

Whenever election security issues are being discussed, the focus is always and rightly so, on security agencies because of their constitutional roles. However, there may be other non state actors that could in one way or the other have a stake in mitigating election insecurity. These categories of stakeholders are hardly heard in election security discourse. The workshop on *Election Security: Stakeholders Perspectives* focused on the centrality of the road transport workers not just on election logistics but also to reiterate their role in mitigating election insecurity.

The popular perception of road transport workers is that they are vulnerable to being recruited to compromise credible elections. It was clear that interferences by members of the political class in the affairs of the union and its members were common. The integration of transport unions into election stakeholders' community was recommended while simultaneously reaching out to members of the union on key issues relating to election security and election logistics. A formal partnership between INEC and the union will be mutually beneficial to both parties.



Printed by: Eddy Asae Nig. Press
08023251446, 08060182441

ELECTION SECURITY: STAKEHOLDERS' PERSPECTIVES



Election Security: Stakeholders' Perspectives



Edited by
'Lai Olurode

FRIEDRICH
EBERT
STIFTUNG

**ELECTION SECURITY:
STAKEHOLDERS'
PERSPECTIVES**

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'Lai Olurode

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and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Nigeria

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ISBN:

Published in 2014 by
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)
Abuja, Nigeria

Printed by
Eddy Asae Nigeria Press
Contact Number: +234-(0) 8023 251 446
+234- (0) 8060 182 441

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Foreword

This publication is the product of an Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) workshop 'Election Security: Stakeholders' Perspectives' in Ikogosi, Ekiti State, in May 2014. The workshop was attended by stakeholders in the electoral process to discuss and understand the perception of non-state actors of election security.

It is unfortunate that the desperate acts of some politicians in collaboration with mostly the youths have continued to endanger the electoral process that should ordinarily bring them to power based on the decisions of the electorates through the votes the desirable factor of democracy. Elections that are free, fair and credible are speculated to usher in competent/reliable leaders that will pilot the affairs of society and consequently contribute to the progress and development of the society. This has remained one of our major targets.

The stakeholders and in particular the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) and other transport unions which have played visibly huge roles most likely because of predominance of the youths in the unions in elections in Nigeria are encouraged to contribute positively in the electoral process. INEC has expressed understanding of their relevance and stated the need to actively involve these stakeholders in order for them to contribute to secured elections.

It is our desire that this publication serves as a useful resource for the general public and all who have a stake in the electoral process in Nigeria as we all work towards the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. We hope it awakens the consciousness of every citizen, groups and collaborating partners that they are all stakeholders in the process of elections and that the transport unions can play positive roles in the process.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) has remained committed in its efforts to support and contribute to establishing and sustaining democracy and good governance around the world. In line with this commitment and our ongoing efforts in promoting democracy in Nigeria, we have been collaborating with the INEC to ensure better management of Nigeria's electoral process.

We hope you enjoy reading the book!

Seija Sturies

Resident Representative

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Nigeria.

Acknowledgements

The planning and execution of any workshop require the pooling of the services and expertise of many resourceful individuals. The publication of manuscripts emanating from such an endeavour extends access to information and simultaneously elongates the impact of messages of such deserving and selfless individuals. This workshop is no exception and has offered an opportunity of compiling the ideas of people of diverse backgrounds. Some individuals and institutions featured in all the stages of the workshop.

The partnership between the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), a German foundation, has come a long way. FES's contributions to research works on election security in our country is unprecedented. The Resident Representative of the German foundation, Seija Sturies and its Programme Officer, Juliana Anosike, continue to display and sustain an enthusiasm that is patently patriotic and unpatronizing. FES allows us the freedom to frame our research agenda and the corresponding methodologies to execute them. We remain appreciative of their partnership and support.

The FES team is consistently friendly and supportive of our endeavours for the delivery of effective electoral services. As our partnership grows, and as we leverage our election project with the findings from our research collaboration, the fight against election insecurity is being won.

The Chairman of INEC, Professor Attahiru Jega, continues to project leadership styles that are compatible with an electoral bureaucracy that is research and science driven. As long as an idea will add value, he galvanizes the Commission in that direction. We commend and appreciate his commitment. Providence has a place in what we do as a commission the

scientific component of our limited success story as an Election Management Body (EMB) is self-evident. Of course, election management is not all about science. Discretion has a role to play since a situation may arise in the field that was never in the contemplation of laws and rules guiding the electoral process.

We remain grateful to Dr Ishmael Igbani for the active role he played during the workshop in Ikogosi, Ekiti State. The Resident Electoral Commissioners for Ekiti and Osun states, Alhaji Halilu Hussein Pai and Ambassador Rufus Akeju respectively, and their staff were present at the workshop and they contributed meaningfully to the success of the meeting. The resource persons, security agents and all the staff in my office and in the security department are acknowledged. Our gratitude goes to Ishaq Sanni, Chukwuemeka Nwachukwu and Rabiu M. Abdul. Their diverse roles contributed to the success of the workshop and the compilation of this work. Chizoba Vivian Nwuzor provided copyediting support. On behalf of the Commission, INEC, I say, “We appreciate you all.”

'Lai Olurode

National Commissioner

Independent National Electoral Commission

October, 2014

Addresses at the

Workshop on Election Security:
Stakeholders' Perspectives.

Organized by

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Nigeria
and
Independent National Electoral Commission,
Nigeria

Ekiti State, Ikogosi Warm Springs Resort

26th and 27th May, 2014

Addresses

Welcome Remarks by Seija Sturies, Resident Representative, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

Protocol

The INEC Chairman represented by Professor Olurode, Ambassador Layiwola Laseinde, representative of the National Security Adviser, DIG Mike Zuokumor, representing the Inspector General of Police, Evans Enwerem, Deputy Commandant General, Operations representing the Commandant General, Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), Alhaji Halilu Pai, Resident Electoral Commissioner Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Ekiti State, Members of the Inter-agency Committee on Election Security (ICCES), Representative of the President of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW), Comrade Kolawole Joel, Members of the Road Transport Workers Union, Okada Riders and Youths of Political Parties, Gentlemen of the Press, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I welcome all to this workshop on 'Election Security: 'Stakeholders' Perspectives' organised by the Independent National Electoral Commission and our organisation Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. I am delighted and feel honoured to see you all. I would like to welcome especially those of us that travelled a long distance (from Sokoto, Abuja, Osun) by air and by road to join us in this workshop. From personal experience, I can tell you that it was not easy; however I am excited, and can say that I am hopeful that it will be worth the time and all that we have sacrificed to attend the workshop.

In ensuring the credibility of any election and the legitimacy of any government present, 'Election Security' alongside other factors are essential. I would want to believe that election insecurity is part of the reasons for high number of election disputes witnessed in Nigeria and beyond. Security of both personnel and electoral materials is very important especially on voting days. Cognisant of these challenges, the INEC in collaboration with our organisation, FES, organised a workshop in 2010 that brought together stakeholders including experts from other countries to discuss ways of containing the identified challenges. One of the outcomes of that was the establishment of the Inter-agency Committee on Election Security (ICCES). The synergy between members of this committee helped in the security of elections in 2011 in many polling booths across the nation. However, as they say, there is always room for improvement. This is the reason why we decided to look at the role of non-state actors and stakeholders such as the NURTW and the youths in political parties and how they can collaborate with other stakeholders in mitigating these challenges.

I sincerely would like to appreciate Professor Attahiru Jega and the INEC team for their openness to ideas. This is the first time Professor Jega is missing our activity, we understand the reason for his absence and appreciate all his support. It means a lot to us at FES. I equally would like to commend the efforts of Professor 'Lai Olurode our contact person at the INEC; it has been a cordial, hitch-free and fruitful partnership. I thank you Prof for everything and above all your understanding.

Our convening would not have been easy without the assistance of the Resident Electoral Commissioner of Ekiti state and his team,

Alhaji Pai. We are happy working with you for this project. Thank you for hosting us.

To our dear participants from, ICCES, the NURTW and the youth wings of political parties in Ekiti and Osun states, a warm welcome to you. I thank you for accepting our invitations. All our arrangements would have been futile without your interests and availability. This shows the importance of the topic to all of us.

My welcome address will not be complete without welcoming and thanking our esteemed resource persons, Professor Oni, Professor Muhammad and Mr Jadi Suleiman who despite the short notice and their tight schedules accepted to present papers on the theme. Thank you. I look forward to your presentations.

Ladies and gentlemen of the press present, good morning and welcome.

I look forward to robust discussions and useful recommendations at the end of the workshop.

Ekaaroo. Ekaabo!

Addresses

Welcome Address by Alhaji Halilu Hussaini Pai, Resident Electoral Commissioner, Ekiti State

The Honourable Chairman, Professor Attahiru M. Jega (OFR),
National Commissioners in attendance, The Donor Agency and
Sponsor of this gathering, Members of Inter-agency Consultative
Committee on Election Security headed by the Commissioner of
Police, Our Critical Stakeholder, National Union of Road Transport
Workers, Civil Society Organizations and Non-Governmental
Organizations, Men of the Press,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

I feel so elatedly honoured to welcome you all to this venue of
hospitality and refreshing candour to examine in concrete terms
the role of our transporters in either making the gallant success of
our electoral processes or otherwise.

While appreciating your level of responsibility and commitment, it
must be emphasized that the Independent National Electoral
Commission (INEC) as an Election Management Body (EMB), so
recognizes your pivotal importance and relevance to the success of
any election as patriotic partners collaborating to enshrine fairness,
transparency, crisis free and credible elections in Nigeria as well as in
Ekiti state as we now run a countdown to June 21, 2014
Governorship Election.

Our partner, sponsor and donor must have admitted without
mincing words that the contributions of transport workers and of

youths to election insecurity cannot be said to be insignificant. Corroborating this stand therefore is the fact that inability on the part of these groups (the transporters and youths) to play their roles in conformity with the laid down rules and regulations guiding the electoral conduct is a big minus which can mar its success.

Available information however attests to the truth of the matter that touts are more of youths than the elderly and are easily prone to negative social behaviours. From our records “Area Boys” and “Garage Boys” with low or no value for the rule of law, decency and decorum are mostly used as political thugs hence the need for an occasion like this to seek avenue to positively influence our mindsets and value orientation.

Let me reiterate the dangerous political dimension introduced into our polity consequent upon factions and unhealthy rivalry among members of the transport unions. The Oyo state episode which happened shortly before the 2011 general election and the very recent intra and inter Union conflicts in Ekiti state remain fresh in our minds. Members of the Association of Commercial Okada Riders and Tricycle Riders (ACCOMORAN) are not exempted.

It is my strong belief that after we must have examined the factors believed to precipitate election insecurity from the angles of youths and transport workers, the subsequent electoral activities are likely to witness less violence, destruction and disruption of peaceful atmosphere.

My heartfelt sincere appreciation to the Independent National Electoral Commission's management for reasoning in this direction to bring about this forum and also I wish to register my profound

acknowledgement to the roles being played by our supporting agent, the donor body.

I wish you all a very robust and fruitful deliberation which will culminate in an electoral process devoid of rancour and acrimony come 21st June, 2014.

Thank you all and God bless.

Addresses

Address by Ambassador C.L Laseinde, Representative of the National Security Adviser

Mr Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Professor Attahiru Jega, ably represented by Professor 'Lai Olurode, Mrs Seija Sturies Resident Representative of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) Foundation, Nigeria, INEC Resident Electoral Commissioners for Ekiti and Osun states, Mr Mike Zuokumor, DIG Operations, other heads of security agencies present, Senior INEC officials, Ladies and Gentlemen. It is my pleasure to welcome all of you to this important workshop and convey the warm greetings of the National Security Adviser (NSA) Mohammed Sambo Dasuki to this important forum.

The role of security agencies during elections is quite important and necessary to the security of the electoral process. This role has always been played since the onset of elections in Nigeria. However, what is novel is the current cooperation and synergy introduced by the INEC Chairman in form of the Inter-agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES). The forum has concentrated on the retooling of the role of individual agencies, and the operational plans put in place by them to secure every single election, whether at constituency, state or federal levels. The ICCES has also taken pains to examine the problems encountered at every single election, towards taking proactive measures to ensure that such mistakes are not repeated.

I am delighted to observe that since the onset of ICCES, there has been marked improvement in terms of cooperation and coordination among security agencies, on one hand, and harmonization of operational plans between security agencies and INEC on the other.

The result has been a seamless, effective and professional security coverage of elections to the extent that, Nigeria's elections are now cited as one of the best, all over the world

The main reason why we are at Ikogosi today is the 21st June, 2014 Ekiti gubernatorial election and the subsequent one about a month from today in Osun state.

I enjoin all those invited here, especially from Ekiti and Osun states to bare their minds and contribute meaningfully to deliberations at this workshop. I am pleased to observe that the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) which has always been a major stakeholder is at today's forum, as well as youths, political parties, the press and other major stakeholders, in the Ekiti and Osun elections. We can all learn from past experiences and suggestions, and then and provide useful recommendations on the way forward.

What I need to emphasise here is the significance of the outcome of the Ekiti and Osun elections, in relation to the name and image of Nigeria. The two elections have an important bearing on the 2015 general elections.

All efforts should be brought to bare before, during and after these elections to ensure that the outcome meets the hopes and aspirations of the Nigerian people.

I want to re-assure all of us present here of the commitment of the NSA to provide necessary support at all times to INEC and the security agencies, towards ensuring that elections in Ekiti and Osun, as well as other elections in Nigeria, have the best outcomes in terms of being free, fair, peaceful, orderly and credible.

I wish to seize this opportunity to thank the INEC Chairman, Professor Attahiru Jega and his able team as well as Mrs Seija Sturies, the Head of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Foundation, Nigeria and her team, for jointly sponsoring this workshop, which is timely and desirably at this point in time in Nigeria's journey along the path of conducting peaceful and generally acceptable elections in Nigeria.

I thank you all for listening.

Addresses

**Address by Michael Zuokumor,
Deputy Inspector General of Police
NPM, FWC, PSCT, Representing
Mr M. D. Abubakar, CFR, NPM, MNI. the Inspector
General of Police**

The Representative of INEC Chairman, Professor 'Lai Olurode, the INEC Resident Electoral Commissioner, Ekiti State, Alhaji Halilu Pai, the Representative of NSA, Ambassador Layiwola Laseinde, the Resident Representative of FES, Nigeria, Seija Sturies, the Representative of NSCDC, Commandant General, DCG Evans Ewurum, and the Representative of the Chairman of NURTW, Comrade Oluwole:

I am delighted to attend this workshop on Election Security as it relates to Ekiti and Osun states. I appreciate this privilege given to me by my boss, the Inspector General of Police Mr M. D. Abubakar, CFR, NPM, MNI to represent him on this great occasion.

I want to sincerely appreciate Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), the organisation that nursed this idea and brought it to fruition in conjunction with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

INEC, under the Chairmanship of Professor Attahiru Jega has performed creditably in all elections conducted so far. Ekiti and Osun State Governorship Elections are not going to be exceptions. I

am confident that INEC will do better than it has done in previous elections since it has a track record of improving in every subsequent election. We do know that both FES and INEC have committed human and material resources to this programme.

The choice of topics, target audience, resource persons and venue is apt. The topics to be discussed are real, current and relevant. The resource persons are “generals” in their various fields of endeavour.

The target audience are people that can make things happen; they can make or mar the elections. Ikogosi Warm Springs Resort is a spa, conducive for spiritual, moral and academic discourse.

All of us in this hall are stakeholders in this election. Therefore, we have the responsibility to ensure that it is conducted peacefully and in an orderly manner devoid of rancour. Violence does not help anybody. Rather, it shuts down our businesses, saps our energy, slows down our profits, destroys properties, stigmatises our states, depletes our resources, removes trust, creates enemies, and sometimes causes injuries and deaths. Let us shun it. Let the good people of Ekiti and Osun states say, "NO" to violence.

The IGP and the entire Nigeria Police Force will continue to partner with INEC and all stakeholders to provide peaceful and conducive environment for a credible and world standard elections.

On behalf of the Inspector General of Police of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, I wish all participants a fruitful deliberation.

Thank you.

Addresses

**Address by Evans Chidi Ewurum (MNI) in Charge of Operations,
Deputy Commandant General (DCG)
Representing Drade Abolurin (OFR), the Commandant General
(CG) of the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC)**

Protocol

I am Evans Chidi Ewurum, Mni, Deputy Commandant-General (DCG) in Charge of Operations representing Dr Ade Abolurin (OFR), the Commandant-General of Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC).

I wish to start this brief remark by thanking the organizers of this workshop on Election Security at this auspicious time. I also want to use the opportunity of this forum to commend and thank INEC Chairman Professor Attahiru Jega and the Commission for an aggressive transformation and positive innovations in our electoral process and system since they came on board and took over the mantle of leadership of our electoral body INEC.

The 2011 General Elections adjudged to be comparatively, the freest and most credible by the international observers gives credence to my point. Professor Jega to my mind is the messiah of our time and a 'Daniel that has come for judgment' in our electoral system and process. This workshop could not have come at a better time than now as the country is undergoing political and economic transformation and metamorphosis.

The theme of this workshop, 'Electoral Security: Stakeholders Perspectives', is apt and timely. My only worry is that all those who qualify as election stakeholders except for the representatives of the NURTW and political parties' youth vanguards are not all here.

However, it is necessary to point out here that Ekiti and Osun States Governorship Elections are no doubt going to be acid tests for future elections in Nigeria, particularly the 2015 election in Nigeria. That is why all the 'election stakeholders' should take this and other workshops relating to elections seriously.

The coming on board of the current INEC Chairman Professor Jega has changed the perception of agencies towards their role in ensuring credible and crime free election in Nigeria by setting up the Inter-agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES).

Today, with the establishment of ICCES by INEC, security agencies now speak with one voice, engage in joint operations particularly during elections, and see themselves as a family and team players working towards the realization of a common objective. This was not the case before the coming on board of Professor Jega as INEC Chairman.

It is in the light of the above that, on behalf of other security agencies, I want to warn politicians and other stakeholders, particularly youths, who are being used by politicians as thugs and for the perpetration of crimes before, during and after elections in Nigeria, particularly as it affects Ekiti and Osun states elections.

NSCDC as a security agency has mobilized sufficiently for the two elections coming up in Ekiti and Osun respectively as is the case with

other security agencies. What this means is that anybody who either takes laws into his/her hands or infringes upon the rule of the game must pay dearly for it.

All hands-all stakeholders- therefore would be 'on deck' so as to ensure free, fair and credible elections in Ekiti and Osun states. Let us not think that all is lost and loose hope in our system.

I wish therefore to end my remark with the words of the great Zik of Africa, Dr Nnamdi Azikwe, of the blessed memory, when he attended the 'Ahiajoku festival' in Owerri. He was cornered by journalists who posed the following questions: "Sir, may we know your greatest achievement in life?" The Zik of Africa responded as follows:

"My greatest achievement in life is the fact that I was a member of the team that played for Nigeria independence and won."

The second question by the journalist was, "Sir now that a lot of people are criticizing and abusing you on pages of newspapers and other media; notwithstanding your invaluable contributions in the fight for Nigeria's independence, do you have any regrets?"

In response, he said, after adjusting his seat, "I would not like to regret now, so that I don't regret, for haven regretted sometime."

Therefore, let nobody regret yet that all have gone wrong beyond redemption in our system, but have the belief that the dry bone shall rise again." That is my message.

Thank you for your attention!

Addresses

**Goodwill Message Delivered by Kolawole Joel,
Senior Assistant General Secretary in Charge of Ekiti State
Council, National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW)
Representing the President of NURTW
Alhaji Usman Yasin Najeem**

All protocol duly observed.

I have to thank the house for giving me the opportunity to deliver this message from my boss, Alhaji Yasin Najeem, President NURTW.

We are all aware that the theme of the seminar runs around the NURTW as a well-recognized critical stakeholder, but we are here today to spell it out that members of NURTW of yester years are no more what it used to be seen as. We rather have today members known with the following points:

- a. In the rank and file of the NURTW today, we have scores of graduates who are members of our noble union.
- b. That gone are the days when members of the NURTW are regarded as ne'er-do-well in the society. Today we have as members millionaires who own fleets of vehicles, sponsor their children in various universities, and own several houses and mansions.
- c. We have stood firm in respect of the provision of the constitution of our union as regards politics which spelt out thus, "any member of the union can vote for any political

party of his or her choice, but the name and resources of the union should not be used by any member to advance their political party interests."

- d. That there is daily announcement on Ekiti Radio and Television from the National President warning that no member should fly the name of our union with any political party. Our aggrieved members who did this in political rallies in Ekiti state have been reported to the national headquarters Abuja, the commissioner of police and the director of SSS Ekiti state.

We the members of NURTW must critically look into the areas of misgivings to avoid any bad name from the public, this includes allowing the populace to note that:

- a. There is a co-union not affiliated with Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and called Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria (RTEAN). This group recently got affiliated with Trade Union Congress (TUC) and are employers of labour and not workers like NURTW. Some unscrupulous elements, enemies of progress, who are not drivers, are presently in various garages in Ekiti state as members of RTEAN with the encouragement of those politicians desperate to rule.
- b. We should please sound this warning to the general public that the proportion of NURTW to RTEAN in terms of populace is 80% to 20%.
- c. This is important to avoid unnecessary clash of interests. We want progress and success of INEC and Ekiti state generally.

OUR PRAYER

- i. We want to remind INEC and its officials that elections cannot succeed without the efforts of drivers.
- ii. All vehicles to be used by INEC should pass through our State Headquarters for good accountability and free flow of election materials by our drivers.
- iii. We, the members of NURTW, are longing for one-man one-vote No RIGGING.
- iv. We have competent and responsible men who can assist INEC in the 16 Local Government Areas.

On this note sir, we are grateful for this opportunity given to us and we wish this gathering happy deliberation.

Addresses

**Address by Professor 'Lai Olurode,
the Chairman Board of the Electoral Institute (TEI) and National
Commissioner, Independent National Electoral Commission
(INEC)**

The partnership between our two organizations, (INEC) and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) continues to wax stronger. Since 2010 when we co-organized a workshop on Security Challenges of Election Management in Nigeria, we have remained unrelenting in our collective commitment and pursuit of how to enhance election security in Nigeria.

The success that had been achieved so far can be gleaned from the degree to which inter-agency rivalry had been reduced. Instances where security agents turn against themselves during elections rather than pre-empting election security challenges are now an exemption rather than the rules.

Our cooperation has promoted institutional building. We have been able to establish what is called Inter-agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES) a platform comprising representative of elections managers and security agencies. The body meets regularly to review strategies for election security. It operates at INEC headquarters, state and local government levels.

Even with the hosting of the second workshop on a related subject, we do not delude ourselves that outstanding challenges stare us in

the face. There are stakeholders, some of them operating on the fringes and in a world of their own that are yet to key in into our election security project. We now know that unless there is support from them, we are unlikely to travel far with our main objective of securing our elections. It is therefore imperative that we target members of the Nigerian Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) to penetrate and obtain their perspectives on election security. In size and spread, NURTW is a force to reckon with. A large percentage of people who regard themselves as members of the union live on the fringes of society and are vulnerable to being recruited to provoke inter-party and intra-party crisis.

There is also an urgent need to begin to share our findings with these stakeholders and others, in the course of our research activities, on election security. This dimension of voter education has received little attention. We need to attend to this more aggressively.

It is my expectations that those of us who are gathered here will share our experiences with those not fortunate enough to be with us. No effort should be spared at making sure that the process of recruiting leaders into public offices is not fettered or compromised in anyway.

Addresses

Keynote Address Professor Attahiru M. Jega, OFR, the Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)

I am particularly pleased to welcome you all to this all-important workshop on election security organized by the Commission in partnership with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) Foundation. Election security in particular and electoral risk management in general have been central themes in the Commission's preparations for free, fair and credible elections since 2011.

It is indeed important to state that the Commission has been investing time, resources and building partnerships with key stakeholders in the political and electoral processes as well as development partners in order to address, in a more planned and regular way, the myriad threats capable of affecting our elections. Every activity the Commission has embarked upon since the last General Election in 2011 has been directed towards improving the organization, conduct, and management of the electoral process. Thus the restructuring of the Commission, the formulation of the Strategic Plan, Election Management System, Election Project Plan, Capacity Building and Re-training of Staff, Expanded Stakeholder Engagements especially with political parties and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are all geared towards strengthening the capacity of the electoral system to address threats. These efforts, the Commission is fully aware, are important in building confidence

in the electoral system and therefore, will positively impact the general perceptions about outcomes of elections.

In addition to these, more obvious activities of the Commission towards improving election security and mitigating electoral threats include the formation of the Inter-agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES) and the Commission's collaboration with the African Union and International Institute for Democracy and Assistance (International IDEA) on mapping electoral risks that culminated in a workshop in December, 2013, a programme that now forms a key aspect of our electoral plans.

This workshop expands and deepens these efforts. Such efforts have in the past been largely, though not exclusively, focused on state actors. I am glad that the workshop seeks to broaden and expand our efforts at addressing election security across the political spectrum, to begin engaging non-state actors. Being integral parts of the grassroots, non-state actors have very important roles to play not only in mitigating electoral risks but also in ensuring that adequate information is provided and mediated between the Commission on the one hand and other stakeholders in the electoral process on the other hand. Such exchange and sharing of information is crucial in building positive attitudes of engagement and participation in the electoral process.

It is particularly pleasing to note that the workshop seeks to focus on some of the central issues responsible for building such positive attitudes: processes of democratization including issues of the rule of law, tolerance, significance of participating in the choice of leaders, non-violent methods of the resolution of disputes and trust and confidence building measures between various segments of our

political community. In addition, I note also that the work-shop plans to focus on issues such as the identification of threats to the security of elections from the grassroots as well as the role of youths and transport union workers in managing disputes and mitigating violence. All these are crucial in our collective efforts to ensure that the elections are not only free and fair, but that credible outcomes are guaranteed by engaging all stakeholders to positively contribute their quota towards election security.

As you are aware, we are a little over three weeks to the governorship election in Ekiti state. Permit me to draw attention to a number of internal and external factors that may have a bearing on election security not just in Ekiti in particular, but the whole country in general.

On internal factors, I refer to the internal processes and mechanisms the Commission had put in place in order to not only ensure transparency, but also to enhance efforts at the delivery of electoral services. We have in the past several months been consulting with stakeholders in Ekiti state on our plans and have distributed the permanent voter's cards (PVC), conducted continuous voter registration (CVR), held stakeholders meetings, conducted a training for our Electoral Officers on the Election Management System in addition to multiple security meetings with the ICCES. In all these, one of the most significant and potentially problematic issues that stakeholders in this workshop should know revolves around the PVC. It is of utmost importance to encourage all those who have not collected their cards to immediately do so, as the exercise of a voter's franchise is not possible without the PVC.

Externally, it is also important for all parties, contestants and supporters to act with a great degree of tolerance and respect for the opinions of others belonging to or holding different opinions. Respect for one another and tolerance for the opinions of others is a key democratic value, for it is the ultimate expression of the issue of choice. Similarly, all non-state actors must play positive roles in ensuring peace and guarding freedom of choice and expression. It is in this light that I urge all transport union workers and youths across the state to do their maximum best to compliment the Commission's efforts in ensuring that the Ekiti State Governorship Elections are free, fair and credible.

I wish to use this medium to thank the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) for its continuing support to the Commission in addressing pertinent issues in the electoral process in Nigeria. I also wish to thank all other stakeholders security agencies, political parties, CSOs, the media, the transport workers unions and youths assembled here for this workshop for their continuing efforts in ensuring the credibility of our electoral process.

Finally, I wish to thank all our staff that have been working tirelessly in the past several months to ensure that the Ekiti state election is free, fair and credible. I wish you successful deliberations.

Abbreviations & Acronyms

ACOMORAN	Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Riders and Owners Association of Nigeria
ALBON	Association of Luxury Bus Owners of Nigeria
COREC	Committee on the Review of Election Cases
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CNS	Central Nervous System
CVR	Continuous Voter Registration
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
FRSC	Federal Road Safety Corps
HDI	Human Development Index
ICT	Information and Computer Technology
ICCES	Inter-agency Consultative Committee on Election Security
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
Keke NAPEP	(Keke: Tricycle Association) National Poverty Eradication Programme
MWUN	Maritime Workers Union of Nigeria
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NA	Nigerian Army
NAF	Nigerian Air Force
NARTO	Nigeria Association of Road Transport Owners
NDLEA	Nigerian Drug Law and Enforcement Agency
NCS	Nigeria Customs Services
NIA	National Intelligence Agency

NIS	Nigeria Immigration Services
NLC	Nigeria Labour Congress
NOA	National Orientation Agency
NSA	National Security Adviser
NSCDC	Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
NN	Nigerian Navy
NURTW	National Union of Road Transport Workers
NUATE	National Union of Air Transport Employees
NUR	Nigeria Union of Railwaymen
NUPENG	National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers
NYSC	National Youth Service Corps
OPC	Oodua Peoples Congress
PENGASSAN	Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
PVC	Permanent Voter Card
REC	Resident Electoral Commissioner
RTEAN	Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria
TUC	Trade Union Congress
UN	United Nations

Chapter One

Introduction: Electoral Reforms and Election Security

'Lai Olurode

“Without security, there will be no election.”

Chairman, Senate Committee on Police on
Channels TV, 7 p.m. news, 08 August, 2014.

1.1 Background

The research question to which this chapter seeks an answer is whether democratic and electoral reforms are influencing the perception of politics as 'a do-or-die' affair, and if so, in what ways could there be said to be shifts, not really obliterations of politics as a zero sum game in which winner-takes-all. Preparations for elections are simply too tasking for not just the politicians and their supporters, but security personnel are also weighed down by the sheer enormity of the challenges of securing elections. The challenges are just intimidating and apparently inexorable. Of course, funding of elections at the official, unofficial and individual levels are tasking as well. It is unclear if electoral reforms impact decisively on election security.

The relentless struggle for political independence in most of Africa culminated in the 'transfer' of power to new political elites in the mid twentieth century. Many leading historians had critiqued this transfer of power as only cosmetic and nominal in that the promises of independent Africa remained unmet. Of course, new political

elites had assumed political power, but the symbolic and well-advertised transfer of power was unaccompanied by any significant improvements in the life of the generality of the people. So frustrating and disappointing were the experiences of most Africans that soon after the so-called political independence, there was a sort of nostalgic feelings about the previous colonial order. The high promises of independent Africa had been quickly dissipated and wasted by the new leaders. Instead of demonstrating a consuming passion for addressing the gargantuan, monumental and intimidating challenges of development in the new states, the typical African new heads of state were preoccupied with using public power for personal enrichment, opulence and aggrandisement.

The idea of deploying political power for projection of citizenship was least in their contemplation. At the most, state power could be used to advance primordial ethno-religious interests and settling of scores along those lines.

Typically, the new leaders were so intolerant of dissenting views as opposition members were routinely criminalized and imprisoned and in some cases assassinated. The new state was in essence authoritarian and state actors displayed high handedness and were rapacious in the main. The military saw the recklessness of the political class as an invitation to exit the barracks on a 'rescue mission'. The sigh of relief that initially accompanied military intervention was short-lived as the military in politics proved to be more disastrous than the civilian elites that it sent packing. An average military regime, once it intervened in politics quickly came under pressure and thus arose a dilemma of when to return to the

barracks. Unlike in the mid-sixties and seventies, the military in government is no longer fashionable. It was believed to have outlived its usefulness and in most cases, it was unable to manage its own exit as it had to be disgraced out of office.

The sins of the military in government were many. They showed no clear vision other than the lure of political power, diverse acts of impunity, human rights abuses and procedural abridgements. In the conundrum, the notion of diarchy was even rejected. The wave of democratization had no room for this obnoxious notion. The result was that the economic and socio-political systems of these countries plunged to low ratings reflected in their records for HDI and CPI (See Table 1 below). The people were more in a hurry to democratize than their leaders were prepared. Neither the military nor the civilian nor even both combined were able to meet the rising and revolutionary aspirations of the people. The ordinary folks prefer democratic good governance. As can be seen in Table 1, African economies; Kenya, Cameroon, Gambia, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and others have very low index indicating that generally healthy life style, education and descent standard of living are not what many have.

Table 1: Human Development Index trends, 1980-2013

HDI rank	Country	HDI value, 1980	HDI, value, 1990	HDI value, 2000	HDI value, 2010	HDI value, 2013	HDI rank change, 2008
1	Norway	0.793	0.841	0.910	0.939	0.944	0
2	Australia	0.841	0.866	0.898	0.926	0.933	0
3	Switzerland	0.806	0.829	0.886	0.915	0.917	1
4	Netherlands	0.783	0.826	0.874	0.904	0.915	3
5	United States	0.825	0.858	0.883	0.908	0.914	-2
6	Germany	0.739	0.782	0.854	0.904	0.911	-1
7	New Zealand	0.793	0.821	0.873	0.903	0.910	1
8	Canada	0.809	0.848	0.867	0.896	0.902	1
9	Singapore	..	0.744	0.800	0.894	0.901	14
10	Denmark	0.781	0.806	0.859	0.898	0.900	-1

Table 1a: Countries with Very High Human Development Index**Table 1b: Some Countries with Very Low Human Development**

HDI rank	Country	HDI value, 1980	HDI, value, 1990	HDI value, 2000	HDI value, 2010	HDI value, 2013	HDI rank change, 2008
147	Kenya	0.446	0.471	0.455	0.522	0.535	-1
149	Angola	..	..	0.377	0.504	0.526	2
151	Rwanda	0.291	0.238	0.329	0.453	0.506	17
152	Cameroon	0.391	0.440	0.433	0.493	0.504	2
152	Nigeria	..	..	..	0.492	0.504	1
155	Madagascar	..	..	0.453	0.494	0.498	-3
156	Zimbabwe	0.437	0.488	0.428	0.459	0.492	16
159	Tanzania	0.377	0.354	0.376	0.464	0.488	5
161	Mauritania	0.347	0.367	0.433	0.475	0.487	-2
166	Togo	0.405	0.404	0.430	0.460	0.473	-1
171	Côte d'Ivoire	0.377	0.380	0.393	0.439	0.452	0
172	Gambia	0.300	0.334	0.383	0.440	0.441	-4
173	Ethiopia	..	..	0.284	0.409	0.435	2
174	Malawi	0.270	0.283	0.341	0.406	0.414	0
175	Liberia	..	..	0.339	0.393	0.412	3
176	Mali	0.208	0.232	0.309	0.398	0.407	0
177	Guinea-Bissau	..	..	..	0.401	0.396	-4
178	Mozambique	0.246	0.216	0.285	0.380	0.393	1
179	Guinea	..	..	..	0.380	0.392	-2
180	Burundi	0.230	0.291	0.290	0.381	0.389	0
185	Central African Republic	0.295	0.310	0.314	0.355	0.341	-1
187	Niger	0.191	0.218	0.262	0.323	0.337	-1

Note

A positive value indicates an improvement in rank.

Definitions: Human Development Index (HDI): A composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living. See Technical note 1 (<http://hdr.undp.org/en>) for details on how the HDI is calculated.

than their leaders were prepared. Neither the military nor the civilian nor even both combined were able to meet the rising and revolutionary aspirations of the people. The ordinary folks prefer democratic good governance. As can be seen in Table 1, African economies; Kenya, Cameroon, Gambia, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and others have very low index indicating that generally healthy life style, education and descent standard of living are not what many have.

This development is not surprising as the core values and world views of the diverse people of Africa have not subscribed to the essential elements of the rule of law, good democratic governance and social justice. A recent study¹ by experts on proverbs and world views of Nigeria's diverse ethnic groups confirms that these are supportive of Nigeria's democratization efforts and that they are mutually reinforcing. This compatibility can only explain why generally in Africa, democratization has become a catchphrase of a sort. The argument of a leading scholar on the subject, Lewis (2006:9) is a compelling one. According to him,

Few recent changes around the world have been more significant than the global spread of democratic governance. We recall that in 1974, just 39 countries in

¹ See a study on values and proverbs from selected Nigerian languages supportive of democratic practices commissioned by the Board of the Electoral Institute under the sponsorship of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) 2013. The study highlights how indigenous proverbs and Nigeria's diverse world views are supportive of democratic practices and consultations. The proverbs that the study highlighted included those that support elections (representation), fair hearing (justice and fairness), secret balloting, consensus building and preference aggregation. Proverbs and world views from 12 of Nigeria's numerous languages across the geopolitical zones were involved in the survey.

the world over were ruled by constitutional government that had held regular, competitive elections. Today, nearly 120 governments are electoral democracies. This large group accounts for 60 per cent of the world's people. Among the 48 countries in Africa South of the Sahara, as late as 1990, 44 were ruled by military governments or single-party regimes; today, there are at least 20 electoral democracies in the region, along with many others that have made significant gains in political freedom and pluralism.

The push for political and electoral reforms from; first, colonial and apartheid regimes to independence; and second, from military dictatorship to one-party regimes and now to multiparty democracies had been from sources both internal and external to Africa. The challenge however had been the failure to realize the broad theoretical expectation that democracy will promote development. This had been the experience of most countries in the north. The modernization theory holds that the experiences of the western countries can be replicated in the less developed parts of the world once the economic and political institutions are transported there. Of Africa's population, a little over one billion people, at least close to 70% or more are under democratic rule. However, HDIs remain appalling, poverty is still as excruciating as it was before, slums are growing rapidly, many still die young, youth unemployment is high, maternal mortality remains one of the highest in the world and the money culture is deep. In some of the countries, judicial corruption² is widespread but generally, media

² A retired justice of the Court of Appeal, Honourable Justice Issa Salami bared his mind on judicial corruption in Nigeria and how justice is lobbied for. He alleged that some judges and retired senior judges practise as consultants in fixing judgements. See The Punch, 9th April, 2014.

freedom is growing in spite of attempts by overzealous government agents to restrict and censor the media machine. Of course, it is to be realised that transformation and revolution in ICT had virtually weakened state repression of the media machine. In a work (Olurode, 2007), we adumbrated the dangers that continued social exclusionary practices hold for an orderly political succession after years of democracy without substantive impact on human capital development. Over the years, most African countries continue to be rated and remain at the bottom of HDI and simultaneously the CPI of most countries in the continent that show they are rated as notorious for corruption (see Table 2). The table measures the perceived levels of corruption in public sector of some countries. Countries like Niger, Cameroon, Kenya, Guinea, Zimbabwe, including Nigeria despite being democratic governments, with high rates of corruption may be as a result of their fledgling democracy as most of them had military obstruction in their recent pasts.

Table 2: Historical Comparison of Corruption Perception Index of Some Countries 1988 to 2013

Country	Score 1980-1985	Rank	Score 1988-1992	Rank	Score 1996	Rank	CPI 2009	Rank	CPI 2013	Rank
New Zealand	8,41	2	9,3	3	9,43	1	9.4	1	91	1
Denmark	8,01	2	8,88	3	9,33	2	9.3	2	91	1
Sweden	8,01	2	8,71	3	9,08	3	9.2	3	89	3
Finland	8,14	2	8,88	3	9,05	4	8.9	6	89	3
Canada	8,14	2	8,97	3	8,96	5	8.7	8	81	9
Norway	8,14	2	8,69	3	8,87	6	8.6	11	86	5
Singapore	8,14	2	9,16	4	8,8	7	9.2	3	86	5
Switzerland	8,14	2	9	3	8,76	8	9.0	5	85	7
Netherlands	8,14	2	9,03	3	8,71	9	8.9	6	83	8
Australia	8,14	2	8,2	3	8,6	10	8.7	8	81	9
Egypt	1,12	2	1,75	2	2,84	41	8.7	8	32	114
Uganda	0,67	1	3,27	1	2,71	43	2.5	130	26	140
Philippines	1,04	2	1,96	3	2,69	44	2.4	139	36	94
India	3,67	2	2,89	3	2,63	47	3.4	84	36	94
Indonesia	0,2	2	0,57	4	2,65	45	2.8	111	32	114
Niger	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.9	106	34	106
Russia (USSR)	5,13	1	3,27	1	2,58	48	2.2	146	28	127
Venezuela	3,19	2	2,5	3	2,53	48	1.9	162	20	160
Cameroon	4,59	2	3,43	2	2,46	49	2.2	146	25	144
China	5,13	1	4,73	3	2,43	50	3.6	79	40	80
Liberia	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.1	97	38	83
Bangladesh	0,57	2	0	1	2,29	51	2.4	139	27	136
Kenya	3,27	2	1,6	2	2,21	52	2.2	146	27	136
Côte d'Ivoire	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.1	154	27	136
Pakistan	1,52	2	1,9	3	1	53	2.4	139	28	127
Nigeria	0,99	2	0,63	2	0,69	54	2.5	130	25	144
Guinea	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.8	168	24	150
Zimbabwe	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.2	146	21	157
Burundi	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.8	168	21	157
Angola	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.9	162	23	153

CPI scores and ranks compiled from Internet Centre for Corruption Research and Transparency International websites.

Though, rich in human and material resources, the people of Africa remains poor for reasons of weak, unconscionable and indefensible ethical judgements (see Olurode, 2005). One reason for this debilitating state of affairs in Africa is to be placed at the doorstep of its leaders. In a very cogent editorial on 15th December, 1992, a leading Nigeria's newspaper, The Guardian elegantly posed the challenge thus:

What is perhaps the greatest cause of Nigeria's underdevelopment is the character of the Nigerian governing classes. For as has been realized worldwide, no nation can engineer its transformation without a clear-headed, determined and hardworking modernizing elite. The Nigerian misfortune has been the rulership of the nation for most of the last 32 years by an idiotic ruling class. This ruling class is not only greedy, corrupt and short sighted; it is rapacious in the extreme. Its members have been and remain the ruin of the nation.

Let us also hear out a leading commentator on the subject of leadership in Africa. Attahiru Jega's account goes thus:

Our crop of leaders have essentially been self-serving rulers, some even despots, and not leaders in the true sense of the word. They have generally lacked vision, focus and selflessness and even enlightened self-interest. Many in leadership positions are unimaginably corrupt; they are greedy, they are vindictive, they are reckless and in many fundamental respects, senseless. Virtually, whoever has access to power attempts to abuse it; the exceptions are very few, indeed (see Jega, 2010: 3-4).

The scenario in the preceding paragraphs explains why agitations for political and electoral reforms have been unrelenting. In response to these agitations for reforms, most countries in Africa now operate multipartism, separation of power are now enshrined in the constitution, electoral bodies are now established with legal backing, procedure for appointing members clearly stipulated, political parties are now a reality in most of the countries, they operate constitutions for running their affairs and arbitrary tenure elongation by elected officials is now a remote possibility, as elections are now regularly held. Generally, people not only talk about probity and accountability in public offices, they also demand for them and could even seek legal redress. The proliferation of non-governmental organizations is unprecedented. Apart from bridging the void between state and society, they often give representations to the voiceless by demanding for good governance and social justice from state actors at all levels. There has been an upsurge in platforms for civic engagements including the revolution in the use of social media.

Though, the people of Africa, in their world views prefer democracy to dictatorship and are pushing hard for it, but they are becoming impatient with democratization that travels at a snail speed and one that is making life better for a few but not for the majority. This is creating some scepticism and cynicism about the democratic project not just in Africa but also in other newly democratizing countries of Asia and Latin America that had come under the third wave of democratization. Thus instead of consolidating on the gains of democratization, there are fears and anxieties of the possibility of democratic reversals and recession. Fukuyama (2011, pp. 4-6) had articulated the basis for these political agonies which he termed as political anxieties and malaise in the democratic world.

Firstly, as an element of this malaise, he pointed at the outright reversals of democratic gains. According to him, “In many countries, official acceptance of democratic legitimacy was accompanied by the systematic removal of checks on power and the erosion of the rule of law” (p. 4). At the second level, he spoke about countries that got stocked and were thus unable to transit from authoritarianism. There were many actors in the 'transition paradigm' that were simply not interested “in implementing the democratic institutions that would dilute their power” (p. 5). The third level of political anxieties can be traced to the failure of political systems “to deliver the basic services that people demand from their governments. The mere fact that a country has democratic institutions tells us very little about whether it is well or badly governed. This failure to deliver on the promise of democracy poses what is perhaps the greatest challenge to the legitimacy of such political systems” (p.5). The fourth source of political anxiety which he identified was the phenomenal growth in capitalism and the uncertainties and crises that often accompany it. These uncertainties and crises could be more profound in Africa with its fledgling capitalism.

Of all these sources of political anxieties, the failure of elected governments in Africa to meet the existential needs of the people poses the greatest challenge to democratic governance. There seems to be a form of democratic apathy and indeed voter apathy which is being manifested in generalised apathetic behaviour of electorates and their disenchantment with the electoral process. Moreover, electoral bureaucracies are not trusted as umpires. Elected officials are also regarded as self-serving (see INEC and FES research report on Voter apathy and 2011 elections in Nigeria). Admittedly, this disinterestedness may not be obvious given the

sometimes profound enthusiasm and infrequent upsurge that get displayed during electioneering. In the main, however, the majority remains apathetic as voter's turnout in stand-alone governorship election hovers around 40%.

Secondly, what seems to be prompting this desperate desire to participate in the electoral process is not preoccupation with the wellbeing of the public but the motivation tends to be self-centredness the perception that power should be grabbed for personal material fulfilment. If there is one aspect of the democratization processes and electoral reforms that seems unresponsive to reforms, it is the notion of politics as a do-or-die affair. Even, leading political actors do proudly promote this notion of politics. During one of his campaign tours in 2007 in his home state of Ogun, former President Olusegun Obasanjo said as follows: “This election is a do-or-die affair for me and the PDP. This coming election is a matter of life and death for the PDP and Nigeria” (The Punch, 11th February, 2007). Jega (2012, pp. 23-24) has re-echoed the frustration of the average Nigerian with the do-or-die mindset and he condemned the attitude of those he pejoratively referred to as 'militicians' possessed by a DO-OR-DIE mindset in politics “and who have abused and generally undermined the political and electoral processes to hold on to power arbitrarily by holding under periodic residual electoral victories in court in order to legitimize their actions. Indeed, in no sector has the frustration of Nigerians been as manifest as in the electoral process in the past decade.”

It is the above perception of politics as a do-or-die affair that has turned EMBs in most of Africa into becoming security managers during elections rather than concentrating mainly on the business of

election administration. Right from the inception of the present Commission in 2010, we were clear that election security would certainly determine the credibility and transparency radius of elections that will be conducted under our dispensation. Thus, we got off with the worst case scenario assumption that the political class would not behave according to the rules, they would want to subvert procedure that they would remain greedy and hungry for votes, and treat even their own rules as they relate to internal party democracy with disdain. We simply refused to be caught unawares. In their desperation to win elections at all cost, they would be accomplices on election security. Thus election security was uppermost in our preparations for elections. Of course, this has had its own backlash in blurring the threshold between our role as election managers and those of security managers. It was indeed a distraction that is avoidable in other climes. But in Nigeria, EMBs have had to contend with evolving elaborate security strategies to mitigate election violence and thus enhance preference aggregation.

1.2 Election Managers or Security Managers?

The constitutional mandate of the INEC is clear as encapsulated in section 15 (a i) of the third schedule of the 1999 Constitution as amended and in sections 2, 3, 6 and 7 of the Electoral Act 2010 as amended. The powers of the Commission are as follows among others:

- a. Organize, undertake and supervise all elections to the offices of the President and Vice-President, the Governor and Deputy Governor of a State, and to the membership of the Senate, the House of Representatives and the House of Assembly of each State of the Federation;

- b. Register political parties in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the Electoral Act;
- c. Monitor the organization and operation of political parties, including their finances;
- d. Arrange for the annual examination and auditing of the funds and accounts of political parties, and publish a report on such examination and audit for public information;
- e. Arrange and conduct the registration of persons qualified to vote and prepare, maintain and revise the register of voters for the purpose of any election under this Constitution;
- f. Monitor political campaigns and provide rules and regulations which shall govern political parties;
- g. Ensure that all Electoral Commissioners, Electoral and Returning Officers take and subscribe to the Oath of Office as prescribed by law;
- h. Delegate any of its powers to any Resident Electoral Commissioner;
- i. Carry out such other functions as may be conferred upon it by an act of the National Assembly;
- j. Conduct voter and civic education;
- k. Promote knowledge of sound democratic election processes;
- i. Conduct any referendum required to be conducted pursuant to the provisions of the 1999 Constitution or any other law or Act of the National Assembly;
- m. Issue regulations, guidelines, or manuals for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of the Constitution or Electoral Act, and for its administration thereof; and
- n. Delineate and undertake review of electoral constituencies.

As can be observed from the core functions of INEC as enumerated above, there is no role for it to be involved in elaborate security plans for elections. However, from Nigeria's collective memories as they relate to pre-election, election and post-election management, security strategies and considerations are important success factors. Generally, the electoral process in Nigeria had hitherto been marred by acts of lawlessness, impunity, killings, assassinations and wanton destructions of life and properties. Power is a prime commodity and access to the state arena may well determine life chances. This explains the fierce struggle to find a space within the state arena. Elections are not just ends in themselves but means to the greater end of being recruited to political offices. Ballot is the medium through which one can lay claim to spaces within the state. Securing the ballot is therefore important if the process is to be regarded as credible. The above underlines why ab initio, Nigeria's EMBs under the leadership of Attahiru Jega places a high premium on election security. Apart from sufferings from poor logistics plan, previous elections had gone under standard performance largely because they were not well secured. Thus the Commission was under no illusion, whatsoever, that its success would be determined more by how secured the ballot is. The Commission's thoughts on election security may be apt at this point of our discussion.

1.3 How does the Commission Think Election Security?

Being an evolving phenomenon, only an overview will be possible at this stage. In private and official discussions among members of the Commission, we came to some immediate conclusions at the early stage of our appointments by Mr President: one was that in all that we have to do, we will listen to all stakeholders but the final decisions

will be ours and that we would remain ethical and focused no matter the challenges and distractions. Individually and collectively, it was agreed that we must provide and radiate credible leadership; second, the previous register of voters' had to be jettisoned for a new compilation of voters' roll as the previous register contained fundamental flaws that could not be remedied; and third, election security matters need to be researched and elevated to the front burners in our election plans. One of the commissioners quickly put a memo together for the Commission's consideration on the need to establish a security committee for effective management of elections in Nigeria. The Commission favourably considered this memo and a security committee was put in place at the headquarters under the leadership of the chairman. Similar committees were inaugurated at the states and local government levels. The states level are under the joint leadership of RECs and commissioners of police; while at the local governments level the divisional police officers and electoral officers hold the fort on election security matters.

Following a workshop on security challenges of election management in Nigeria which the Commission jointly organized in October, 2010 with FES, the idea of an expanded security committee was mooted with membership from all arm bearing security agencies and related bodies. Both the chairman of INEC and the office of the NSA are to co-chair the committee. The inspector general of police is to provide leadership for the participating agencies. The workshop was organised in determination to call more attention to the Commission's random thoughts on election security. The expanded security committee came to be known as the ICCES. At its inaugural meeting on December, 2010, the Chairman of the Commission,

Professor Attahiru Jega bared his mind and gave some background on election security and election management, thus:

Electoral security has been a recurrent challenge to election management bodies in Nigeria over the years. This has spanned several issues including the physical security of election officials, protection of election materials, including result documents containing election results, ensuring order at polling and collation centres, as well as controlling violence among contending political interests.³

The new Commission, even in the short period of its existence, has experienced the stark reality of election insecurity. In recent bye elections in some parts of the country, INEC officials were threatened with physical violence in an attempt to dissuade them from carrying out their lawful responsibilities.

ICCES meets close to any major election to review security issues as they pertain to elections and map out strategies to conduct election.

³ See Inaugural address by INEC Chairman, Professor Attahiru Jega dated 20th December, 2010. Professor Jega said inter alia “Electoral insecurity has been a recurrent challenge to election management bodies in Nigeria over the years. This has spanned several issues including physical security of election officials, protection of election materials, including result documents containing results, ensuring order at polling and collection centres, as well as controlling violence among contending political interest.” The Commission at its meeting of 7th December, 2010 had approved the establishment of Inter-agency Consultative Committee on Election Security at the national, state and local government levels See decision extract of the Commission dated 8th December, 2010.

This Commission has enjoyed an unalloyed support and commitment from the collaborating agencies and thus the history of the success so far that the Commission has earned since 2010 cannot be correctly narrated without conceding a conspicuous space to the role of ICCES. It is perhaps in the nature of security issues that as current security challenges are mitigated, new ones evolve. They are rarely permanently kept at bay. In 2012, INEC and FES again had another collaborative outing during which election security matters arising from 2010 workshop were distilled as they related to the 2011 general elections. A publication which came out of this was titled Election Security in Nigeria: Matters Arising. This, then necessitated the workshop of May, 2014 in Ikogosi Ekiti which targeted stakeholders that had not been involved in previous workshops particularly road transport workers and their unions as well as related organizations.

This last workshop was appropriately titled Election Security: Stakeholders' Perspectives. An array of stakeholders were invited which included all sections of transport workers including okada riders, youth wings of political parties, security agencies and INEC staff among others. Academics also made presentations. The aims being to discuss how to alter the negative mindset of stakeholders which, regards election as a do-or-die affair, and to understand the perception of non-state actors on the core values embedded in democratization and the electoral process. The workshop was also designed to seek an input on how to collectively mitigate the degeneration of the electoral process to persistent violence. Participants who rarely had an opportunity to make input into policy issues of INEC and security agencies aired their views and were heard. A memorandum of understanding emerged at the end of the workshop.

The realization we came upon the need to involve these other stakeholders made us arrive at the conclusion of the workshop that first, INEC would have to continue to engage all stakeholders in the election business. Elections are about partnership and INEC working alone cannot travel far. Synergy is the key word. Second, INEC must continue to think and act security as it continues the struggle to navigate the complex electoral landscape of Nigeria and neutralize the political toxics that are determined to continue to undermine the electoral process. Although it is evident from our findings that some achievements had been made in the area of democratic and electoral reforms, the same cannot yet be admitted for the required alteration in the mindset of the political class as far as election security goes. INEC thus has to continue to partner with security personnel if our elections are to satisfy the minimum requirements of credibility, acceptability and believability within and outside Nigeria. The journey to conducting elections without security personnel has however begun. Given this silver lining of elections taking place without the presence of security personnel, the caution without police, there will be no elections made by the chairman of the senate committee on police and election at the commencement of this chapter seems realistic only in the interim.

1.4 About the Book

This book is on the broad theme of election security and it seeks to present perspectives from stakeholders. It is not often that we hear from stakeholders. The methodology that the workshop adopted was one that provided a platform for academics, election practitioners, security agents, an array of stakeholders and others to bare their minds with the sole objective of building on previous

heritage and advances made so far, particularly since 2010 on election security in Nigeria. The targets of the workshop are members of the road transport unions; NURTW, the youths and other non-state actors. In focusing on transport workers, we wish to call attention to their centrality to not just election logistics but also to reiterate their role in mitigating election insecurity.

The popular perception of road transport workers is that they are vulnerable to being recruited to compromise credible elections. As a means of underscoring the strategic importance of the unions and their members, a paper on understanding the 'power broker' role of transport workers was presented in Chapter Three by 'Lai Olurode. The paper was both theoretical and practical as it tries to answer the question whether indeed transport workers and their union could be regarded as power brokers in the true sense of the term. The paper also explored ways in which transport workers and their unions can be made to serve a number of public purposes. It was also clear that interferences by members of the political class in the affairs of the unions and their members were common. As part of its conclusion, the paper averred that a formal partnership between INEC and the unions will be mutually beneficial to both parties.

In Chapter Four, the author Jadi Suleiman draws a connection between drug use and election, and subsequently pointed out ways in which drug use can promote anti-social behaviours that are capable of undermining elections credibility. Illicit drug use was implicated in the entire gamut of electoral process. He asserts that powerful politicians make sure that they induce illicit drug use on their supporters during all phases of the electoral process. Drug use was most common among youths. The paper hinted at efforts that

are being made by the NDLEA to mitigate the consequences of drug abuse for election violence.

The paper by Iyiola Oni, Chapter Five, was on the role of transport unions in election security. The paper could be described as an extension and elaboration of Chapter Three. Oni expatiated on the concept of security in the electoral process. He also gave a brief history of election security and of the constitutional roles of security agents. The numerous unions in the transport sector were then identified as well as the importance of the sector in being one of the largest employers of labour. The paper then concluded by recommending the integration of transport unions into election stakeholders community while simultaneously reaching out to members of the union on key issues relating to election security and election logistics.

Chapter Six contains a synopsis of stakeholder's perspectives on the subject matter of this work. The methodology for generating the data was achieved by organizing participants into groups that eventually contributed to focus group discussions. Focus group discussions were organized for the following five groups:

- a. Youth wing of NURTW
- b. Old members of NURTW
- c. Youth wing of political parties
- d. Members of the ICCES and
- e. Senior INEC officials

Our conclusions are contained in Chapter Seven. There are two appendixes: Appendix I is the communiqué issued at the end of the workshop and Appendix II is a review of the last publication in the

series of election security by INEC in collaboration with the FES. The title of the publication is Election Security in Nigeria: Matters Arising.

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Chapter Two

Stakeholders and the Electoral Process in Nigeria: Review of 2011 Elections and Projections for 2015

Attahiru M. Jega

2.1 Introduction

From universal experience, elections are the best means of deepening democracy and promoting good governance. Credible elections make leaders accountable and responsive to the yearnings and aspirations of the people from whom they derive their mandate to govern. Free and fair elections offer citizens the opportunity to elect leaders from whom they can demand good governance, and who they can hope to reject in subsequent elections if such demand is not met. Elections, therefore, promote citizens' participation in governance through the exercise of their right to choose or reject leaders, based on the performance of such leaders in fulfilling the social contract. While elections may not be a sufficient condition for true democracy, they constitute an essential ingredient.

Nigeria is a country in transition. We are still in the process of weaning the political culture from anti-democratic tendencies that many years of military rule we had lived under fostered in our national life. Since elections constitute an essential ingredient of every participatory democracy, our electoral system is a work in progress. In other words, we are still undergoing reform processes and policy initiatives aimed at refining the system; hence, the system is not yet perfect.

Democratization, in all societies, is neither a swift nor smooth-sailing experience. Some scholars have argued that it is a long and tortuous process that takes place in incremental waves, in the course of which societies transit from authoritarian control into a liberal, 'participatory' state. Our experience in Nigeria has largely reflected this pattern. Until 1999, Nigeria's experience of democratization was in fits and starts; characterized by military interventions in the political system in 1966, 1975, 1983, 1985, 1993 and 1998. The advent of the Fourth Republic in 1999 brought some stability to the polity; but the democratization process was bedevilled by badly conducted elections that left Nigerians frustrated and disenchanted with the value and validity of electoral democracy in the country. That was the challenge facing our country when we came on board as a Commission in 2010, shortly after which we had to conduct the 2011 general elections that were adjudged locally and internationally among the best elections Nigeria ever had.

I am convinced that the 2011 general elections would not have received the accolades it did without the tremendous support and interest it received from stakeholders. The enthusiasm with which the vast majority of Nigerians went about the elections was unprecedented. During the registration of voters in 2011, for instance, there were cases in which communities provided chairs, canopies, tables and even generators to ensure that the exercise was concluded successfully. There was indeed a widespread feeling among Nigerians that they are stakeholders in the electoral reform process and in the success of the country's democratic experiment. I think, therefore, that the choice of the theme of stakeholders in the electoral process is timely. We need to understand who these

stakeholders are, their roles in the electoral process and the very positive relationships that INEC forged with them during the 2011 elections, as well as how we can build on these relationships for the 2015 general elections and beyond.

2.2 Understanding Stakeholders in the Electoral Process

In many democracies across the world, the management of elections is increasingly becoming less of a technical affair to be left exclusively to the EMBs and other statutory bodies and their officials. Instead, it is becoming more of a terrain of broad civic engagement, involving volunteer poll workers, election observers, CSOs, citizen groups, the media and opinion moulders. Indeed, EMBs are becoming smaller and smaller in composition because citizens are becoming more directly involved in the governance of the electoral process. This wide-ranging citizen involvement in elections, both as individuals and as organizations, defines the role of stakeholders in the electoral process. It seems to me that one defining characteristic of democratic maturity is the rising involvement of stakeholders in the electoral process. In other words, the more mature a democracy is, the more directly involved in the electoral process and its management that citizens, as stakeholders, would become. By the way, the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 8th edition defined a 'stakeholder' in the following words: "a person or company that is involved in a particular organization, project, system, etc., especially because they have invested money in it." To define it broadly and since all Nigerians including even our development partners have interests in how we do elections, all can thus be said to be stake-holders in the electoral process. This is the more so, because we are bound to be affected by election outcomes.

The growing importance of stakeholders in the electoral process necessitates an important distinction between election management and election governance. I use the term election management *sensu stricto* [in a strict sense] to designate the technical, largely routine application of pre-established rules to the organization of people and materials to conduct an election. This is clearly the sphere of a technical-professional corps of election managers to be found in the EMBs and other statutory agencies. On the other hand, I use the term election governance *sensu lato* [in a broad sense] to mean the application of a dominant regime, defined by citizens as stakeholders in the democratic process, to the conduct of elections. This is the civic sphere, the sphere of stakeholders in the electoral process.

Election governance is becoming very central to the work of electoral commissions like INEC because of the rising involvement of electoral stakeholders. In Nigeria, the stakeholders include CSOs that observe elections, conduct voter and civic education, monitor legal issues in the electoral process, monitor security agencies, and conduct research on elections, work on political finance or monitor political parties. In addition, there are several community organizations, youth organizations, women organizations, organizations of persons living with disability and faith based organizations that perform sundry functions, particularly mobilization and education, in the electoral process. Also, the media and political parties play prominent roles in the electoral process. Finally, stakeholders in the electoral process increasingly include international development partners, bilateral and multilateral agencies that provide technical and financial support to the electoral process.

The functions of these stakeholders in the electoral process include:

- a. Mobilization of citizens to participate by registering and voting on Election Day, as well as protecting their mandates.
- b. Oversight of the electoral process.
- c. Support for the process through working with the EMBs.
- d. Making demands for improvements from the EMBs, other statutory agencies and political parties.
- e. Spreading certain values and expectations that are supportive of the democratic and electoral processes.
- f. Information dissemination.
- g. Gate keeping functions.
- h. Rule-setting and norm-setting.
- i. Conflict management.
- j. Driving electoral reforms.

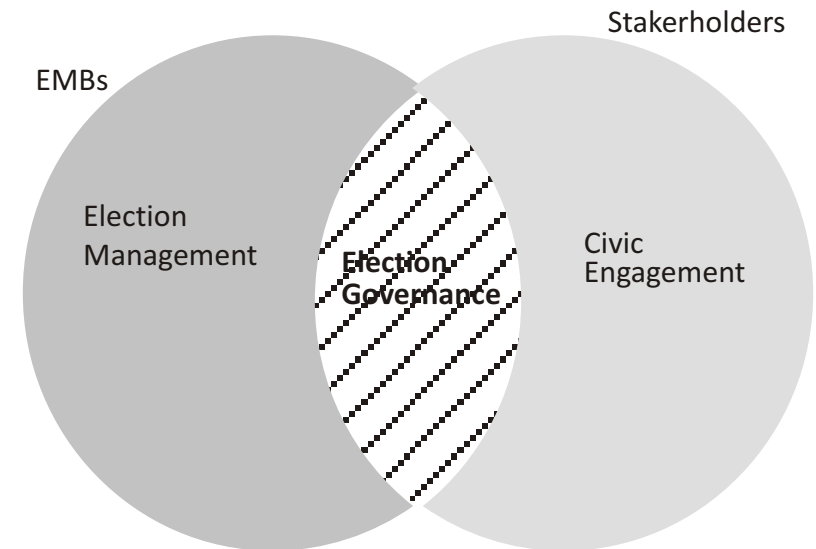


Figure: The Space of Election Governance

I should emphasize that in recent times in Nigeria, the cardinal role that stakeholders in the electoral process have played is to canvass for reforms. As I have already noted, Nigeria's democratic process was for long marked by instability, particularly because of recurrent failure of the electoral process to faithfully deliver the wishes of Nigerians. By 2007, matters have practically come to a head and Nigerians almost unanimously agreed that the electoral process had to be fundamentally reformed.

2.3 Reforms Prior to 2011 Elections

An overwhelming desire for electoral reforms among Nigerians heralded our inauguration in office in June, 2010. This was in the wake of the work of an Electoral Reform Committee set up by the late President Umaru Yar'Adua and headed by former Chief Justice Mohammed Lawal Uwais. That committee, of which I was privileged to be a member, made far-reaching recommendations on measures necessary to ensure the credibility of elections in Nigeria. Government has adopted many of those recommendations, although a few were not.

Since the inauguration of the present Commission, we have worked hard to improve the electoral process and to incrementally respond to the desire of Nigerians for their votes to count and for democracy to be deepened. The following are some of the measures we introduced in 2011 with appreciable results:

- a. A new biometric Register of Voters;
- b. A Re-Modified Open Ballot System (REMOBS);
- c. Improved standards in the production of Sensitive Electoral Materials (i.e., serial numbering and colour-coding of Ballot

- Papers and Results Sheets, as well as security coding of Ballot Boxes);
- d. Revised framework for results collation and returns;
- e. Revised framework for engagement of ad-hoc staff;
- f. More open and transparent procedures, modalities and processes on Election Day (i.e., pasting of results at Polling Units and Collation Centres);
- g. Closer collaboration and partnerships with a range of critical stakeholders such as political parties, security agencies, CSOs, media practitioners, etc.;
- h. Improved voter education and citizen engagement;
- i. Improved and increased training and re-training of INEC staff; and
- j. Creation of an ICCES to ensure coordinated engagement of all the security agencies during election periods.

Since the 2011 elections, the Commission has spent much time reflecting on the conduct and outcome of the elections. Many reviews have been conducted involving INEC staff, security agencies, development partners, the media and political parties. As part of that review, an independent committee of experts was appointed to review the 2011 voter registration exercise and the General Election. The purpose was to critically review both processes and advise the Commission on how future elections could be improved beyond our modest achievements in 2011. The outcome of their work is now widely available as the Report of the Registration and Election Review Committee (RERC), which is published on INEC website www.inecnigeria.org

2.4 Lessons from the 2011 General Elections

Some of the key lessons we learnt from the 2011 elections and those reviews that followed include:

a. Good elections require adequate and timely planning: We have come to learn that there is no alternative to planning and preparing adequately. Election projects in a country like Nigeria are massive undertakings and require very professional planning. One of my favourite anecdotes about the 2011 elections is that in the registration of voters for the elections, the DDC machines we used would have formed a chain over 80 kilometres long if placed end to end; while the over 400,000 staff deployed for the exercise outnumbered the combined strength of the armed forces of the entire West African sub-region. And for the elections, we doubled that number of staff. That is the nature of massive deployment involved in the elections. Even if we discount the complex terrains over which we have to deploy, mobilize, deploy safely and retrieve close to a million workers and a huge quantity of materials is by any standard a huge project. Of course, planning is meaningless without adequate funding. This entails both adequate fund provisions and timely releases of such funds. We were lucky that we received the full support of the government in this regard in 2011, and we are pleased that this support is being replicated for the 2015 elections.

b. Good elections are about effective partnerships and cooperation: We have also come to learn that running an election is a cooperative enterprise, not just a task for INEC alone. Within weeks in 2011, we were able to assemble and manage over 360,000 poll officials, mainly NYSC members, and another 240,000 security

officials to work at the polling unit level. Thousands of other security personnel were on patrol; while over 20,000 university staff, including vice chancellors, were enlisted to serve as collation and returning officers; besides thousands of local and foreign observers who witnessed the elections. Without the cooperation of various ministries, departments and agencies, especially the NYSC and security agencies that worked with us in ICCES, the conduct of the elections would indeed have been a difficult, if not an impossible mission.

c. Good elections are about openness: Another lesson we learned from 2011 is the importance of openness in managing elections. There are two dimensions to this openness. First, it is important for an EMB to be open to new ideas that support creativity. At very difficult times, we were able to try new things and depend on the creativity of our staff. Secondly, it is important to be open to stakeholders by sharing information, openly discussing difficulties and taking responsibility when necessary. Related to openness is humility: humility to learn, humility to accept limitations, and humility to make corrections when necessary.

d. Finally and perhaps the most important lesson of 2011 is that despite all the encomiums, the elections were by no means perfect: We at INEC were not only humbled by the praises, we have also been humble enough to realize that there is room for improvement. That was why our preparations for 2015 could be said to have begun immediately after the 2011 elections.

2.5 Further Reforms Ahead of 2015

The principle underlying our preparations for the 2015 elections is to consolidate the gains of 2011 and prevent reoccurrence of its weaknesses. To achieve this, we have given ourselves three focal points namely: structure, policy and plan. In structure, we have taken a long and deep look at INEC as an institution, its structure and processes, as well as its human resources. In policy, we have focused on developing new policies to guide our work and create the right normative framework for successful election management in Nigeria. We have also focused on planning both strategic planning and election planning. The following are some of the things the Commission has done as it prepares for the 2015 elections:

- a. A Strategic Plan (2012 – 2016) and a detailed Strategic Program of Action have been formulated and are being implemented.
- b. A detailed Election Project Plan is being implemented to ensure seamless execution of specific tasks leading to the 2015 elections.
- c. A comprehensive reorganization and restructuring of the Commission has been completed, drawing from the recommendations of a highly rated management consulting firm.
- d. The consolidation and de-duplication of the biometric Register of Voters has been completed, as a result of which the register of voters now has tremendous integrity much better than the one with which the 2011 elections were conducted. Indeed, our register compares favourably with any Register of Voters on the African continent.

- e. We have rolled out a phased programme of Continuous Voter Registration (CVR) nation-wide. The second phase of this programme began in twelve (12) states on 20th August, and ran till 25th August, 2014.
- f. We have also started issuing duly registered voters with chip-based Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs), which will be swiped with card readers in the 2015 elections to ensure 100 per cent verification and authentication of voters. We have distributed the cards in 24 states till date, while distribution will take place in outstanding states under the third phase of the programme at a date soon to be announced by the Commission.
- g. A Communication Policy/Strategy, designed to improve both internal and external communication by the Commission, is being put to good use.
- h. A Gender Policy that will make the Commission's work more gender sensitive, in line with global best practice, has been articulated and will be implemented before the 2015 general elections.
- i. Drawing from our experiences in the 2011 elections and others since then, we have submitted recommendations for improvements to the legal framework, especially the Electoral Act and the Constitution, to the National Assembly.
- j. A Committee, COREC, was set up to review the role of the Commission in election-related litigations, and it has made far-reaching recommendations for improvement towards 2015.
- k. The mapping and re-engineering of the Commission's Business Processes and Election Management System (EMS) has been concluded.

- l. The Electoral Institute (TEI) has been reorganized, with the aim of making it a centre of excellence for training and research not just for INEC, but also for State Independent Electoral Commissions (SIECs) and other EMBs in the West African sub-region.
- m. A Graphic Design Centre has been established with support from a development partner (FES), which now gives INEC the capacity to produce several election materials internally.
- n. A programme for the review of electoral constituencies and the creation of additional polling units is on-going.
- o. INEC staff are being trained and re-trained on an on-going basis, especially through several BRIDGE workshops, with support from many development partners.
- p. All the Guidelines and Regulations on the electoral process are being revised, while discussion has commenced with legal experts across the country on how to enact and gazette them.
- q. An Election Risk Management Tool, designed with support from the African Union (AU) and International IDEA, has been deployed ahead of 2015 to enable the Commission to gather information about risk factors associated with elections, be able to analyse them and deploy effective measures to contain or mitigate those factors, towards ensuring peaceful and violence-free elections.

From the foregoing, we are convinced that the prospects of having good elections in 2015 are very bright. But we harbour no illusion that our preparations are perfect, or that we have accounted for all the issues that could pose challenges for the elections. In fact, there are still a number of key challenges.

2.6 Challenges Ahead in 2015

It is not possible to predict all challenges that could arise in the management of an election. All we have done is to learn from past challenges and try to contain them. Still, some old challenges willy-nilly would persist and new ones are likely to emerge. Four major challenges continue to face us as we approach 2015 and, for want of better characterization, I name them as insecurity, funding, attitude of the political class and an inactive citizenry.

a. Insecurity: One of the most depressing epithets of elections in Nigeria is that they are said to be 'akin to war'. Indeed, the heat and passion associated with elections in Nigeria often make elections appear like war. Pre-election violence has led to the death of many politicians, their supporters and innocent citizens. Widespread intimidation of voters persists and organized thugs spread fear across communities in the build up to elections. Part of the problem could be because elections in Nigeria are a winner-takes-all affair; in effect, the loser loses everything, akin to payment of reparations by an enemy defeated in a war. In fact, election security has become a lasting issue facing the management of elections in Nigeria. Several security threats now characterize the electoral process. These include physical attacks on INEC staff and facilities, attacks on security personnel on election duty, misuse of security orderlies by politicians, attacks on political opponents, cyber-attacks targeting INEC's databases, especially the register of voters, violence at campaigns, intimidation of voters, snatching and destruction of elections materials, among others. These threats are now exacerbated by insecurity in some parts of the country, making the conduct of elections in those parts even more insecure.

In response to the rising challenge of electoral insecurity, INEC in 2011 collaborated with security agencies to establish the ICCES as the main framework for managing election security. The roles of ICCES include to:

- i. Coordinate the design of a comprehensive election security management system for INEC;
- ii. Develop locally focused plans for providing security before, during and after elections;
- iii. Harmonize the training, deployment and actions of security personnel on election duties;
- iv. Assess existing security threats across the country that have implications for elections and produce a red, amber and green electoral security map that is regularly updated;
- v. Advise INEC on rapid response to security threats around elections, including voter registration;
- vi. Ensure a reduction in transaction costs (to INEC) of dealing with individual security agencies on issues of elections;
- vii. Evaluate the performance of security agencies on election duties and recommend improvements and sanctions, where necessary and
- viii. Harmonize the election budgets of security agencies and source funding commonly, if possible.

To achieve these objectives, clear tasks are specified for each security agency while collective responsibilities and coordination are also made clear.

b. Funding: The second key challenge facing the Commission is adequate funding for the elections. As I earlier noted, all the relevant government agencies were very supportive in this regard in 2011

and we have no reason to believe that it will be different for the 2015 elections. We do recognize that organizing elections is only one of many things requiring funding by government. But the centrality of elections to our collective future is also clear. In preparing for the forthcoming elections, one guiding principle for the Commission has been to make elections more cost-effective and to give Nigerians better value for money. Our estimate is that the cost of election per voter, which is an international standard for viewing the cost of elections, is coming down in Nigeria. We project that for the 2015 elections this would come further down by almost \$1 from \$8.80 in 2011 to \$7.90, representing almost a 10% drop. This compares favourably with some other African countries.

c. Attitude of the Political Class: Another key challenge facing the Nigerian electoral process is a widespread absence of moderation among politicians. We are concerned about this because even if the management of elections meets the highest standards, insofar as the contestants are unwilling to play by the rules, there will be grave problems. The Commission remains deeply concerned about growing conflicts within political parties and between contestants. The use of language is in most cases indecorous, encouraging supporters to follow suit with more intemperate language and ultimately fuelling violence. Political parties even find it difficult to select candidates, creating a situation in which practically every nomination process in Nigeria ends in a court case. In most instances, the Commission gets either directly or vicariously involved in these conflicts and court cases. Electioneering is dominated by attacks on the personality of opponents, rather than a debate of ideas and programmes. Electors have little or no space to interrogate the campaign promises made

by office-seekers and are left to rely on whims or, indeed, primordial sentiments in exercising their choice of representatives. Of particular note is the spate of ex parte injunctions that have been issued against the Commission. One would expect that parties should have clear rules and procedures for selecting candidates and resolving issues therefrom to the satisfaction of all their members. It seems to me that a primary source of the problem here is lack of internal party democracy, resulting from lack of commitment to party rules.

d. Need for even Greater Citizen Participation: Clearly, an active citizenry in a political system is crucial to the sustenance and deepening of a country's democratic experience. Although there has been a geometric growth in the involvement of stakeholders in the electoral process, there is room for improvement. The active participation of citizens not only ensures sustained engagement and participation in the political and electoral processes, it could also be a bulwark against the impunity in political culture, a bit of which I described above. EMBs across the world need an active citizenry to complement their efforts at ensuring that elections are free, fair and credible. Our experience in Nigeria is that the citizenry has been largely apathetic towards the political process due to widespread poverty, lack of literacy and distrust of government. Without an active citizenry, efforts towards enhancing the credibility of elections by the Commission would have limited impact on the electoral process.

Apart from the four key challenges I have outlined above, there are a number of what I may call residual challenges. I outline them briefly:

- a. Delay in Amendment to the Legal Framework, namely the Constitution and Electoral Act:** The global best practice is to ensure that no changes are made to the electoral legal framework later than six months to the elections. We hope that all amendments will be completed early enough to ensure that they are widely understood by both practitioners and the general public.
- b. Completion of the Review of Electoral Constituencies and Polling Units:** The Commission is committed to carry out this exercise, although the constraint of time makes it unlikely for this to be concluded before the 2015 elections. Equity of representation is one pillar on which democracy rests.
- c. Prosecution of Election Offenders:** This remains a major sticking point in the work of the Commission. We have repeatedly noted that the Commission lacks the capacity to prosecute the huge numbers of offenders. We hope that our proposal for the establishment of an independent body to deal with electoral offences, which is also in the report of the Election Reform Committee, will materialise.

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, election management and election governance must be broadly cooperative. Stakeholders are at the very heart of this cooperative, after all elections are for them. We at INEC have been prime beneficiaries of the support of stakeholders in the electoral process in the past, particularly in the 2011 general elections. To be sure, there is room for even greater cooperation as we prepare for the 2015 elections.

Chapter Three

Understanding a 'Power Broker': The Road Transport Workers Unions in the Context of Election Security

'Lai Olurode

3.1 Introduction

Perhaps, it is necessary to state upfront that the overarching philosophical and theoretical premise of this paper is one that assumes democracy and the freedom that it offers is a platform for the majority to harvest social goods while simultaneously ventilating their anger. Democracy rests on clean elections as its infrastructure and nourisher. If elections themselves, are to be regarded as credible, a good register of voters is required, so are a good legal framework, sound voter education, internal party democracy and viable political parties among others. When elections go under or against these standards, the threat to democratization becomes obvious. In Africa and generally, democracy can be imperilled and crippled by election insecurity. There are many players in election security, some operate at the core, others at the periphery but, acting in synergy, both can confer credibility on the electoral process. So, when elections are secured, indirectly, access to social good is being expanded and poverty is simultaneously mitigated. Intrinsically, people are happy to be part of a political process where votes count. They become more trusting of government institutions and more civil in their public conduct. Participatory development is key to sustainable development and is an outward expression of the binding nature of social contract.

People's votes symbolize a social contract between the electorates and their elected representatives, somewhat a promissory note which is to be converted or exchanged for social good in the short or the long run. The sanctity of the ballot must be preserved at all cost and informed choices must be made as the ballot is loaded with potential public goods.

In my considered opinion, road transport workers as union(s) can serve a number of public purposes that are yet to be explored. The Nigerian state and its institutions have not partnered effectively enough with private transport workers. Private transport operators and their unions are indispensable to a country's integration and to its security. With the appalling state of public transportation in most of Africa, private operators hold the sway. Were the generality of people to rely mainly on the public sector for their transportation needs, most would experience severe unmet needs in the sphere of mobility of goods, services and people. The reference to the world as a global village is on account of the immense transformation and improvements in transportation network and technology that had bridged physical distances and spaces. Private motor parks are often a beehive of activities for travellers and they are high points of human convergence. Nigeria has a high percentage of youthful population, something in the range of 50%, who are perennially on the move in search of opportunities to improve their chances in life. This explains why criminal elements targeted the Nyanyan motor garage in Abuja, Nigeria for their dastardly acts on both 14th April, and 1st May, 2014. An average Nigerian will travel to work and other destinations by road and rarely neither by air nor rail. Even then, there are also severe limitations to road transportation because in

all, Nigeria has only 193,200km of road.¹ Travel by air is constrained as Nigeria has just 17 private airlines with a total of less than 100 aircraft among them. Although, the super-rich now resorts to owning private jets, however, the number of private jet owners is currently put at 123.² The majority of Nigerians travel by road.

Apart from its public purpose, private transporters are also a force to reckon with on ground of security. The unfortunate kidnap of the Chibok girls on 14th April, 2014 probably happened with the connivance of private transport sector operators. We have often heard stories of how okada riders commit atrocities which involve serious security breaches. Illegal trans-border movements and smuggling of people and goods cannot be accomplished without the cooperation of private sector transport operators. The key research question therefore is what is the place of private road transport workers in election logistics and election security?

Threats to election security have remained an albatross of a kind in Nigeria's determined efforts to deliver on credible elections. Fears of safety of electoral personnel and election materials have not abated despite the several measures being put in place to mitigate them. There are also challenges with election logistics with incessant complaints about late arrival of election materials and thus the late commencement of polls which are also conflict triggers. When the series of workshops on security challenges of election management commenced in 2010, it was obvious that a science-driven approach to address election security challenges would begin to unfold. INEC-

¹ See www.trading.economics.com 8th May, 2014.

² See www.newsexpressngr.com/news 24th July, 2014

FES collaboration in this respect continues to prompt a more rational, robust and actionable election security measures.

There are three immediate but measurable outcomes of this collaboration. First is the near disappearance of the debilitating phenomenon of inter-agency rivalry whereby security agents, rather than securing election personnel and election infrastructure turned against themselves for reasons of petty rivalry and spurious claims of superiority. What seems to facilitate the end of inter-agency rivalry is the coming into existence of what is now known among election security stakeholders community as the ICCES. This committee itself was an outcome of the first collaboration between INEC and FES at a workshop on security challenges of election management in Nigeria in 2010. The first and the second workshops culminated in the publications of two books³ on the phenomenon. The second measurable outcome of the INEC and FES collaboration is the curbing of impunity by public office holders who often move around during elections. To some extent, power of incumbency and its open disruption of the electoral process has been curbed. Thirdly, the Commission now rigorously thinks election security and is more responsive to deploying tools tested elsewhere to minimize election security risks. Presently, there now exists a platform for not only sharing ideas among security agencies involved in elections, but also for training them on the electoral process and citizenship generally.

³ See the different chapters in Olurode, 'Lai and Jega, Attahiru (eds.) (2011) Security challenges of election management in Nigeria. Abuja: INEC and FES, and Olurode, 'Lai (ed.) (2013). Election security in Nigeria: Matters arising. Abuja: INEC and FES. The publication adumbrated the inexorable nature of election insecurity and the diverse strategies being mustered to mitigate their consequences.

It must be stated, however, that electoral violence continues to beleaguer Nigeria's electoral process with only dim prospects of abatement of the nuisance that this constitutes. May be, I should quickly recall two incidents that the Commission found frustrating. Sometimes in early February, 2013, the Commission held a bye-election in the Gaya and Garko constituencies of Kano state. Though a return was made in the elections, INEC had to disown the election and in fact, decried in strong terms the violence that greeted the election. In a press release, INEC, in apparent frustration said as follows among others: "Electoral officials were intimidated, harassed and threatened while some INEC supervisory officials were assaulted." What was more, INEC lamented that, "regrettably, reports also showed that despite the overwhelming show of force by armed youths during the Kano state bye-election, security agents failed to intervene. INEC is concerned that under the circumstance, the elections were conducted in an unwholesome atmosphere that interfered with voters' exercise of their freedom of choice" (see, The Punch, 7th February, 2013).

Curiously too, security agents were unable to address the security challenges that arose in the bye-election to the Ese-Odo/Ilaje federal constituency in Ondo state on 5th April, 2014 which was marred by violence to the extent that out of 395 polling units, elections were cancelled in 59 polling units, which amounted to cancellation of almost 15 per cent of the polling units (see report submitted to the Commission by the resident electoral commissioner of Ondo state, dated 17th April, 2014). In the August, 2014 election in Osun state, acts of crass impunity were also exhibited wearing of masks by security agents, abduction of INEC staff on election duties and illegal seizure of election materials by

security personnel without any justification for these acts. There is no doubt that in these two instances, incumbency power by executive office holders was at play. But given the commendations by international observers' submissions on the conduct of security agents in the 2011 general elections, all hopes are not lost.⁴

This silver lining⁵ notwithstanding, there remains evident challenges that can only be glossed over at the peril of electoral fidelity and credibility. Though, the challenges of deployment have been substantially overcome, those relating to attitudinal issues and mindset on the part of security agents and how to make those on the fringes of election stakeholders' community accept the emerging security template are pertinent. The contributions of road transport workers and youths to election insecurity cannot be said to be insignificant.

⁴ See comments by Commonwealth observers group in their interim report on the National Assembly and the Presidential Elections which partly go as follows: "The April 2011 elections marked a genuine celebration of democracy in Africa's most populous country and a key member of the Commonwealth. Previously held notions that Nigeria can only hold flawed elections are now being discarded and this country can now shake off that stigma and redeem its image" See p. 3 of the interim statement; see also p. 12 of INEC's synopsis of reports by domestic and international observers groups, Research and Documentation Department, The Electoral Institute (TEI), INEC, January 2012. Also a related congratulatory message to the then President-elect Goodluck Jonathan by President Barak Obama of the United States of America upon the conclusion of the elections was a watershed in the history of Nigeria's elections.

⁵ See Olurode, 'Lai (2013). 'Election security in Nigeria: Is there a silver lining?' Olurode, 'Lai (ed.) 'Election security in Nigeria': Matters arising. Abuja: INEC and FES, pp. 1-18.

These groups, unknown to many, are among the strongest allies of the political class during elections. It can be theorized that very few politicians can ascend or sustain political power without their patronage. They are not only hired to provoke crisis, they are also believed to be experts in embarrassing and disgracing political foes at public gatherings. Their services could also be sought for sundry purposes. The management of these marginal stakeholders in the pre-election, election and in the post-election phases of the electoral cycle can indeed be precarious. It is now high time that these groups, among others, were net in. In understanding the role of transport workers in the electoral process, I wish to rely on the theory of a power broker. Transport workers unions are a power broker of a sort. They wield influence and can theoretically decide who has political power. Some of their features previously enumerated predispose them to wielding influence. Power brokers are believed to wield tremendous influence that may be the determinant of who will access political power. In the second section of this chapter, I outlined those stakeholders that may be regarded as being on the fringes and a particular one whose cooperation is germane to the security of the electoral process. In the third section, I presented some core objectives of the paper and methodological challenges while in the fourth section, some tentative findings of the research work are outlined. The fifth section is the conclusion.

3.2 Who are the Stakeholders on the Fringes of Election Security?

Following the 2010 first ever workshop on challenges of election security in Nigeria, the Commission took the decision to set up the security committee. Those that made the membership list were

mainly from the offices of the NSA to the President, the NPF, the SSS, the different branches of the Military, NSCDC, NIS, NCS and all other arm bearing agencies of the state. In the perception of the Commission, these could be regarded then as the core stakeholders in election security while others may be assumed as stakeholders on the fringes. Prominent among this group of fringe stakeholders are transport workers, transport owners association, the youth wings of political parties, independent artisans and millions of unemployed youths who are easy targets or cannon fodders in the hands of politicians and their cronies.

Among this plethora of stakeholders, the NURTW deserves a special focus for some reasons as adduced in the following:

First, is the population size of this transport workers union and its members being predominantly youths. Its size and demography as well as outlook justify our special attention on the union as strategic, though it is a non-state actor in election security matters.

Second, the strategic importance of transport workers in moving goods and people in a country where public transportation is almost non-existent cannot be glossed over. The cooperation of this group in any national project that requires logistics is an imperative. As an example, except for their collaboration, movement of election materials and personnel and their retrieval cannot simply take place if this group becomes recalcitrant.

Third, it is public knowledge that the political class seeks the friendship of this group to gain electoral advantage. Politicians and security agents thus struggle to contain the excesses of this group while simultaneously cultivating their friendship and loyalty for

security and political reasons. Transport workers unions are believed to be a power broker of a sort. The popular perception is that the nature of the work of transport workers predisposes them to aggressive behaviour and are thus vulnerable for recruitments as thugs in the electoral process.

The fourth point is on the nature of recruitment into this trade. It seems to be less formalised unlike most others where new recruits are introduced by known persons and where agreements and terms of engagement are duly executed and agreed to. There also would be an understanding as to the number of years to be spent as an apprentice, terms of graduation and initiation. These are certainly not the case with young apprentices into the transport business. They seem to be recruited into the business on a weak contractual basis. This results in easy membership and perhaps, it is one of the reasons of its large population.

It will be good to answer the question: Who are the road transport workers? In the constitution of the NURTW under Article 5, it is defined as “any person who is engaged in the road transport services or employed in the public sector companies, i. e. transportation of passengers and foodstuffs by road shall become a member of the union on organization of such employees into the union.”

A relevant question is, “What is the public perception of transport workers? Motor parks apprentices are derogatively referred to as 'omo ita' or 'omo eyin oko' by the Yorubas. In Hausa, they are pejoratively referred⁶ to as 'yan tasha' someone with no reputation,

⁶ Interview with Ambassador Mohammad A. Wali, April, 2014.

a person of no substance and of no means and consequence and in Igbo as 'agboro' (perhaps a corrupted version of Yoruba 'agbero' or touts) or as 'ocho passenger.' No serious person is expected to engage them in a fight or in any serious argument. They are believed to have weak family roots and links. They are perceived as operating on the fringes of society. Are these perceptions real? Granted that it is good practice to include this group as a stakeholder on matters pertaining to election security, we then need to have some working knowledge of their modus operandi. How then are we to proceed to gain real knowledge of the dynamics of the group? Indeed, what research strategies should we employ to gain knowledge of transport workers? No doubt, methodological approaches are at the root of epistemology and the kind of knowledge that is gained is ultimately tied to our methods. The next section focuses on this issue of method.

3.3 Objectives and Methodological Challenges

Either as a means to an end or simply for its heuristic purpose, the knowledge of any phenomenon is useful. In the context of our current engagement as an EMB and given the general concern with election security which if poorly managed can fetter the unfolding democratization project, it behoves us to understand any subject matter that can assist us in delivering on credible elections. Granted that transport workers belong to the group about which some knowledge should be gained as an input into election project plans and operations, then, what exactly should be known about the phenomenon? In an earlier and related work on the subject matter,

a theoretical guide had been provided.⁷ In addition, we shall explore an additional theoretical insight which I refer to as the theory of power broker. Power brokers wield a lot of influence and this influence can be decisive in who gains political power. Indeed, NURTW can be regarded as a power broker. It is a union that is worth knowing. The fear of this union by politicians is the beginning of wisdom.

It is that which is worth knowing that should drive our methods of knowing. To paraphrase the above, 'What really are our objectives in this research?' Our core research question had been posed earlier which can be reiterated here: 'What is the place of transport workers in election security and logistics?' Or put differently, 'How can transport workers contribute more meaningfully to public purpose?' We should now encapsulate our general and specific objectives and why an understanding of this phenomenon is thought to be capable of leveraging election security, election credibility and improvements on the potential contributions of NURTW members to public good. As a general concern, we need to understand the general dynamics, outlook and orientation of transport workers that make them to be perceived as power brokers; what may inhibit or facilitate our contractual relationship with them in the logistics of transporting and retrieving election materials and personnel. More specifically, the following objectives are worth pursuing and are the objectives of this research:

⁷ Interview with Professor Okeckukwu Ibeanu, Chief Technical Adviser to the INEC Chairman, April, 2014.

- a. to find out if the values shared by the generality of the rank and file of transport workers are compatible with democratization;
- b. to find out what in the organogram and structure of the transport union in question make for communication and social control;
- c. to establish factors which in the opinion of transport workers are capable of precipitating election conflict and violence;
- d. to establish what transport workers are willing to do to mitigate the degeneration of the electoral process into election fiasco;
- e. to find what forms of economic and political transactions exist between the road transport workers' union and agents of the state and politicians; and
- f. to find out what is in the nature of transport workers that make people to perceive them as being culpable in some cases of election insecurity.

Now that our objectives are stated in more measurable terms, the kind of data for collection and those to talk to become clearer and better understood. We must bear in mind that this study is essentially exploratory and its findings can only be tentative. A quick search on the internet on NURTW yielded insufficient information. Other than the headquarters address, nothing helpful for what we needed was posted on their website. An online reading of newspapers gave some excerpts, mainly negative opinions and incidents. I suspected that our state offices might have had some contacts with them in the cause of election logistics and operations. This contact yielded some good results. Transport workers' union is one of the most often mentioned unions in the newspapers and a

perusal through selected newspapers was of assistance in providing some clues. As is usual in social research, one link leads to other. We were able to obtain some good responses to some of our quests for knowledge of road transport workers.

3.4 Tentative Findings

Both documentary search and interview methods⁸ were employed in achieving our research objectives. Among people that were interviewed were officials of NURTW, some RECs, some who had knowledge of the operations of transport workers and members of the public. The interviews were rather not random but purposive. Other than these interviews, we also relied on published documents such as newspaper reports, the constitution of the association and other related publications. The union, an affiliate of the NLC, was founded in 1977 and was duly registered with the Ministry of Labour. A perusal through the constitution of NURTW shows clearly that the values espoused by the association are in tandem with the core tenets of democratization. Some major objectives of the body are 'encouragement of participation of workers in decision-making process both at the industrial sector and at the national levels' and also 'organization and complete unionisation of all workers engaged in road transportation who are qualified for membership in the union' as well as 'to encourage women to participate in trade union affairs' (Article 3, subsection 1 to 13 of the constitution of NURTW).

⁸ See Olurode, 'Lai 'The feasibility of election security in an unsecured global environment'. Olurode, 'Lai and Jega, Attahiru (eds.) op. cit.

An individual member can only hold office in the union through an election which is conducted by means of a secret ballot. Though, a hierarchical organization, it is highly democratic both horizontally and in a vertical sense. Moreover, the constitution states further that, "Members wishing to hold elective offices in the union shall start from the units, through to the local branch and thereafter to the state level and finally to the national level. It therefore means that no member can hold any office at the state level without first serving at the local level and no one can hold an office at the national level without first of all serving at the state level" (see Article 42 on general provisions, subsection 4). There is really something in this to learn by political parties in leadership recruitment for political positions in Nigeria and even for INEC in granting license to political parties to operate. Political parties that had no presence at the local and state levels should have no business aspiring to field candidates at the national level.

The same Article 42 in subsection 3 talks about politics and the union. It prohibits diversion of the funds of the union for the furtherance of political objectives whether directly or otherwise. Members are free to join any political party of their choice. Members who wish to stand for elective offices in political parties shall be allowed to do so provided that such members shall formally withdraw their membership of the union or apply for leave of absence for the specific period for which they will be absent from the activities of the union. This provision was meant to isolate the union from partisan politics. Of course, this has been difficult to achieve. It seems, the political class cannot afford to leave the union and its members alone.

We spoke with some significant members of the association. What emerged from our discussions was that the officers are educated and they displayed impressive understanding of their roles and relationships with other sectors of society. In terms of orientation, they tend to share core values of society, particularly about democratization, the rule of law and they expressed concerns for good governance and people's welfare. Members' behaviour are governed by written rules. Elections are now held into specific offices and there are term limits. The organogram is both vertical and horizontal and this arrangement facilitated communication along hierarchical and horizontal lines. There is the national headquarters based in Abuja, zonal offices in the six geo-political zones, state councils in each state of the federation, branches in all the 774 local governments and units which are below local government offices. Attempts are now on to generate a list of registered members with a view to making election more credible and as a measure of prompting effective social control and discipline of erring members. These features of wide spread of members, the hierarchical control and sometimes the vast influence of leadership on the rank and file seem to be key factors in the power broker potential role of the union. Any union leader that is charismatic and humane will certainly wield tremendous influence among members which can be deployed for partisan purposes.

We asked questions on the perceived causes of conflict in which the union is involved, in particular, intra union conflict. The two major sources identified were forceful control of motor parks by those with expired terms of office and internal leadership tussle. An oppressive regime which is characterised by excessive levies and charges may be desperate at perpetuating itself in office and violent conflict may

ensue when attempts are made to remain in power at all cost. Of course, it is public knowledge that some state governments, for political considerations, try to curry the favour of NURTW and may even try to break its rank. The Oyo branch of the NURTW was particularly believed to have been compromised in the struggle for power between former Governor Ladoja's faction of the PDP and the faction loyal to late Lamidi Adedibu and Alao Akala. Up till today, the factions loyal to Lateef Akinsola and Abubakare Ola Tawa are yet to be reconciled. So, members of NURTW cannot be exculpated in the gale of impeachments that characterised some states during the President Obasanjo's second term (2003-2007) in office. The power broker theory cannot be dismissed as irrelevant. It however, requires more research to be able to make more authoritative assertions and causal relationships.

Though, this was not expressly stated during interviews with members, money may also be a major cause of rift among members. The association is an income generating body and has a wide network of members. There may also be temptations on the part of leadership to use its platform for political and economic transactions. The union enjoys a robust relationship with security agents, particularly, the police. A former and perhaps the first national chairman of the union, Chief Adebayo Success was a popular figure in social and security circles. Members are expected to pay what is called elected officers dues (E.O.D.) which are meant to maintain elected and appointed officers. The constitution does not theoretically allow them as an association to be affiliated with any political party but, nevertheless it enjoys government patronage at the federal, state and local government levels. This patronage could take several forms but the commonest ones include purchase

of commercial vehicles by state governments with repayment terms that are often generous, guaranteeing of loans and payment of interest by state government among other state-based support and patronage. State's supports for the union are expected to be reciprocated by union and its members through political loyalties.

Of course, politicians do try to penetrate the rank and file of the association and deliberately seek to create factions among them. Together with failure to vacate offices when terms are due and efforts to trade off their independence for paltry and selfish political gains, the association is often predisposed to conflict which can sometimes be protracted. In some cases, the court had been approached to resolve the debacle or imbroglio. A good case study is the present legal tussle in which the union is embroiled in Oyo state. Some facts in respect of this case may help to shed light on what issues may provoke crisis within the association. Though, the legal option shows deference for the rule of law but, it is rarely the only option that is pursued in conflict resolution as it is simultaneously pursued with street fight among factions of the union.

The Oyo state government, for some reasons, proscribed the Oyo state chapter of the NURTW. The then state chairman of the association challenged the proscription order in court. Upon ruling in favour of the petitioner, the state government then hurriedly inaugurated a caretaker committee. The questions for determination and reliefs sought from the court are as follow:

- a. Whether the four-year term fixed by paragraph 4(iv) of Article 42 of the constitution of NURTW for its state executive committee contemplates or includes any period

during which the union is proscribed or purported to be proscribed by any state authority or any force outside the operation of the union;

- b. Whether the period when the Oyo state chapter was proscribed or purported to be proscribed by the Oyo state government between 27th May, 2011 and 7th August, 2012 and between 6th June, 2011 and 5th October, 2012, making a total of 19 months when union activities were totally paralyzed and the state executive committee was unable to function will count towards the four-year term fixed by paragraph 4(iv) of Article 42 of the constitution of the union for the state executive committee of the union;
- c. Whether the constitution of the union contemplates the appointment of a caretaker committee to take the place of a duly elected state executive committee, when the state executive committee has not been suspended or dissolved by a resolution of the national executive committee of the union as provided in paragraph 7 of Article 42 of the constitution of the union.

The importance of this case is to illustrate undue interference in the activities of the union by state governments and the utter disregard for court rulings by state authorities. The overall objective was to put in place a faction that can be adjudged as more pliable and gullible enough to do the biddings of the government in power. The general perception is that whichever political party has the union on its side is certain to have some advantages over its political 'adversaries' in the electoral process. The union is a beautiful bride that is desired by

all. It is simply regarded as a power broker. The union is believed to have enough of the features that an average Nigerian politician strives for to gain political advantage of members of the union are believed to be capable of provoking embarrassment of political foes, disrupting their campaign rallies, causing breach of peace in the electoral process through snatching of election materials, abducting political opponents and paralysing electoral process in the stronghold of opposition. Then what with the reneging on previous contractual agreement to transport election materials on time so that the wards and polling units or even local government of the opposition will be disadvantaged.

In my discussions with a REC about the need for understanding between the Commission and NURTW on the latter's indispensable role in the electoral process came out clearly. The REC had this to say on transport workers:

'I once had a frustrating experience in Benue state with transport workers during one of the elections. There was an agreement which I thought had been struck with some transporters both financially and with regard to the mode of operations on election day. But on the day of election, there were threats by them to withdraw their vehicles and there were complaints of fuel shortage. I think it makes sense to seek partnership with transport workers ahead of election and thus consider them as stakeholders in the electoral process.⁹

⁹ Interview with Nasir Ayilara, Resident Electoral Commissioner formerly of Benue State but now in Oyo State.

Whatever bargain that has to be struck must not be on individual basis but one that will involve the union leaders in order to avert disappointment. With spirited attempts to firm up a register of members, it is expected that transport workers will become more responsive to INEC's overtures. Hoodlums are being chased out of most motor parks in the country. At the Ondo garage in Akure, for example, drinking of alcohol is forbidden and conducts likely to cause a breach of peace are frowned at. The union's constitution also forbids unruly behaviour. Touts are gradually being outlawed in most garages. Apart from intra union rivalry and squabbles, conflict with the RTEAN is on the decline. One factor that had contributed in a significant sense to this reduction of conflict is the recognition which NURTW enjoys with the Ministry of Labour. RTEAN does not enjoy such but, it has links with high level government officials at the federal and state levels. RTEAN also has its own factional tendency.

The perception by the public of the rank and file of members of NURTW as miscreants, indeed as 'yan tasha' (Hausa), 'agbero', 'omota', (Yoruba), 'ocho passenger', 'agboro' (Igbo) or indeed as militants, hoodlums, social misfits, ruffians and in a nutshell ones lacking in reputation may have been long held but, the truth is that these are rarely based on any study but more on myths and occasional engagements with some of them. Of course, those who have had their lost goods returned or had drawn benefits from professional practices of members would not cheaply subscribe to any of these negative perceptions. In the conclusion to this research, we justify why it is helpful for us as election managers to unmask the profile of transport workers as stakeholders in election security as we simultaneously adumbrate why partnership with transport workers may add value to election security and logistics. The scope

for extending our voter education activities to this group seems to offer potentials for mitigating election related violence which often emanate from the activities of transport workers. Theoretically, the constitution of the union offers a panacea to insulating members from election related conflict. This expectation is, however, not in conflict with the theory of power brokers.

3.4 Conclusion

Our major objective in this workshop was exploratory, a pioneering effort of a sort to understand the general dynamics and values espoused by transport workers. We also sought to understand the perception of private transport workers' union, on the core values embedded in democratization and in the electoral process, examined ways by which partnering with the transport union can assist in mitigating election related conflict and violence as well as come to terms with the nature of the relationship between the state and NURTW. A complex relationship is what is unfolding in which transport workers are not intimidated by fierce state power as wielded by incumbent powerful office holders. If anything, they [transport workers] seek now to curtail and even resist state coercive powers through the legal [the judiciary] shield and simultaneously, through the union's visible power brokers' role.

Given that the union operates a written constitution, respects the views of members in the internal workings of the association and have internal mechanism for resolving conflict and peace building, no doubt should be entertained about an ample opportunity for partnership with INEC. I have had an opportunity to speak with some officials of the union at the state level and I was left with no doubt about their professionalism and competence. Of course, negative perceptions abound about them and what they do, yet, once efforts

are made to penetrate, unmask, and overcome these long-held prejudices, what is discerned is an association that is well organized and which respects the rule of law in its operations and which has immense influence on the political class and the electoral process.

For us as an EMB, there are several gains that a formalized partnership with the union will facilitate one is that we can engage its members and sensitize them as to what can be done to mitigate violence and reduce the negative perception held by the public. Secondly, the union and its members can assist in resolving some of the perennial logistic challenges in election operations. With the enormity of the security challenges confronting our country today, partnership with the union will certainly assist in resolving some logistic logjam and security puzzles. An important issue for policy consideration by the Commission therefore is the need to formally engage the union leadership as a key stakeholder in discussions on election logistics and security as we move towards 2015. The Commission can simultaneously exploit the anticipated relationship to extend the frontiers of its voter education activities to the union as it helps the union to enlarge the scope of its democratic practices including the peaceful conduct of the union's elections. More importantly are the potentials of the union to contribute to public good. I have some convictions, through my interactions with some union members,¹⁰ that the Commission can employ partnership with it to trigger the potentials of the union in this envisaged direction of contributing to public purpose. After all, every private organization that is profit driven can be made to contribute to the public good in ways that are reciprocal and mutually beneficial.

¹⁰ I had several telephone chats with the NURTW's secretary in Ekiti state, Joel Kolawole. Taiwo Gbadegesin INEC's Public Relations Officer in Ekiti state facilitated the interaction.

Chapter Four

Drug Use and Elections

Jadi Suleiman

4.1 Introduction

Electoral process all over the world involves series of activities such as political party formation, registration, party convections, voters' registration, campaigns and election of candidates to various elective offices. Just like any activity requires good plan, co-ordination and management for hitch-free and successful outcome, for an election to be free of violence and successful, it requires the collaboration of relevant stakeholders such as the EMBs, security, and strategic government and non-government agencies. Therefore, I consider it as very imperative and necessary too to author this paper on the topic: 'Drug Use and Election' which to me translates into illicit drug abuse and electoral violence usually witnessed in developing countries during election campaigns, voting and the post-election periods. This, in most cases, leads to threats to free, fair and credible elections in those countries.

The issue of illicit drug abuse is a global plague affecting both the 'developed' and 'developing' countries in the socio-economic and political sphere of their lives. As the production, distribution, sales and consumption of these illicit drugs continue to afflict our communities and plague our nations, researchers have continued to indicate that illicit drug abuse precipitates criminal activities and the need for a solution to eradicate the menace cannot be over emphasized.

The operation of the present international drug control system is based on the principle of national control by various states as well as international cooperation between these states and UN bodies in compliance with the provisions of various international drug control treaties such as those of 1961, 1972 and 1988. It is in compliance with the UN Convention directives of 1988 that Nigeria domesticated the international law and established the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) via Decree No. 48 of 1989 (now CAP No. 30, LFN 2004 as amended) to tackle the problem of crimes as they relate to illicit drug trafficking and abuse.

4.2 What is Electoral Violence?

Electoral violence can be defined as any form of behaviour arising from an organized use of physical, psychological and structural force to cause damage to property, kill or injure individual or group, aimed at intimidating and blackmailing such group or individual before, during and after elections in order to influence the outcome of the election.

4.3 What is Drug?

The term drug has no single definition. To the pharmacist, it is a chemical preparation for diagnosis, prevention or treatment of disease or ailments. For a layman, the word is synonymous with medicine. However, in the law enforcement circle, a workable definition is used thus: a drug is any chemical substance which when taken into the body system by any means changes the functions of the body or behaviour of the user. In this definition, three points need to be noted, viz:

- a. As a chemical substance, a drug may be natural or synthetic.
- b. The change in the body functions could be physical or psychological or both.
- c. The substance can be taken into the body orally, by injection, smoking, sniffing, inhaling or even rubbing on the skin.

4.4 What is Drug Abuse?

Drug abuse is characterised by taking more than recommended dose of prescribed drugs such as barbiturates without medical supervision or using government controlled substances such as cocaine, marijuana, heroin etc. Legal substances like alcohol and nicotine are also abused by many people.

4.5 Classification of Illicit Drug/Substances of Abuse

Illicit drug abuse can be identified in the use of the following substances:

- a. **Stimulants:** They are categories of drugs that increase the activities of the CNS. Some of the commonly abused drugs under this category are cocaine and amphetamine. Cocaine is derived from coca leaves grown in South American countries. Medically it is used as anaesthesia for surgery. Amphetamines on the other hand are used primarily for the treatment of narcolepsy, as sleep disorder characterised by sudden sleep attacks during the day by producing a calm effect. However, its abuse often leads to dependency with attendant consequences such as high alertness, elevated mood, etc.

- b. Depressants:** These drugs slow down the work of the CNS and the common examples are barbiturates and benzodiazepine e.g. Valium, Librium etc. Medically, depressants are used to induce sleep, relieve anxiety and to treat epilepsy. Its abuse can lead to dependency, coma, slurred speech etc.
- c. Narcotics:** These are opium and its derivatives like heroin and morphia [morphine]. Medically, they are used as pain relievers, they suppress cough and provide relief from diarrhoea. Their abuse leads to consequences such as insomnia, anxiety, nausea, sweating, cramps and fever.
- d. Cannabis Sativa:** They are marijuana and hashish which contains about 500 chemicals and the most active ingredients party is tetrahydrocannabinol (THC). This chemical substance stays in the body fat and brain for about 30 days. The effects on the user include: accidents, altered thinking or poor judgment, change of behaviour and violence of varying degree.
- e. Hallucinogens:** These are drugs derived from peyote cactus and it is not too common in Nigeria but being used in countries like United State of America (USA), United Kingdom, Netherlands etc., they are usually used for dying patients and the mentally ill. Examples of these drugs are lysergic acid dexamphetamine (LSD) and mescaline.
- f. Inhalants:** They are volatile solvents such as Glue, gasoline, nasal spray, correction fluid etc. Inhalants depress the CNS

when sniffed and higher user leads to unconsciousness, headache, nausea, impaired vision and damage to circulatory system.

- g. Socially Accepted Drugs:** These drugs include alcohol, tobacco, kola nuts, and coffee etc. This category of drugs is noted to have addictive tendency and can lead to various negative consequences such as liver cirrhosis and damage to the sensitive organ in the body.

4.6 Why Do People Take Illicit Drugs?

There are different factors that could lead people to abuse illicit drugs. According to experts, some of these factors include:

- a. Peer group pressure
- b. Social pathologies like unemployment and frustration
- c. Emotional and psychological stress characterised by anxiety, depression, low self-esteem, etc.
- d. Easy availability of the substances
- e. Environmental influence
- f. Mass media
- g. To enhance performance
- h. Occupational predisposition

4.7 Drug Abuse and Criminality

Illicit drug use is undoubtedly the mother of all crimes. Most violent criminals such as thugs, armed robbers, terrorist, hired assassins would need illicit drugs to perpetrate their evil acts. According to experts, drug related crimes occur in three basic ways:

- a. Offender used related crime (such as crime occasioned by mood change).
- b. Economic related crime (violent crimes committed in order to sustain and support additional drug use), and
- c. System related crime (relation to gangs fighting over control of territories).

4.8 Illicit Drug Use and Electoral Violence

Electoral violence is an extremely sensitive issue, probably as sensitive as religious problem in Nigeria. Despite its relevance to the survival of democracy in developing countries like Nigeria, its sensitive nature has made it an unpalatable topic of discussion. Indeed, electoral violence in Nigeria and other developing countries is like octopus. Its effects is being felt by those in government and those out of government, employed and unemployed, young and the old, the rich and the poor, men and women. None is spared.

Some of the acts associated with electoral violence include:

- a. Physical harm (homicide, kidnapping, torture and assault)
- b. Threats; physical or verbal
- c. Intimidation
- d. Destruction of properties
- e. Forced displacement

It is pertinent to know that the aforementioned electoral violence would not happen until the prime actors use one illicit drug or a combination of the above earlier classified drugs. Of course, the basic reason is to influence electoral process and its outcome by gaining unfair political advantage over other competitors. This was

once vividly captured by a leading political aspirants in an election then: “Ambitious politicians in the state now equip their party agents, thugs, supporters, and students with arms and ammunition as well as drugs to intimidate, harass, torture, disrupt campaign rallies, and attack and kill opponents, that anti- drugs agency like NDLEA need adequate logistics to match their words with action.” The above quotation underscores the fact that use of drugs in election is a reality. Desperate politicians make sure that they induce illicit drugs on their party supporters and members during the following stages in an electoral process:

- i. Registration and verification of voters register
- ii. Campaign rallies
- iii. Voting or balloting on Election Day
- iv. Counting and collation of election results
- v. Election results announcement

Similarly, the use of some trade unions such as the NURTW by politicians to cause havoc in the electoral process has been on the arena of politics for some times now. With reference to Nigeria and particularly in states such as Oyo, not quite long ago, we witnessed the political situation in that state under the disguise of trade unionism. The supremacy fight between Alhaji Lateef Eleweomo and Alhaji Lateef Tokyo which has led to deaths of many innocent souls aside the disturbance of public peace has political undertones. This was the observed development at that time before primary election was held. A similar approach is still being used by our politicians where they would employ the services of the NURTW in order to intimidate, harass and embarrass opponents. The reason for this is not farfetched because NURTW members have always

been associated with violence and other anti-social behaviour that are always believed to be undertaken under the influence of drug abuse. It is high time the NURTW woke up and refined its association so that they would be seen as one of the noble trade unions in the country that can be positively perceived by members of the public.

4.9 Drug Abuse among Youths during Elections

Election activities come with different expectations from the politicians, electorate and the government among other stakeholders. The youths constitute a reasonable percentage of the electorate in Nigeria going by population explosions in the third world economies.

Realising the importance of youths in electoral process and social progress, political leaders involve them positively or negatively. A good number of these youths are recruited as party agents, supporters, mobilizers and volunteers, etc., ostensibly to promote democratic process while some are engaged as thugs and harvesters of election frauds. This last group with negative mindset is our concern here. Armed with wrong political ideology and philosophy, these youths perceive election wrongly as a contest that must be won at all costs, irrespective of whose ox is gored. As a major important group and a powerful force in the democratization process, the youths take a significant centre stage in all political gatherings, campaigns, rallies and meetings of their parties. This is not surprising, because, the youths are the bedrock of political associations and activities, as they are the major drivers of political parties' rallies and campaigns. In their quest to conform to the ideas of their sponsors and party leaders, the youths are expected to be

empowered and mortified with a view to be active in all political activities they may be engaged in. They are not to feel a sense of shame or fright.

However, in all these political activities, there appears to be levels of participation which often times determine the level and types of substances of abuse as ingredients for mortification and empowerment among party youths and supporters. Few cases abound where political leaders or sponsors out of desperation, or 'show of toughness,' turn their eyes the other way when their party youths consume substances of abuse including local herbs that have high potency during parties primaries or preparatory meetings before they embarks on mega rallies and campaigns. Some prefer alcohol mixed with hemp or other local concoctions, while some take them singly. The commercial entertainers, who in most cases are indirectly attached to some of the political parties, take substances of abuse including alcohol excessively before major political rallies and campaigns to keep awake and capture the attention of the crowds. Our informants expressed the views that a political party aspirant would normally budget for substance use in his campaign expenses.

In our series of surveys and undercover operations in the states, especially among the major political preparatory party activities before the mega campaigns, the Command found out that despite the presence of security personnel in most of these political arenas, youth wings of political parties and supporters including young girls gather and smoke hemp and other substances of abuse indiscriminately and the distinct odour of hemp soaks up the air continuously. What the Command discovered too, is that, whereas

hemp and other drugs are abused in these areas, they are not the usual drug joints in the state, but the drugs are brought in there obviously with the knowledge of party youths' leaders. This observation is further confirmed by the resistance we normally encounter when attempting to make arrests. The Command equally discovered that campaign rallies or locations appear to be another extension of drug-market as drug dealers are found to be patronising those areas to hawk and sell drugs to youths and other users. The Command also discovered that funds are allocated to youths leaders by party leaders to ensure that 'the boys are high' for mobilization and other political activities.

In addition, during our investigations, some of the arrested party youths confessed that they get their drugs either from drug joints, dealers, hawkers, friends, colleagues, students, co-workers and group affiliations such as OPC and cult groups. After abusing hard drugs, these youths become highly intoxicated and become cannon fodders for election violence and disruptions of the electoral process. They attack opponents' properties and could even kill. They dare anyone who constitutes a threat to them and their political sponsors. This negative trend has been a common feature in most political party meetings.

However, what the politicians do not know is that, these youths that they give drugs in a bid to achieve their political ambitions could be a source of danger to them during and even after the elections. They should not forget that these political thugs who are mostly made up of youths could become a threat to security of their state. This is because, after elections, majority of them will be left jobless and abandoned and for them to continue to survive, they turn to armed

robbers, (hired) gun men/assassins and/or kidnappers. It is unfortunate, therefore, to say that, instead of our politicians to better the lives of these youths, they destroy them by recruiting them for anti-social activities.

4.10 Efforts of NDLEA to Mitigate the Consequences of Drug Abuse and Electoral Violence:

In our efforts to combat drug abuse, trafficking and other drug-related crimes such as election frauds, violence, political killings, amongst others, the Command has responded adequately to challenges posed by drugs and crimes in the states and their attendant negative implications on the election process. As one of the critical stakeholders in election security as well as in society, curbing social vices that hamper good governance and social progress is part of our core mandate. The Command in the past two years (2012/2013) arrested 693 drug-related offenders with different substances of abuse weighing over 15,370.86 kilogrammes in Ekiti state in the build-up of election activities.

Among these criminals arrested were 631 (91%) males and 62 (9%) females with the number of youths topping the list. Among the youths arrested for drug abuse and other drug-related crimes were 25 minors. Once they use drugs, they begin to export terror, cause mayhem, inflict injuries on their victims and cause break down of law and order.

It is saddening to note that able-bodied persons who are in their active and productive ages constitute the highest drug offenders and other criminal related activities ostensibly fuelled by the use of

hard drugs. Our activities in the state in the last few years indicated that drug abuse is borderless, cutting across all social status, ethnic and cultural affiliations.

Another revealing statistics is the alarming rate at which students from tertiary institutions are getting more and more involved in drug abuse, cultism and gangster activities which has created fears in academic environment and the wider communities at large. During the year under review (2012/2013), out of the 693 suspects, 76 were students who were arrested for unlawful possession of hard drugs and dangerous weapons.

Apart from the arrest of drug traffickers and users, the Command has been engaged in youth sensitization on the dangers of drug abuse and trafficking. Students in our institutions of higher learning are also encouraged to form drug free clubs so as to educate students on the consequences of drug abuse. Prompt and speedy prosecution of drug cases have been a major strategy in combating drug crimes and other drug-related offences. The State Command liaises with the Federal High Court (FHC) Ado-Ekiti and the Ministry of Justice in the battle against illegal drugs. The Command has been updating its legal services in line with the international best practice to ensure proper and speedy trial of all drug-related offences brought before it with a view of obtaining convictions.

This strategic collaboration between State Command and the FHC has been very fruitful and rewarding. A high percentage of drug offenders, many of whom are youths, have been tried and sentenced to various prison terms ranging from 3-15years. The State Command from January- June, 2014 convicted 13 persons while 23

cases are still pending. One of the suspects, Dominic Fabunmi, a big time drug baron, was given 15 years sentence, while his youthful agents Ejibo Peter and Rufus Olatunji were given 4 years and 3 years sentences respectively. The Command is also working in collaboration with other sister agencies such as the NPF, SSS etc., for intelligence sharing as well as technical supports to hasten and improve our prosecution efforts.

In our bid to create general awareness about the implications of drug abuse and other drug-related crimes and to ensure a conducive environment, the Command has consistently been active in massive mobilization campaigns and enlightenment initiatives in the state. As we are aware that prevention is better than cure, hence enlightenment programmes such as seminars, workshops, conferences, exhibitions, facility tours & visits have been organized and are still being organized for students, teachers, health personnel, informal workers such as artisans etc. Other groups that have benefitted from our awareness initiative are NGOs, local government officials, community leaders, religious leaders and cultural associations etc. The results of these mobilization efforts have been impactful. Over 39 drug educative seminars and lectures were delivered to different groups in the state.

Counselling and rehabilitation are also part of the efforts geared towards reducing drug crimes and other related offences. This is because drug problem is a health challenge and an addict is also a patient who needs professional care and treatment. Rehabilitation is even more important which entails social therapy. The Command offers these essential health needs to the addicts. The Command, in collaboration with some health institutions in the state, counselled

and rehabilitated over 63 drug dependent persons including those referred to the Command by their parents or wards. Many of the counselled addicts acquired skills in the cause of treatment.

In addition to the counselling and rehabilitation as well as prosecution efforts in tackling drug problems, community and media effort have also been explored. The Command liaises and cooperates with community leaders, groups and media to bring anti-drug messages to the grassroots. Periodic visits to local leaders by the Command as well as prompting community leaders to visit the Command have helped immensely in the reduction of drug crimes and other drug-related activities. Also, effective utilization of the major media channels for the propagation of our activities has been impactful. The Command runs a weekly media anti-drug programme in both English and Yoruba languages which invites public attention to the dangers of drug abuse.

4.11 Challenges Posed by Drug Crimes

The level of drug cultivation especially hemp is very high in Ekiti state. Many arable lands have been converted to hemp plantation. The Command needs more logistics and manpower to match the barons and their agents. The locations of these hemp farms are big problem as they are mostly swampy areas with thick forest. Locating these hemp forest, takes the operatives several hours with barriers in the ways. Operations are carried out in the forest, mostly at odd hours, which pose a big challenge to the health of the operatives. Hemp farm operation in Ekiti state or anywhere requires adequate logistics and manpower as these operations are tasking, laborious and energy sapping.

We also have the challenge of poor management of intelligence. We experienced and are still experiencing problem of policing intelligence. Information leakage is a big challenge as most of our confidential informants are double agents etc.

Many parents and guardians whose children and wards have drug problems do not come forward for assistance on timely counselling and rehabilitation until it is too late, when the cases become unbearable. Early notification or referral to the Command of all drug dependent persons by their parents and guardians will help reduce the incidence of drug problems. People see drug problem as a social stigma and may not be willing to report or expose addicted persons.

The battle against drug abuse and other criminal activities also pose threats and other challenges to the agency. We have recorded some ugly incidences where drug barons and their agents have attacked our security personnel by injuring them and at times causing serious damages to our logistic during raid operations and hemp destruction exercises especially in those designated 'high risk areas'. However, this will not deter the agency as the battle with them is a continuous one until it is finally won by the agency.

4.12. Conclusion and Recommendations

From the above overview of the level of congruity between drug abuse and electoral violence, it becomes clear that, deaths, injuries, displacements, damage to properties and disturbance of public peace associated with election process in Nigeria would have been drastically reduced or eliminated if not for the prevalence illicit drug abuse among youths. Therefore, for Nigeria to get it right in her political process, where election will be free, fair and credible, the following measures are recommended:

- a. Identify possible triggers of electoral violence and strengthen the early warning system.
- b. INEC should be empowered to disqualify any politician found guilty of inducing drug use on its party members or supporters in order to cause havoc.
- c. Government at all level should find ways of creating jobs for unemployed youths.
- d. NDLEA in collaboration with relevant agencies should carry out a routine drug test awareness programme among motor park operators, other allied unions and workers to ascertain their level of drug intake.
- e. Selling of alcohol and substances of abuse in motor parks and environs should be banned.
- f. Selling and consumption of alcohol, gin and other intoxicant herbs should not operate on voting days until after the announcement of result from INEC Headquarters.
- g. There should be an aggressive awareness campaign directed at youths and NURTW not to allow themselves to be used by politicians through enticing them with money and drugs in order to influence electoral process.

Chapter Five

The Role of Transport Unions in Election Security

Iyiola Oni (PhD)

5.1 Introduction

Safety and security of election materials and personnel are the pillars of any credible election, while effective and efficient transportation system form the foundation that facilitates movement of officials, personnel, voters and election materials. Election security can be defined as the provision of protection for electoral personnel, local and foreign election observers, election locations and processes, in the emancipation of electoral duties, obligations and purposes, for the maintenance of the overall integrity of elections. It is to ensure that voters exercise their civic duties without fear or hindrance. Election security begins at creating of a level playing field for all political parties and candidates to canvass for support, and extends to ensuring a free, fair and credible electoral exercise. In Nigeria, election security remains an intimidating challenge as it is a fundamental and pivotal factor for the conduct of free, fair and credible elections. The application of security for electoral processes encompasses the following:

- a. Provision of basic security to voters at political party rallies and campaign;
- b. Ensuring protection of voters and polling officials at polling centres;
- c. Safe, effective & efficient transportation of election personnel, materials and results.

The following are factors that must be considered when providing security for an electoral exercise:

- a. Population size involved in the electoral process
- b. Physical location to be protected
- c. Election materials and personnel to be transported
- d. Difficulty of terrain to be traversed

5.2 A Brief History of Election Security in Nigeria

In past times, the credibility of elections in Nigeria had been very argumentative and controversial because of the inability to secure such elections both in terms of pre-election, election day and post-election processes. Such failures to secure elections have often led to political crises and governance failures with frequent interruptions of the democratic governance through military interventions. For instance, it is on record that the controversial elections of 1964 and 1965 led to the coup de tat of January, 1966; the flawed election of 1983 produced the military coup of 31st December, 1983; and the annulment of 12th June elections of 1993 by the Babangida regime brought about the emergence of a fickle interim government that was declared illegal by a FHC, and shortly afterwards, toppled by the late General Abacha palace coup.

In Nigeria, elections are usually characterised by all forms of electoral malpractices and irregularities such as the manipulation of the laws and processes guiding the conduct of elections to suit particular outcomes, constraining the access of some participants and the resources at their disposal to reach voters for campaign purposes prior to election day, as well as stuffing of ballot boxes with ballot papers well ahead of actual voting. Other forms of electoral

fraud include: seizure of or hoarding of election materials; manipulation and fabrication of electoral results; use of law enforcement agencies to intimidate, maim and disenfranchise eligible voters; killing of political opponents on election day or before, as well as manipulating the post-election judicial processes to obviate or distort just outcomes that should reflect the will of voters as expressed in the ballots.

Failed elections with consequent democratic regime failures have often been preceded by one or more of the aforementioned breaches of the electoral process due to challenges of security, often posed by the activities of hoodlums called party thugs and compromised officials at different stages of the election process.

5.3 Role of Security in Election

The following are some crucial roles that security plays in the electoral process:

- a. Safeguarding of lives and properties of citizens during the electoral process.
- b. Ensuring the safety of electoral officers before, during and after elections.
- c. Providing security for candidates during rallies, congresses, conventions, electioneering campaigns and elections.
- d. Ensuring and preserving a free, fair, safe and lawful atmosphere for campaigning by all parties and candidates without discrimination.

- e. Maintaining peaceful conditions, law and order around the polling and counting centres.
- f. Providing security for electoral officials at the voting and counting centres.
- g. Ensuring the security of election materials at the voting centres and during transportation.
- h. Ensuring the security of all electoral materials, personnel and citizens during registration of voters, update, revision and any other electoral event.

5.4 Transport in Nigeria

The transport sector today constitutes one of the greatest employers of labour in the Nigerian economy. The impact of transporters can be felt in every aspect of the Nigerian society, especially during election rallies and campaign.

Transporters have served as partners with the government in the process of political development and service delivery. In 1978, a milestone occurred in the history of the road transporters in Nigeria with the formation of the NURTW. Since this date, the activities of the road transporters have revolved around the NURTW. Along with the NURTW, there are other road transport unions and unions for other modes of transportation in Nigeria, they include:

- a. RTEAN
- b. NARTO
- c. MWUN

- d. NUATW
- e. NUR
- f. ALBON
- g. NUPENG
- h. PENGASSAN
- i. ACOMORAN
- j. Keke NAPEP

* The full meaning of these are on the list of abbreviations and acronyms used in the book on page xli.

5.5. Roles of Transport Unions in Election Security

The roles of transport unions in election security can be viewed from varying perspectives. Several schools of thought will defer when addressing the roles transport unions play in election security. These roles can be divided into two main categories, which are:

- a. The positivist roles
- b. The negativist roles

a. The Positivist Roles

As the name describes, these roles envisage duties that transport unions can play during electoral processes. These roles include:

- i. Being core part-takers in political rallies & campaigns
- ii. Sensitization of voters providing effective & efficient transportation of election personnel, materials & results

b. The Negativist Roles

More often than not, these negativist roles are of greater manifest in the Nigerian scenario. Past electoral experiences had brought to light the nefarious activities that some transporters perform with the intention of disrupting the electoral process. They include:

- i. Hijacking of ballot boxes and election materials
- ii. Being obscene tools for election chaos and rigging
- iii. Disruption of voting centres and processes
- iv. Crime and hooliganism
- v. Abduction and kidnapping of opponents, party members and candidates

5.6 Relationship between Transport Unions and Politicians

Transport unions have over the years enjoyed cordial and mutual relationships with politicians. This can be seen in the relationship between state governors and road transport workers unions especially in the south-western and eastern region of the country. The foregoing alliance has continuously been made possible based on the ability of politicians to influence the emergence and dominance of custodians of governance in the unions and in turn ensure that they reciprocate by rendering necessary assistance to ensure electoral victory. Hence, a typical relationship between transport unions and politicians is simply reciprocal in nature.

In light of the aforementioned; godfatherism and the delivery of crowds at campaign rallies troops are the expected by-product of such relationships. In the past, it has been noted that political office holders and godfathers have capitalized on the use of members of transport unions as tools for voting sensitisation, violence and other electoral malpractices.

a. Interference with Electoral Practices

Based on past experiences, it has been observed that most transport unions workers interfere with the electoral processes mostly for

political gains than for the benefit of the unions to which they belong. This interference can be group or individual member-based. Interference can take one or all of these following forms:

- i. Interference at polling centres: this comes in form of the following activities:
 - intimidation or harassment of opponents, party members & electoral personnel
 - vandalism or theft of election materials
- ii. Interference at political campaigns and rallies: this can be in the following forms:
 - perpetration of street violence and civil unrest
 - mobilization of political thugs and hooligans
- iii. Interference with mobility of election personnel and materials: transport unions can instigate this by:
 - impeding accessibility to voting centres
 - barricading roads and routes
 - refusing to transport election materials and personnel as previously agreed, probably to sabotage the process.

b. The Modus Operandi

In accordance with the aforementioned, the modus operandi of transport unions when interfering with electoral processes are usually in the following forms:

- i. Creation of volatile and hostile electoral atmosphere
- ii. Forcing intending contestant(s) to accept stringent bargains if they are to be voted into political offices
- iii. Attacking of polling officials and security personnel attached to such polling units

- iv. Destruction or confiscation of election materials
- v. Kidnapping and abduction of political opponents
- vi. Assemblage of war dogs for security and electoral violence.

These *modus operandi* by transport unions and politicians have negatively impacted the conduct of free and fair elections in Nigeria. It has further discouraged the average citizen from exercising his/her civic duty/right due to fear of being caught in the antagonism of *operandi*.

5.7 Collaboration with Stakeholders to Mitigate Election Insecurity

Theoretically, it can be said that transport unions should be regarded as relevant stakeholders whose participation and contributions to election security will be vital in the hope of realization of a successful election in Nigeria. The collaboration between transport unions and other stakeholders in mitigating election insecurity is based solely in the synergy and mutual understanding of the roles each stakeholder is expected to play. Through ensuring a smooth and seamless transportation of election materials and officials to polling centres, especially rural and remote areas with difficult terrain, transport unions have placed themselves at the top of the list of collaborating stakeholders. Although more is expected of them, and these include:

- a. Ensuring the delivery of election materials and equipment to polling centres, by providing INEC with buses and other modes for easy transportation, depending on the area involved.

- b. Providing easy flow of traffic (vehicular and pedestrians) at the polling stations and collation centres to ensure that polling, counting of ballots, collation and declaration of results are conducted without breach of peace.
- c. Complying with any lawful directive issued by or under the authority of INEC.
- d. Ensure the safety and security of all election materials by escorting and guarding the materials as appropriate.
- e. Accompanying the presiding officer to deliver the election results, ballot boxes and other election materials safely to the rural area/ward collation centres, through a seamless transportation mode.
- f. Provision of necessary infrastructure that will guarantee undisturbed movements of electoral materials and personnel.

The collaborating stakeholders include:

- * Nigeria Police Force (NPF)
- * Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC)
- * Nigerian Navy (NN)
- * Nigerian Air Force (NAF)
- * Nigerian Army (NA)
- * National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)
- * National Intelligence Agency (NIA)
- * Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC)
- * National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) and other Transport Unions
- * Boy Scouts
- * Girl Guides
- * Man O' War

5.8. The Importance of Transport Unions in Securing Elections

Transport unions are very important in securing elections for the following reasons:

- a. Politicians have continued to seek the support of the road transporters while seeking to be elected into political offices due to their large sizes and diversity.
- b. Because many of the transport union members have close ties with the people at the grassroots level, politicians often use them to influence the people at that level in order to achieve their political aims.

5.9 Contributions of Transport Unions in Electoral Procedures

As transporters, their main area of contribution will be in providing easy mobility for effective and efficient electoral process. Their aid can be applied in the following electoral procedure:

a. Aid with Election Materials

- i. **Logistics:** This provides operational and infrastructural linkages for different routes so as to create an ideal situation where modal choice can be made, reducing the window of opportunity for crime perpetrators.
- ii. **Physical Distribution Management (PDM)/Distribution Process:** Through this, the process of material distribution is made clear (modal split) i.e. sharing the total number of trips by different means of travel, which if well done, will reduce traffic congestion, rowdiness on some particular routes.

b. Aid with Election Personnel

- i **Accessibility/Connectivity:** With good knowledge and understanding of the terrains, transport unions would reduce the pressure on security agencies through the knowledge of accessible routes in the environment.
- ii. **Safety:** Transport unions can provide safe and efficient transportation for election personnel to locations with complex transport networks. They can also advice on the type and characteristics of vehicles to be used.

c. Aid with Election Locations

- i **Mapping:** The availability of detailed maps of places where transport unions operate would help security stakeholders to have better understanding of the terrains and also enhance their ability to make informed decision in security planning.
- ii **Multimodalism:** The application of multimodalism (especially air transport) to access remote locations with difficult terrains would aid in improving electoral security and integrity. It would ease the handling and distribution of voting materials and provide a safe, reliable and cost effective transportation of voting personnel to election locations. The use of road, rail, water and air complementarily will promote a safe and secured election.
- iii **Availability of Fuel:** Unions such as NUPENG and PENGASSAN should ensure that fuel is available during election periods to ease the mobility of electoral personnel and voters to polling centres.

5.10 Conclusion and Recommendations

The roles of transport unions in ensuring election security can be made positive and beneficial through:

- a. The integration of transport unions as core stakeholders in the election process
- b. The enlightenment of union members on what roles should be played during elections to ensure security and integrity of votes
- c. Providing vital information threatening the electoral process to security agents
- d. Reduce vulnerability to being used by government officials and politicians as tools of election violence and malpractices
- e. Including members of transport unions as observers during elections to promote transparency and public confidence
- f. Controlling godfatherism in unions elections and memberships
- g. Mitigating electoral vices like political hooliganism, ballot snatching and other electoral offences that may jeopardize the peaceful and successful conduct of elections.

Considering the challenges of post-election violence that manifested during the 2011 elections in some parts of the country, transport unions can help in curbing violent conducts through vehicle campaigns and advertising, particularly in remote rural areas where members of the unions mostly operate. In the light of the deepening insecurity plaguing the nation, it may not be too much to expect the organized transport unions and operators to be involved in ensuring that voting remains devoid of violence and that election logistics challenges are overcome. Organisation of elections is not to

be narrowly perceived as meant for INEC's responsibility alone. Road transport unions and its members have the advantage of number and spread that make them to be indispensable stakeholders in the electoral process. INEC's partnership with the transport unions is an imperative.

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Chapter Six

Synopsis of Findings from Focus Group Discussions by Stakeholders

As indicated earlier, there are five categories of stakeholders whose perspective during focus group discussions will be presented here. These are the youth wings of the road transport unions, old members of the union, youth wings of political parties, ICCES members present at the workshop and senior INEC officials. Each of the focus group discussed a wide range of issues which included attitude toward election, democratization, participation in the electoral process, security of elections, political aspirations, expectations, consultations and willingness to tolerate election outcomes. What are the attractions to politics the pull and the push factors?

6.1 Youth Wings of Transport Unions: NURTW including Okada Riders

Members expressed enthusiasm about Nigeria's political future and willingness to contribute their quota to the continued improvement of the electoral process and were willing to join other stakeholders to do so. Members asked for more political and electoral education as well as sensitization. They expressed satisfaction with the ways in which the unions' businesses were conducted in that they were often consulted and involved as well. In their views, some of the weak points of current political dispensation included the expensive nature of the presidential system of government, godfatherism, corruption, the role of money bags in politics and high level of illiteracy.

6.2 Older Members of NURTW

Participants agreed that as a union, they do not belong to any of the registered political parties even though they often cultivate their friendship. Members are free as individuals to belong to political parties of their choices. Older members are bothered about the public image of the union and as such, they have been mentoring the young ones and new recruits on the desirability of good conduct and of working for positive perception by the public. Though they admitted that democracy is good they pointed out that most politicians are self-serving and greedy for money. They generally decried the activities of some politicians who recruit NURTW and okada riders members, especially youths as thugs and cannon foddors in their battles to win elections thereby giving the union and members a bad name and reputation with the public. They agreed that they have some bad eggs as members but, that the union is not resting on its oars to flush out the bad ones, especially, those who engage in vandalization, acts of thuggery and snatching of election materials among other heinous electoral offences. Participants at the focus group discussions expressed willingness to do more to improve on the election environment. A desire was expressed as well for enhanced partnership and collaboration on transportation of election materials between INEC and NURTW. They pleaded for security agents' cooperation in taming the activities of a rival union, the RTEAN, which allegedly enjoy patronage from persons in top government positions.

6.3 Youth Wings of Political Parties

Not surprisingly, the attitude of some security agents in turning blind eyes to electoral malpractices during elections and youth

unemployment are factors which predispose youths to being vulnerable tools in the hands of politicians. These are the major concerns for this group. Continued adoption of technology in the electoral process was also advocated for, particularly the use of card readers in future elections to mitigate electoral fraud. In their view, making education compulsory up to secondary and university level would help to curb reckless violation of electoral laws. Traditional rulers should remain royal fathers of all rather than being partisan. They admonished INEC officials to stick to election rules and remain unbiased in the electoral process. More electoral reforms were advocated that would leverage INEC's independence and autonomy. INEC was urged to release documents to candidates and political parties as may be needed to argue their petitions at the tribunals.

6.4 Members of the ICCES

As could be expected, participants at this discussion group advocated for more synergy and collaboration among stakeholders in the security business as well as what they referred to as balanced working relationship in view of the dominant role of the police in election security activities. There were also heated debates about funding and remuneration by INEC. The latter was adjudged to be inadequate. Transportation, feeding and refreshment were raised as recurring challenges as well as issues relating to welfare of security personnel. Delay in posting was decried as it leads to late commencement of polling in areas with difficult terrains.

6.5 Senior Staff of INEC

To INEC staff who attended the focus group discussion, it was high time a MOU was signed between transport workers unions and

INEC. This suggestion was premised on the fact that INEC relies almost exclusively on the private sector to move election materials and personnel. The cooperation of the operators of the sector is key to huge logistic challenges including reverse logistics retrieval of election materials. Without their cooperation, the expectation of a prompt commencement of polls would remain a tall dream. Reaching an understanding with the group and partnership with them would help to mitigate election security challenges. Moreover, partnership with the unions should provide a platform for engaging members in voter and political education which can elicit more participation in the electoral process by a group that is often negatively perceived as harmful, an albatross and a fetter in the electoral process.

In conclusion to this chapter, it is important to appreciate the positive outlook and embracement of Nigeria's democratization processes by most participants at the workshop as well as the willingness of participants to continue to contribute their own quota. Election security was regarded as desirable and an imperative in a democracy. Partnership with key stakeholders was emphasized as well as continued voter education and public enlightenment about the electoral process. From the findings, it was clear that transport workers prefer a formalized arrangement which can guarantee more patronage as they pleaded that none transport workers be kept out of the deal. The potential benefits that a formalized relationship with the private sector transport workers would confer on the Commission are obvious though. One that comes to mind here is the possibility that a formal relationship holds for extending the frontiers of voter education to the doorstep of transport workers and at a far cheaper cost. Simultaneously as well, we will be tackling and mitigating, inadvertently though, election-related security challenges.

6.6 Expectations of Stakeholders from the Workshop

We capture in this section expectations of participants from the workshop. Participants also expressed their expectations of critical stakeholders in terms of their contributions and roles in the electoral process and democracy.

6.7 NURTW

a. Expectations from the Workshop:

- i. Thrash out problems relating to preparations for the forthcoming gubernatorial election in Ekiti state.
- ii. Suggest ways to forestall all possible irregularities in the election.
- iii. Suggestions to ensure the success of the election.

b. Expectations from Resource Persons

- i. Resource persons lead discussion and deliberation that would ensure peaceful and successful elections.
- ii. Advise politicians to desist from financing violence by using our youths as thugs during elections just for their own selfish gains.

c. Expectations from Participants

- i. Support for INEC by all stakeholders to ensure a successful governorship election that would consolidate our democracy.
- ii. Highlight the positive role of NURTW in transportation in Ekiti State.
- iii. Ensure that law enforcement agencies watch closely the activities of RTEAN which have created division between employers and workers in the transportation sector.

6.8 Participants at the High Table

a. Expectations from the Workshop

- i. Share unique experiences, challenges and way forward.
- ii. Come up with specific suggestions that would guarantee secure and credible elections.
- iii. Make concrete and implementable recommendations.

b. Expectations from Resource Persons

- i. Clearly outline experiences and best practices in dealing with challenges to election security.
- ii. Identify new and emerging challenges that could impede peaceful conduct of elections not only in Ekiti state but in the country, Nigeria.
- iii. Proffer solutions to new and emerging challenges, some of which may include payment of allowances, logistics, late arrival of materials, lack of information about collapsed polling units, inexperienced ad-hoc staff, abuse of drugs etc.
- iv. Delineate the specific and general roles of stakeholders in ensuring election security.

c. Expectations from ICCES

- i. Appraise the security situation in Ekiti state in particular and the nation in general from all stakeholders
- ii. Identify and track flash points; whether those are individuals, groups or places
- iii. Clearly show how identified challenges are to be mitigated. The specific roles of stakeholders: INEC, government at federal, state and local levels, security agencies, etc., should be stated and proactively pursued.

6.9. Political Parties

a. Expectations from Participants

- i. Provision of job opportunities to youths and qualified people.
- ii. Security agencies should discharge their constitutional duties without fear or favour during elections.
- iii. All relevant equipment like card readers and other election materials should be provided on the election day.
- iv. Quick responses should be made by security personnel whenever time demands without turning away their eyes or tactical withdrawal from the scene.

b. Expectations from Resource Persons

- i. Youths should be called upon to reject any offer capable of destroying their future.
- ii. Participant should be well educated about election proceedings.
- iii. Employment opportunities should be created for the youths.
- iv. Compulsory education for all Nigerians up to secondary school and university levels should be adopted as government policy.
- v. Traditional rulers are not expected to be partisan.

c. Expectations from the Workshop

- i. A well-structured educational policy for the youths.
- ii. Political sensitization.
- iii. INEC and its officials should remain unbiased during and after the election.
- iv. Lapses observed in the previous election should be corrected.
- v. INEC should be made truly independent.

- vi. INEC should ensure the release of all the relevant documents at the appropriate time.
- vii. State or other organizations should stop financing the activities of thugs using NURTW or other groups.

6.10 ICCES

a. Expectations from the Workshop

- i. Come up with guidelines to assist relevant stakeholders play their roles and contribute to the conduct of credible elections.
- ii. Ways of improving existing synergy among relevant stakeholders.

b. Expectations from Resource Persons

- i. Balanced working relationship among relevant stakeholders.
- ii. Proffer suggestions towards a successful conduct of the forthcoming election.
- iii. Identify loopholes used by political gladiators that work against state and non-state actors.
- iv. Provide practical applications of recommended solution.

c. Expectations from Participants

- i. Transfer or share acquired knowledge as practical application on the field.
- ii. Impact positively to their counterparts, knowledge gained from the workshop.

6.11 INEC

a. Expectations from the Workshop

- i. Establish a formal working relationship with NURTW as it relates to the electoral process.
 - ii. Identify other crucial stakeholders like okada riders and artisans.
 - iii. Sign an MOU with the NURTW on the issue of election logistics to ensure violence-free election as well as security of both sensitive and non-sensitive materials.
 - iv. Change the mindset of stakeholders from being partisan to become patriotic.
- ##### b. Expectations from Resource Persons
- i. A theoretical approach to the relationship that exists between the Commission and stakeholders.
 - ii. Empirical in-depth on how INEC's relationships with NURTW, youths and market men/women can be worked out and enhanced.
- ##### c. Expectations from Participants
- i. Change of mindset of all stakeholders about the electoral process.
 - ii. Consolidate the sense of belonging and participation in the electoral process rather than seeing election as a means to end.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

This study was meant to achieve two related purposes: firstly, to obtain information on the perspectives and roles of stakeholders, particularly, the transport workers unions and their members on election security and what they could contribute to mitigate election insecurity; secondly, it sets out to also gauge the views and tolerance of transport workers and their leaderships on the broad notion of democratization as well as assess the unions' internal structure and compatibility with democratic ideals. Honestly, we were not optimistic about the cooperation of transport workers and their leaderships on the project given the general negative perceptions of some of the unions, in particular the NURTW and the Keke NAPEP, and their members by the public. This hard line assumption was not without foundation. Across socio-economic lines in Nigeria, transport workers are among the worst rated by the public and very few would concede anything positive to them. They are believed to be notorious for anti-social behaviours and are believed to be among the most vulnerable groups that can get readily recruited in provoking a breakdown of law and order. These general prejudices of private sector transport workers cut across ethnic boundaries as chapter three has clearly demonstrated. The members are referred to in derogatory terms.

However, in the course of our pre-study meetings with some of the members and officials of the unions and during the focus group discussions and interpersonal relationships in the course of the workshop, we quickly realised how patently bias we had been. We

were wrong in almost all our fundamental assumptions. It then dawned on us again that reality remains problematic and difficult to penetrate. Oftentimes, we submit to the experiences and biases of others as communicated to us through the primary agents of socialization some individuals and the media without necessarily an effort to make rational analysis of notions presented as facts. This remains a recurring methodological challenge in social sciences. We often canvass our viewpoints as the most sacrosanct and the most authentic reality up to the point of being labelled as dogmatic. Indeed, knowledge of any subject matter in the social world can better be regarded as tentative. Being social in nature, it is malleable, vulnerable and responsive to the ever changing environment. Indeed, absolute reality does not exist except in our imagination.

In addressing election insecurity as a toxic and an albatross in the electoral process, partnership with transport workers and their unions is inevitable. But for that partnership to produce the desired outcome, there must be a shift in mindset that portrays the unions and their members as ne'er-do-well and indeed as untouchables in a social sense. A MOU that is envisaged must have roles for transport workers in the pre-election, election and post-election phases. And for these to be complementary of INEC's mandate, the memorandum must be preceded by aggressive voter education activities that will be directed at transport workers and their leaderships. All these combined will foster in the association a sense of importance in Nigeria's democratization project.

The understanding between INEC and transport unions should commence from the top while buy-in at other levels is encouraged.

Indeed, it is at the local and community levels that actions take place. Hitherto, enforcement of agreements reached with transport workers could sometimes be challenging. The excuses for seeking to renege on previous agreements could be based on inaccurate pricing of petroleum products, fuel shortage, period of work and making available the agreed number of vehicles as at and when due. Some cases of late commencement of elections could be placed at the door steps of poor understanding of the sanctity of agreements by transport workers.

Fortunately, transport workers and their unions have some natural endowments that INEC as an EMB can latch on to in our electoral process: firstly, transport unions have a spread across the country that few organizations can match; secondly, their hierarchical structure predisposes them to easy mobilization that can be put to good use; thirdly, their members are politically aware and are very conscious of political issues and the importance of power; and fourthly is the point about the deference that is legendary shown to the unions and their leaderships by governments across the country. Every government in and out of power seeks to cultivate their friendship. In the opinion of some power seekers, they are 'power brokers' in the sense that they could make or mar a person or a process.

These features and embedded assets of the unions and their members qualify them to be regarded as constituting strategic stakeholders in the electoral process. If properly understood, INEC can successfully partner with transport unions to deliver voter education to their members and clients who move from one part of the country to the other. Voter education messages can also be

posted on mini and big buses as well as tricycles that ply our roads, bus attendants and drivers could also be encouraged to distribute voter education leaflets to passengers at little or no cost. Pre-recorded voter education messages can be aired at little or no cost by commercial drivers.

Apart from responding to election logistics logjam, this envisaged partnership with transport unions will, inadvertently though, help to overcome or rather mitigate intimidating challenges of securing Nigeria's electoral process. When we remember the demography of transport workers, particularly, the preponderance of youths in their memberships, getting them involved in the electoral process under conditions of aggressive voter education, will certainly weaken their vulnerability to being used as cannon fodders by politicians. Security surveillance of motor parks by drug control agencies in the context of new orientation for transport workers would distract the latter from involvement in anti-social activities.

When all these are made to happen simultaneously, then the perception of politics as a do-or-die affair may begin to change and the notion of politics as a zero-sum game should begin to wither. Politics and competition for political offices should be regarded more as a call to service and make life more abundant to the generality of our people rather than a means of self service and personal aggrandisement. Our political and electoral reforms need to go deeper to cause a shift in the rigid mindset of an average Nigerian that regard winning as an imperative. Politics is a market place for ideas and for making choices that are in accord with people's interests. The currency for making such choices is the ballot paper which all stakeholders must secure at all cost otherwise the choice is fettered.

Appendix I

Being a Communique Issued at the End of the Workshop Organized by Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)/Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) on 'Election Security: Stakeholders' Perspective,' Held on the 26th and 27th May, 2014 at the Ikogosi Warm Spring Resort, Ikogosi, Ekiti State

Preamble: Worried by the spate of violence and conflict in the electoral violence, the INEC and FES organized a two-day workshop on 'Election Security: Stakeholders' Perspectives' with Stakeholders on Electoral Process on 26th and 27th May, 2014 at Ikogosi Warm Spring Resort, Ikogosi, Ekiti State.

Some of the Stakeholders: ACOMORAN, ALBON ICCES, MWUN, NAF, FRSC, NURTW, NARTO, NCS, NIA, NN, NOA, NPF, NSA, NSCDC, NUR, NUATE, NUPENG, PENGASSAN, RTEAN, NYSC and Youths Wings of Political Parties.

*Kindly, see page xxxvi of this book for full meanings of the acronyms and abbreviations

In attendance: INEC Chairman represented by Professor 'Lai Olurode, INEC National Commissioner, Dr Ishmael J. Igbani, REC of INEC Ekiti State, Alhaji Hussaini Halilu Pai, REC of INEC, Osun State, Ambassador Dr Rufus Akeju, Resident Representative of FES, Nigeria, Mrs Seija Sturies, Programme Officer of FES, Nigeria, Ms Juliana Anosike, Ambassador Layiwola Laseinde representing the NSA, Deputy Inspector General of

Police Mike Zuokumor representing the Inspector General of Police, Deputy Commandant General Evans Ewurum representing the Commandant General of NSCDC, Comrade Kolawole Joel representing National Chairman of NURTW.

Others present: members of the ICCES, Youth Wings of Political Parties in Ekiti and Osun States, Heads of Departments of INEC in Ekiti and Osun States and Members of the Press.

Four Papers were Presented at the Workshop:

- a. A keynote address by Professor Attahiru Jega, INEC Chairman
- b. Understanding a Power Broker the Road Transport Workers' Union in the Context of Election Security by Professor 'Lai Olurode
- c. Drug Use and Election by Mr Jadi Sulaiman, Ekiti state Commander NDLEA
- d. The Role of Transport Union in Election Security by Professor Iyiola Oni

There was also a review by Professor Shehu Salihu of the Department of Political Science, Usman Dan Fodio University, Sokoto of the book ***Election security: Matters arising.***

The host REC, Honourable Halilu Pai of Ekiti state in his welcome address to participants, underscored the importance of election security by pointing to the need for all stakeholders to contribute their quota in securing elections. The challenges undermining the

electoral process in the state according to him, especially, emanates from youths and members of the NURTW because of the perceived negative social behaviours among them and their failure to conform with laid down rules and regulations guiding the electoral process.

The 2011, NURTW crises in Oyo state which led to the death of many innocent souls necessitated the conference to buttress the point. He also wondered whether okada riders union members are registered members of political parties as they often lend convoy to politicians during rallies.

Other goodwill messages also affirmed the presence of insecurity and other challenges to the security of the electoral process, including the challenge of the deployment of electoral materials and personnel as it is sometimes compromised by politicians and security agencies, among others.

The Honourable Chairman of INEC Professor Attahiru M. Jega OFR, in his keynote address delivered by Professor 'Lai Olurode upheld that the Commission is committed to the improvement of the electoral process despite the complexity of challenges facing the Commission. The desire to improve no doubt accounted for the engagement of non-state actors such as the NURTW, okada riders and other similar organizations with a view to bringing them together for engaging them on how to better secure the electoral process.

Observations:

- a. The ICCES is a new innovation in our electoral process and no efforts must be spared in improving it as an important aspect of our electoral reforms.

- b. Despite all efforts put in place by the Commission to combat electoral violence the menace still persists. Election security remains a challenge in the pre-election, the election and the post-election phases of the electoral cycle.
- c. Thus the security of election personnel and of election materials continues to be compromised.
- d. It was observed that politicians have continued to seek the support of transport workers while seeking to be elected into political offices due to their population, spread, youthfulness, and diversity.
- e. It was also observed that transport unions and NURTW are an organized sector with potentials to contribute to election logistics.
- f. It was further observed that electoral offenders, the bulk of whom are youths, who perpetrate electoral offences do so under the influence of illicit drugs.
- g. It was observed again that most of the electoral offenders are not being prosecuted and that they cut across the political spectrum.
- h. Drug use among youths and in motor parks increases during electioneering.
- i. Most motor parks in the country are in indiscreet conditions which are lacking in conveniences for transport workers and travellers and which make them vulnerable as abode of criminals.

- j. Most members of the public have negative perceptions about transport workers, most of which are based on inadequate information and falsehood.
- k. Respect for and tolerances of dissent are core values of democratizing societies which must be upheld. Both state and non-state actors must defer to these.

Recommendations:

- a. The inclusion of NURTW as a core stakeholder in the election process through signing of an MOU with INEC is a welcomed idea. This will open a vista of opportunity to strategize on election logistics and election security.
- b. INEC and security agents acting with other stakeholders need to take appropriate steps to mitigate electoral vices such as political hooliganism, ballot box snatching, drug use and monetary inducements by party leaders.
- c. Partnership with NURTW at the highest level will bring about improvement in the electoral process.
- d. Election offences commission should be established in order to prosecute electoral offenders.
- e. The election offences commission should be such that will prescribe stringent punishments to discourage and deter future offenders from committing such offences.

- f. Budgets of all security agencies should be sent early for appropriation, before any general and other elections.
- g. The Federal Ministry of Works should be advised to allocate more federal mass transit vehicles to the NURTW to enable them contribute sufficiently to election logistic arrangements.
- h. State and local governments should invest more in constructing befitting motor parks in towns and cities so as to reduce their attraction as hideouts for criminals.
- i. INEC should partner with NURTW, okada riders association and other non-state actors with a view to extending the frontiers of voter education to these categories of Nigerians.

Appendix II

Book Review

Title:	Election Security in Nigeria: Matters Arising
Publishers:	Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Abuja, Nigeria, 2013, 152 pages.
Reviewer:	S.S. Muhammad, PhD Department of Political Science, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Nigeria.

REVIEW of the Book Election Security in Nigeria: Matters Arising

As the 2015 general elections approach, it is important to raise pertinent questions about security in general and election security in particular. Security challenges have become pronounced in the country as a whole especially in the context of Boko Haram insurgency, just as the “struggle to gain access to power [by the political class] and thus to state resources have not only remained protracted but fierce as well” (page xxv). This, understandably, has given rise to a concern of how to secure elections and deepen the democratic process in Nigeria. It was with this in mind that a workshop on 'Security Challenges of Election Management: Matters Arising from 2011 and Anticipating 2015' was held at Abuja in August, 2012. The book “Election Security in Nigeria: Matters Arising” is the outcome of that workshop. Experts, security

personnel, election managers, development partners, CSOs, etc., came together to brainstorm and share views and experiences on the matters arising from the planning and execution of security strategies put in place for the conduct of 2011 elections with a focus to make the 2015 elections more secure. While noticeable improvement had been made on the effective coordination of security agents during the 2011 elections through especially the ICCES, there was the need to do more especially, in the context of the disaster that was the 2011 post-election violence in the northern part of the country. The former Resident Representative of FES, Nigeria, Thomas Mattig (page xv) in his welcome address pointed that, “It is important to consolidate on these gains [made] and work towards even better polls in 2015, despite the current tension in the country.” The book is therefore timely as it presents a roadmap towards secure and peaceful polls in 2015.

The preliminary pages (28 in all) were devoted to speeches and addresses by the key stakeholders to the workshop. In the foreword to the book the current Resident Representative of FES, Nigeria, Ms Seija Sturies on concern for an environment infested with increased acts of violence and terrorism brings to the fore the need to act and act fast by stating, (in page vii), “... hence the urgency and importance of developing and employing security measures so as to control, contain and prevent factors that trigger disorder and violence during elections.” A key issue therefore remained on how to enhance the professional conduct of security agents as well as reverse their tendency of seeing their role as essentially that of securing the lives, property and electoral interests of 'big men of power' and enable them to transcend communal, primordial and narrow ethno-religious loyalties' (page x).

The Keynote Address, entitled 'Security Challenges of Election Management: Towards 2015' was given by no less a person than the Chairman of the INEC, Professor Attahiru Jega, OFR. He underscored the importance of security of elections, pointing to the need to make 2015 elections more secure than those of 2011 through 'implementable recommendations.' Security challenges abound, not only in terms of the reoccurrence of previously identified ones but also of “... how to balance the imperative of securing the electoral process with the need to allow voters unfettered opportunity to come out and cast their votes without fear or intimidation as a result of the presence of security personnel” (page xxiii). He cautioned that election security must not be left to the security agencies and EMBs; all other stakeholders such as the media, NOA, community leaders, CSOs, etc. have significant roles to play in the task of securing the electoral environment (page xxiii).

Several important themes have been treated in the nine (9) chapters of the book, two of which treated the Kenyan elections experiences and the lessons to be learnt therein. Distinguished scholars, experts, election managers, legal luminaries and other stakeholders have tried to do justice to the multifarious issues addressed in the different chapters of the book. The result is a lucid and concise compendium with dispassionate analysis about how matters arising from the election security challenges could be tackled. If implemented, the recommendations contained in the book have the potency to guarantee peace before, during and after elections in 2015. The editor of the book, a well-known sociologist of repute and National Commissioner at INEC, Professor 'Lai Olurode, was able to spin the very fine thread that linked all the chapters in an easy-to-read manner that is almost free of typos (pages xi, xii, xv, xxii, xxv, 35,

41, 137, 142 being the exceptions). The compendium is a must-read by anyone willing to understand the dynamics of electoral security in Nigeria.

The first chapter, an introductory chapter, entitled 'Election Security in Nigeria: Is there a Silver Lining?' was written by 'Lai Olurode, the editor of the book himself. The 18-page chapter gave the general background to the book. It looked at the antecedents to the 2012 workshop on security challenges of election management which assessed the 2011 elections vis-à-vis the recommendations from the workshop held in 2010 on the theme. Olurode proffered a brief theoretical insight that demonstrated the need for optimism to sustain the struggle against security challenges in spite of their recurring nature in an insecure global environment. The introductory chapter was a summation of the key issues discussed in all the nine chapters of the book: from Anyanya's assessment of the 2011 election security arrangements in chapter two through Mahiri-Zaja's discourse on the security challenges of election management in Kenya in chapter eight to Buba's assessment of new security challenges of election management in Nigeria. The two major points that were clearly brought to the fore by Olurode are: One, that "all the presentations point to the need to develop comprehensive mitigation strategies ahead of the 2015 general elections if the gains of the 2011 elections are to be sustained and improved upon" (page 16); and two, the presentation outlined in a clear and apt manner a number of far-reaching recommendations from the 2012 workshop for the successful conduct of 2015. These are succinctly summed up by 'Lai (pages 17 and 18) and are worth citing in full:

- Early planning and coordination to meet the challenges of election security would contribute to guaranteeing successful and peaceful conduct of 2015 election.

- The ICCES established prior to the 2011 elections is a good practice for experience sharing among stakeholders and should be strengthened at all levels. In addition, there is the need to put in place a template for deployment of security personnel in elections for effectiveness.
- The INEC-political party relations should be enhanced; this will strengthen the supervisory role of the Commission on political parties, and enforce internal democracy modalities within the political parties in order to reduce conflicts.
- The training and capacity building of security officials for improved performance at elections are advocated. Training should include the code of conduct for all security officials.
- All factors that induce violence at elections must be addressed such as selection of candidates through flawed primaries, use of hate speech at campaigns by politicians and prior to elections, undue use of money in politics, etc.
- Civic education and advocacy for youths and all stakeholders in order to give them the right orientation and positive role they are expected to perform towards the success of 2015 elections.
- Towards 2015 elections, safe havens must be created and rapid evacuation plans made for election personnel in the event of breakdown of law and order during elections.
- The Commission should acquire adequate legal powers to prosecute electoral offenders.

- Deployment of security and election personnel should be done based only on informed security report targeted at ensuring the safety or integrity of the officers.
- There is the need to begin to institutionalize security mapping to identify flash points to help in effective deployment of security during elections.
- Polling units should be sanitized and decentralized to ensure effective security coverage. Congestion of several polling units in one location should be discouraged.
- There is need to have INEC intelligence unit to advise the Commission and compare notes with the operations of other security agencies.
- There is need for synergy and coordination with respect to financing and logistics of elections.

Some of these include the need for early planning and coordination to meet election security challenges, the sustenance of ICCES, and the institutionalisation of security mapping (pages 17-18).

Chapter two (pages 19 to 30), written by Lancelot Anyanya, is an 'Assessment of 2011 Elections in View of Recommendations from the 2010 Workshop.' In October 2010, a workshop was organised by INEC in conjunction with one of its important development partners, FES with a focus on security challenges of election management. The activity brought together the academia, election managers, policy makers and security practitioners to brainstorm and come up with

practical security strategies and approaches to ensure peaceful and credible elections in 2011 against the background of the then rising insecurity in the country. Aside from the general introduction, the author enumerated twenty-five far-reaching recommendations that emanated from the 2010 Workshop on how to improve election security in Nigeria in 2011 (pages 21-25).

The assessment by Anyanya of the performance of the 2011 elections is interesting. The violence in the aftermath of the 18th April, 2011 presidential elections stood in direct contrast to the gains of the said elections. He wrote (page 25):

Gory images of widespread violence, dead bodies, burnt vehicles and charred property would sadly linger for long in the memories of some as the defining image of that election. Even in a country seemingly accustomed to electoral violence, it has to be admitted that 2011 was unprecedented in scale, scope and severity. Violence broke out almost simultaneously in some or most parts of the following states: Kano, Kaduna, Adamawa, Katsina, Plateau, Yobe, Bauchi, Borno, Katsina and Sokoto ... within three days over 800 persons lost their lives to the election violence and about 65,000 were displaced.

It is within the above context that the gains made in the 2011 elections are to be understood and analysed. For example, the United States Institute for Peace (USIP) saw the elections as the best run since the beginning of Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Also the Commonwealth Observer Group opined that the elections for the National Assembly and the Presidency were both credible and creditable and reflected the will of the Nigerian people (page 3).

The achievement of INEC is to be found in its proactive setting of the agenda for election security management and the coming to the fore of the ICCES that resulted in the more effective coordination of security during the elections. The performance of security agencies was seen as less than optimal even though the author argued that, “The fact that subsequent polls could still hold even though they had to be shifted by some days in a few states is a testimonial to the stellar performance of our security forces” (page 28). Overall, in looking ahead to 2015, the security atmosphere looks frightful prompting a call for the creation of safe havens and rapid evacuation of election personnel in the event of breakdown of law and order during elections (page 27). Serious security sector reforms that would make security agencies more professional, impartial and effective was called for just as the need for a firm commitment of stakeholders was stressed to ensure free, fair and credible elections come 2015.

Chapter three by Ibrahim K. Bawa Esq devoted attention to the legal constraints to election security in Nigeria (pages 31 to 42). The author contends that the Electoral Act, 2010 (as amended) made adequate provisions to guarantee security of elections in Nigeria. Some of the far-reaching provisions are those on security of personnel, materials, voters and the environment of election, conduct allowed or prohibited at political rallies and campaigns, security of the ballot and punishment for violations, including the prosecution of electoral offences, among others (pages 31 to 40). A logical question asked was, “How could the emergence of violence be explained when adequate provisions have been made to make elections secure?” Two such provisions are worth citing:

- a. Section 129 of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) provides that, “Any person who snatches or destroys election materials shall be liable to 24 months imprisonment without option of fine” (page 37); while
- b. Section 131 provides that, “No person shall directly or indirectly make use of or threaten anybody with force, violence or restrain or inflict or threaten to inflict any injury, harm or loss, abduction, duress, use of fraudulent device or contrivance to impede or prevent a voter from free use of his voter's card or to prevent a political party or its candidate from campaigning.” This offence is punishable with a fine of N1 million or 3 years imprisonment (pages 37 to 38). The answer to the question raised is to be found simply in the non-enforcement of the provisions by security agencies (pages 28 to 39).

Other issues addressed in the chapter are: (a) the challenges associated with the prosecution of electoral offences by INEC. For example Bawa pointed in his conclusion that, “Even though some convictions have been secured, the percentage is a far cry from the large number that committed registration and election offences” (page 41); (b) the delay in deciding electoral offences, occasioned by adjournments on often flimsy and frivolous grounds (page 41); (c) the culture of corruption, of which, the courts are not exempted; and (d) the huge costs of prosecuting election offenders. A major recommendation was not only the setting up of a commission on electoral offences but also underscoring the need for proactive vigilance by the citizenry. To confront the prevalent and intimidating election security challenges in Nigeria also requires reform of

security agencies to gradually result in policing for citizenship rather than policing for vested interests.

'Election Security in Theory and Practice: Perspective of a Resident Electoral Commissioner,' was the subject explored in chapter four by the REC himself, Mike Igini. The 20-page (43 to 62) presentation shed light on the theoretical and empirical perspectives to security, and of the history and consequences of violence-ridden elections in Nigeria. The author drew attention to documented experiences in global best practises in election security from such countries as Ghana, South Africa and the United States of America. Violence-free elections have helped to deepen democratic governance in those countries. They also contrast sharply with the flawed and insecure elections in such countries as Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan (page 46).

In the context of security deficits in Nigeria, the importance of strategic policy for security of elections in Nigeria as provided by INEC was underscored. In this regard, the roles of ICCES and EMBs were not only argued to be far-reaching but that they need to be further consolidated upon at both national and state levels. Arising from his experience in the conduct of 2011 general elections and the February, 2012 Cross River State governorship elections, the author argued for the need to put in place a template for deployment of security personnel during elections. The template or model suggested was seen as unique because, in the posting of security personnel, details such as “the name of the security personnel, service organisation, command or unit location, service number, mobile phone number, local government area of deployment, registration area and polling unit” (page 11) are made available to

stakeholders. The proposed template thus has a strong appeal to serve as a guide to deployment and in establishing culpability. A logical outcome of the Cross River Model was that, at the end of the two elections earlier referred to, no report of abandonment of duty by security personnel was received (page 55). To further guarantee future election security, Igini proposed:

- a. The need to review section 150 of the Electoral Act that gives power to INEC to try electoral offenders but without express power and capacity to investigate (page 58);
- b. To establish an election offences commission to expeditiously pursue the prosecution of election offences, the continuing education of voters and the institution of speedy and effective conflict resolution mechanisms (page 60).

'Lai Olurode and M. K. Hammanga wrote chapter five of the book, the longest of all chapters apparently because of the primacy of the issues involved. The authors devoted attention to the practical issues of deployment of security personnel in elections with a focus on lessons learnt from past experiences. A concise security personnel deployment template was recommended in tandem with a similar suggestion in the previous chapter. Aspects of the proposal were that:

- i. Deployment of security personnel must not be arbitrary, late or left uncoordinated,
- ii. Vital information about security personnel themselves and the areas of their postings must be made available to pertinent stakeholders to enable effective coordination and control of security matters,

- iii. Politicians must not be allowed to determine postings and/or control of security personnel,
- iv. The question of remuneration and welfare is also key; regardless of who pays, and
- v. Allowances and compensations must be reasonable and timely in order to boost morale and prevent a tendency of security arrangements being taken over by vested political interests through monetary inducements.

Election security personnel have been compromised before and the stakes in the 2015 elections are already very high. While timely deployment of security personnel with provisioning of all logistics is critical to a secure and credible election, a key issue remains whether there would be the will and commitment on the side of managers of security personnel and political leadership to make the difference. A happy development to the intricacies of deployment is the growing consciousness and willingness of the citizenry to monitor elections and ensure that their votes count. Even happier is the support of this initiative by INEC. While the idea of a security personnel deployment template is a most welcome one, INEC needs also to make clear the types of rewards meant for election personnel as well as the provision of a well-designed timetable for deployment and logistics.

Eze Onyekpere had in chapter six (pages 87 to 101) dealt with the intricate issue of 'Election Security Finance. While stupendous amount of financial resources is spent at elections by, especially the political class, an issue raised in this chapter is the adequacy or otherwise of funding for election security. Competition over the scarce resources of the state is a salient factor in whatever resources

are to be allocated for election security. The rising tide of security challenges compounded by the sharp contest for political power would also mean that more resources are needed for effective management of security. Election security funding issues before, during and after elections are bound to be staggering and government must be seen to be reasonable in budgetary allocations in light of the sensibility of the issues involved. Actual releases of approved funds and the extent of the effective deployment or judicious use of same for guaranteeing security at elections are also pertinent questions. Observers are quick to draw attention to huge budgetary provisions to tackle general insecurity especially in the context of Boko Haram insurgency vis-à-vis the current precarious security situation in the country. Onyekpere called attention to the need to avoid 'double' budgeting especially in the context of each security outfit trying to have its independent budget. Approved funds must also not be late in coming.

While INEC must be commended for its determination to monitor the campaign expenditure of candidates and put it under check, the issue is that in the absence of adequate funds from government as well as the efficient use of same, politicians and moneybags are bound to take over and compromise the security personnel. In the past, and there is so far no sign that this would not be repeated, politicians have spent huge sums of money not just on campaigns but also aimed at compromising the work of election personnel, including security. Such illegal spending is done in secret and in so many inconceivable ways, in spite of the limits imposed on each candidate by law to spend during elections. Tracking of campaign finances in the past had not been easy by INEC even under the best of times. It is commendable that INEC, along with its domestic and

international partners, is still proactive on monitoring campaign expenditures of individual politicians and political parties.

Chapters seven (pages 103 to 114) and eight (pages 115 to 121) written by Ahmed Isaack Hassan and Lilian Mahiri-Zaja respectively, are devoted to providing a comparative approach to understanding security challenges of election management in Kenya. Thus the two chapters are respectively entitled, 'Security Challenges in Election Management: Towards Nigeria's 2011 Elections: Case Study of Security Challenges in Kenyan Elections' and 'New Security Challenges of Election Management in Kenya.' The former, Chair to the Kenyan IEBC, underscored the importance of security to not only election personnel and materials but also of the environment of elections. Kenya had witnessed serious security challenges leading to loss of many lives and property, in addition to throwing serious obstacles to deepening the democratic process there. Handling security was, therefore, a complex process involving huge funds which were not always available just as the management of the security personnel poses a challenge of its own arising from operational matters to other intervening factors. While the point can be drawn about the similarity of the security challenges between Kenya and Nigeria, the important lesson here was that effort must continue to be made by all stakeholders to overcome the identified challenges and ensure that elections are more secure and credible.

Almost akin to the post-election violence in Nigeria in 2011, Mahiri-Zaja described the violence that erupted in the 2007 Kenyan elections together with their attendant consequences. Tourists attacks, blamed on Al-Shababtheir Boko Haram equivalent coupled

with political thuggery especially by youth are presented as clear manifestations of the security challenges. Central to the author's presentation was the need for comprehensive election reform programme that takes seriously election security in all its ramifications from registration of voters to the final declaration of results. Inclusive in this framework was the emphasis on the need for professional, disciplined and competent election personnel, a rigorous security planning and provisioning of adequate resources for election security. The Kenyan experiences pointed to the need for all pertinent stakeholders to proactively come together with a view to ensuring free, fair and credible elections as a vital component of the democratic process. The two chapters resonated well with Nigeria's election security challenges. The issues raised brought to the fore the continued need to compare notes and learn lessons from each other's experiences.

Chapter nine (pages 123 to 129) is on 'New Security Challenges of Election Management in Nigeria: Towards 2015,' written by Abdulhamid Buba. The main concern of the chapter was to document the emerging and new security challenges in Nigeria since 2011 as well as chart a way forward so that the sanctity of elections, especially the forthcoming 2015 elections in the country, would not be undermined. There are varied new dimensions of security challenges, according to the author, among which include "a perfected scheme of monetary inducements to voters at polling stations to influence them to vote in favour of a particular party or candidate; outright purchase of voter cards prior to elections; a 'siddon-look' attitude of some security personnel to on-the-spot breach of the electoral process; inadequacy of security agents manning polling stations; connivance between segments of security

agents and politicians to aid and abet electoral fraud through, for instance, fomenting trouble to get election or their results cancelled in some areas, creation of difficulties to divert election observers/monitors from reporting breaches of the electoral process; and poor logistical arrangements for the security agents” (p126), among others.

The way forward to tackling the challenges identified are equally varied spanning from:

- a. The need for the EMBs to work out clear mechanisms for improving security,
- b. Provision of a clear framework to guide the working relationship between the EMBs and security agencies,
- c. Set-out sanctions for violations of the principle of secrecy of voting, and
- d. The conduct of staggered elections that will afford the aggregation of men and resources to one zone, among others.

There are other noticeable issues that are critical to election security that arose from a roundtable discussion by participants. They ranged from infrastructure and communication challenges, poor welfare for election security personnel, late planning, poor coordination among security agencies and late deployment of personnel and materials. Others are delays in prosecution of electoral offenders and lack of incentives for exceptional performance or sacrifices made by election personnel, among others (page 129).

A key aspect of the book is an addendum in form of book review by Jibrin Ibrahim, PhD, a highly respected scholar and public commentator. The title of the book is 'Security Challenges of Election Management in Nigeria' and was edited by 'Lai Olurode and Attahiru Jega. The book, we are told, is the output of a conference convened in 2010 to deliberate on the then forthcoming 2011 general elections in Nigeria (page 133). The review is certain to afford readers the unique opportunity to come to terms with the key issues in security challenges of election management in Nigeria. Only the details of the book will be missed, but certainly not its essence. In giving himself the privilege “to review how the predictions in the book, written before the elections, actually played out” (page 141), Ibrahim analysed the developments leading to the shift in National Assembly elections from 2nd to 4th April, 2011. He argued that this not only raised questions about the preparedness for the elections but it also cast huge doubts about the election process in some parts of the country and created the ideological foundations for the violence that emerged in some parts of the country (page 142).

Generally, all the chapters in the book were geared towards a deeper understanding of the 2011 election with its attendant security challenges followed by recommendations offered to that effect. Laudable as these recommendations were, however, it is pertinent to note that, historically, each general election conducted in Nigeria was unique in terms of its character and the challenges it posed. Nearly every election exercise conducted was followed by post-election violence. In many instances, the spates of violence were spontaneous and extremely devastating. Though anticipated, these series of post-election violence could not easily be prevented. This makes it imperative for, especially INEC and the security agencies, to

dig further and provide additional measures to be taken in order to contain these spates of violence. For it is natural to ask, “Why was there violence of such magnitude in spite of the measures taken?” and “Why was there an apparent lack of enforcement of the relevant provisions of the law aimed at improving election security?” One additional issue the book could have dwelt on was how the 2015 elections could be anticipated. Another was to discuss what is likely to make 2015 election unique, in light of previous elections. With the answers to the questions in mind, strategies could be drawn on how to ensure that pre- and post-election challenges in the past did not repeat themselves in the coming 2015 elections.

Furthermore, Nigeria is a radically dynamic society with rapid changes frequently occurring in the political behaviour of both the electorate and elected. These anticipated changes in people's behaviour vis-à-vis elections security challenges are likely to add up and make the 2015 elections exercise difficult and critical. This is because, the current state of security challenges would always be exploited by the political elites and their agents hired thugs, bribed security agents, political party stalwarts, would-be multiple-voters etc., all lined-up to advance the elites' interests. How this anticipated scenario of lined-up political agents would affect the 2015 elections is important for the readership of the current book.

One other thing that apparently seemed to have escaped the authors of the book, is the actual role specific and sensitive stakeholders, such as traditional rulers, faith-based organisations, ethnic volunteer groups, etc., will be playing in the forthcoming elections. For example, despite the fact that traditional rulers and faith-based organisations are 'insulated' from politics, they still

command certain level of respect and influence in society. They could therefore play a complimentary role aimed at improving security of elections particularly at grassroots levels.

It is noteworthy that the book contains a major recommendation which calls for the setting up of a commission to particularly address the challenges associated with prosecution of election offenders. However, there is a need for caution in the optimism for the prospects of this option. The fact is we are not sure whether this could help improve the situation largely because the courts will, whichever way, be involved in the prosecution of such offenders. Yet, as is generally known, these courts thrive on the culture of prolonged handling of cases, interference 'from above,' inefficiency and complacency and, in the end, delayed justice or no justice at all.

Given the unfolding security challenges ensuing from 2011 to 2015 elections, the experiences of other countries should not be taken for granted. There are countries, such as Ghana, Zimbabwe, Congo, Kenya, and so on that are also heterogeneously complex and share many election security challenges like Nigeria. However, such countries are making tremendous progress in the conduct of their elections. In this regard, it is imperative to share more information as regards the progress each country is making in its overall election exercises.

To conclude this review, it is pertinent to draw attention to some issues. First, it is imperative for INEC, security agencies and indeed other key stakeholders to proactively take steps to implement the key recommendations arising from the 2012 workshop as succinctly summed up by Olurode (pages 17 to 18).

Second, even though a panel of inquiry set up to investigate the 2011 post-election violence had already concluded its work and submitted its report, INEC needs to further explore the issues by:

- a. Critically studying the report; and
- b. Conducting an empirical research to determine:
 - i. causes of the violence;
 - ii. roles of other political stakeholders;
 - iii. role of INEC itself, and ultimately come up with how future post-election violence could be prevented in Nigeria.

Furthermore, security challenges have become more pronounced in the country today in the context of Boko Haram insurgency and other flash points especially in the North-East, North-West and North-Central geopolitical zones of the country. The declaration of a state of emergency in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states could affect the conduct of elections there. This calls for renewed concerted efforts by all stakeholders. This is especially the case because the capacity to address those challenges in recent months has been called to question resulting in the involvement of some foreign countries in security operations in parts of the country.

Third, if the issues arising from the handling of security challenges before, during and after 2011 elections are anything to go by, there is the need for EMBs and ICCES in particular not to relent in implementing measures designed to make the 2015 elections secure. That the stakes in the 2015 elections are already high makes it all the more necessary for this to be done. The uphill task to turn the tide in which elections are seen as a fight-to-finish or do-or-die affair is still to be overcome.

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