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**THE EFFECT OF INTERNATIONAL ELECTORAL OBSERVATION ON  
ELECTORAL INTEGRITY IN NIGERIA (1993-2015)**

Master Thesis

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## SUMMARY

This master thesis concentrates on the effect of the international electoral observation on electoral integrity in Nigeria. Accordingly, from the historical evolution of elections in Nigeria since its independence from Britain in 1960. The electoral process in Nigeria has remained associated with electoral violence, a factor which challenges the democratic consolidation of Nigeria. The international electoral observation mission plays a significant role in Nigeria political development since its first elections observation during the unprecedented democratic elections in 1999 after the previous 1993 presidential elections were annulled by Military General Sani Abacha, shortly after MKO Abiola was announced the winner of the 1993 presidential elections which was defined as the utmost free and fair elections Nigeria has conducted ever. Accordingly, as a vital fragment of the study, the thesis present electoral integrity as the suitable theoretical framework for the study of the effect of international electoral observation on electoral integrity in Nigeria. In addition, the thesis study the various tasks carried out in the research; to examine the historical background and evolution of elections process in Nigeria is examined to give a broader knowledge of the electoral process in Nigeria; also, the electoral process in Nigeria across different election period from 1993 to the most recent 2015 presidential elections is also studied carefully; as well as investigate to what extent, if any, does the role of international electoral observation mission influence electoral integrity in Nigeria electoral sphere with a look at the roles and actions of international observers; and lastly, a comparative analysis of the significance of the 1993 presidential elections compared to the presidential elections in 2015. Therefore, the analysis of this thesis depends on qualitative research methods such as, the use of secondary sources, government publications and past research, as well as the use of historical, comparative and content analysis, is established in this study to examine various documents that clarify the effect of electoral observation on electoral integrity in Nigeria. To sum up, the thesis further explains the role of the independent national electoral commission on promoting electoral integrity with the help of international electoral observation mission, as well as the challenges derive from electoral violence as one the factors affecting electoral integrity in Nigeria political development.

**Keywords:** Electoral integrity, International Electoral Observation, free and fair, Elections.

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## SANTRAUKA

Šiame magistro baigiamajame darbe siekiama išsiaiškinti, kokią įtaką Nigerijoje vykusių rinkimų vientisumui turėjo tarptautinis rinkimų stebėjimo procesas. Tuo tikslu, analizuojama istorinė Nigerijos rinkimų raida nuo to laiko, kai 1960 m. Nigerija atgavo nepriklausomybę iš Didžiosios Britanijos. Rinkimų procesas Nigerijoje buvo siejamas su rinkiminiu smurtu, kuris apsunkina demokratinį Nigerijos konsolidavimo procesą. Tarptautinė rinkimų stebėjimo misija vaidina svarbų vaidmenį politiniame Nigerijos vystymosi procese nuo pirmojo rinkimų stebėjimo per precedento neturinčius demokratinius rinkimus 1999 m. po to, kai 1993 m. Nigerijos karo generolas Sanis Abača (Sani Abacha) anuliuojo 1993 m. prezidento rinkimų rezultatus, ir, netrukus po to, MKO Abiola buvo paskelbtas 1993 m. valstybės vadovo rinkimų nugalėtoju. 1999 m. vykę rinkimai buvo įvardinti kaip laisviausi ir sąžiningiausi rinkimai visoje Nigerijos rinkimų istorijoje. Taigi, baigiamajame darbe rinkimų vientisumas, kaip pagrindinis šio tyrimo objektas, yra laikomas tinkamu teoriniu pagrindu, kuriuo remiantis buvo gilinamasi ir nagrinėjama, kokią įtaką Nigerijoje vykusių rinkimų vientisumui turėjo tarptautinis rinkimų stebėjimo procesas. Be to, šiame darbe nagrinėjami įvairūs, tyrimo metu suformuluoti uždaviniai; tam, kad minėtos šalies rinkimų procesas būtų geriau suprastas, gilinamasi į istorinius faktus ir rinkimų proceso raidą Nigerijoje; taip pat rinkimų procesas išsamiai išnagrinėtas skirtingais rinkimų laikotarpiais nuo 1993 m. iki pastarųjų 2015 m. prezidento rinkimų; aiškinamasi, kokia apimtimi, jei apskritai tokia yra, tarptautinės rinkimų stebėjimo misijos vaidmuo lemia rinkimų proceso vientisumą Nigerijoje vykstančiuose rinkimuose, atkreipiant dėmesį į tarptautinių stebėtojų vaidmenį ir jų atliekamus veiksmus; ir, galiausiai, buvo atlikta lyginamoji analizė, kurios metu 1993 m. prezidento rinkimų svarba buvo lyginama su rinkimais, vykusiais 2015 m. Atsižvelgiant į minėtus uždavinius, buvo naudojami kokybiniai tyrimų metodai, tokie kaip, antrinių šaltinių naudojimas, vyriausybės leidiniai bei anksčiau atlikti tyrimai, taip pat atlikta istorinė, lyginamoji ir turinio analizės, kurios naudojamos analizuojant įvairius dokumentus, atskleidžiančius rinkimų stebėjimo įtaką rinkimų vientisumui. Apibendrinant reikėtų pastebėti, kad magistro baigiamajame darbe taip pat yra gilinamasi, koks vaidmuo tenka nepriklausomai nacionalinei rinkimų komisijai, padedamai tarptautinės rinkimų stebėjimo misijos, skatinant rinkimų vientisumą bei aptariamą iššūkią,

atsirandantys dėl rinkiminio smurto, kaip vieno iš veiksnių, darančių įtaką rinkimų vientisumui politiniame Nigerijos vystymosi procese.

**Reikšminiai žodžiai:** rinkimų vientisumas, tarptautinis rinkimų stebėjimo procesas, laisvas ir sąžiningas, rinkimai.

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## **ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

**AC** – Alliance Congress

**ACE** – ACE: Electoral Knowledge Network

**ANPP** –All Nigeria Peoples Party

**APC** –All Peoples Congress

**AU** – African Union

**CD** – Campaign for Democracy

**CLO** – Civil Liberty Organization

**CSO** – Civil Society Organization

**ECOWAS** – Economic Community for the West African States

**EU EOM** – European Union Election Observers Mission

**FON** – Freedom Organization of Nigeria

**HRW** – Human Rights Watch

**ICG** – International Crisis Group

**IFES** – The International Foundation for Election Systems

**IIDEA** – International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

**INEC** – Independent National Electoral Commission

**IRI** – International Republican Institute

**JSPS** – Justice Development of Peace Committee

**NDI** – National Democratic Institute

**NLC** – Nigeria Labor Congress

**ODIHR** – Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

**OSCE** – The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

**PDP** – People Democratic Party

**PPA** – Progressive People Alliance

**PPP** – Peoples Progressive Party

**RPN** – Republic Party of Nigeria

**TCC** – The Carter Center

**TMG** – Transition Monitoring Group

**UDP** – United Democratic Party

**UN** – United Nations

**UNDP** – United Nations Development Program

**UNOPS** – United Nations Office for Project Services

**UNPP** – United Nigeria's Party

## LIST OF GLOSSARIES

**Campaign (electoral):** the political activity, which includes speeches, rallies, meetings, parades, debates as well as other media designed events to inform the electorate of a candidate<sup>1</sup>.

**Electoral violence:** is intimidation, bodily injury, extortion or exploitation of a political participant in trying to affect an electoral procedure.

**Candidate:** a person independent of any party's or political party representative nominated to compete in an election<sup>2</sup>.

**The electoral administration:** is the required procedures necessary for conducting elections.

**Electoral management body:** is the body that conducts elections<sup>3</sup>.

**Electoral observation:** A procedure that observers are assigned to assess election and report the outcome of the election while taking the legal standard into considerations<sup>4</sup>.

**Electoral process:** The stages involved in the preparation and carrying out elections.

**Electoral register:** The list of persons registered as qualified to vote<sup>5</sup>.

**Independent model of electoral management:** is an institutionally independent EMB where elections are managed and prepared autonomous from the executive branch of government<sup>6</sup>.

**Legal framework:** defining or influencing an electoral process, the collection of legal structural elements, the major elements being constitutional provisions, codes of conduct, such as political party laws and laws structuring legislative bodies<sup>7</sup>.

### Definition of Terms and Concepts

**Role:** This is the function assumed or part played by a person or thing in a situation<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> ACE: Electoral Knowledge Network. Electoral management. (<http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/ema/ema02>) Last accessed 25/04/2018.

<sup>2</sup> International IDEA, Electoral Management Design (<https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/electoral-management-design>) last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>3</sup> Independent Electoral Commission, (INEC). ([http://www.inecnigeria.org/?page\\_id=28](http://www.inecnigeria.org/?page_id=28)) Last accessed 02/04/2018.

<sup>4</sup> ACE: Electoral Knowledge Network, Electoral Management. (<http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/ema/ema02>) 03/05/2018.

<sup>5</sup> International IDEA, Electoral Management Design (<https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/electoral-management-design>) last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>6</sup> ACE: Electoral Knowledge Network, Electoral Management. (<http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/ema/ema02>) Last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

**Free and Fair Elections:** are held at systematic intermissions founded on general, equivalent and undisclosed suffrage<sup>9</sup>.

**General Elections:** means nation-wide elections to choose leaders and representatives at national such as the Presidential Elections<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> ACE: Electoral Knowledge Network, Electoral Management. (<http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/ema/ema02>) Last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>10</sup> Gross archive, Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria, a Study Of 2007 And 2011 General Elections in North-West Geo-Political Zone. (<https://www.grossarchive.com/project/3915/-ELECTIONS-AND-DEMOCRATIC-CONSOLIDATION-IN-NIGERIA--A-STUDY-OF-2007-AND-2011-GENERAL-ELECTIONS-IN-NORTH-WEST-GEO-POLITICAL-ZONE.html>) Last accessed 02/04/2018

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## AN INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, in most nations around the world, the elections have developed into the deep-seated part of the democratic process by which the people to unreservedly picks who rule them and make choices that shape their economic and political predetermination. The effect of the international electoral observation mission is a contemporary discourse in political development studies, and the act of election observation, is recent in political affairs. The framework of this thesis is set against “the effect of the international electoral observation on electoral integrity in Nigeria from the period of 1993 to 2015”. Conversely, for decades, Nigeria as a nation has battled with the issue of establishing a successful free and fair election, which is a matter of concern for political development. However, the Nigeria political process has experienced several dilemmas which stem from lack of development. Furthermore, elections are perceived to be consistent attributes in democracies worldwide. However, the Nigerian political landscaped is flawed by electoral violence, an issue which is often influenced by the unacceptability of the election outcome by the losing candidates and members of the political party who resolves to violence to express their dissatisfaction regarding the electoral outcome. Therefore, in every democratic country, elections play a considerable role, thus, a systematic election at certain period is necessary, in every democratic society. This thesis seeks to examine Nigeria’s journey towards electoral integrity since 1993 concluding in the recent presidential elections in 2015. The selected timeline is significant because of Nigeria’s role in Africa and the concern of international community in the nation. The focal reason amongst others for the collapse of previous democratic attempts in Nigeria dates to violence that suffused in the electoral spin. To have a clearer understanding of the electoral processes and the position of democracy in Nigeria. An examination of presidential elections in Nigeria since its independence discloses electoral violence as a recurrent factor undermining democratic consolidation in Nigeria’s electoral process.

**Background to the research:** Universally, democracy is recognized as the most applied, system of leadership. however, the marginally comprehended arrangement of administration is known to human understanding. The fall out of dictator rule in Eastern Europe, the end of cold war and an upsurge in numerous parts of the world appear to have opened the conduits for a new meaning of democratic structure. The effect of international electoral observation on electoral integrity in Nigeria is a plausible impact to the political development of the nation and its democratization process as with the presence of the observation mission, the prospect of free and fair elections in<sup>11</sup> Nigeria depends how the election is conducted. Depending on a qualitative method using data collected from

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<sup>11</sup> International Crisis Group. (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/democratic-republic-congo/259-electoral-poker-dr-congo>) last accessed 03/05/2018.

secondary sources as well as historical analysis by considering the historical background and evolution of elections in Nigeria from 1993 to 2015, to show the reoccurring effect of electoral violence as a factor which undermines democratic consolidation in Nigeria. Therefore, elections in Nigeria has not been able to present a leadership change that will implement responsibility in leadership. It is also imperative to abduct a comparative analysis to efficiently analyze and compares the 1993 and 2015 general elections in Nigeria as both elections are therefore a significant electoral turning point in Nigeria history. This thesis is limited to elections process during the period of 1993 to 2015, in other to determine the effect of foreign electoral observation on electoral integrity in Nigeria within this timeline.

**Research problem:** is that the single winner method of politics in Nigeria often results in electoral violence and other political issues, which in turn threatens free and fair presidential elections and hinders electoral integrity in Nigeria.

**Research object:** is the effect of international electoral Observation on electoral integrity in Nigeria.

**Research goal:** The study is carried out to assess the effect of international electoral observation on integrity within the Nigerian context and examine to what extent international electoral observation missions have helped in curbing electoral malpractices and the promotion of electoral integrity in the nation.

**Research task:**

1. To introduce the concept of electoral integrity as the suitable theoretical basis for the thesis;
2. To study the historical background and evolution of democratic elections in Nigeria;
3. To investigate to what extent, if any, does the role of independent national electoral commission influence electoral integrity in Nigeria elections;
4. To analyze the significance of the 1993 presidential elections compared to the presidential elections in 2015.

**Research questions:** From a historical viewpoint, how has Nigeria managed in the conduct of elections, has presidential elections been free and fair since the interference of the international electoral observation mission in Nigeria elections process, or have they been defective by violence?

**Novelty and relevance of the topic:** the research topic reveals that until date, there are limited academic studies to address issues concerning electoral violence as a problem in performing

free and fair elections in Nigeria which undermines electoral integrity. Given the expanding importance of elections in Nigeria. Such research is needed to study the effect, outcomes and challenges of conducting free and fair elections in Nigeria, unrestricted by electoral violence. However, researches such as this is yet to be recognized in scientific study. This research thesis titled “The effect of the international electoral observation on electoral integrity in Nigeria (1993-2015)” draws its novelty from its specificity of scope in dealing with Electoral Integrity in Nigeria and the role of international electoral observation mission in promoting credible, free and fair election process during elections in the nation. Previous scientific researches on the topic were focused only on the general elections perspective and limited periods of elections in Nigeria. Thus, this thesis is specifically made around the time frame of 1993-2015 presidential elections, with insights into different presidential elections and turning point of democratic elections in Nigeria. This research is relevant because Nigeria resides in a position of refinement in the world, particularly amongst other democratic states. The research is an educative study in political science which requires systematic investigation and documentation of issues that advance or damage democratic process in Nigeria. therefore, the research investigates the requirement for Nigeria to consider the importance of elections, as without tranquil change to the democratic rule, Nigeria cannot progress. This makes the thesis timely and exceptionally pertinent.

**Scope and limitation of research:** This research explores its topic inside the limits of Nigeria's biased discretionary ground with reference elections during 1993 to 2015. Within this context and timeframe, the research concentrates on the influence which international election observation have on electoral integrity to the degree that Nigeria has led a fair and peaceful elections. To sensibly show the fair condition which has a contemporary importance, the postulation research the time said, but adds comparative flavor by examining electoral integrity more closely on the 1993 and 2015 elections. The constraints of this research are regarding access to limited books and other research material.

**Thesis statement:** Since the independence of Nigeria, the country's political development has been associated with electoral violence, which dates to the 1990's. Such electoral violence undermines the electoral integrity and the effect of international electoral observation in conducting free and fair elections in Nigeria.

**Research methods:** The analysis of this thesis depends on qualitative research methods such as, the use of secondary source of data collection is adopted in this thesis, such as relevant journals, newspapers, books, government publications, official archives, past research and reports on electoral integrity and international electoral observation etc. which will investigate the effect of international electoral observation on electoral integrity in Nigeria. Content analysis as a technique is established

in this study to examine various documents that elucidate the effect of electoral integrity on Nigeria elections. The historical, descriptive, and comparative method is used in the thesis to analyze historical events and compare the signature of the 1993 and 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria. Furthermore, the effect of international electoral observation on electoral integrity in Nigeria from the time frame of 1993 to 2015 is examined. Which includes examining meaning into gathered materials for accomplishing dependable conclusion.

**Literature review:** This research illustrates a deliberate review of literature hooked on democratic elections with electoral integrity and expert accuracy has been guaranteed by an autonomous and neutral election observation. this appraisal was taken to give the thesis a conceptual and theoretical framework, reasonable and hypothetical structure. articles from database such as documents, past research paper, Journals, official government institution reports, press release and resources collected from publications such as the European Union Election Observation Mission, Electoral Integrity Project, international IDEA, the Carter Center, Human Rights Watch, International Crisis Group, ACE: The Electoral Knowledge Network, INEC official website, Nigeria, and other countries websites. The use of the above-mentioned sources and more, assist to study, investigate and analyze the subject matter of the thesis from vast perspectives.

**Thesis structure:** The first chapter of this thesis summarizes the background to the study with other foundational sub-topics such as research question, object, research methods, goal, and tasks. It also points out the novelty and relevance of the topic while stating the research problem, its source base, scope, and limitation, etc. The first chapter examines electoral integrity as the suitable theoretical method to the study, which is divided into two subsections. Using the insights from relevant literature, chapter two of the thesis examines the historical background and evolution of elections in Nigeria as against the backdrop of democratic transition from the prism of democratic peace theory. There is also an important overview of general electoral processes in Nigeria. In this chapter, the general elections held between the period of 1993-2015 are considered, while looking at electoral violence as a factor affecting electoral integrity in Nigeria. Chapter three examines the role of INEC in the promotion of electoral integrity in Nigeria. This chapter deals with election administration in Nigeria and points out how the issue of autonomy affects electoral commissions and the impacts of electoral integrity. The chapter deliberates on INEC and its challenges of leading free and fair elections in Nigeria. Chapter four is titled “The Effect of International electoral observation in Nigerian Elections”. It starts with a description of the roles and actions of international observation and concludes with remarks on the outcome of the 2015 elections, analysis of the 1993 and 2015

elections. A study on electoral integrity within the Nigerian context is incomplete without a discussion on INEC and the 2015 elections in perspective. This chapter ends the thesis with the conclusion.

# 1.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section highlights the relevant theoretical framework appropriate to the paper such as the concept of electoral integrity. The section will explain the suitability of electoral integrity to the research. In this section, different scholars' assumptions on the ideas of democracy and credible elections would be discussed, mainly, on electoral integrity. Attempts will also be made to justify why this theory is appropriate and relevant to the research.

## 1.1. The Concept of Electoral Integrity

Pippa Norris describes the significance of electoral integrity in democratic administration. To define electoral integrity. However, generally it is assumed that unsuccessful or defective failed elections undermine public confidence in elected powers that, impair elective attendance, worsen fight, generate protests, as well as seldom lead to a radical change in regime<sup>12</sup>. However, the comparable concept is consisting of negative phrases like 'flawed elections' 'electoral malpractice' 'electoral fraud' and optimistic footings, where votes remain 'sincere' 'dependable' 'flawed elections' 'satisfactory' which mirrors the 'drive of the populace' or the principal diplomatic expression of 'free and fair'<sup>13</sup>. From another point of view, 'sound conducted elections' that could be pronounced as 'dependable' 'satisfactory' 'sincere' or the average expression of 'free and fair' are considered as elections by means of integrity<sup>14</sup>. In this study of the effect of international electoral observation on electoral integrity in Nigeria<sup>15</sup>, the concept of electoral integrity is proposed as the ground for examining issues that affect free and fair elections as well as integrity in Nigeria, such as electoral violence and electoral malpractices etc. also, electoral integrity is explained from the global obligations, recognized in several conventions based on values which applies to every nation globally used the electoral cycle, as well as before the elections, campaign, elections day and after the elections day.

Nevertheless, government and officers are absent to public, assurance, feeble concerning the outcomes, this leader's lack the essential validity without electoral integrity. open dialogue, debate, the peaceful resolve of conflict and information sharing amongst leaders and the public is possible

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<sup>12</sup> See for more information on: Why Electoral Integrity Matters: Pippa Norris New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014 Paperback. ([www.electoralintegrityproject.com](http://www.electoralintegrityproject.com))

<sup>13</sup> Jorgen, Elklit and Palle, Svensson. what makes elections free and fair. *Journal of Democracy* 8 (3): 1997, 32-46. Op. cit. Pippa Norris, Why Malpractices Generate Pressures for Electoral Reform: An Agenda-Setting Model, 2012. P.3. (<https://www.princeton.edu/csdp/events/Norris11292012/Norris11292012.pdf>) Last accessed 01/02/2018.

<sup>14</sup> Electoral Integrity Project. Electoral systems and electoral misconduct. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40 (12), 2012. 1533-1556. (<https://sites.google.com/site/electoralintegrityproject4/about-this-project>) Last accessed 01/02/2018.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Ejime, Africa: Electoral Integrity in Africa - Lessons from Nigeria, 2017.

(<http://allafrica.com/stories/201704080017.html>) Last accessed 06/05/2018.

with electoral integrity. Correspondingly, the public assurance in electoral methods will determine Integrity.

## 1.2 Framework of Electoral Integrity Analysis

In 2012 Professor Pippa Norris introduced the framework of electoral as part of the (Electoral Integrity Project) with the focal goal of nursing the frequency of electoral integrity and spreading it in every part of the world, endorse its study, study the measures to decrease its occurrence around the world. The EIP has associations with other international organizations like the International IDEA, Democratic Governance and Innovation, the Committee of Australian Studies, and Weather Head Center for International Affairs<sup>16</sup>. A huge sum of prevailing works on the topic of electoral integrity originated from the research group. “In sight of the on-going discourse about measuring the credibility of elections, the EIP aims to proffer a compelling framework to guide the evaluation of elections. However, it is created by the international standards perception which contends that electoral integrity or electoral fraud can best be determined by examining the international conventions and standards on elections and democracy”<sup>17</sup>.

In points of interest, the breakdown underneath clears up the phases of the discretionary hover as connected by the constituent uprightness venture, the rundown of 49 survey items appropriately all periods of the appointive cycle were secured. The items are along these lines composed into eleven sorts which constitute key phases of appointive process: the pre-decision, race day and the post-race stages<sup>18</sup>. **The pre-election day**, the accompanying five criteria are contemplated: **Electoral laws**: it was inclined toward lesser parties; regardless of whether constituent laws supported the fundamental party; and also, did race laws limited subject's rights;<sup>19</sup> **Electoral measures**: the races were all around oversight; were data about voting process was broadly accessible; the race authorities were reasonable; and in addition whether the races were directed as per the law ; **Boundaries**: to know the limits are not prejudicial; did limits just support officeholders; and in addition whether limits were fair-minded<sup>20</sup>; **Voter registration**: the enlist was off base; a few people were not recorded in the enroll; and ineligible voters were enlisted ; **Party registration**: some potential restriction applicants were denied from challenging; ethnic and national minorities had level

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<sup>16</sup> Weather head Center for International Affairs, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, (<https://www.grantforward.com/sponsor/detail/weatherhead-center-for-international-affairs-harvard-academy-for-international-and-area-studies-1022>). Last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Perception of Electoral Integrity Questionnaire. (<https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/pei-core-survey-items/>) Last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

with chances to challenge for office; the enlist was incorrect; whether a couple of gathering pioneers assigned contenders; and in addition, a few parties<sup>21</sup>.

The second stage fathoms the battle period of the constituent time frame under the resulting subordinates<sup>22</sup>: **Campaign media**: daily papers gave adjusted decision news; columnists gave reasonable scope of the races; parties/competitors had reasonable access to political communicates and promoting; the enlist was erroneous<sup>23</sup>; online networking were utilized to uncover appointive misrepresentation; **Campaign finance**: parties/hopefuls had fair access to political gifts; the gatherings/applicants had impartial access to open sponsorships ; rich individuals purchase races; regardless of whether some state assets were disgracefully utilized for campaigning and gatherings/applicants distribute straightforward money related records<sup>24</sup>. Besides, the third stage protects the election day, and spotlights on the voting procedure. The accompanying inquiries are gotten some information about **Election day**: voters were debilitated with viciousness at the surveys; the way toward voting was simple; the forces that be permitted open examination of their execution; voters were displayed an earnest decision at the survey box; particular voting comforts were open for the handicapped; national residents who lives abroad could vote; postal votes were accessible; and in addition some type of Internet voting was available<sup>25</sup> .

This area clarifies the post-race phase of the electoral cycle is having the consequent subordinates whereupon were addressed: **Vote count**: secured tallying stations; the outcomes were declared immediately; the worldwide; the household race screens were confined; race screens were limited; the votes were tallied reasonably; **Post-election**: competitors/parties stood up to the results; the decision prompted quiet challenges; the race caused fierce dissents; any conflicts were unfaltering through lawful channels; **Electoral authority**: the race specialists were unbiased; the race experts performed well; the specialists circulated data to subjects; the experts permitted open investigation of their execution<sup>26</sup> . The given perception of electoral integrity questionnaire is suitable to analyze the integrity of an election. Therefore, it satisfactorily shelters the stages of the electoral cycle. Thus,

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<sup>21</sup> Norris P, Frank R, & Martínez I Coma F, Measuring Electoral Integrity around the World: A New Dataset. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 47(4), 2014, 789-798. Retrieved from (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/43284648>) Last accessed 23.04.2018.

<sup>22</sup> The Perception of Electoral Integrity Questionnaire. (<https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/pei-core-survey-items/>) Last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>23</sup> Pippa Norris, Richard W. Frank, Ferran Martínez I Coma, Assessing the Quality of Elections, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24, No. 4, October 2013. (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/523091/pdf>) Last accessed 05/05/2018.

<sup>24</sup> The Perception of Electoral Integrity Questionnaire. (<https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/pei-core-survey-items/>) Last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Perception of Electoral Integrity Questionnaire. (<https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/pei-core-survey-items/>) Last accessed 03/05/2018.

during election observation missions, the electoral observers often use these measurements. However, some of the measures might not smear to the Nigerian electoral circumstances, for instance, the boundaries did not seem fundamental to the 2015 general elections particularly after the argument it produced ensuing endeavors by INEC to make extra ballot units. However, it influences the utilization of the most applicable ones to identify with the Nigerian election method as well as the problem of internet voting. Furthermore, there are other less considered parts of voting procedure in the Nigerian framework.

### 1.3. Election Observation and the Theoretical basis

In this section, the thesis will explain election observation and highlight relevant theories that are appropriate to the study.

**Election Observation:** According to Bard-Andreassen et al, “Election observing is a form of action-oriented and participatory research, which is currently of great importance in Third World nations in transitioning process from a single party dictatorship to multiparty democracy”<sup>27</sup>. The focal purpose of election observation is to objectively gather evidence of the electoral procedure to evaluate whether the process was democratic. In most countries where shots were taken to establish a democratic political system, domestic observation organizations perform electoral observation. The local observing organization's activities complement those of their international counterparts. For instance, in Nigeria, several election observation groups worked with their international colleagues during the 2003 general elections. The election observation groups comprise of the Freedom Organization of Nigeria (FON), Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), Civil Society Organization (CSO), Justice Development of Peace Committee (JSPS) and the Nigeria Labor Congress (NLC) and the Civil Liberty Organization (CLO) etc. Consistently, many of these domestic election observers are well trained and financially supported by donors in European nations and North America<sup>28</sup>. In detail, during election observations at the requested country, the concluding reports of such observations relate to whether the basic important features of a free and fair elections is taken into consideration. They simply do not offer a reasonable representation of democracy however, they end up giving the right perspective of whether the will of the citizens was regarded or not<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> Sanusi Olatunde, The Role of the International Observer in Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria: A Case of 2015 General Elections. (<http://www.eajournals.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Role-of-the-International-Observer-in-Consolidation-of-Democracy-in-Nigeria.pdf>) Last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> For more information see: Political History of Nigeria. Available at (<http://www.crawfordsworld.com/rob/apcg/Nigeria/Unit4NigeriaHistory.html>) Last accessed. 16/03/2018.

Stack noted that, election observing is the critical role of contesting and confirming election results, and by determining “free and fair” meeting certain electoral criteria. For instance, there should be absence of electoral fraud; assembly and free association; freedom of press must accompany the election and relative peace also<sup>30</sup>. he further explained that, to establish an atmosphere of confidence in the electoral process. election observation can be considered into subsequent types: **The first** is linked to the process of decolonization. In recently independent states, the aid of foreign body is established to monitor elections. similarly, prior to the inception of OAU, in the 1950s and 1960s, following United Nations supported referenda, several African countries gained independence<sup>31</sup>. Even after the defunct OAU formation, the practice continued <sup>32</sup>. Undeniably, Nigeria’s general elections which ushered in the first republic were duly observed, as were also the general elections that marked the second republic. **The second** is on election observing, which is the norm in the advanced democracies of the world, is when a state-appointed electoral commission officially monitors elections. In this situation, the monitoring exercise can be limited to nothing more than monitoring the actual vote count on the election day. **The third** explain that election observation occurs when elections are monitored in the cycle by international and local non-governmental organizations. Several African countries are familiar with the type of election observing. Stack noted that this type of election monitoring only takes place in societies that are reformed or revolutionizing themselves out of the non-democratic political system<sup>33</sup>.

In Africa for instance, political possibility turned into the standard course for every one of the countries propelled by getting included gives and credits from the Bretton Woods association and western sponsors. Ake speculated that “most autocratic and corrupt regimes in Africa tended to be the most willing cold war allies for the simple reason that they needed external make up for their lack of home-based legitimacy support”<sup>34</sup>. As against this establishment, it isn't generally surprising that tyrant countries, for example, Kenya, Sudan, Zaire, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Liberia got the greater offer of United States support to Africa in 1962 and 1988. However, the 1990's were portrayed by a huge change in the way the West associated with Africa. At the same time, Yugoslavia ended up independent sovereign states, as well as the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the end of Cold War. According to Ake; the outcome of this historic event is termed the “capitalist” revolution in Eastern

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<sup>30</sup> Stack Louise, February/March 1993. Op. cit. Sanusi Olatunde, The Role of the International Observer in Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria: A Case of 2015 General Elections. (<http://www.eajournals.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Role-of-the-International-Observer-in-Consolidation-of-Democracy-in-Nigeria.pdf>) Last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>31</sup> Sanusi Olatunde, The Role of the International Observer in Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria: A Case Of 2015 General Elections, available at (<http://Www.Eajournals.Org/Wp-Content/Uploads/The-Role-Of-The-International-Observer-In-Consolidation-Of-Democracy-In-Nigeria.Pdf>) Last Accessed 09/04/2018.

<sup>32</sup> Garder Larry, International Organizations and Democracy, Journal of Democracy 4, 3, July,1993, p.2416.

<sup>33</sup> Stack Louise, The Role of Electoral monitoring, DIESUID-AFRIKAAN, February/March 1993.

<sup>34</sup> Ake Claude, The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa, Dakar: CODESRIA, 2000, P.137.

Europe<sup>35</sup>. However, “As prior revealed, election observation and monitoring have progressively turned into a critical strategy for outer contribution in the just procedures in African states and Nigerian specifically”<sup>36</sup>. Increased expanding universal worthiness and acknowledgment in view of their parts in advancing human rights in nations experiencing democratic transitions. The western government and multilateral institutions in the 1980’s was increasingly persuasive and outspoken in their preference of electoral multiparty democracy as an added loan prerequisite<sup>37</sup>. However, given the predominant state of mind in the west and the adjustments in the worldwide political condition, the United Nations was to acknowledge the possibility that the acknowledgment and free exercise of majority rule rights, the privilege to vote in free and fair elections, is vital for the acceptance the general population will as the purpose of administration.

**Theory of Democratic Consolidation:** Is the recognizable transition from authoritarian rule to civil rule through democratic systems extension that are fundamental to the enthronement and establishment of an institutional, enduring and stable democracy<sup>38</sup>. Arriving at a consolidated democracy require cultivation democratic principle, ethics, values, and institutions that averts another authoritarian administration<sup>39</sup>. This was about the period of democratic survival and the successful transfer of power. Thus, democratic consolidation tenet cannot be overlooked by Nigeria, as the verdict of the poll must be accepted by the supporters and actors<sup>40</sup>. In addition, it is pertinent to examine the Nigeria democratic transition from years of military rule from the context of democratic consolidation for a clarified understanding. In 1966, Barely six years after Nigeria obtained its independence from the Britain in 1960, the country experience long years of military rule from 1966. However, in 1999, there was a turning point in Nigeria political structure, with its democratic transition from the brutal years of military rule when it conducted her first successful democratic elections in 1999, saw the presence of international electoral observation mission for the first time, this step, shaped democratic consolidation in Nigeria towards conducting its elections in line with the universal standard of electoral observation mission to ensure electoral integrity in Nigeria electoral process.

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<sup>35</sup> (Ibid, 138).

<sup>36</sup> Abutudu M, Monitoring and Observation of Elections in Africa, Pretoria, available at (<https://www.elections.org.za/content/WorkArea/DownloadAsset.aspx?id=1944>) Last accessed 10/04/2018.

<sup>37</sup> Hoogvelt Anike, Globalization and the Post-Colonial World: The New Political Economy of Development, Hampshire and London, Macmillan Press Limited, 1997, p.173. 16. (<http://eujournal.org/index.php/esj/article/viewFile/5936/5721>) last accessed 26/03/2018.

<sup>38</sup> Kwasau M, The Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic. European Scientific Journal, Vol.9, No.9. 2013.

<sup>39</sup> Diamond Larry, Rethinking Civil Society, Towards Democratic Consolidation. Journal of Democracy, Vol.8, 1994, p.7.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

**The Representative Theory:** In a contemporary democracy, the principle of representation is very grave. as modern-day states; “involve large demographic and population sizes, multiculturalism, multiplicity and complexity of interests, maturity and age-related conditions for active participation”<sup>41</sup>. David Held maintains that “democratic theory is in a state of flux. There are almost as many differences among thinkers within each of the major strands of political analysis, as there are, traditions themselves”<sup>42</sup>. In a democratic system, the people’s pledge is vital. Especially, when the people are devoted to the approximations of democratic system of government. the people are aware of their municipal obligations they become engaged with political exercises which in turn makes a contemporary democratic framework fruitful.

From another point of view, as opposed to the representative theory, in the Nigeria political tenets, the appointed leaders do not represent the populace as they should under the universal principle of representative theory compared to other nations like the united states where the congress represents the interest of the people, however, this is not the case with Nigeria’s democratic representation. As they only represent their own interest and pockets. Furthermore, the elected representative government in Nigeria do not show any sense of responsibility and accountability to the people or work towards providing the basic needs to enrich the society. The influence of international electoral observation in Nigeria, ensures that right leaders are elected based on free and fair election that promotes electoral integrity, and free from electoral malpractices and fraud. This chapter presented electoral integrity as the relevant theory to study the electoral integrity in Nigeria elections and how this theory is applied in a democratic system in ensuring credible election which promotes electoral integrity. In the next chapter, we will study the historical background and evolution of democratic elections and the struggle for democratic consolidation in Nigeria from a historical context.

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<sup>41</sup> Chidam’modzi H. F. (2003). The Problems of Representation: Dilemmas of African Democracy in Nigeria. P.367-380.

<sup>42</sup> Held David, Democracy: From City-States to a Cosmopolitan Order in David Held (Ed) Prospects for Democracy: North, South, East, West, Polity Press, 2006, pp.12-15

## 2.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

This chapter is supplementarily divided into four sub-chapters which explain the historical background and evolution of Nigeria democratic elections as well as examine Nigeria democratic consolidation from the prism of democratic peace theory as a theoretical technique for explaining the democratic transition from a military regime to a democratic system in Nigeria. The theory is vital to the study objective as it will clarify some portion of the challenges confronting electoral establishments in accomplishing electoral integrity in Nigeria electoral process. Bratton and Walle (1997), specified that “the recognized characteristic of the Nigerian political system is that of neopatrimonialism which is a system based on the state monopoly of power and resources”<sup>43</sup>. Unfortunately, elections in Nigeria are, regularly observed as a process for improving limited political advantaged to the damage of the majority. In other to have a broad understanding of the political process in Nigeria since its independence, this section attempts to briefly examine the historical periods of presidential elections in Nigeria that has been carried out on a nationwide order between the period of 1993 to 2015. It likewise brings up the relevant factor of electoral violence as a lingering issue in the pivot of electoral growth in Nigeria.

Gwinn and Norton, defined election as the formal process of registering a political proposition by voting and public office selection a person. They added that an election is one of the ways in which a society may organize itself and make specified formal decisions<sup>44</sup>. Additionally, when there is free access to vote around the world, it reflects as a means for making the right choice about to power relations in any civilization to reach for political submission because of this people need to sacrifice their freedom choose whomever they wish to vote for in democratic elections. Therefore, this chapter of the thesis, the deep historical background of elections in Nigeria since its independence and the evolution of democratic elections during this period will be analyzed

The historical background of elections in Nigeria dates to 1959 in the first republic of Nigeria. Though, the 1959 elections were meant to fix the parties that was meant to govern after the colonial period. In any case, the major parties ended up winning the most seats in their regions, but none of them appeared powerful enough to launch a national government<sup>45</sup>. An alliance government

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<sup>43</sup> Bratton M, and Walle N, Neopatrimonialism Regimes & Political Transition in Africa, 1997. (<http://www.la.utexas.edu/users/chenry/core/Course%20Materials/BrattonAfrWP94/0.pdf>) last accessed. 02/05/2018.

<sup>44</sup> Gwinn, R. and Norton, P. (1992). The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago University of Chicago Press.

<sup>45</sup> Helen Chapin Metz, ed. Nigeria: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1991. <http://countrystudies.us/nigeria/68.htm> Last accessed 24/04/2018.

was designed by the NPC and NCNC, though, NCNC was expressively favored by the passing colonial leader. Nonetheless, the alliance provided a degree of north-south accord that would not have existed if the NCNC and AG had formed a coalition<sup>46</sup>. The 1964 general elections, was the first to be led only by Nigerians. The elections took place during second the republic. however, amid this period the nation's government had already detached into an opposition between two limiting alliances. On one hand was the coalition of the Nigerian National Alliance which was (NPC) on the other hand was NNDC; and the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA)<sup>47</sup> formed from the AG, the NCNC<sup>48</sup>. Nonetheless, every single provincial party obviously overwhelmed its opponents through campaigns. Sooner, it became sure that the neutrality of the Federal Electoral Commission could not be ensured, which led the armed force to conduct elections. however, the NCNC returned to control in the Midwest and east, and the NPC held control of the north and was additionally ready to establish a central government on its own<sup>49</sup>.

In 1956 subsequent regional elections became violent the Western Region turn into a “theater of war” between the NNDP and the NPC, and the AG-UPGA<sup>50</sup>. during this period the federal government failed to announce a state of emergency and the military took over power on 15 January 1966<sup>51</sup>. At this time, the First Republic had collapsed. However, in 1979 the successive election was conducted which led to the third republic. The first executive president of Nigeria, was because of this election after General Olusegun Obasanjo took over from late General Murtala Mohammed and handed over to Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1979<sup>52</sup>. The election in 1983 was meant to pave way for another democratic government, but it never came to be. As the General Muhammadu Buhari led military government overthrew the Shehu Shagari young democracy and therefore resulted in yet another military regime<sup>53</sup>. While, the presidential elections in 1993 elections was extensively detected as the most free and fair election held in Nigeria ever. The military General Ibrahim Babangida, which overthrew the General Buhari's Government, arranged a defective election which was perceived by some states as a counter to alleged winner of the annulled 1993 presidential elections, M.K.O. Abiola,

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Nigeria Tribune online, 23, September 2016. (<https://issuu.com/nigeriantribuneonline/docs/230916>)

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Political Archives, Nigeria Civil War, (<http://political-archives.blogspot.it/>)

<sup>50</sup> Adesina Olanrewaju Ismail, Nigeria, (<https://www.scribd.com/document/106158595/Nigeria>) Last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>51</sup> Worldmark Encyclopedia of Nations, Nigeria, (<https://www.encyclopedia.com/places/africa/nigeria-political-geography/nigeria>)

<sup>52</sup> Ifedayo Akinwalere, A Brief History of Elections in Nigeria. ([http://www.akinwalere.com/2013/04/mass-media-and-elections-in-nigeria\\_7682.html](http://www.akinwalere.com/2013/04/mass-media-and-elections-in-nigeria_7682.html)) Last accessed 03/05/2018.

<sup>53</sup> See Adesina Olanrewaju Ismail, Nigeria: <https://www.scribd.com/document/106158595/Nigeria>

a Yoruba businessman<sup>54</sup>. The General later abdicated his eight-year reign and installed a civilian caretaker government, which Gen. Abacha quickly shouldered aside<sup>55</sup>. However, it went from Abacha to Abubakar and the regime harassed and detained journalists, human rights activists, politicians, and political rivals. MKO Abiola was arrested along with lots of government critics. In November 1995, the Abacha government executed Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight compatriots from the Ogoni community, who had agitated for democracy. Meanwhile, the invalidation of the 1993 elections once again led to yet another military regime which progressed until 1998. The 1999 elections, reestablish democracy to Nigeria and which run for eight years of unremitting democracy by General Olusegun Obasanjo who was a former military leader.

## **2.1. Democratic Consolidation from the Prism of Democratic Peace Theory**

This subsection discusses democratic consolidation in Nigeria from a democratic peace theory perspective in explaining the turning point in Nigeria democracy and its transition from military regime in the 1990's. Compared to other African nation, Nigeria has enjoyed absolute peace. Although statistically, the likelihood of war amongst two nations is significantly quite low, thus the absenteeism of war between liberal democracies around nations of different historical, political and economic aspects recommends that there is a strong tendency amongst democratic states against military violence as a means of solving issues<sup>56</sup>. This suggestion of democratic peace did not just challenge the legitimacy of other political systems such as communism, totalitarianism fascism and authoritarianism, nonetheless also the dominant realist interpretation of international relations<sup>57</sup>, which emphasizes a balance of power calculations and common strategic interests to explain the relations among liberal democracies, characterized by stability and peace. Even though this may not hold true for cases of internal conflict, for instance, the issue of Boko Haram in northeastern Nigeria. This thesis suggests that, in accordance per Immanuel Kant's perpetual peace theory, the circulation of democracy universally will lead to a better international peace, however with its occurrence in corresponding with the solidification of international organization and economic interdependence. Yet, the difficulty inherent in the democratization process and the doubt lies in the significant risk of instability<sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup> See; Kunle Amuwo, Daniel C. Bach, Yann Lebeau, Nigeria during the Abacha Years (1993-1998). (<http://books.openedition.org/ifra/653?lang=en>) last accessed 03/04/2018.

<sup>55</sup>The Carter Centre: Observing the 1998-99 Nigeria Elections Final Report (1999:13) <https://www.cartercenter.org/documents/1152.pdf>Last accessed (10/04/2018)

<sup>56</sup> Kevin, Placek (Feb 18, 2012). The Democratic Peace Theory. <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/02/18/the-democratic-peace-theory/> Last accessed (09/04/2018)

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

Hypothetically, democratic peace theory recommendation gives an unmistakable, intelligent motive as to why the universal spread of democracy will lead to more prominent universal peace: self-governing political organizations make it problematic for governments to start war without the consensus of the people, and the complementary social standards shows democracies will support a diplomatic method of conflict settlement with each other. Obviously, this would not really diminish the general occurrence of inside upheavals of war, as frequencies radiating from Boko Haram showed. Therefore, this would present an optimistic subjective change.

## **2.2. Presidential Elections in Nigeria Since the Period of 1993-2015**

During the presidential elections in 1993, there was a sincere effort to disrupt out of the misfortune in the utilization of electoral process to elect ethnic and sectional leaders in the 1993 presidential elections. The preparation and process of the elections were carried out by the Military Government of General Ibrahim Babangida in one of the longest transition agendas in Nigeria. After several cancellations of aspects of the political transitional program especially those dealing with the formation and registration of political parties, two parties- the National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) which were contraptions of the military government-finally emerged and contested the elections<sup>59</sup>. It is relevant to mention some objective facts about the voting system utilized as a part of the election. The option A4-represent an incredible takeoff from the regular voting method which is used in Nigeria as well as in most liberal democracies. The alternative A4 is an autochthonous creation and a special voting procedure in which voters are expected to line up behind the photos of their preferred aspirant and political parties. This voting methodology which regardless of its inadequacies seemed to have dealt with most past experienced constituent acts of neglect which has defaced elections in the nation. Besides, the test of democracy appeared to be popular amongst Nigerians and therefore generally accepted by the people. Perhaps this may partly explain why the 1993 elections have been acclaimed by both national and international observation mission as the most genuine, free and fair in the history of elections in nation. Unfortunately, after the fruitful conclusion of the first and second stages of the elections, the declaration of the outcome of the presidential election and the final stage of the seven years changeover program was terminated by the military president, General Babangida, when he annulled the results of election generally with M.K.O. Abiola, the emerging winner and the SDP candidate.

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<sup>59</sup> Nnadozie, U. (2007:67). "History of Elections in Nigeria" in Jega, A. And Ibeanu, O. (eds) Elections and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria. Nigerian Political Science Association.

That singular act appeared to have set Nigeria and Nigerians back not only to the electoral drawing board but also to the political drawing in general<sup>60</sup>.

**The 1999 Presidential Elections:** In 1999, after several unfulfilled promises and political reversing by the military and following the persistent and persistent campaign and struggle by the civil society to get the military back to the barracks, Nigerians were once again permitted to exercise their franchise in the 1999 general elections<sup>61</sup>. Unlike the 1993 elections, the political transition program which produced the Fourth Republic was so far, the shortest in the country as it was wrapped up in less than a year. The APP, PDP and AD contested in the elections and later entered an alliance for the presidential election which enabled them to present one candidate<sup>62</sup>. It is momentous to argument that the 1998 and 1999 presidential elections had many similarities with that of the 1979 election as well as the constitutions under which they were conducted but more especially the lack of bitterness, boycotts, thuggery and other malpractices usually associated with the electoral process in the country. In detail, the 1999 presidential elections are ascribed to some factors. **The first** was the common agreement, unprinted, among Nigerians to avoid what could be used by the military institution to want to remain in the political affairs. **The second** is that General Obasanjo and Olu Falae accord the two of which were presidential competitors were from Yoruba ethnic group and the same south-west geopolitical zone. However, all the petitions and complaints that rose from the elections were quiet. At the end of the day, Obasanjo of the PDP was declared the winner of the presidential elections and sworn in accordingly on 29 May 1999. The PDP not only swept the states where it won in twenty four out of the thirty-six states of the federation but also had more than a comfortable majority in both Houses of the National Assembly<sup>63</sup>.

Additionally, the credibility of the 1999 elections result was challenged, which led to huge protest, as the aspirant who lost went ahead to challenge the outcomes of the elections as he was not satisfied by the results. According to domestic and international observers, they claimed the elections were not credible, together with the National Democratic Institute (NDI), International Republican Institute (IRI)<sup>64</sup>, the Carter Center, the European Union and the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) all reported general indiscretions, as well as a ‘miraculous’ attendance of 100 percent voters in Rivers

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<sup>60</sup> (Nnadozie, U. 2007:35). “History of Elections in Nigeria” in Jega, A. And Ibeanu, O. (eds) Elections and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria. Nigerian Political Science Association.

<sup>61</sup> (Ibid, 2007:68)

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Nnadozie U, “History of Elections in Nigeria” in Jega, A. And Ibeanu, O. (eds) Elections and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria. Nigerian Political Science Association 2007, 69.

<sup>64</sup> Niagale Bagayoko, Eboe Hutchful, Robin Luckham. Hybrid security governance in Africa: rethinking the foundations of security, justice and legitimate public authority. Conflict, Security & Development 16:1, 2016, p. 1-32.

State through the presidential election<sup>65</sup>. Hitherto, the attendant protests were moderate as major stakeholders in the elections including political parties, candidates, and civil society decided to sheath swords, renew of promises of democracy probably appeased them<sup>66</sup>. Much consideration was not given to the integrity of the elections since the election was supposed to fundamentally stop the military from taking part in politics.

**The 2007 Presidential Elections:** The presidential elections were held on 21 April 2007. It was a historic and substantial, for the first time Nigeria successfully transitioned from one civilian administration to another. The singular importance of this comes from the fact that attempts to do so failed both in 1966 and 1983<sup>67</sup>. The 2007 Elections were adjudged as the worst Nigeria has ever witnessed. For instance, reports of International and domestic observers such as European Union (E.U), International Republican Institute (IRI), International Crisis Group (ICG), Human Rights Watch (HRW), Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), National Democratic Institute (NDI), Campaign for Democracy (CD), Democracy Volunteers etc. that Nigeria experienced the worst elections in her post-independence history in 2007 as the elections fell short of basic International and Regional Standards for democratic elections. Hence, the elections were marred by poor organization, the absence of vital transparency, widespread of procedural irregularities, lack of equal conditions for contestants, at various stages of the elections, fraud, voter exclusion particularly during the outcome collation were significantly evident<sup>68</sup>. In detail, European Union concluded that any administration found on this fraud cannot have legitimacy which is her toughest ever statement on elections. It was thus concluded that the elections were not credible, free and fair as it did not reflect the electoral choices of the Nigerian people<sup>69</sup>.

**The 2003 Presidential Elections:** Offered yet another vision of a transition from one civilian government to another. The last two attempts were made in 1964 and 1983 both of which ended, in such areas as bitterness and rancor, thuggery, boycotts, threats and intimidation, manhandling, political opponents were kidnapped and assassinated, the use of security officers to manipulate the electoral processes and bodies against political rivals, the 2003 general elections shared a lot with the

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<sup>65</sup> The Carter Center, 'Postelection statement on Nigeria elections, March 1, 1999'. The report was issued in response to the 27 February presidential election of 1999. <http://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc891.html>. Last accessed 09/04/2018

<sup>66</sup> Darren Kew, Democracy, dem go craze o, monitoring the 1999 Nigerian elections, Issue: A Journal of Opinion 27, 1 1999, p. 29–33.

<sup>67</sup> Joshua, T. (2010:16). "Elections in Nigeria and Prospect of Democratic Stability." Paper Presented at Workshop on Credible elections in 2011 in Benin September 16.

<sup>68</sup> European Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM). (2015). Final Report General Elections 28 March 2015, 11 April 2015 (July 2015:4) ([https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/eueom/missions/2015/nigeria/pdf/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report\\_en.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/eueom/missions/2015/nigeria/pdf/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report_en.pdf)) Last accessed 29/04/2018.

<sup>69</sup> (Ibid., 2010:16)

1964 and 1983 elections particularly the former<sup>70</sup>. After initial hesitation, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) which supervised both the 1999 and the 2003 elections reluctantly registered three other parties such as the United Nigeria People's Party (UNPP), National Democratic Party (NDP) and All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), were added in 2002, the supreme court ruled that INEC has no power to issue guidelines for the formation of political parties outside the constitutional requirements. This landmark ruling threw the gate open and brought the number of parties which contested the 2003 elections to a total of twenty-nine which is unprecedented in the history of elections in Nigeria. Yet again, the ethnic humiliation, which has become a symbol of elections in the country, was evident.

**The 2011 Presidential Elections:** was the last elections held in Nigeria, before the most recent general election in 2015. The presidential elections were conducted on April 16, 2011<sup>71</sup>. Thus, the 2011 presidential elections announced by international and domestic observers as reliable compared to 2007 elections. Also, the 2011 elections did not turn out better as it was categorized by inescapable violence before, during and after the election process. The 2011 presidential election was seen widely as being well-run. Still, this was specifically significant given the universally criticized elections in 2007<sup>72</sup>. Nonetheless, 800 people were killed mostly in Kaduna in three days and 65,000 people were displaced even with being a more translucent election,<sup>73</sup>. The Christian southerners were attacked in their homes, businesses, schools, and on the streets and churches burnt by Muslims. The Christians shortly reacted, only soldiers could succeed in stopping it once violence erupts<sup>74</sup>.

**The 2015 Presidential Elections:** The 2015 election in Nigeria is significant because of the major stance the country occupies in Africa and the interest and regard the international community have for the state. Also, the need to be sure whether the independent national electoral commission has enhanced on the negligence that defects the 2011 elections. However, the 2011 election prompt massive anger, criticism and claims of electoral fraud in the polls.

### **2.3. General Electoral Processes in Nigeria from the Prism of electoral integrity 2015 elections in view**

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<sup>70</sup> (Ibid, at page 69) (Joshua, T. 2010). Elections in Nigeria and Prospect of Democratic Stability. Paper Presented at Workshop on Credible elections in 2011 in Benin September 16.

<sup>71</sup> Oluwatobi D, An Appraisal of 2011 General Elections in Nigeria, in Vanguard Newspaper, June 2011, p. 4.

<sup>72</sup> See; European Union Election Observation Mission in Nigeria. (2011). Final Report: General Elections. p. 3. ([http://www.eods.eu/library/FR%20NIGERIA%202011\\_en.pdf](http://www.eods.eu/library/FR%20NIGERIA%202011_en.pdf)) Last accessed 02/05/2018.

<sup>73</sup> Human Rights Watch, Nigeria: Post-election Violence Killed 800, May 16, 2011.

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/05/16/nigeria-post-election-violence-killed-800> Last accessed 29/04/2018.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

Elections was presented in Nigeria as aspects of institutional transfer, first as reform measures in reaction to demands made by the nationalists and later as a process of preparing indigenous political elites to take over political leadership from colonial masters. Constitutional reforms were the instruments through which elections were introduced and expanded during the colonial period<sup>75</sup>. Since 1914 before Nigeria's independence in 1960, the nation which was as an amalgamation of the Northern and Southern colonies has previously witnessed various elections. Regrettably, voting does not amount to choosing in Nigeria as electoral mandates are, arguably, made by political elites outside electoral norms, rules, and procedures<sup>76</sup>. There have also been blended endeavors at turning around this exercise and restoring open certainty. However, the ordinarily distinguished difficulties are the character of the Nigerian state as the field of the constituent challenge, powerless law-based establishments and procedures, undemocratic political culture and a delicate constitutional structure that obstructs the best possible workings of the election management body. This section looks at how the Nigerian electoral structure obliges or enables factional and non-partisan political player such as voters, political parties, political aspirants, and constituent authorities may impact electoral integrity. Thus, the election administration process in Nigeria since its independence from Britain, has always give rise to disagreement and predicament; mostly stemming from the apparent association of EMB with the successive military and civilian regimes of the nation's post-independence period. The consequences are that Nigeria has been a history of the debate caused by electoral malpractices, in view of the election administration history of the nation. This section analyzes the recent and past elections in Nigeria from the period of 1993 to the 2015 presidential elections. while taking into consideration the electoral integrity context to analyze the main stages of elections: the pre-election, election day, and the post-election period.

**The Pre-election stage Electoral law:** The lawful basis for the 2015 elections was gotten from the 1999 Constitution, The Electoral Act 2010, and INEC's 2015 Guidelines and Procedures of elections<sup>77</sup>. the laws are however accompanied by several legal apparatuses such as the Civil Procedure Code, the Nigeria Broadcasting Code, the Police Act and Guidelines for the Conduct of Police Officers on Electoral Duty, Guidelines by INEC and the Nigerian Code of Advertising Practice and Sales Promotion (APCON)<sup>78</sup>. Also, the legal background of the 2015 elections matches some

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<sup>75</sup> Ujo, A.A. (2003). "Free and Fair Elections in Nigeria: An Unresolved Agenda. Paper presented at a Seminar on Free and Fair election held in Kaduna, August 26.

<sup>76</sup> Ake, C. (2000). *The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA.

<sup>77</sup> International Foundation for Electoral System, *Elections in Nigeria 2015 General Elections*, 2015, p.3. ([https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/2015\\_ifes\\_nigeria\\_march\\_general\\_elections\\_faqs.pdf](https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/2015_ifes_nigeria_march_general_elections_faqs.pdf)) last accessed 05/05/2018.

<sup>78</sup> International Foundation for Electoral System, *Elections in Nigeria 2015 General Elections*, 2015, p.3. ([https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/2015\\_ifes\\_nigeria\\_march\\_general\\_elections\\_faqs.pdf](https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/2015_ifes_nigeria_march_general_elections_faqs.pdf)) last accessed

reforms from the 2011 electoral process<sup>79</sup>. In addition, INEC financial autonomy challenges were addressed, and the current law provides that the salaries of the Chairman, associates and persistent expenses should be gotten from the Consolidated Revenue Fund and will no longer depend on the executive<sup>80</sup>.

**Party primaries:** the political gatherings Internal majority rule government has been an issue of worry in the Nigerian electoral framework. The parties are controlled by specific groups of godfathers who are sufficiently solid to coordinate run the undertakings of the political parties. This owes to their staggering money related limit or control of state influence. Along these lines, this godfathers ordinarily manage who the challenging candidate will be and their position which is not democratic. Amid the 2015 discretionary process, this issue included clearly with the contribution of the key political gatherings. For example, the procedure that created President Goodluck Jonathan as the presidential aspirant of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) was entrapped in a calamity<sup>81</sup>. There were reports that all other presidential competitors were compelled to pull back from the challenge to give the president (utilizing officeholder control) the benefit of being the gathering contender for the 2015 decisions. Be that as it may, the EUEOM reports express “the lack of an effective monitoring mechanism for internal party democratic processes for candidate nomination” and “INEC’s inability to reject nominated aspirants”<sup>82</sup>, had negative implications for the credibility of the entire process<sup>83</sup>.

**Voting:** during the polling, the EUEOM reports that the citizens showed up to exercise their civic rights peacefully. But there were 41 cases of electoral violence on the day of the elections which ended up in the deaths of 19 people. The process of voting was peaceful, and the polling staffs performed well, however, they complained that less information were given by INEC concerning encountered problems and ballot papers were insufficient, which led to 13 house rescheduling of house of representative elections in three states. They also observed that there were credited up to 9% presence of underage voters at some polling units. As well as the problem of using the card reader with 91% being unable to verify finger print and 18% malfunctioning Use of the card readers. In

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05/05/2018. Also see; Hakeem Onapajo, How Credible Were the Nigerian 2015 General Elections? An “Electoral Integrity” Framework of Analysis, 2015. p.8-19.

(<http://www.inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Conference-Paper-by-Hakeem-Onapajo.pdf>) last accessed 20/03/2018.

<sup>79</sup> Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) [www.inecnigeria.org/wp-content/.../2015/](http://www.inecnigeria.org/wp-content/.../2015/) last accessed 26/03/2018.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

addition, during voting there were 13% of illegal visits by party candidates and trying to interfere with the voting process<sup>84</sup>.

**Campaign media:** the media aids as the manner through which the populace is conversant about the stand of the election candidates and their parties and expect the part of teaching citizens about the balloting methods. Nigeria and personal possessed has regularly been steadfastly associated with electoral problems with a clean show of dispositions for specific applicants towards the opposite. That is, however, status laws towards such exercise. Media predisposition and out of line scope described the 2015 election campaign. In details, During the EU EOM content analysis of media coverage, it observed that The Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) deceptively favored the PDP during the campaign. According to EUEOM report, these national media FRCN was in favored of Goodluck Jonathan, as it took time out to focus on the incumbent president party. Which led to the absence of compliance of equivalent media coverage. The report further state that prior to the election prime-time news, PDP received 57% of NTA's political coverage, and 43% from FRCN's. therefore, the PDP added extra airtime over coverage of presidential with a total of 27% of NTA airtime and 35% of FRCN's. In disparity to PDP's total 84% coverage, APC established 11% on NTA. On FRCN, PDP's 78% differences with ACP's 13%. It totals it was said that prime-time news coverage was devoted to PDP candidates, NTA and FRCN assigned to President Jonathan 85% and 77%, both NTA and primetime only covered the PDP candidate and all their official media rounds<sup>85</sup>.

**Campaign finance:** Deceptively, the Nigerian government officials woefully flopped in campaign financing. In like manner, this was the circumstance amid the 2015 races. the Center for Social Justice, after checking crusade fund in the elections point by point from various standpoints, reports the total breach of the directions covering effort back in residential and global measures<sup>86</sup>. the report claims that the funds were encased by pointless spending, pay off, vote purchasing, unlawful utilization of state stores, and undisclosed utilization of state back. The report particularly recognized the enormous measure of cash spent by the Goodluck Jonathan campaign group led by Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria. However, leading to the re-run of the president which was for the most part gotten from the state reserves<sup>87</sup>. The group was engaged with a few remuneration embarrassments including the claimed 7billion Naira given to the Christian Association of Nigeria

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> European Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM). (2015). Final Report General Elections 28 March 2015, 11 April 2015. p.24-25. [http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/nigeria/docs/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/nigeria/docs/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report_en.pdf) last accessed 29/04/2018.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Premium times. Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/tag/transformation-ambassadors-of-nigeria> Last accessed 30/04/2018.

(CAN), gigantic a huge number of dollars given to customary rulers to accumulate for re-election, and a specific 5 billion Naira was used to incite the Ohaneze Ndi Igbo following its prior determination not to help President Jonathan's re-race. A lot of funds was spent in mobilizing sets of groups for campaign, as well as on air campaign on radios directed towards the APC presidential competitor<sup>88</sup>. According to the EU EOM observers reports, "we saw no evidence of centralized systematic fraud although a few attempts at manipulation were observed"<sup>89</sup>.

**Election day:** on the election day, the technical complications because of the card reader nearly flops the election process. As several voters were unable to get electronically verified due to the glitches of card readers. In any case, electoral authorities and a few government officials speculated a thoughtful undermine by a few people who have conflicting agenda to the utilization of card reader with the point of disparaging the electoral procedure. Nevertheless, INEC was ready to rescue the electoral procedure by declaring an alternate procedure manual accreditation, which appreciate voters that experienced the issue. However, the election in 300 polls was rescheduled at the location of the issue<sup>90</sup>. A few electoral observers alleged that manual accreditation at some polling zones would have empowered the acts of neglect which INEC was attempting to forestall through the electronic framework<sup>91</sup>. Thus, compared to past elections, on the elections day, there was relative tranquility. Also, electoral observers complimented the staffs and the election security associated materials. In addition, in its report, the CLEEN Foundation noted that "In 95 percent of the units watched, security authorities were portrayed as exceptionally agreeable and congenial, just in 5 percent of units where they depicted as receptive thus, 89 percent of the surveying units were seen to be sheltered and secure"<sup>92</sup>.

**Post-election dispute:** in relation to disputes after the elections, the 2015 elections had fewer cases of electoral disputes in the afterwards of the elections, however, it had an increase of petition compared to the 2011 elections which had an increase of a total of 255 petitions filed against the National Assembly election results, out of which 180 were contesting the results of the House of Representative results and 75 were challenging the Senatorial election results<sup>93</sup>. Thus, the presidential

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<sup>88</sup> See; Pulse.ng on airing documentaries against APC Candidate. <http://www.pulse.ng/news/local/muhammadu-buhari-nbc-indicts-ait-nta-for-airing-documentary-against-apc-candidate-id3617254.html> Last accessed 09/04/2018

<sup>89</sup>European Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM) (2015:12) [https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/eueom/missions/2015/nigeria/pdf/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report\\_en.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/eueom/missions/2015/nigeria/pdf/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report_en.pdf) last accessed: 03/04/2018

<sup>90</sup> Onapajo, H. (2015). The positive outcome of the 2015 general elections: The salience of electoral reforms. The Round Table: Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs in press.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Premium Times. (19 April 2015). Jonathan denies spending N2 trillion on election campaign. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com> Last accessed 02/04/2014.

<sup>93</sup> The EU EOM collected and studied 87 post-election petitions against National Assembly election results from 19

election in 2015 outcomes had no filed petitions. In details, according to EU EOM report, only one case of election petition (challenging the parliamentary elections) was filed as at the time the report was being prepared after the state and national<sup>94</sup>. However, there is an exceptional drop in election petitions testing the result of the election, which denotes a decent advancement for the procedure of electoral integrity.

**Election administration:** the significant reason for the presentation of the technological system during the elections was to curb electoral misconducts, impersonation, fraud and vote buying, voting, multiple registrations and inflated figures during and after elections expressively. Even though, INEC also applied the introduction of the National Interagency Advisory Committee on Voter Education and Publicity (NICVEP) to improve voter education strategy<sup>95</sup>. Expressively, the use of trustworthy academics as Returning Officers (ROs) was presented by INEC, as they are people of integrity who cannot be simply bribed by politicians to commit fraud. Yet, the achievements of INEC and its progressive reforms, administration of elections was criticized for the following: “extensive under-collection of the PVCs; incomplete distribution of the card reader; no publication of the final list of polling units; incompetent recruitment of staff; inadequate training of staff and poor accreditation of electoral observers”<sup>96</sup>. This however led to several elections to be postponed in some local governments.

## **2.4. Electoral Violence as Factor Affecting Electoral Integrity in Nigeria**

This section examines the issues of electoral violence as a factor affecting electoral integrity in Nigerian. With a historical viewpoint to examine the origin of electoral violence in Nigeria electoral process and to also try to define electoral violence. UNDP’s define, electoral violence as “Any acts or threats of coercion, intimidation, or that arise in the context of an electoral competition or physical harm committed to affecting an electoral process”<sup>97</sup>. Such violence often takes place during and after elections between political parties or opponents. Fifteen years after authoritarianism military regime which was terminated in 1999, elections in Nigeria persisted a violent, Undeniably, the 2007 polls were widely condemned as the most violent, poorly organized

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states of the Federation and the FCT. In 2011 approximately 140 petitions were filed against National Assembly results.

<sup>94</sup> European Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM), 2015.

[https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/eueom/missions/2015/nigeria/pdf/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report\\_en.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/eueom/missions/2015/nigeria/pdf/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report_en.pdf) last accessed: 03/04/2018.

<sup>95</sup> International Crisis Group, Limiting electoral violence, 2015 p. 20.

<sup>96</sup> European Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM) 2015, p. 5.

([https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/eueom/missions/2015/nigeria/pdf/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report\\_en.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/eueom/missions/2015/nigeria/pdf/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report_en.pdf)) last

<sup>97</sup> UNDP, Understanding Electoral Violence in Asia, Bangkok. UNDP Asia-Pacific, 2011.

([www.mn.undp.org/content/dam/.../UnderstandingElectoralViolenceinAsia-eng.pdf](http://www.mn.undp.org/content/dam/.../UnderstandingElectoralViolenceinAsia-eng.pdf)) last accessed 04/05/2018.

and vastly rigged in Nigeria's troubled electoral history<sup>98</sup>. The late, President Umaru Yar'Adua, the winner of the election accepted the flaws<sup>99</sup>.

A historical viewpoint of electoral violence in Nigeria's electoral procedure from independence will be sufficient for a clear understanding. Nevertheless, Nigeria's political history, has become filled with electoral violence before, during and after elections, be it general, additional or rerun elections, since its independence in 1960. And this has not promised well for the sustenance of democracy in the country<sup>100</sup>. Violence during elections in Nigeria has become normal each election year. However, elections have to some extent improved due to the presence of international observer's mission since its first observation during the 1999 elections in Nigeria. The Carter Centre for Democracy observed the elections and concluded its report on the outcome of the presidential election saying: "the difference was huge between the number of voters observed and the results as well as the reported from numerous states. Unfortunately, it is not possible for us to make an accurate decision about the presidential election outcome"<sup>101</sup>. Regardless of the terrible record of the 1999 and 2003 elections, the problems were not rectified by the government even during the subsequent elections. The Observers from the European Union labeled the 2007 elections as the worst they had witnessed anywhere in the world. Human Rights Watch approximates that a minimum of 300 people was linked killed in connection to the 2007 election<sup>102</sup>.

According to Human Rights Watch, there were several cases of, rings of thugs openly organized to threaten average citizens and political opponents as well as to snatch ballot boxes, by mafia-like "godfathers" who sponsor crooked politicians<sup>103</sup>. In addition, the police were at the scene during such episodes but often turned a blind eye or contributed to abuses; the electoral commission reported the victories of the ruling party with high voter turnout, even though elections did not take place in some locations; In January 2011 Goodluck Jonathan barely secure the ruling party's ticket during the party primary, aside from opposition by some of the northern leaders, and he went on to gain the mostly Christian south through the April elections; yet, in the north which is predominantly Muslim, Muhammadu Buhari, the APC aspirant, won most of the votes. However, the nation was

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> See; Araba, A. Ayanda., Odunayo J. Braimah. (2015). Comparative Study of 2011 and 2015 Presidential Elections in Nigeria. Kwara State, Nigeria. Volume 20, Issue 12, Ver. II, December. PP 71-77. (<http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol20-issue12/Version-2/L0201227177.pdf>) Last accessed 02/03/2018

<sup>100</sup> Abdulrahman Adamu, The Role of Political Education in the Sustenance of Democracy in Nigeria, 2016. ([https://www.ijhss.com/files/Abdulrahman-Adamu\\_qush8n75.pdf](https://www.ijhss.com/files/Abdulrahman-Adamu_qush8n75.pdf)) Last accessed 09/04/2018.

<sup>101</sup> See; Observing the 1998-99 Nigeria Elections. (1999). Final Report on Democracy Program. The Carter Center. Atlanta, Ga. Summer 1999. (<https://www.cartercenter.org/documents/1152.pdf>) last accessed 28/04/2018.

<sup>102</sup> Human Rights Watch. (2011). Nigeria: Post-election Violence Killed 800, May 16, 2011. (<https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/05/16/nigeria-post-election-violence-killed-800>) Last accessed 29/04/2018.

<sup>103</sup> Human Rights Watch, Nigeria, Post-Election Violence Killed 800: Promptly Prosecute Offenders, Address Underlying Causes, 2011. Available at (<https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/05/16/nigeria-post-election-violence-killed-800>) Last accessed 05/04/2018.

extremely separated in ethnic and religious positions because of the elections<sup>104</sup>.

Human Rights Watch in its 2007 report defined the post-independence history of Nigeria as being dominated by the despoliations of sequences of abusive, corrupt and unaccountable government<sup>105</sup>. In seven of the eight general elections held since the nations independence in 1960 through violence since the elections in 1964 and still in 2015. Subsequently after independence, the nation adopted the parliamentary system of government after the it independence from the British<sup>106</sup>. The first post-independence election organized by the government of President Nnamdi Azikiwe in 1964 and 1965 and Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa were branded by extensive criticisms of fraud, intimidation, and violence. Still, there were reports of Protests in the stir in some areas during the local elections which malformed into intercommunal demonstrating and violence which killed over 200 people<sup>107</sup>.

The Guardian, in its report claims, it had obtained a graphic video of past violence in Nigeria which according to a whistleblower named, Christopher Wylie, claimed that the video was used by Cambridge Analytica during the 2015 general elections to sway and scare Nigerians into reelecting the then president Goodluck Jonathan. by trying to convince Nigerians that if they vote in mohamadu Buhari, he would Islamize Nigeria and introduce the sharia law. in the bid to influence the election in favor of Goodluck Jonathan. in addition, the whistleblower claimed that Cambridge analytical was hired by a Nigerian billionaire to influence the election in favor of the then president by targeting his opponent, Mohamadu Buhari, with the showing of violent and gory footage of people being dismembered<sup>108</sup>. Thus, we can confidently say the 2015 general elections were not totally free of violence but recorded less than previous presidential elections. Although, it had few cases of violence before and during the elections in some states, however, it has been described one of the freest in Nigeria political history. The electoral process in Nigeria is guided by a legal framework, however, the elections are constantly regarded as a contest between individuals seeking to obtain power and ones who are probable to lose power. The next chapter analyzes the role of INEC in the promotion of electoral integrity in Nigeria. The chapter explore into the historical background of elections in Nigeria since its independence in 1960, with a further revelation on the historical events that shaped the political state in Nigeria. From its first elections in 1959, to different military regimes and the

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Human Rights Watch, Criminal Politics, Corruption, Godfatherism and the Funding of Political Violence, a Report on the 2007 General Elections in Nigeria, 2007 available at ([www.hrw.org/2007/01/08/criminal-politics/](http://www.hrw.org/2007/01/08/criminal-politics/)) Last accessed 28/02/2018.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> The Guardian, revealed: graphic video used by Cambridge Analytica to influence Nigerian election Wed 4 Apr 2018. (<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/apr/04/cambridge-analytica-used-violent-video-to-try-to-influence-nigerian-election>) Last accessed 05/04/2018.

reoccurring role of electoral violence as a factor affecting electoral integrity while shrinking the possibility of peaceful, free and fair elections. electoral violence has been a lingering force in the political affairs of Nigeria, dating back to the evolution of countries democratic consolidation process and transition from military regime and the prospect for a better democratic system which represents the interest of the people and the development of the country in all spheres.

### **3.0 THE ROLE OF INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION IN PROMOTING ELECTORAL INTEGRITY IN NIGERIA**

This chapter is divided into three subchapters which generally explains the role of Nigeria's electoral institution (INEC) in promoting electoral integrity in Nigeria. as well examine electoral administration and electoral commission and the problem of autonomy with a further in-depth analysis into INEC's challenges in ensuring electoral integrity in the nation and taking into consideration INEC and electoral integrity in Nigeria and the 2015 presidential elections in view. The former chairman of INEC, Prof, Jega underline the essentialness of electoral integrity, as indicated by him, Elections are presently conducted routinely in almost all African states. Be that as it may, the goal to make them "free and fair" has been undermined by gross irregularities with negative results for solidity, administration authenticity, and governance. There are however few uncertainties that promoting electoral integrity is fundamental to democratic consolidation, security, and solidity in Africa. Additionally, he proposed the following essential factors: In the Democracy Index of The Economist Intelligence Unit, just a single African nation is positioned as a full democracy, while the rest are delegated defective, hybrid, or tyrant<sup>109</sup>; and In spite of frequently led elections, the vast majority of African nations are positioned as moderate or very low in the Perception of Electoral Integrity Index<sup>110</sup>.

Furthermore, the chairman of INEC clarified the role of the commission in the promotion of Electoral integrity in Nigeria's electoral framework. He explained that the late Musa Yar'adua was aware of the electoral issues during the 2007 election and as result of this he came up with the idea to set up a comprehensive panel to endorse reforms. "I was one of the affiliates. A constitutional revision, in view of its proposals, and another Electoral Act, made the atmosphere for change. My administrations on the Election Reform Committee expanded my comprehension of the challenges and "INEC reserved the civil society associations up-to-date. An alliance. We concentrated on maintaining the limit with respect to change as well as preventing setbacks. The people were interested in the change because of the transparency of the hard work as well as our vigorous outreach"<sup>111</sup>. He finished up by including that, while addressing these difficulties was troublesome,

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<sup>109</sup> The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index. Op. cit. Africa Plus. (2017). Enhancing Electoral Integrity. Attahiru Jega and Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission. (<https://africaplus.wordpress.com/2017/05/18/enhancing-electoral-integrity-attahiru-jega-and-nigerias-independent-national-electoral-commission/>) Last accessed 08/04/2018.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Africa Plus, Enhancing Electoral Integrity, Attahiru Jega and Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission, 2017. (<https://africaplus.wordpress.com/2017/05/18/enhancing-electoral-integrity-attahiru-jega-and-nigerias-independent-national-electoral-commission/>) Last accessed 08/04/2018.

it was certainly feasible. Ballot papers were numbered and color coded. Also, political party's operatives had admittance to outcome sheets which were posted at polling units. Civil society associations were urged to conduct equivalent vote arrangements. Regardless of the distress of some advance associates about the hurdles to overwhelm, the technology was effectively used to accumulate Biometric Register of Voters. Nigeria approved the Universal electoral guidelines. In addition, permanent voter cards were dispersed to ensure the right documentation of voters. Card readers for voter check and verification were made accessible at the polling units. Thusly, politicians were kept from moving voters around communities. In 2015, Nigeria stepped forward in electoral integrity. We gained from the encounters with others and raised the bar<sup>112</sup>.

### **3.1 Election Administration: Electoral Commission and the problem of Autonomy**

In 1960 Nigeria attained its independence from Britain. Similar most previous British colonies, Nigeria elections have been overseen by a continuous EMB. The political history of Nigeria is described by years of military regime as well as four republics of civil administration. However, with each change program, an electoral management authority was established. In addition, Nigeria has had a total of five EMB's: The 1964 federal election, as well as the 1965 provincial elections, were conducted by the Electoral Commission of the Federation (ECF); as well as the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) that led the transitional elections in 1979 and the 1983 disputable elections, which ended with the arrival to military control; the National Electoral Commission (NEC) conducted the three-year change program and ended with the cancelled 1993 elections; General Sani Abacha founded the National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON) to manage his transition program, which was prematurely ended after his demise in 1998; in the history of Nigeria, INEC remains the oldest serving EMB. It has successfully conducted five elections: the 1999 shift election; the historic 2003 election, which was the first election successfully conducted under civil administration in the nation; the first civilian change of administration in Nigeria, was enabled by the critical elections in 2007 and the elections in 2011<sup>113</sup>. and the most recent 2015 general elections which was another significant election in Nigeria political history as it was another free and fair presidential election.

The legal framework of Nigeria Elections: Nigeria has experienced historical constitutional and electoral reforms which date to its colonial era and until 2010, however the debate on electoral reforms has sustained since the elections in 2011. In addition, it is relevant to take into consideration that the key constitutional processes in place have been strictly linked to Nigeria's historical

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Jinadu Adele, Nigeria, in Ismaila M. Fall, Mathias Hounkpe, Adele L. Jinadu and Pascal Kambele (eds), 2011. Op. cit. ACE Knowledge Network. (<http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/annex/electoral-management-case-studies/nigeria-a-need-for-modernization>) Last accessed 26/04/2018.

transitional programs. Therefore, subject to legislative ratification, the president usually appoints all EMB's since independence. Nevertheless, EMB's were often selected by the federal executive council during the military regime. Furthermore, since the introduction of the federal character principle in 1978 constitution, it remained a key criterion for the appointment of electoral commissions members<sup>114</sup>. Indeed, Nigeria's elections are structured by the 1999 constitution as well as the 2010 Electoral Act. However, like the former constitutions, INEC was also recognized as a federal executive body, and the constitution principally states the scope of INEC responsibilities and authorities, as well as provides for its independence and funding. Furthermore, the 1999 constitution established 36 Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC's) in each state of the nation, which are assigned to conduct local government elections<sup>115</sup>. Subject to the Senate validation, the constitution offers the selection of the commission chairman and members by the president. However, at the state level, the governors employ the chair and members of the SIECs with confirmation from the State House of Assembly. Similarly, the constitution specifies the criteria for the registration of political parties<sup>116</sup>. Thus, numerous reforms have been experienced by Nigeria legal background since 1999. However, the Electoral Act was passed in 2001, and three other bits of legislations in 2002, 2006 and 2010. Among other changes existing in the 2006 act, it empowered the commission to appoint its secretary, to start voter education as well as to prosecute lawbreakers; the law also addressed the uncertainties surrounding the employment and discharge of resident electoral commissioners (RECs)<sup>117</sup>. Additionally, the 1999 constitution was amended twice in 2010, after over a decade of national discourse on constitutional reforms and Subsequent to the conduct of the 2007 elections, which were reported as the worst in the country's history<sup>118</sup>, however, the then president, late Yar'Adua established the Electoral Reform Committee (ERC) to assess Nigeria's electoral history as well as the legal and institutional context for elections conduct, as well as to make suggestions for reforms.

**The Problem of Autonomy:** the activities of electoral management involve administration of various instruments such as the parts and capacity of the organization. However, democratic system

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<sup>114</sup> Ibrahim, Jibrin and Garuba, D. (2008). Op. cit. p. 27. ACE Knowledge Network. Electoral Management Case Study of Nigeria.

(<http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/annex/electoral-management-case-studies/nigeria-a-need-for-modernization>) last accessed 02/05/2018.

<sup>115</sup> ACE Knowledge Network. Electoral Management Case Study of Nigeria.

(<http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/annex/electoral-management-case-studies/nigeria-a-need-for-modernization>) last accessed 02/05/2018.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> ACE Knowledge Network. Electoral Management Body (EMB's) (<http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/ema/ema01>) Last accessed 09/04/2018.

<sup>118</sup> Jinadu 2011, Op. cit. p. 153. ACE Knowledge Network. Electoral Management Body (EMB's) (<http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/ema/ema01>) Last accessed 09/04/2018.

of government usually has an election administration and the responsibilities of this office may differ significantly. With overseeing the polling, classifying of votes as well as conducting. However, EMB obligations can as well stretch out to likewise incorporate enrollment of political parties, oversight of campaign funds, the outline of the ballot papers, an illustration of electoral limits, disputes resolution, media monitoring, as well as, communal and voter instruction<sup>119</sup>. In addition, the Independent Model of electoral administration is utilized in nations where elections are composed and run by an EMB that is institutionally an executive branch of government, which is independent and free from the; its associates are not part of the executive branch of government. Nevertheless, underneath the independent model, the EMB has and deals with its own financial plan, whereby it is not responsible to a government or office. However, it might be answerable to the lawmaking body, the head of state or courts. Furthermore, the EMBs may appreciate changing degrees of financial independence and responsibility, as well as shifting levels of executive responsibility. Also, rising democracies such as Armenia, Burkina Faso, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Costa Rica, Estonia, Georgia, India, Indonesia, Liberia, Mauritius, Nigeria, Poland, South Africa, picked this model<sup>120</sup>. Thus, Nigeria respectively apply the independent model of election administration. Notwithstanding, INEC still faces certain issues which influence and inquires its independence, which undermines electoral integrity. However, the method in which INEC carries out its obligations has attracted condemnation from every single political party, the Nigerian Bar Association and Nigerian civil society groups and in addition Human Rights Watch<sup>121</sup>.

Also, INEC's administrative autonomy, was enhanced in Section 160 (1) of the constitution which was amended providing that, in the case of the Independent National Electoral Commission, its powers to make its own rules or shall not be subject to the president control or approval but will adjust its own procedure<sup>122</sup>. However, amid past elections process in Nigeria, the electoral commission was censured for taking sides with a political party against its limit<sup>123</sup>. Nevertheless, INEC states that aside from the court, it will boycott a couple of obvious resistances from appearing during the vote in the general elections, with Atiku Abubakar, the Vice President at the time as well as opposing candidates in a couple of gubernatorial elections<sup>124</sup>. However, despite a Court of Appeal, Jega insist Atiku is to be permissible to partake in the elections. Therefore, reflects INEC contradicted executing the judgment and it went further to provoke it in the Supreme Court. Additionally, there

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> See Human Rights Watch. A Human Rights Agenda for Nigeria's General Elections 2007 and beyond, Briefing Paper Number 2, February 26, 2007, <http://hrw.org/backgrounder/africa/nigeria0207/> and Davidson Iriekpen, "NBA Warns

<sup>122</sup> Nigeria's Critical Election, 2011 edited by John, A. A. Ayoade., Adeoye, A. Akinsanya. <https://books.google.com.ng/>

<sup>123</sup> See; Human Rights Watch, The Role of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The Lessons of 2003. (<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounder/africa/nigeria0407/5.htm>) Last accessed 09/04/2018.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

were also debate surrounding INEC's claims about its right to screen and bar candidates from competing if it by any means finds them ineligible to contest under the provisions of Nigeria's constitution<sup>125</sup>. From the arguments gathered above, we can see that INEC is deviating from its duties of being an autonomous electoral management body that has the power to make its own rules free from the other external influences. Moreover, the commission is supposed to be neutral always to oversee transparency and credibility during electoral process to ensure unbiased decision.

### **3.2. INEC and the Challenges of Free and Fair Elections in Nigeria**

Generally, Free and fair elections, remains the foundation of current democratic government, which expect authorities to check and total polls precisely. The worldwide group burns through a huge number of dollars consistently endeavoring to guarantee reasonable electoral process in creating nations with across the board appointive extortion. The influence of international electoral observation has been sound amid Nigeria's elections, as well as the recent election which was held in 2015. The pioneer of (NDI) remarked on how participatory Nigerians were in emancipating their rights; specifically maintaining the precepts of democracy<sup>126</sup>. He likewise pinpointed a few troubles looked amid the elections as well as supported the basic bodies loaded with settling such difficulties to inspect the circumstance. One of such issues is the card reader machine, during the presidential election in 2015. There were complain and delays at election units because of the card reader inability to read a couple of individuals' cards and neglect to read that of others. This issue relatively raised the discontents caused by INEC in the movement of election materials to voting units in a few areas. However, INEC faces a few difficulties in all its elections administration since its establishment in 1998. Another challenge of INEC is the validity issue; as most residents lost confidence in its ability to perform free, authentic and translucent elections. From 1999-2015, all elections directed by INEC have been censured as loaded with different issues, bringing about sketchy results. Therefore, INEC capability is addressed in two ways; the first, primarily recognizes with the arrangement of individuals without vital expertise and scholarly ability to pilot the issues of the commission, and the second identifies with INEC's persistent utilization of impromptu staff, who are typically swiftly advised for about a day for their election day obligations. These brief staffs need imperative information and ability to control sound decisions utilizing set down appointive laws<sup>127</sup>. This chapter, explained the various roles of INEC in promoting electoral integrity. The INEC over-centralization of strength in its obligation calls for grave concern. Therefore, these apprehensions and the inferred

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> See Naira Project, (<https://nairaproject.com/projects/2768.html>).

<sup>127</sup> Omotola, J.S. (2010). *Op. cit.* pp. 11. Edet, L.M. (2016). *Election Administration and Democratization Process in Nigeria: An Appraisal of 2007-2015*. Acta Universitatis Danubius. Administratio, Vol 8, No 2. (<http://journals.univ-danubius.ro/index.php/administratio/article/view/3827/3843>) Last accessed 07/04/2018.

loss of trust in INEC undermines the integrity of elections because of this various challenge. However, from the above study there is a need for the commission to advance its techniques towards conducting elections adequately without the influence of political influences, since it is an independent electoral management body which reserves the right to remain autonomous and neutral at the same during election administration to enhance the promotion of electoral integrity in the countries electoral process. Looking back at previous election management by the commission, it seems to have fair better compared to previous elections especially the 2007 presidential elections with the worst record of electoral misconduct. The subsequent chapter examine the important role of international electoral observation in Nigeria elections and the roles and actions it played during the 2015 presidential elections.

## **4.0 THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ELECTORAL OBSERVATION IN NIGERIAN ELECTIONS**

This chapter explores the role and action of international electoral observation in Nigeria elections. While the sub-chapters examine the roles and actions of international electoral observation during the 2015 elections to explain their impact. The deployment of election observers is a foremost response to enhance the integrity of elections in both developing and developed countries. Countries with delicate electoral institution, receives observation mission's assistance, which is a fundamental characteristic of the advancement of democracy by foreign and local players<sup>128</sup>. Roughly 80 percent of elections that took place around the world in 2006 were monitored by observers<sup>129</sup>. Furthermore, it is assumed that the reason for deploying of international observers to underdeveloped countries for election monitoring is to avoid electoral malpractices during elections. In addition, Elections establish a grave energy of democratic process. In any case, a democracy that is participatory winds up misleading when the voters lose confidence in the constituent structure. Be that as it may, the customary part of election as featured above can be acknowledged in a fair election system, reasonable and gives an equal ground to other political players. Therefore, the impact of international electoral observation would aid in promoting electoral integrity in Nigeria political development, while at the same time reduce electoral violence and other electoral issues which undermines the growth of electoral integrity in Nigeria electoral atmosphere.

### **4.1. Roles and Actions of International Electoral Observers in Nigeria Elections in 2015**

The impact of the International electoral observers in guaranteeing democratic solidification in Nigeria is essential to Nigeria and the African Union specifically in view of the main position which Nigeria possesses in the Continent. Nevertheless, the electoral observation squads have to turn out to be credible support for election administration worldwide as well as guaranteeing that states follow the general prescribed procedures. In addition, the universal electoral standards have turned into a valuable standard for performance decision. However, from the perspective of the 2015 presidential elections, it was noted that foreign observer teams played roles that were pertinent to the success of the elections, as follows:

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<sup>128</sup> Hyde, 2011; Kelley, 2012. Op. cit. Joseph, Asunka., Sarah Brierley., Miriam, Golden., Eric, Kramon., and George, Ofori (2013). University of California, Los Angeles. Stanford University. ([http://cega.berkeley.edu/assets/miscellaneous\\_files/Asunka\\_etal\\_Protecting\\_the\\_Polls.pdf](http://cega.berkeley.edu/assets/miscellaneous_files/Asunka_etal_Protecting_the_Polls.pdf)) Last accessed 03/04/2018.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

**Roles:** During the elections, INEC was short of staffs as they had recruited less staff for voter's administration. However, Some members of the international observation teams had to assist where essential such as; assisting the federal government by providing financial and material supports, toward the elections conduct; preventing the voting materials from falling into the wrong hand as the voting materials were given suitable security nationwide; they revealed that citizens were ready and willing to accomplish their civic responsibilities; as well as assist in the distributing of election materials; as the observation teams realized that election materials arrived later than supposed in some polling units, thus delaying early registering and peaceful conduct of the elections<sup>130</sup>.

**Action:** The International Observers supported the Federal Government of Nigeria in realizing her political aims as well as establish the step for the 2015 general elections preparations, subject to the Independent National Electoral Commission. The degree to which the arrangements affirmed to the worldwide values. In terms of the arrangement and supply of vote papers, the assemblage of voter's registers, the polls conducted, counting of votes, declaration of the outcome as well as the election procedure. They observed the election, collected their outcomes and finally made some announcement on the election conduct. The following is the synopsis of electoral observations<sup>131</sup>.

**The methods used to achieve a free and fair election in 2015:** The 2015 general elections were widely praised by local and international observers as the most successful free and fair election in Nigeria. Most especially because of the methods used in achieving the 2015 election process successfully with a much less electoral violence throughout the country. During the elections, the Independent electoral commission (INEC) applied the below methods to attain the level of credibility accomplished during the general election in 2015.

**Voters Registration:** During the 2015 elections, one of the significant problems and condemnation elevated contrary to the past elections which could have additionally influenced the integrity and validity of elections was voter's mobilization. As the voter registration preceding the general elections in 2011 was loaded with inconsistencies and disparities. On the other hand, INEC's registration with the use of the biometric was one of the significant accomplishments of the commission in 2006 by setting the commission above bars. While the activity was seen by numerous people as unwieldy as it turned out well at the close of the 2015 elections<sup>132</sup>. Moreover, the

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<sup>130</sup> Sanusi, Olatunde (2015) The Role of the International Observer in Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria: A Case of 2015 General Elections. p.67. (<http://Www.Eajournals.Org/Wp-Content/Uploads/The-Role-Of-The-International-Observer-In-Consolidation-Of-Democracy-In-Nigeria.Pdf>) Last Accessed 09/04/2018.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Babatunde Oyekanmi, 2015 General Elections and The Role of INEC: Conference Paper. Ibadan. 2015, p.11.

presentation of technological motivated voter verification molded the elections and gave it open acknowledgment by the people. The utilization of technology in advancing the electoral integrity in Nigeria election process cannot be underemphasized. The registration technique and validation of enrolled voters on the day of election decides the achievement or dissatisfaction of at all election. However, elections in Nigeria have been loaded with voter's confirmation-based as well as registration scam<sup>133</sup>. Nonetheless, these difficulties were overcome with the use of the card reader.

**Election Materials:** One of the main causes of elections day and post-election clashes in Nigeria has been Election Material related<sup>134</sup>. Reports surfaced that election officer conspired with politicians to duplicate election materials and late material delivery to several electoral zones with the aim to ensure that some zone election material does not get delivered. So, therefore, the advancement embraced by INEC enhanced the electoral process and reinforced its integrity. In addition, INEC guaranteed that all the Electoral materials were coded in various forms from State to Local Government levels. In the long run, the material appears to be identical in different areas which made the stealing of ballot boxes relatively incomprehensible and advanced the security of the material as well as staffs<sup>135</sup>.

**Polling Center:** previously, polling centers could be aimlessly seen in the home of some prominent individuals, which in return is the route by electoral fraud was executed, in any case, there was a change from this activity amid the 2015 General Elections as there were harsh devotion, that polling units should be positioned in public places<sup>136</sup>.

**The announcement of Results:** The quick counting and discharging of 2015 election outcome at each polling centers additionally contributed to credibility and reinforcing of the integrity of the elections<sup>137</sup>.

**Integrity:** the reforms were great. In any case, changes do not execute itself, subsequently, the character and stubbornness of drivers of change to a huge degree decide the result of such reform. The INEC leadership should be significantly recognized for showing excellent mettle, the quality of character, integrity, equality, and impartiality in the release of his obligations. These characteristics

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(<http://www.inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Conference-Paper-by-Tunde-Oyekanmi.pdf>) Last accessed 27/04/2018.

<sup>133</sup> Muhammed Adamu, Akowe John-Duke, Selime Democracy and the threat of electoral violence January 12, 2017. <http://sumo.ly/StAL> via @blueprint.ng Last accessed 03/04/2018

<sup>134</sup> Babatunde Oyekanmi, 2015 General Elections and The Role of INEC: Conference Paper, Ibadan. 2015, p.12. <http://www.inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Conference-Paper-by-Tunde-Oyekanmi.pdf>. Last accessed 09/04/2018.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, p13.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

of the administration of INEC formed the 2015 elections and guaranteed the solidity as well as democratic solidification in Nigeria<sup>138</sup>. In the subsequent subchapter, a comparative analysis of the presidential election in 1993 and 2015 is established

## **4.2. An Analysis of the 1993 and 2015 Presidential Elections**

For more than two decades Nigeria has conducted several presidential elections, five of which were successful, and one was annulled in 1993 by the then military leader. However, in all this election, the 1993 and 2015 presidential elections stood out amongst other elections of 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011, because of the historical significance both elections stand for as the most peaceful and credible presidential elections ever recorded in Nigeria. The June 12, 1993, presidential elections was led by the National Electoral Commission (NEC). According to Nigerians and the international observers, it was the freest and fairest election ever experienced in Nigeria history. However, the outcome of the June 12 elections was annulled in the utmost strange scheme by the Babangida led Government; he went on to nullify all the relevant court decisions, and suspended NEC through an unsigned brief statement<sup>139</sup>.

Similarly, in 2015 Nigeria experience yet another historical election crossroad which saw the incumbent president Goodluck Jonathan concede defeat after losing to opponent and past military leader, Muhammadu Buhari in an unprecedented show of democratic development in the nation. The electoral process was debatable like other presidential elections conducted after the military hand over of power. Though in the pre-election periods, political campaigns were frequently intense and without issue. Nonetheless, in several states across the country, there were recorded varying degrees of election related violence. Undeniably, the 2015 presidential elections were hugely pronounced as another electoral landmark in Nigeria's most intensely contested election since its history. Also, the the 2015 Presidential elections led by INEC was significant, because it offered the new electronic accreditation process regardless of the issues encountered, it amplified the credibility of Nigeria election administration process. Secondly, for the first time in Nigeria history, an incumbent President lost the elections and conceded to the opposition<sup>140</sup>.

However, INEC faced severe condemnations on its decision to announce the use of an electronic accreditation process. Therefore, given the country's poor state of infrastructure mostly

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup>See: Sahara Reporters. June 12, 1993: A Historical Necessity for Nigeria By Joe Igbokwe (<http://saharareporters.com/2013/06/10/june-12-1993-historical-necessity-nigeria-joe-igbokwe>) 29/04/2018.

<sup>140</sup> Lawrence, Ime Edet. Election Administration and Democratization Process in Nigeria: An Appraisal of 2007-2015. Acta Universitatis Danubius. Administration, Vol 8, No 2 (2016). <http://journals.univ-danubius.ro/index.php/administratio/article/view/3827/3843> Last accessed 29/04/2018.

with respects to a deprived power supply which critics defined as too premature<sup>141</sup>. The 2015 presidential elections; took place in an era where democracy exists, and the international electoral observation mission was duly present during the elections to avoid electoral malpractices and electoral violence during and after the elections to enhance electoral integrity amid the electoral process. Fast forward to twenty-two years later where we have democracy and the international institutions such as the United Nation, and the international community monitoring the affairs of other countries to ensure they abide by the universal declaration of human rights to ensure the rights of individuals are respect and allowed to exercise this rights without restrictions. Unequivocally, it is relevant to compare both periods of presidential elections that shaped the Nigeria electoral process historically to have a better

**Comparing the 1993 and 2015 presidential elections:** the cancellation of 1993 presidential election as null and void was the ideal opposite of electoral integrit. The eluding of June 12, elections reflected uncertainty, thought in many ways it was a significant presidential election; as it was the most passive election ever held in Nigeria since its Independence in 1960, it recorded no electoral violence, theft of ballot boxes, multiple voting, and rigging during the elections. the election was eminent and praised by domestic and international electoral observers. The process was free and fair, we can say, it was one of its kind in Nigeria political history, because for the first time Nigerians were optimistic, leaving behind ethnic views to chosen leaders of their choice<sup>142</sup>. However, during the 1993 General Babangida, was said to have carried out a form of experiments, which led to several cases of intimidation and killing during voting if it does not benefit him. During this period, the international observers were not as active as they were during the 2015 elections, as it was a period of the military regime. Which simply means, no freedom of speech, no social media to air opinion and countless other inhumane violations of human rights to freedom. In 1998 the international observers became relevant in Nigeria during this period there was an announcement that the decade's long military rule was coming to an end. Due to the end of military regime the subsequent year elections in 1999, the international observers mission became effective, at this time Nigerians believed that any election rigged or free and fair was better than military rule. However, the hope was brief following the annulment of the presidential election in 1993, by military general Babangida. compared to the 2015 general election which had electoral supports from international observers monitoring the elections to avoid election malpractices and violence. In addition, during the June 12, 1993 elections, the role of international observers was although accepted into the society, the international election observers

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<sup>141</sup> Obianyo, E. Nkolika., Emesibe, Vincent. Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the Administration of 2015 Elections in Nigeria: The Strengths, the Weaknesses and the Challenges. <http://inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Conference-Paper-by-Nkolika-Obiano.pdf> Last accessed 29/04/2018.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid,

had less influence in the Nigeria electoral process as at that time. However, a few years later, the international observation mission impact experienced through its first electoral observation mission in Nigeria during the first successful democratic election in 1999.

While analyzing both events, it is relevant to take into consideration the timeline between the two election periods. Twenty-two years is a long time and a lot has improved since the 1993 presidential election which would have been the first attempt at a democratic experiment in Nigeria. Nevertheless, the 2015 elections leave a remarkable impact in the political development of Nigeria. Placing the nation amongst contemporary democratic states and a model of democracy in Africa. Although, the 1993 presidential elections had less opportunity at achieving a credible outcome, given the obvious fact that it took place in the military era, a period where people fundamental human rights were not regarded and where constantly violated by the military regime. Freedom of speech, expression etc. was constantly violated as people are not able to hold their military leaders accountable for their actions. However, during the most recent general elections in 2015, the impact of democracy was duly represented during the electoral process. Undeniably, there was a huge difference in the way the election was conducted with the international observers present. Human rights groups were also active in case of human rights violations during the elections by the government. Distant from the military era where external forces were not allowed to interfere in domestic or electoral matters because of military rulers. With all this similarities and differences, it is safe to say that, the two presidential elections, although different period of events. Have uniquely shaped the electoral process in Nigeria as well as enhance the nations prospect towards achieving electoral integrity.

### **4.3. International Observers, Comments on the Outcome of the 2015 Elections**

This part outlines the international observer's outcome of the 2015 presidential elections; The European Union Election Observation Mission delivered a comprehensive 'Final Report on general elections in 2015'; EUEOM said, for the first time with the opposition winning since the transition from military regime in 1999, it was an historic election, and with the incumbent presidential candidate, Good luck Jonathan, conceding defeat and thus paving the way for a peaceful handover of power<sup>143</sup>. Methodical feebleness exposes electoral management to exploitation by political nominees, even after INEC's creditable efforts towards the solidification of the process.

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<sup>143</sup> Final Report General Elections 28 March 2015, European Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM). July, P.10. [http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/nigeria/docs/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/nigeria/docs/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report_en.pdf) Last accessed 25/04/2018.

Procedural shortcomings were evident, during collation and from analysis of polling unit results, however, no centralized systemic fraud was observed. A thrilling election problem can come from the huge populace, the security state, the problem of infrastructure, and the aggressive political rivalry<sup>144</sup>.

Following the National Security Advisor and all the Armed Services and Intelligence Chiefs stating that they could not guarantee security for the proposed election days as six weeks was needed to conclude military operations against Boko Haram<sup>145</sup>. The Accord signed in Abuja by presidential applicants and their parties. the initiative of peaceful elections was established under the portent of Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary General, however the 36 states of Nigeria implemented <sup>146</sup>. During the elections 2015 in Nigeria, even in the face of condemnation which expanded after both election days, INEC seems to have done fairly in challenging this situation. In any case, the election organization stays defenseless against factional operations and additionally frail conveyance that dangers misuse by parties, given the inadequate prerequisites for straightforwardness and filled public responsibility and an absence of full institutional autonomy. The law excessively confines the powers of INEC's rendering it deficiently viable in challenging improper activities of political candidates. The INEC administrative guidelines incorporate polling protections, yet genuine procedural faults embrace especially with respect to clarity and grouping meticulousness. The Inadequacies were apparent, with arrangements enhancing after the six-week delay<sup>147</sup>.

Several citizens observers network led an observation which improved the transparency of the election and added to the electoral deliberation. However, amid the 28 March presidential election, there was similar outcomes confirmation through the Transition Monitoring Group's "quick count that established official outcomes" yet additionally revealed the results manipulation in four states in the South-South<sup>148</sup>. Nevertheless, there was a limited observation of a certain significant aspect of the election procedure and citizen observation was essentially hooked on polling. Furthermore, CSOs command blended levels of assurance in their political impartiality, neutrality, and capability to ensure measured answer, with numerous groups being observed as aligned to one of the political parties and devoted to the election management<sup>149</sup>.

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> European Union Election Observation Mission, 2015, [http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/nigeria/docs/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report\\_en.pdf](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/nigeria/docs/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report_en.pdf)

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

The European Union Electoral Observation Mission on its report specified that the 2015 elections were peaceful, and the security staffs were at their best in ensuring it was peaceful<sup>150</sup>. Yet, the former US Ambassador, John Campbell had an alternative interpretation about the 2015 elections credibility; he believed the polling at the 2015 elections was reliable. Though, counting of the cast votes was not credible. He further added that religious and party opinions made a greater influence in the 2015 election<sup>151</sup>. In detail, several prominent organizations, such as the European Union, the African Union, the Commonwealth, the Organization of American expresses, Economic Community of West African States, as well as outstanding nations, for instance, United State of America, France, and Britain were all involved with this exercise; as well as diverse non-governmental organizations, quite among which are the Carter Center, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, and the International Republican Institute. It is appropriate at this junction to observe, the display of election observation and remarks in Nigeria, with a valuation to lighting up the basis contrary to which it occurred and as well the idea it was modified to achieve and explain election observation<sup>152</sup>.

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> see Naira Project: <https://nairaproject.com/projects/2768.html> Last accessed 02/03/2018

<sup>152</sup> Final Report General Elections 28 March 2015. (2015). European Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM). July, P.10. [http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/nigeria/docs/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/nigeria/docs/eu-eom-nigeria-2015-final-report_en.pdf) Last accessed 25/04/2018.

## CONCLUSION

The theory applied in this thesis affords the method and structure to the research, a content analysis was carried out on the role of international electoral observation mission in Nigeria electoral process in ensuring electoral integrity; while taking into consideration a selected period of presidential elections in Nigeria since the presidential elections in 1993 to that of 2015. However, the theoretical framework of the concept of electoral integrity is adapted as the appropriate theory for this thesis on “The Effect of International Electoral Observation on Electoral Integrity in Nigeria” one of the lingering challenges to electoral integrity in Nigeria is electoral Violence, for decades Nigeria electoral commission has shouldered this issue which affects the political development of the nation. The concept of electoral integrity comprehensively provides the measure on how to attain electoral integrity in a democratic nation which Nigeria is and how to overcome such challenges which deteriorate the democratic consolidation of Nigeria. Electoral integrity advocates that with accuracy, transparency and neutrality, electoral integrity can be achieved, and the credibility of such elections depends on the perception of electoral integrity, with solutions in applying the different stages of elections through the model of electoral circle, which oversee the pre-election, election day and post-election stages. Proper application of the concept and analysis of electoral integrity as well as the electoral circle stages during presidential elections in Nigeria, could just be the key to achieving transparent, accurate and genuine elections in Nigeria which can put an end to electoral malpractice and misconducts, in turn These stages define the electoral process and ensures electoral integrity if applied during elections. the influence of international electoral observation mission has been evident in the fight against electoral misconduct, such as electoral violence, which undermines the integrity of presidential elections in Nigeria as most times politician and their parties resolve to violence to protest the outcome of elections if they emerged as a loser. which in turn resulting senseless killing of innocent citizens and riots around the nation. The concept of electoral integrity if properly applied in the electoral management of Nigeria elections with the help of professional expert observation by the international electoral observation mission, Nigeria would be on its way to conducting credible, free and fair elections that will shape the political development of the nation.

The second chapter of this thesis examined the study from a historical background and evolution of democratic elections in Nigeria with a deep insight into the journey towards attaining free and fair democratic elections. chapter one is further separated into five subsequent subchapters, with insight on the democratic consolidation in Nigeria after its independence in 1960 from the prism of democratic peace theory to explain the peaceful transition from military regime to democracy, while taking into consideration Emmanuel Kant theory on perpetual peace as the means in which democratic states settle conflict without resorting to military means of settlement. The electoral

processes in conducting elections in Nigeria has suffered relative military rules in the past which went on to define the nation the way it is today, with the same set of post-independence military rulers coming back to rule the nation as democratic president with no political, economic and social vision for the development of the country, but rather the same ideology and philosophy which existed long before the nation became a democratic state. Because of the method of recycling political leader, the political development prospect of Nigeria continues to shrink as the country gets worse with each election. Goodluck Jonathan is the only president that had no military background or any historical affiliation with the military regime, even the late President Musa Yar'Adua, elder brother Musa Yar'Adua served during the military rule. Chapter was studied to understand why electoral integrity is important in achieving free and fair elections in Nigeria in other to solidify democracy in the nation, from the study we conclude that, the future of a solid democratic Nigeria depends on the will and drive of the leaders to shun electoral misconducts and look forward to other peaceful and democratic means that promote electoral integrity during and after elections.

In the third chapter, the role of INEC in promoting in Nigeria, investigate the struggles and challenges the electoral commission faces in the process of delivering an election which meet with the requirements of the universal standard of conducting elections. however, the electoral commission since its inception has struggles with various issues and different regimes both military and democratic and with every new leader, the chances of reform or change comes. However, INEC is the longest EMB as compared to other ones that were short-lived. The role of INEC in ensuring credible and transparent elections only became relevant after the 2015 elections. as its previously conducted elections had massive traces of electoral violence, fraud, rigging and other election irregularities. Electoral violence as a factor affecting electoral integrity development in nigeria is an issue that the commission needs to carefully asses, in other to reach a lasting solution that will put the nation on the map of democratic nations that can boast to have a solid democratic system free from electoral violence and election misconduct. Also, the electoral commission maintain its role as an independent body without any room for impartiality as allege by various reports. However, the prospect of achieving a well conducted election in nigeria, rest on the working together of INEC and the international electoral observation mission to ensure electoral violence, while erasing every chance of electoral misconducts. The commission lack of profession staffs during electoral process and the issues of failed card reader, needs to be addressed and resolved as the 2019 presidential elections is just around the corner and with this comes more challenges and responsibilities of ensuring peaceful democratic election in Nigeria.

The last chapter, carefully examine the role of international electoral observation on elections in Nigeria. Its effect was obvious during the 2015 presidential elections as it ensures the adequate and

professional conduct and observation of the elections election day, voting process, media monitoring, election finance, as well as the announcement of result, with such level of election observation in Nigeria as well as Africa as a whole, we could be looking at stronger democratic nations. Which led to the election emerging yet another historical point in Nigeria political development and paves the way for more future free and fair elections. The EUEOM comments on the outcome of the 2015 shows improvement in election conduct in Nigeria, compared to previous elections which were overshadowed by violence and other electoral misconducts. Although, the 2015 elections had its lapses with the countries constant threats from the Boko Haram terrorist group, in a bid to weaken the existence of the nation and threatens its consolidation. INEC also managed the elections played a role in the success of the presidential elections, regardless of its other challenges with the card reader and lack of adequate and professional staffs. Nevertheless, the impact of the international observation mission helped in curbing electoral violence and promote electoral integrity. the thesis also explores a comparative analysis to better understand the significant of the 1993 and 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria, looking at the what makes both elections unique and the difference as well as the similarities that shaped both presidential election periods. Although both elections were free and fair, the electoral management is significantly different. Even though the 1993 presidential elections took place at a time where international electoral observation mission had no influence in Nigeria electoral process and electoral integrity had no grip on election outcomes, it still turns out to be one of the freest and fair elections ever conducted in Nigeria political history. In a bid to analyze both significant election period, it is relevant to state that the June 12 1993 elections, could be said to have been the freest election in the Nigeria history since its independence, because for the first time Nigerians were optimistic as they looked forward to a new era of a democratic system of government after decades of military rule, an era that put an end to the military to interfere in politics affairs in the nation.

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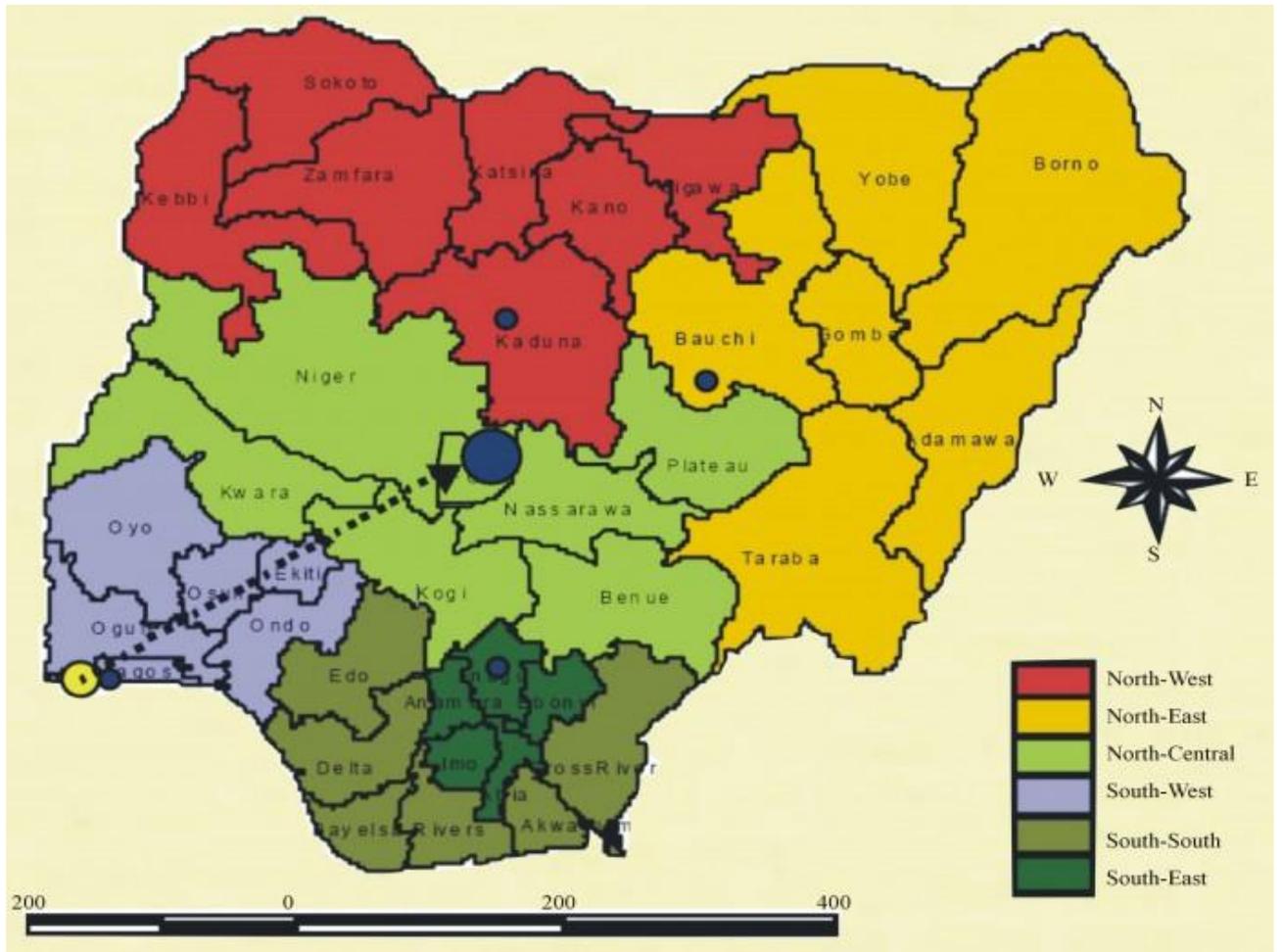
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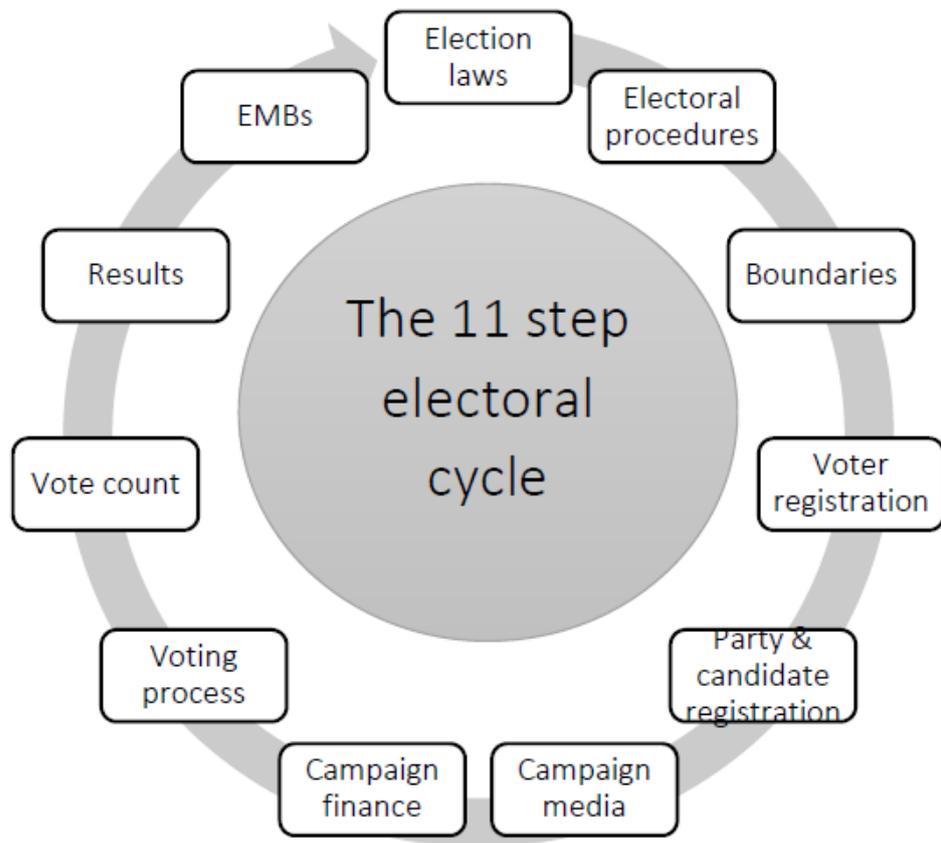
## ANNEXES

**Map No.1:** Map of Nigeria, showing its Six geopolitical zones.



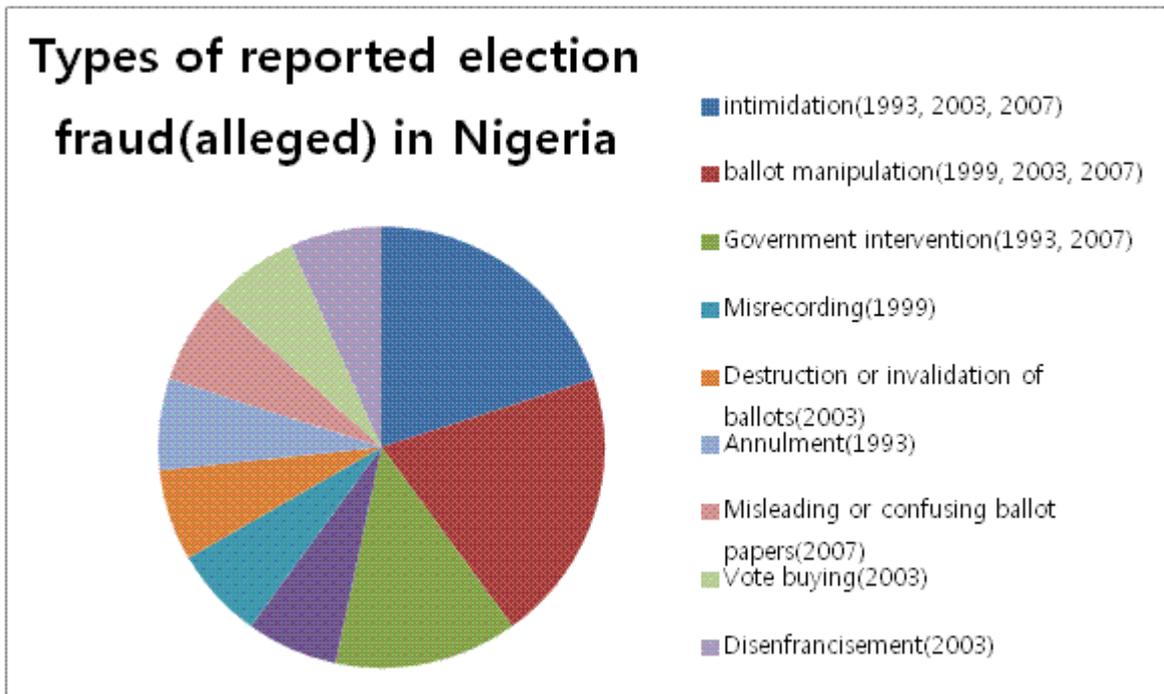
**Source:** Olalekan Yinus, Adopt Six Geo-Political Zones as Federating Units Atiku, 2017. <https://thewillnigeria.com/news/nigeria-should-abolish-36-states-adopt-six-geo-political-zones-as-federating-units-atiku/> (Last accessed 10/04/2018)

**Figure No.1:** The Electoral Circle



Source: Pippa Norris, Ferran Martinez I Coma and Richard W. Frank. 2013. The Expert Survey of Perception of Electoral Integrity, August 2013: ([www.electoralintegrityproject.com](http://www.electoralintegrityproject.com)) Last accessed 07/04/2018.

**Figure No.2:** types of reported election fraud (alleged) in Nigeria since 1993.



Source: Korean Minjok Leadership Academy, BJH: The political engineering in West Africa and Its implication on the undemocratic regime. (<https://www.zum.de/whkmla/sp/1112/marmot/bjhlog.html>) Last accessed 09/04/2018