

## **THE ROLE OF SECURITY IN NIGERIA'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: PROFESSIONAL OR PARTISAN?**

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### **Abstract**

This article examines whether security agencies in Nigeria's presidential elections have acted professionally or partisanly. Through qualitative analysis of elections from colonial origins to the Fourth Republic, it demonstrates a consistent pattern of partisan deployment favouring incumbents. Security forces have systematically facilitated electoral fraud through ballot box theft, voter intimidation, selective law enforcement, and provision of false evidence for result manipulation. Drawing on Schedler's electoral authoritarianism framework, the analysis reveals how security agencies function as instruments of "garrison democracy," staging elections to legitimise predetermined outcomes rather than protecting democratic processes. This partisanship generates significant consequences, like increased public trust deficit, escalated post-election violence, compromised judicial processes, which ultimately destroys "institutionalized uncertainty"-a foundational principle of democracy. The article concludes that security sector reform, including independent oversight and reduction of executive influence, is essential for Nigerian democratic consolidation. Without critical structural change, elections will remain authoritarian performances rather than genuine democratic choice.

### **Introduction**

Elections are the fulcrum of democratic governance, where the people freely elect leaders into different offices. This process should ordinarily happen peacefully, but elections have become the hot bed for violent conflict, some resulting in loss of property and death. In Nigeria, a nexus between the involvement of security agencies and the outcome of electoral processes will be illuminative and helpful in the proper understanding of presidential elections and conflict in Nigeria. A retrospective look at Nigerian elections, especially those for the office of the president reveals that elections have been rapid catalysts of large-scale violence and provided an avenue for the manifestation of electoral malpractices<sup>1</sup>. Thus, making the use of security to protect election materials, lives and property, necessary<sup>2</sup>. The electoral commission does not have its own security apparatus, so it has always relied on the government security agencies, led by the Nigerian Police Force, to protect materials, secure personnel and ensure general safety during elections. To achieve this purpose, different security agencies have been involved at different stages of all elections in Nigeria. Some provide security for the officials, accompanying them and materials, while others are posted to the polling units to ensure that order is maintained, others are stationed at critical places like the collation centre and declaration venue, to provide security cover<sup>3</sup> and prevent unauthorised persons from having access. Officially these security agencies are to collaborate with and provide tactical support to the electoral commission. But it is observable that these security agencies operate within two spectra as the protector of democratic culture and electoral sanctity, or the potential manipulator of public will<sup>4</sup>.

This research interrogates the role of security agencies in presidential elections in Nigeria, to determine whether they have acted professionally or in a partisan manner. It will examine the circumstances that underpinned the introduction and use of security agencies in elections, the mandate and scope of these agencies, abuse of their roles and powers, and the implication on the

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<sup>1</sup> Lai Olurode, *Election Security in Nigeria: Matters Arising* (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> Freedom Chukwudi Onuoha et al., 'Militarisation of the 2019 General Elections and Electoral Integrity in Nigeria', *The Round Table* 109, no. 4 (2020): 406–18, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2020.1788764>.

<sup>3</sup> Olurode, *Election Security in Nigeria*.

<sup>4</sup> Olurode, *Election Security in Nigeria*.

outcome of election and democratic consolidation. The understanding of the evolving role of security agencies, the question of neutrality and professionalism, and their contribution to the legitimacy question that trails elections (presidential elections inclusive) is central to the fuller and better understanding of the knotted tensions inherent in presidential elections and conflict in Nigeria.

This is qualitative research that deploys both a historical- institutional analysis of secondary evidence, to ensure the better understanding of the nuanced context moderating the role that security agencies play in presidential elections and the implications on democratic consolidation.

This analysis is situated within the theoretical constructs of electoral authoritarianism and the deployment of state institutions. Andreas Schedler's framework of electoral authoritarianism elucidates how regimes maintain a facade of democracy by holding regular multiparty elections while systematically subverting their democratic essence. A key mechanism of this subversion is the instrumentalisation of state apparatus (particularly security agencies), to manipulate electoral processes and tilt the competitive playing field. This paper applies this lens to Nigeria, arguing that the security forces have not been neutral arbiters but have been consistently used as strategic tools of electoral manipulation. Their deployment, often under the guise of maintaining order, serves to enforce a pre-determined outcome, thereby sustaining a system of "garrison democracy"<sup>5</sup> where electoral contests are staged to legitimise power rather than to reflect the popular will. This theoretical perspective provides a critical foundation for understanding the systemic nature of security partisanship in Nigeria's electoral history.

### **Antecedents of Security involvement in Nigerian Elections**

The involvement and use of security agencies in elections in Nigeria has colonial origin, where they were introduced to maintain order during the limited electoral experiences of the 1950s predating the country's independence<sup>6</sup>. Thereafter, the security agencies were drafted to provide security in the early post-independence elections 1960-1966, due to the escalating political violence and prevalence of electoral malpractices at the polling units<sup>7</sup>. Specifically, the chaotic elections of the Western Region was a justification for the introduction of security into the electoral eco-system<sup>8</sup>. While the early intervention and the resultant relative stability achieved in the region immediately after the elections must be credited to the security agencies, it must also be stated that early signs of abuse of power showed up at this time, as the security forces were unable to exhibit neutrality in the face of ethnic, regional and religious pressures<sup>9</sup>.

On a positive note, immediately the conflict broke out, the security agencies reacted swiftly and protected government buildings, judicial and electoral officers and civil servants who had critical roles to play within the region, helping to restore relative peace, preventing total breakdown of law and order<sup>10</sup>. They mounted checkpoints, undertook patrols and created buffer zones between warring the parties in places like Ibadan<sup>11</sup>. They also helped in the evacuation of families from areas of violence, saving lives.

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<sup>5</sup> J. Shola Omotola, "Garrison" Democracy in Nigeria: The 2007 General Elections and the Prospects of Democratic Consolidation', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 47, no. 2 (2009): 196,

<sup>6</sup> 'Lai Joseph, *Nigeria: Shadow of a Great Nation*, 1st ed (Dubeo Press Ltd, 1995); Olurode, *Election Security in Nigeria*; Elechi Aja et al., 'Politicization of the Security Agencies and Its Implication on the Electoral Processes: 2019 General Elections in Perspective', *African Journal of Politics and Administrative Studies* 16 (December 2023): 469–93, <https://doi.org/10.4314/ajpas.v16i2.25>.

<sup>7</sup> Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria since Independence*, 1. publ. in North America (Indiana Univ. Press, 1998); R Joseph, *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic* (Cambridge University Press, 2014); Larry Jay Diamond, *Class, Ethnicity, and Democracy in Nigeria: The Failure of the First Republic*, 1st ed (Syracuse University Press, 1988); Chukwu James and Marcia Udem, *Ethnicity, Conflict and Instability: Nigeria's First Republic Perspective*, 5 (July 2023): 1–13.

<sup>8</sup> Kenneth Post and Michael J. Vickers, *Structure and Conflict in Nigeria: 1960 - 1966* (Heinemann, 1973).

<sup>9</sup> Osaghae, *Crippled Giant*.

<sup>10</sup> Diamond, *Class, Ethnicity, and Democracy in Nigeria*.

<sup>11</sup> Post and Vickers, *Structure and Conflict in Nigeria*.

Conversely, some security agents have been accused of participating in the conflict directly, while others became instruments of political suppression, where they sided with those in government to molest their opponents, instead of displaying professionalism and neutrality. The Nigeria Police was accused of supporting Chief Akintola and his supporters, because of the Federal Government's support for him, against Chief Awolowo<sup>12</sup>. The police violently dispersed rallies of the opposition parties, while offering protection to government-backed groups<sup>13</sup>. Selective investigation of crimes and partial enforcement of court orders made obvious the favouritism of the security agencies which resulted in a huge public distrust<sup>14</sup> for the police, making containment of the protest difficult.

The tensions that emanated from the elections provided a justification for the sustained involvement of security in elections till date. This involvement had received commendation, as well as condemnation, with copious evidence to back both positions. However, a critical analysis will reveal that the involvement of security has derailed democratic consolidation more than it has protected or advanced it.

### **Military Rule and the Institutionalization of Security Dominance**

The military take over which ended the First Republic and delayed the conduct of elections from 1966 till 1979, when civil rule was reinstated, through military-monitored elections. expectedly, during that election, security was a paramount concern, thereby necessitating the large deployment of security agencies in the performance of roles critical to the success of the elections<sup>15</sup>. The Obasanjo transition programme made a comprehensive engagement plan for the use of security personnel in the election<sup>16</sup>, deploying them to all polling stations and collation centres<sup>17</sup>. This practice persisted and was implemented during the inconclusive third republic under the Babangida Transition programme, where the security agencies played key roles before, during and after the elections. It was the security who provided the evidence of Bashir Tofa's ineligibility due to forged nomination details and Abiola's financial impropriety to the Federal Government in addition to the false report of widespread electoral malpractices, which were among the reasons canvassed in cancelling the elections<sup>18</sup>.

The 1999 election which was birthed by the Abdulsalami regime, after the death of Abacha, operated in a similar manner like other military-organised elections, relying on the extensive use of security operatives for election duties.<sup>19</sup> The Military took a dual position as the government and security provider for the elections, and as was evident, became the planner and determinant of the entire outcome, effectively capable of, and in fact, controlling the outcome of the process. The security agencies, as deployed by the military regimes, took a more central position in the conduct of elections, rather than the tangential role of providing security for material and people.

### **Continuity and Intensification of Security in the Fourth Republic**

The return of democracy did not fundamentally change or reduce the involvement of security forces in elections. In fact, the fourth republic being midwived by the military, took on the same form and format of other military-manned elections, with large deployment of security, leading to

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<sup>12</sup> Post and Vickers, *Structure and Conflict in Nigeria*; Joseph, *Nigeria: Shadow of a Great Nation*.

<sup>13</sup> Diamond, *Class, Ethnicity, and Democracy in Nigeria*.

<sup>14</sup> Post and Vickers, *Structure and Conflict in Nigeria*; Diamond, *Class, Ethnicity, and Democracy in Nigeria*.

<sup>15</sup> William Duyile and Olayinka Olabimpe Ojo, *Electioneering and Violent Political Protests in South-Western Nigeria, 1979-1983*, 1 May 2021, 1–10; Oyeleye Oyediran, ed., *The Nigerian 1979 Elections*, Contemporary African Issues Series (Macmillan, 1981).

<sup>16</sup> Diamond, *Class, Ethnicity, and Democracy in Nigeria*.

<sup>17</sup> Yemi Aluko and Ediagbonya Michael, *The Fall of the Second Republic of Nigeria, 1979 -1983: A Lesson for the Future*, 3 (April 2020): 807–27; Oyediran, *The Nigerian 1979 Elections*.

<sup>18</sup> Ibrahim Babangida, *A Journey in Service: An Autobiography* (Bookcraft, 2025).

<sup>19</sup> Francis Enemu, 'Elite Solidarity, Communal Support, and the 1999 Presidential Election in Nigeria', *A Journal of Opinion* Vol. 27, No. 1, no. No.1 (1999): 3–7.

what many scholars have termed as the “militarisation of election”<sup>20</sup>. Besides from the monitoring disposition of the military who were in government at that time, the many cases of violent acts and electoral malpractices, like ballot box snatching, voter intimidation, invasion of collation centres during collation etc provided a basis for the increased mobilisation and use of heavily armed security personnel in elections.

Additionally, the fact that the 1999 Presidential election was won by Chief Obasanjo who was an ex-military head of state, who had engaged the security personnel heavily in 1979, the 2003 elections witnessed a large mobilization of security agencies during the elections<sup>21</sup>. The deployment and operation of the security were seen as being partisan and unprofessional, in favour of the ruling People’s Democratic Party<sup>22</sup>. There was an increased use of the military during this election cycle, especially in the Niger Delta region<sup>23</sup>, possibly because of the rise of militancy in that area.

In 2007 and 2011, there was increased use of security operatives in the conduct of the elections, despite the opposition directly accusing the security agencies of working in favour of the ruling party<sup>24</sup>. The 2007 election was largely condemned by both foreign and local observers as being below standard, and almost all the reports indicted the security agencies, as either, directly manipulating the results of aiding the manipulation<sup>25</sup>. The declared winner Umaru Musa Yar’Adua admitted that the election that produced him was faulty and promised comprehensive reforms<sup>26</sup> to strengthen the electoral and allied institutions and to ensure electoral sanctity. Electoral violence within these election cycles was increasing in all fronts, requiring the use of security to prevent, curtail and quash it. Interestingly, it has been observed that in some instances, the security agencies were the catalysts of the violence they were later invited to solve, creating a vicious cycle that has made them indispensable to the electoral process<sup>27</sup>.

There was heightened tension in 2015 stimulated mostly by the opposition, who threatened that an attempt to rig the election, will result in blood shed. This rhetoric was replied by the ruling party, and the entire country was very tensed<sup>28</sup>. Different fault lines like religion, ethnicity, region etc were manifestly at work exacerbating the tension. This pre-election tension necessitated the massive deployment of security personnel across all the military and para-military agencies, to combat the perceived threat<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> Onuoha et al., ‘Militarisation of the 2019 General Elections and Electoral Integrity in Nigeria’; Raphael Chijioko Njoku, ‘Deconstructing Abacha: Demilitarization and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria after the Abacha Era’, *Government and Opposition* 36, no. 1 (2001): 71–96, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1477-7053.00054>.

<sup>21</sup> Kunle Ajayi, ‘Security Forces, Electoral Conduct and the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria’, *J. Soc. Sci* 13 (July 2006): 57–66, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09718923.2006.11892531>.

<sup>22</sup> Babayo Sule and Usman Sambo, *Presidential Elections in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic*, Palgrave Studies in Presidential Politics (Springer Nature Switzerland, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54919-9>; J. Shola Omotola, ‘Elections and Democratic Transition in Nigeria under the Fourth Republic’, *African Affairs* 109, no. 437 (2010): 535–53.

<sup>23</sup> Kelechi Johnmary Ani and Victor Ojatorotu, eds, *Elections and Electoral Violence in Nigeria* (Springer, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-4652-2>.

<sup>24</sup> Olurode, *Election Security in Nigeria*; Ajayi, ‘Security Forces, Electoral Conduct and the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria’; Sule and Sambo, *Presidential Elections in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic*, 200.

<sup>25</sup> P F Adebayo and J Shola Omotola, ‘Public Perception of the 2007 Nigerian General Elections’, *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN ELECTIONS* 6, no. 2 (2007): 201–19; DFID, *Elections in Nigeria in 2007*, 2007; European Union, *European Union Observer Mission Report on Nigerian Elections 2007* (European Union, 2007).

<sup>26</sup> Waziri Adisa, ‘JUDICIAL CORRUPTION, INSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN NIGERIA’, *Journal of Anti-Corruption Law* 1 (October 2018): 88–106, <https://doi.org/10.14426/jacl.v1i1.1313>; Emmanuel Remi Aiyede, ‘The Politics of Electoral Reform in Nigeria, 2007-2011’, *Journal of African Elections* 11, no. 1 (2012).

<sup>27</sup> Aja et al., ‘Politicization of the Security Agencies and Its Implication on the Electoral Processes’.

<sup>28</sup> Ani and Ojatorotu, *Elections and Electoral Violence in Nigeria*.

<sup>29</sup> William Rosenau et al., *Security During Nigeria’s 2015 National Elections: What Should We Expect From the Police?* (Defense Technical Information Center, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.21236/ADA616056>.

### **Mandate and Scope of Security Agencies in Elections**

INEC issued a Code of Conduct<sup>30</sup> pursuant to the powers enshrined in the Electoral Act 2022 empowering them to make regulations concerning the conduct of elections. The Code stipulates the distance that security personnel should stay at election venues, interaction with voters, intervention in violent situation and general demands for their professionalism and neutrality all through the stages of election. Despite these comprehensive regulations, the security agencies have been largely perceived as partisan, selective in enforcement and generally as tools of manipulation of election processes in favour of government or their patrons<sup>31</sup>. The code recognises the Inter-Agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES), which is jointly chaired by the INEC Chairman and the National Security Adviser, both appointees of the President. Additionally, the constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria (1999 as amended) places the Police as the lead agency in internal security (which includes election duties). Other military and para-military agencies have been drafted in to support the police at different time. This Committee oversees the request, deployment, operation and logistics for the security personnel and agencies used during the election. The challenge for this committee, especially when an incumbent President is seeking re-election, lies in their objectivity being that all of them are appointees of the President. This has stimulated the clamour for a change in many aspects, especially the process of appointing an INEC Chairman, the role of security agencies in election, which were some of the reforms recommended by the Uwais Panel<sup>32</sup>.

Furthermore, the security personnel were accused of devising various strategies to manipulate the results of elections to favour the ruling party or their respective clients, the strategies included but were not limited to partisan deployment and strategic posting, where officers aligned with politicians are posted to their preferred areas to 'help', while reducing or completely withdrawing security from opposition strong holds, to allow room for violence and contention, leading to cancellation of the results. Overall, security officials have been severally implicated in either direct or indirect acts of electoral malpractices like ballot box snatching, ballot stuffing, protection of rigging etc<sup>33</sup>. According to the European Union Report<sup>34</sup>, security personnel were concentrated in states controlled by the opposition parties, under the guise of maintaining order, but they were being used by the ruling party to manipulate elections. Using the security agencies, access was granted to agents of the ruling party, while agents of opposition parties were denied access, at the collation centres at the Local Government Areas, while results were being changed<sup>35</sup>. Police personnel have been documented physically assaulting election observers who were seen documenting electoral fraud, in addition to not allowing foreign and local observers access to collation centres, during collation<sup>36</sup>. Members of intelligence gathering agencies have been accused of partisanship by deploying their capabilities to monitor activities of opposition parties, infiltration

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<sup>30</sup> Independent National Electorsl Commission, 'CODE OF CONDUCT & RULES OF ENGAGEMENT for SECURITY PERSONNEL on ELECTORAL DUTY', INEC, 2022.

<sup>31</sup> Rosenau et al., *Security During Nigeria's 2015 National Elections*; Aja et al., 'Politicization of the Security Agencies and Its Implication on the Electoral Processes'.

<sup>32</sup> Adisa, 'JUDICIAL CORRUPTION, INSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN NIGERIA'; Adeniyi Basiru and Kola Adesina, 'Electoral Reforms and the Administration of the 2015 General Elections in Nigeria', *Democracy and Security* 15, no. 3 (2019): 207–29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2019.1643325>.

<sup>33</sup> DFID, *Elections in Nigeria in 2007*; Rosenau et al., *Security During Nigeria's 2015 National Elections*; Adebayo and Omotola, 'Public Perception of the 2007 Nigerian General Elections'.

<sup>34</sup> European Union, *European Union Observer Mission Report on Nigerian Elections 2007*.

<sup>35</sup> Adebayo and Omotola, 'Public Perception of the 2007 Nigerian General Elections'; Olurode, *Election Security in Nigeria*.

<sup>36</sup> Ajayi, 'Security Forces, Electoral Conduct and the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria'; Philip Oyadiran and Simeon Toyin Olorungbemi, 'POLICE AND THE CHALLENGE OF CONDUCTING CREDIBLE ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: AN EXAMINATION OF THE 2007 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION', *Humanities and Social Sciences* 3, no. 6 (2015): 57–85.

of opposition structure, strategic leaks of damaging information about opposition candidates, concoction of security reports to justify their operation and occupation of some areas during before and during elections<sup>37</sup>.

One of the main challenges for the security agencies is the fact that they are by their structure attuned to obeying executive commands, considering that all their leaders serve at the mercy and pleasure of the President, who determines their stay, and funding etc. So, during elections, it is a big challenge to attain fairness and professional conduct, when the President who is their Commander-in -Chief is on the ballot. In 2003, security personnel were seen providing cover for election materials being carted to undisclosed locations and returning them after hours to the collation centre, during the presidential elections in Anambra, Rivers, and Delta<sup>38</sup>. In 2007 and 2015, Rivers state witnessed the brazen use of security forces to manipulate elections, including ballot box stuffing, voter intimidation, prevention of INEC staff from stopping electoral malpractice or cancelling elections where malpractice had been proved<sup>39</sup>

### **Implications for Electoral Outcomes and Democratic Consolidation**

Security agencies conduct directly influences electoral outcomes and causes increased public trust deficit in elections. when security agencies brazenly undertake these acts of electoral fraud, it carries concomitant security challenges as the public trust and respect that should ordinarily avail them is reduced or exterminated. Selective enforcement of law and discretionary apprehension and prosecution of those who go contrary to the law, breed anger against the security agencies and led to civil unrest in some communities who wanted to know why one person has been apprehended while the other was allowed to go free<sup>40</sup>. Voter suppression achieved through intimidation and violence by security personnel reduce turnout in opposition areas and artificially inflates ruling party margins. Security agencies facilitating electoral fraud through ballot box theft, result manipulation, and protection of rigging operations directly alter electoral outcomes and concomitantly make the beneficiary of the process unaccountable to the people and result in voter apathy in subsequent elections. all of these add to the already existing trust deficit among against government and makes the newly elected administration struggle from the beginning to build trust. When the elected officials are certain that their security network, not the real votes of the electorate, is the determinant of political success, their loyalty will lie more to servicing those security structures than satisfying the yearnings of the people, leading ultimately to entrenchment of prebendalism in governance<sup>41</sup>.

From observation, security abuse during elections significantly contributes to post-election violence. When opposition parties and their supporters believe security forces manipulated results, they are more likely to reject outcomes and resort to protests or violence, as a means of self-help. This is so because they believe that the bias of the security agencies has changed the results of the

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<sup>37</sup> Hakeem Onapajo and Dele Babalola, 'Nigeria's 2019 General Elections – a Shattered Hope?', *The Round Table* 109, no. 4 (2020): 363–67, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2020.1788765>.

<sup>38</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Nigeria's 2003 Elections* (2004), <https://www.hrw.org/report/2004/06/01/nigerias-2003-elections/unacknowledged-violence>; Darren Kew, 'The 2003 Elections: Hardly Credible, but Acceptable', in *Crafting the New Nigeria, Confronting the Challenges* (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781626370838-009>.

<sup>39</sup> Oyadiran and Olorungbemi, 'POLICE AND THE CHALLENGE OF CONDUCTING CREDIBLE ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: AN EXAMINATION OF THE 2007 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION'; Jideofor Adibe, 'THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: THE ISSUES AND CHALLENGES', *Africa Growth Initiative* 1, no. 19 (2015): 1–7.

<sup>40</sup> Adebayo and Omotola, 'Public Perception of the 2007 Nigerian General Elections'.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph, *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria*; Rotimi T. Suberu, 'Prebendal Politics and Federal Governance in Nigeria', in *Democracy and Prebendalism in Nigeria: Critical Interpretations*, ed. Wale Adebaniwi and Ebenezer Obadare (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013), [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137280770\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137280770_4).

election, without which they would have won.<sup>42</sup> In 2011, post-election violence which resulted in the loss of more than 800 lives and property worth millions of Naira, was linked to security bias, ethnic tensions and religious extremism<sup>43</sup>. There is causal relationship between trust deficit in electoral institutions (including security bias and judicial inconsistency) and post-election violence<sup>44</sup>.

The unprofessional and bias conduct of security agencies during elections affect even the judgement of courts on election matters. Since the courts are superior courts of record, they will rely more on documentary evidence like crime report and investigation reports from security agencies. Where they refuse to log the reports of electoral offences, or refuse to arrest the offenders, or undertake selective enforcement and arrests, the facts before the court will not be helpful to the petitioner, as the burden and standard of proof which is required will be lacking.<sup>45</sup> The courts have reiterated in a plethora of cases<sup>46</sup> that the standard of proof for electoral malpractices is not the preponderance of evidence, but proof beyond reasonable doubt. Where the security agencies compromise at the point of election, the petitioner will be wanting in court as his testimony with that of the security agencies will differ on material facts, leading to a failure in the petition.

Political party development is also hampered by the sustained influence of security in elections, as political parties now spend more time and resources in cultivating security contacts and courting them in preparation for elections<sup>47</sup>. This is done in preference to painstaking development of policy and programmes to be marketed to the electorate or developing and energising grassroots support structures. Apart from the negative effect that such improper relationship between the political class and the security, has on the outcome of the elections, it is generally unsafe for democratic consolidation, as politicians can instigate a military take-over when they achieve unfavourable election results, as witnessed in the first and second republics<sup>48</sup>.

Furthermore, the result of the consistent deployment of security agencies to elections and their recorded undue interference with the process and the ultimately, the outcome defeats a key characteristic of democracy, which is institutionalised uncertainty<sup>49</sup>. This concept stipulates that democracy is a system of governance where people and parties trust the process of elections, accepting defeat if they lose, knowing that they can contest again and win. The unpredictability of the result is the strength, not weakness of democracy, as it allows people to trust that the process of election can cause anyone to emerge through the votes of the electorates. But with security-

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<sup>42</sup> OLAJIDE OLUFUNSHO AYOBOLU, 'SECURITY AND ELECTIONS: A CASE STUDY OF THE ROLES SECURITY AGENCIES IN THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA', *African Journal of Social* 1, no. 8 (2025).

<sup>44</sup> Aja et al., 'Politicization of the Security Agencies and Its Implication on the Electoral Processes'.

<sup>45</sup> Adisa, 'JUDICIAL CORRUPTION, INSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN NIGERIA'; Elizabeth Aishatu Bature, 'The Judiciary, Legislature and Electoral Violence in Nigeria: Assessing The 2019 Elections', *Nigerian Journal of Administrative and Political Studies* 5, no. 1 (2020): 195–208.

<sup>46</sup> Maxwell M. Gidado and Chudi N. Ojukwu, *Landmark Constitutional Law Cases in Nigeria 2004-2007: The Atiku Abubakar Cases* (Legal Research Initiative, 2013); MUHAMMADU BUHARI vs CHIEF OLUSEGUN A. OBASANJO, Law report (2003)47 E-WRN / 04 (CA) (Abuja, 2003),

<https://weeklyreportsofnigeria.com/judgement/ca/5335>; Bature, 'The Judiciary, Legislature and Electoral Violence in Nigeria: Assessing The 2019 Elections'; Adisa, 'JUDICIAL CORRUPTION, INSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN NIGERIA'.

<sup>47</sup> Omotola, "'Garrison' Democracy in Nigeria'.

<sup>48</sup> Babangida, *A Journey in Service: An Autobiography*, Adewale Ademoyega, *Why We Struck: The Story of the First Nigerian Coup* (Evans Brothers, 1981); Adewunmi Falode, *The Military and Political Development in Nigeria: The General Sani Abacha Regime, 1993-1998*, 4 (November 2018): 1–16; Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 1. publ., 3. print (Cambridge University Press, 2010); Toyin Falola and Julius Omozuanvbo Ihonvbere, *The Rise & Fall of Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979-84* (Zed Books, 1985).

<sup>49</sup> Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*, Repr, Studies in Rationality and Social Change (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

influenced elections, the predictability is certain<sup>50</sup>, especially for the incumbent, making the election a mere charade. When participants and observers are certain that the outcome of an election will not be reflective of the will of the people, they resort to self-help in the enforcement of the will of the people, which ultimately results in loss of human lives and property. Democratic credibility is seriously eroded under this atmosphere, derailing democratic consolidation. In the Nigerian experience, the incumbent has always had the security behind them, except in 2015, when the incumbent lost. Even the loss has been attributed by some analysts to a 'betrayal' by some security chiefs, a situation influenced by the potent interplay of two very strong factors-ethnicity and religion, defying traditional loyalty to the incumbent<sup>51</sup>. The betrayal was rooted in the tension between the north and south on the Presidency, as Jonathan's candidacy was seen as a challenge to the unwritten power rotation agreement between the regions. Security officials were recorded as allowing under aged voting, use of incident sheet and non-insistence on the use of card reader in northern Nigeria, while the reverse was the case in southern Nigeria.<sup>52</sup>

Additionally, the of institutionalised uncertainty is further derailed by electoral authoritarianism<sup>53</sup>, where regular multiparty elections are held, but the apparatus of government is deployed to determine the winners. With the use of security, the elections are staged-managed to achieve the set goal, while trying to maintain the veneer of democratic credibility. Schedler identifies two critical dimensions of electoral authoritarianism, being the manipulation of electoral processes and the strategic use of state resources to tilt competitive playing fields. Both dimensions are at play in the Nigerian political spaces, using primarily the security agencies to enforce the pre-determined result.

In conclusion, while a counter perspective steeped in reality that, the deployment of security is to protect the election personnel, materials and the voters, from attackers, who seek to derail democracy by unduly influencing the elections, yet this study clearly demonstrates that the role of security agencies in Nigeria's presidential elections has been overwhelmingly partisan, systematically undermining the very democratic processes they are sworn to protect. From the foundational crises of the First Republic to the "militarized" elections of the Fourth Republic, a consistent pattern has emerged, where security forces have been deployed as tools of incumbents to intimidate opponents, facilitate fraud, and ultimately determine electoral outcomes. This partisanship has significant implications, among which are increased public trust deficit, escalated violent conflict, compromised judicial redress, and stunted political party development. The result is the decimation of what Przeworski identifies as "institutionalized uncertainty"<sup>54</sup>, which is the foundational principle that makes democracy a system of genuine choice. To break this cycle, mere electoral reforms are insufficient. Future efforts must confront the structural deficiency of professionalism by the security agencies and instituting robust, independent control and oversight systems that punish culpable officers and insulate election security management from executive manipulation. Until the security apparatus is decisively uncoupled from partisan politics and put under a multi-stakeholder control system away from executive influence, Nigeria's elections will remain a theatre of authoritarian practice, not an expression of democratic will.

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<sup>50</sup> OLUFUNSHO AYOBOLU, 'SECURITY AND ELECTIONS: A CASE STUDY OF THE ROLES SECURITY AGENCIES IN THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA'; Aja et al., 'Politicization of the Security Agencies and Its Implication on the Electoral Processes'.

<sup>51</sup> Adibe, 'THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: THE ISSUES AND CHALLENGES'.

<sup>52</sup> Basiru and Adesina, 'Electoral Reforms and the Administration of the 2015 General Elections in Nigeria'; Mojeed Adekunle Animashaun, 'Nigeria 2015 Presidential Election: The Votes, the Fears and the Regime Change', *Journal of African Elections* 14, no. 2 (2015): 186–211, <https://doi.org/10.20940/JAE/2015/v14i2a8>.

<sup>53</sup> Andreas Schedler, *The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>54</sup> Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*, 34.

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