. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/afirrev.v7i3.23>
- Tamuno, T. N. (1991). *Peace and Violence in Nigeria. Ibadan: the panel on Nigeria since independence History project*. Ibadan: University of Press. Soremekun (eds), *Nigeria's Second Republic*, Nigeria: Daily Times of Nigeria.
- USAID, (2010); *Electoral security framework: Technical guidance handbook for democracy and governance officers*. Creative Associates International, Inc.