



ISSN: 1117-1669  
e-ISSN: 2971-7841

*Journal of Science Education and  
Humanities (JOSEH), 2023, Vol. 7 (2):  
November, 2023. Full-text Available Online at  
<https://www.akscoejoseh.org.ng>*



## **Security Agencies in the 2023 General Elections in Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis of Their Roles, Activities and Achievements during 2015 And 2019 Elections.**

**\*<sup>1</sup>Thompson, E. N., <sup>2</sup>Esetang, Aniefiok & <sup>3</sup>Wilson, A. B.**

<sup>\*1&3</sup>Department of Political Science, College of Education, Afaha Nsit, P.M.B. 1019 Etinan,  
Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria.

<sup>2</sup>Ex. Director- National Orientation Agency (NOA), Akwa Ibom State

\*Corresponding Author Email: [thompson.effiong@yahoo.com](mailto:thompson.effiong@yahoo.com), Tel: +2348029577087

### **Abstract**

Politics is the struggle for power, influence and authority. Since it involves allocation of resources of a state it is often viewed as warfare between contestants with security implications. One of the determinants of free, fair and credible election is the security of lives and property before, during and after the electioneering process. Security is the freedom from danger or damage, be it physical or emotional, it is important in the electoral process. Election in Nigeria has never been a smooth journey from the inception of Nigeria as a sovereign state. Security during election has remain a challenge to election umpires and the citizens as political parties and their supporters see the election process as a ‘‘Do Or Die’’ Affairs. The 2023, 2019 , 2015 general elections were not an exception as some of the elections were characterized by reports of violence and security breaches despite the independent National Election Commission’s preparation for a smooth elections. This paper takes a look at the security Agencies in the 2023 general election comparing their roles, numbers, activities and achievements during the 2015 and 2019 Elections.

**Keywords:** Security, Elections, 2023 General election

### **INTRODUCTION**

Elected representative are servant of the people because they are expected to represent the interest of their people. Naturally, nobody prefers to be a servant since he has no authority of his own except those given to him by his master. Overtime, elected representatives of the people who are servants learned the art of converting the authority ceded them by their ‘‘masters’’(people) into power to make wealth. From then onward, servanthood became a very attractive endeavor requiring cut-throat competition to achieve. Crude tactics including violence are now employed to win elections. Such situations in several African countries in the post-

colonial era including Nigeria are very serious and requires the use of security agencies to maintain peace during election. Elections are contests for legitimate power fought within a political arena, elections by their nature are confrontational and therefore requires the assurance of equitable security to retain participants confidence and commitment. Consequently, security is integral to the electoral process. The frequent occurrence of insecurity during elections and the apathy it creates among the citizens has given vent to this work with the hope of proffering solutions that could aid in reducing electoral violence requiring use of security agencies to maintain peace during elections.

Ogundiya and Baba (2007) agree with Jegede (2003) that electoral violence in Nigeria manifest in such criminal acts as murder, arson, abduction, assault, violent seizure and destruction of electoral materials.

It is the responsibility of the police to foster security during elections. The Electoral act recognizes the police as the primary government institution charged with that responsibility with a total manpower 350,000 policemen to man 119,973 polling booth in 2015 elections and 400,00 personnel to cover 119,973 polling booth in 2019 general elections, the slight increase from 2015 elections as regards personnel reflects the growing security concerns and need for heightening vigilance in volatile regions. With the increase in polling booth to 176,846 in 2023 elections and the growing volatile electoral environment, it was impossible for police alone to keep security in the 2023 general elections. It is against this background that this paper uses the term security agencies in this study to demonstrate the facts that, other enforcement agencies like the Civil Defence, Immigration service, National Drug law Enforcement Agency, Directorate of state security, Road Safety Corp, Correctional personnel, Customs personnel among others were co-opted to maintain law and order and secure peaceful voting on the election day. This is in line with the formation of (ICCES) Inter-Agency consultative committee on election security in 2011 as a deliberate Platform for consultative, coordination and harmonization of election security in the country. Since then, the committee has been serving the commission as an advisory body for the efficient deployment of personnel and resources for ensuring peaceful and violent free election. Below is the list of membership of (ICCES) Inter- Agency consultative committee on election security:

- (i) INEC Chairman
- (ii) Office of the National security Adviser
- (iii) Nigerian police force
- (iv) Police service commission
- (v) Ministry of police Affairs
- (vi) Nigerian Navy
- (vii) Nigerian Army
- (viii) Department of State Security
- (ix) National Drug law Enforcement Agency
- (x) Federal Road Safety Corps

- (xi) Nigerian security and civil Defense
- (xii) Nigerian Correctional Services
- (xiii) National Youth Service Corps

Ordinarily, election embraces the periods of party candidate nomination, electioneering campaign, voting and announcement of election results. Of these afore-mentioned periods, it is only on voting day that myriads of security agencies are given electoral responsibility in Nigeria. The objective of this paper is to appraise the role, number of security agencies, activities and achievements of these agencies in the 2023 general elections as compared with what was recorded in 2015 and 2019 general elections.

## **Conceptual and Theoretical Frame Work**

### **Conceptual Framework**

- (i) **Security:** The concept of security is a very elusive one. To some, it is freedom from harm, danger, risk or lose. It may also be a situation of absence of insurrection, sabotage or espionage. To Umaru (2019) security is the ‘absence of danger to your person, assets and infrastructure wherever you are located’(Umaru, 2019;12). However, measures taken to prevent such danger from occurring is also regarded as security. To Akpuru-Aja (1999) security can be looked at from both objective and subjective angels. To him security at objective angel measures absence of fear, anxiety, tension or apprehension of being in danger of losing life, liberty, property and core values. When there is absence of fear or threat to life or property whether they are public property or private property then there is security.

The police is statutorily charged with the responsibility of keeping security during election. According to Ekhomu (2004) election security fails under non- core function by co-opting other sister security agencies to assist on voting day, apart from the police, other para-military or security agencies used in election are Civil Defence, Immigration Service, Nation Drug law Enforcement Agency, Directorate of State Security, Road Safety Corp, Correctional Service, Custom Service and recently Economic and financial Crime commission(EFCC) was added to check buying of votes on polling day. The reason for this action is that the number of polling booths far outnumber available police strength

- (ii) **Election:** Election according to Dowse and Hughes (1982) is a procedure ‘...where all, some of the members (of an organization or a state ) choose a smaller number of persons to hold office, or offices, of authority within that (organization or state)’ (1982;322). It is a method of peaceful transfer of power from one group of persons to another. Election is an embracive concept that is used to describe procedures for choosing a new government. It starts from nomination of candidates by political parties, electioneering campaign by political parties, voting by electorate and announcement of winners by electoral body. It may also extend to court litigation by aggrieved losers. Voting by

electorate is only one activity in an election. It is an aspect of election which requires the highest number of police presence. That is why the police request help of sister security agencies on voting day.

- (iii) **2023 General Election:** This election was special in the sense that it was an end of tenure/transfer of power from one civilian administration to another civilian election. It was also special because three political parties of almost equal strength competed for votes from the electorates. It was an election which the electoral body promised voters and political parties that election result will be transmitted electronically to collation centers nationwide. This promise raised the hope of voters that their votes will count this time around thereby facilitating heavy turnout of voters especially the youths.

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Theory of Security**

Security theory focuses on the possibility of developing generalization as principles, assumptions, images, laws or perspectives for the purpose of describing, explaining and analyzing security threat (Akpuru-Aja, 1999:25). Threat is therefore at the center of the theory of strategic studies/S..Threat has to do with any act, behavior or position which is capable of raising the fear or anxiety that one is in a position to lose life, liberty or core values (Akpuru-Aja, 1999:37). The reason why a large number of security personnel from many security agencies were deployed in various election owe principally to the level of threat assessment determined by the police authorities. Prior to the 2023 general election, threat to the smooth conducts of elections was publicly understood to come from IPOB/Eastern security network in the south East, from Bandits/Boko Haram in the North East/north West, from arsonists and thugs in the south. Independent National Electoral commission (INEC) Offices and police stations in various parts of Nigeria were burnt down by unknown arsonists who vowed that the election would not hold. As the threat to the election was profound, the police had to take steps to neutralize them.

Akpuru-Aja (1999) argues that strategies for managing and controlling internal threat generally are sevenfold According to him they are:

- (i) A clear identification of the actual nature or form of the threat
- (ii) Control of information on the security threat in question
- (iii) Investigation of suspects and interrogating them
- (iv) Searching or spying of flash points
- (v) Obtaining of research information on such threat
- (vi) Employment of deterrence measures such as ‘public show of force’ by security agencies
- (vii) Observation of unusual movement of strange people ‘if you see something say something ‘

It was these strategies that police adopted that necessitated a large number of security agencies noticed in the various elections

### **History of Election Policing in Nigeria**

In some advance democracies, police involvement in electoral process is still either absent or very minimal but in Nigeria, the opposite is the case because of the high premium political actors place on the goal of occupying political positions(Uwak and Esetang, 2023:15). Election is therefore, one of the explosive and volatile issues in Nigeria.

The first national election was conducted under the Richards constitution by the British colonialist in 1947 in two towns only (Lagos and Calabar). Since that election was on property-Suffrage basis, few voters were eligible to vote and policing of election was therefore very minimal. The election however sowed the seed of ethnicity, parochialism and regionalization in future elections. According to Nnadozie (2007) “Unlike the situation in the twenties and thirties, politics especially electioneering campaigns and voting during elections were beginning to show features of ethnic sentiments and mudslinging” (Nnadozie, 2007:47). The second national election took place in 1952 under the Macpherson constitution of 1951. The method of election into the 136 members central legislature was by electoral college system. In view of this, Election policing was not required except in Eastern and Northern regions where every adult male taxpayer was qualified to vote. Western region used acclamation method at the primary collage. The third national election was in 1954. This was the first country wide election and was stipulated in Lytleton constitution of that year. It upheld the operation of different electoral laws for the three regions as stipulated in the earlier constitutions. The constitution instituted federalism for the time in Nigeria including regionalization of civil service. This action brought the control of the police under regional governments.

It was during the holding of 1954 elections that security personnel, mostly police personnel began to be massively used for election security. Political factors that elicited massive police use in the election were emergence and entrenchment of ethnically and regionally based political parties’ rivalry between these political parties on the contest of the election. Nnadozie explains that the three major political parties- NCNC, NPC and the AG won the majority votes cast in their respective region except sin the western region where NCNC defeated the AG in the west (Nnadozie, 2007:53). As police operations were regionalized under the constitution, regionally based political parties in power in such regions directed police operations to their advantage This stemmed from the fact the regional commissioners of police were appointed on the recommendation of regional premiers(Sanomi,1998:110).

The fourth general elections of 1959 were the last under British colonial supervision. During the elections the seed of ethnic and regional politics which was sown and natured by both the Nigerian political leaders and the British colonial authorities in 1954 were fully in display. The British colonialist’s objective in the election was to ensure that Nigeria was ruled by a

reactionary regime prepared to act as a British satrap” (H Smith, 2005:41 in Nnadozie,2005:208). To achieve this objective the British authorities in Nigeria went on ‘ to rig and manipulate the last pre -independence general election in 1959 which ushered in Nigeria’s independence ‘ (Nnadozie, 2005:207), police presence was merely to legitimize the process as regional premiers and British authorities influence and pressurized regional commissioners of police to act in their favor.

The 1964/65 federal election was the first post-colonial in Nigeria. The election, first to be conducted by Nigeria post-colonial political leaders was a farce. The ruling Nigeria national Alliance (NNA) made up of NPC, NNPC and MDF did not hesitate to frustrate all the candidates of United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA), the opposition coalition parties(made up of NCNC, AG, UMBC and NEPU) by making sure that they are prevented from filing their nomination papers before the close of nomination. As a result of this malpractice, before the election was actually conducted 67 NPC candidates were actually declared elected unopposed (Ademoyega, 1981:19). In reaction, the UPGA opposition coalition parties boycotted the election and called on the government to postpone the election to which the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa refused. Similar electoral fraud, Interference and mismanagement occurred in the western regional election the following year 1965.In all these, the police either watch helplessly in some place or allowed their personnel to be involved in the malpractice in order places because, according to Sanomi (1998:120), a former Assistant inspector General of police, the regional commissioners of police were still taking directives from regional Premiers.

### **Policing of Election in the Post-Independence Era**

For ease of comparison and analysis, post-independence election policing can be divided into military government conducted elections and civilian government conducted elections. A review of these election shows that apart from 1964 General elections of the first republic earlier discussed, there are more civilian government conducted elections than those conducted by the military. The military conducted election occurred in 1993and 1998/1999, while that of the civilian conducted elections occurred in 1983,2003,2007,2011,2015,2019 and 2023.

According to Sanomi (1998), himself a former Assistant inspector General of police, election policing under military government is less strenuous than under civilian governments. To him the combative character of the military and constant strong warning to planners of violence and election malpractice helped in making the work of security agencies easy to accomplish. A typical example is the 1993 General election between SDP and NRC conducted by the military government of Gen. Babangida which is widely accepted as the fairest, freest and most credible in the history of Nigerian even though it was annulled On the other hand, most of the civilian government conducted elections are often problematic with the police and other security agencies caught in the middle and blamed by opposition parties for helping the political party in power. According to Kufi ‘Cases abound where electoral offences were committed in the full

glare of policemen who did not take any action to arrest the culprits but rather chose to look the other way. Even in the cases where arrest is made, there was lack of diligent prosecution of offenders in the courts” (Kurfi,2019:280). Sanomi is of the view that such allegation is not entirely true. According to him, “while some of these allegations had some elements of truth, majority of them were exaggerated in order to give the police an undeserved bad image” (Sanomi 1998:119). He referred to justice Babalakin Judicial commission of inquiry into the Affairs of the federal electoral commission in 1985 which exonerated the police from blame in election malpractice to buttress his point.

### **Specific Roles of the Police (Security Agencies in Electoral Matters)**

The power of the police to be involved in electoral process is authorized by various statuses such as the Nigeria constitution, police act, criminal and penal codes, Public order act, Electoral act, criminal procedure code among others (Arase, 2007:259).

Specific responsibilities of the police in electoral process are:

- (i) Maintenance of law and order.
- (ii) Arrest, in accordance with electoral law, of persons who commit electoral offences, on the order of authorized electoral officers.
- (iii) Escort/ security of ballot boxes and other electoral material from one point to another.
- (iv) Maintenance of state guards at places where materials are kept by INEC during elections.
- (v) Protection of Electoral officers when transporting materials from one place to another
- (vi) Security at the polling/counting stations and collating centers.
- (vii) Security of the offices of INEC as well as state Secretariats nationwide.
- (viii) Security of the residence of INEC Chairman, Electoral commissioners and Residents Electoral officers in the state.
- (ix) Protection of the presidential candidates and their residence including their accommodation when on electioneering campaigns outside their stations, and all other VIPS so entitled.
- (x) Protection of the persons of the chairman of INEC, Electoral commissioners and Resident Electoral officers.
- (xi) Protection of Gubernatorial candidates and their residence including their accommodation outside their station during campaign tours.
- (xii) Cooperation and coordination between INEC and the police and request by parties in the following areas:
  - (a) Communication
  - (b) Transport
- (xiii) Quelling of disturbances during political campaigns.
- (xiv) Quelling of disturbances emanating from the elections results.
- (xv) Investigation of election offences.

These are the responsibilities of the police and by extension security agencies.

### **Security Agencies in 2023, 2019 And 2015 General Elections Compared Based on their Role, Number Activities and Achievement**

In 2023 major threat to election in northern Nigeria generally was from bandits, kidnappers and Boko Haram to a lesser extent. In the south East it came from IPOB and Eastern security Network which is the military wing of IPOB. in the south-south and south-west, threat came from kidnappers and criminals In view of these threats security agencies designed their counter-measures to ensure the successful holding of the election. They were: (source: swift Counts of National Democratic Institute (NDI)

**Nigeria Police:** To provide adequate personnel to man/keep order at polling units and other INEC facilities; provide security for election equipment and other material during delivery, election and retrieval; apprehend law breakers and prosecute them; dissuaded public officers from misusing police security details; conduct pre-emptive raids on criminal hideouts; enforce restrictions on movement of persons.

Table 1: The number of policemen used for the election nationwide is as shown below:

S/N	YEARS	NUMBER OF PERSONNEL
1	2015	350,000
2	2019	400,000
3	2023	500,000

Compiled by the authors

The increase in 2023 was partly due to the rising security challenges including insurgence's and widespread election related violence in some regions.

Their activities did not differ significantly from their role earlier identified. The achievement of the Nigerian police force was that the 2023 election was successfully conducted by INEC without major disruption in all parts of Nigeria. In the 2019 and 2015 the major threat in the north was Boko Haram and Fulani herders' killing in Benue and Plateau states. Also, there was tension in the Northern and South Eastern states, resulting from the ultimatum issued by northern youth and the youth-wing oforhanaze Ndigbo on each other in 2017. However, the role of the police in 2019 and 2015 General Elections was the same as in 2023 election. They recorded the same achievements.

**DSS:** The Department of state security (DSS) was in 2023 given the electoral role of monitoring the election closely and alert INEC and other security agencies on security problems; develop a framework for sharing intelligence regularly with other agencies during election, enforce restriction on movement of person during election day; Conduct mop up operation on illegal

weapons and raid criminal hideouts; Confine key trouble makers and supporters ahead of election.

The number of DSS personnel deployed for 2023 election was not ascertain. The activities of DSS did not differ from the role that were allotted to them. Despite the threats highlighted above under the police, the DSS achieved the responsibilities it was expected to achieve in the election.

**Army:** The Nigeria army was responsible for providing surveillance in the surrounding of election; assist in restricting movement during the election; assist in protecting election material where police and other agencies are unable to do so; establish stand by rapid squads in all state in case of serious crises; assist in retrieving INEC election equipment, material and personnel after election.

The number of army personnel used in 2023 was not ascertain. The activities of the army were as expected of them. Their presence in strategic roads and junctions deterred the activities of miscreants who wanted to disrupt the election.

**Nigeria Navy And Airforce:** Both the Navy and Airforce had the responsibility of increasing surveillance in Nigeria's airspace, airport and continental shelf during election; assist in the deployment of INEC equipment and personnel where necessary; assist in restricting movement along waterways where necessary. The Airforce in particular, help to transport sensitive electoral material from Abuja to state capitals around the country.

The number of Navy and Airforce personnel used in the election was not ascertain. The activities of both the Navy and Airforce were in line with the roles given to them and they effectively carried them out.

**National Security Adviser (NSA)** The National security Adviser (NSA) played invisible role in the 2023. He was sorely responsible for contacting service chiefs to assist INEC, monitor the performance of security agencies deployed for the election; maintain and increase security surveillance wherever it becomes necessary. The large number of security personnel witnessed in the election and the professional way service chiefs carried out responsibilities as request by INEC shows that office of the National security adviser (ONSA) performed its duties well.

**National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLA)** The NDLA was responsible for increased surveillance of hard drug production; movement and use of pre-emptive strikes on hard drugs dealers and user's hideouts; Closely monitor environment of election area for drugs use likely to lead to election violence

Table 2: The number of NDLA personnel deployed for the election.

S/N	YEAR	NDLA PERSONNEL DEPLOYED
1	2015	140,00
2	2019	200,000
3	2023	300,00

Compiled by the authors

There activities were in line with their role for the election.

**Nigeria Custom Service:** The role of the custom in the 2023 election was to monitor imports into the country at all ports and border crossing to prevent import that could undermine election process for example weapons, fake ballot paper and forms, fire arms and explosives; liaise closely with other security agencies to cover porous borders and routes.

The number of custom service personnel used for the election cannot be ascertain. Again, their activities were in line with their roles in the election.

**Nigeria Immigration Service:** The Nigeria immigration service played the role of closely monitoring entry of foreign nationals likely to undermine the election for example, illegal immigrants brought for election; liaise with custom and air force personnel to monitor flights that might bring in illegal election materials. The number of personnel deployed not known. Similarly, their activities were in line with their roles.

**Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC):** The FRSC's role was to man major roads to check reckless driving by road users and election personnel carrying electoral materials; rescue and evacuate accident victims to hospital; help to restrict movement of people to their areas; monitor and report the movement of thugs and other miscreants. The number of personnel deployed is uncertain and their activities were in line with role allotted to them

**Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC):** The EFCC personnel were first brought in during the 2023 owing to the emergence of a new type of electoral fraud which was vote buying at polling stations The role of the EFCC was to present at polling centers and to arrest vote buyers and those who share food to voters in order to influence their votes; The number of personnel deployed was unknown The activities were in line with the their roles.

**Nigeria Security And Civil Defense Corp (NSCDC):** The Nigeria security and civil defense personnel were given the role of protecting strategic assets of the government from vandalization and arson for example INEC offices, infrastructural facilities like filling station, bridges, traffic lights; they also provide personal security to electoral personnel and foreign observers and monitors of the election. The number of personnel used for the election not conformed; their activities were as expected of them.

Our study shows that roles undertaken by various security agencies in the 2023 general elections were based on their professional area of specialization. The Airforce, for example undertook to airlift sensitive and non-sensitive election materials under-tight security to state capitals nationwide while National Drug Law Enforcement Agency ensure that polling zone are free from drugs and drug users. Since area of professional specialization determined roles given to them, their roles in the two previous election of 2019 and 2015 were not therefore different from that of 2023. However, their activities between those three elections differed owing to difference in their threat assessment between those elections. The nature of threat to 2023 election, for example, was not the same as that of 2019 nor that of 2015. Security agencies therefore changed their mode of operation or activities to effectively counter the changing threats. Their overall goal of holding the three general elections without major disruption or postponement was achieved by security agencies.

### **Recommendation**

- (i) It is a known fact that, no election is perfect anywhere in the world. So, there is always room for improvement. In view of this, the following recommendations are considered towards enhancing future elections in Nigeria.
- (ii) There is need for the existence of an electoral offences commission. This will go a long way to prosecute offenders during election.
- (iii) Security agency/ agencies and electoral umpire should remain a political in the conducts of future elections. It will enhance a level playing ground and eliminate breakdown of law and order.
- (iv) Vote buyers should be jailed and/ or banned from political activities for 10-15 years.
- (v) Based on issues seen in the three elections, the provision of the present Electoral law should be further amended and strictly adhered to by the stakeholders. This will go a long way in conducting free, fair and credible elections
- (vi) The use of electronic voting is a welcome idea since it reduces level of violence during election to a negligible proportion. Political thugs will have little or no influence over proceeding since result could be transmitted within minutes to the collation centers. It will reduce numbers of party agents and less litigation notices if only INEC can be sincere.
- (vii) Enough political education should be given to the electorates before conducting any election.

### **Conclusion**

The role of security agencies in the 2023 general election was used in this paper to appraise their role, number, activities and achievements in the two previous general elections (2019 and 2015). Our study shows that the various security agencies deployed for the 2023 elections were given role base on their professional area of specialization. The situation was

therefore not different in the two previous elections. Owing to changing threat situations between the three elections, their threat assessment differed accordingly hence their changing mode of operation between the three elections. However, their goal of holding elections without disruption was achieved.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The authors wish to acknowledge Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFund) for funding this scholarly research article under Journal of Science, Education and Humanities [JOSEH] for 2023 ARJ Intervention in Akwa Ibom State College of Education Afaha Nsit.

## **REFERENCES**

- Ademotega, A (1981) Why we struck. Ibadan; Evan Brothers(Nig) Ltd.
- Ademowo, A. J. & Ajape, T. S. (2015) Electoral security and its implication for democratic consolidation in Nigeria. *The international journal of humanities and social studies* 3(4):223- 225.
- AKpuru-Aja, A. (1999) Policy and strategic studies. Abakaliki, Willyrose and Appleseed Publishing coy.
- Ali, M. S. & Ali, D. S. (2021) ‘‘An Analysis of the role of security Agencies in the management of Electoral violence in Nigeria’s fourth Republic’’ *Zamfara Journal of politics and Development* vol .3.Issues 1. No 11. Department of political science.
- Arase, S. (2007)’‘The political party and Election Challenges: the intervention role of the police’’ in Ehinderos Olaleye, O. and Adebayho, L. (Eds) *The Nigeria police and civil society in the Electoral process*. Abuja National orientation Agency (NOA) and Nigeria police force (NPF).
- Dowse, R. & Hughes, J. (1982) *Political sociology*. New York, John Wiley and sons
- Ekhomu, O. (2004) ‘‘Outsourcing Non-core policing functions to private security companies: Lessons from Elsewhere’’ in Alemika, E. and Chukwuma, I. (Eds) *crime and Polling in Nigeria: challenge and Options.*; Lagos Network on police Reform in Nigeria (NOPRIN).
- Godwin Gill, & Guys, S. (2016) *Free and fair elections*. Geneva, Switzerland: Inter/Parliamentary Union
- Kalu, N. E. (2020) Security Agents and Elections monitoring in Nigeria: Engaging international Best practices, *South East political Review (SEPSR)* Vol.5 No 1, 2020: <http://journal.aphriapub.com/index.php/SEJPS/view/1335>

- Kurfi, A. (2019) Sixty years long march Towards Democracy (Nigerian General Election 1951-2011) Ibadan: Safari Books Ltd
- Nnadozie, U. (2005) ‘National conference, federalism and the national question: Federalism, Constitutionalism and election in Nigeria’ in Alli (Ed) political reform conference, federalism and the NATIONAL question in Nigeria. Nigeria political SCIENCE Association (NPSA)
- Ogundiya, I. & Baba, T. (2007) ‘Electoral Violence and prospects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria’ In Jega, A. and Ibeanu, O. (Eds) Elections and the future of democracy in Nigeria.NPSA.
- Sanomi, D. (1998) ‘Police, political parties and Electoral process in Nigeria’ , in Amucheasi, E. and Sanomi, D. (Ed) police, law and order in Nigeria. Abuja, National orientation Agency (NOA)
- Tim (2021) Nigeria losing confidence in Elections due to malpractice 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2021
- Ugwuani, M. (2011) security Agencies and Election in Nigeria one issue many.htm// www.acadea.edu/security agencies and education.
- Umaru, A. (2019) Security Awareness and Education Handbook for corps member and staff. Abuja,NYSC.
- Uwak, U. & Esetang, A.(2023) Africa’s Refuge crises: An Appraisal of their cause, Effect and prospects. International journal of social sciences vol. 15 NO.1 January-June