

**IMPACT OF INSECURITY ON VOTER'S TURN OUT IN NIGERIA ELECTION:
A CASE STUDY OF 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN EDO STATE**

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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF BENIN

BENIN CITY

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**BEING A PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL
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FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE
BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (B.Sc. HONS.) DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

OCTOBER,2023

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this study is an original research essay and was carried out by **SUSAN ABIEYUWA OBARETIN (Miss)** with matriculation number **SSC1809637** and that the research work is sufficient in scope and content in partial fulfillment of the award of a Bachelor of Political science, University of Benin, Benin City.

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(Head of Department)

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to **Almighty God** for seeing me through my academic pursuit and is guidance all through my life.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I acknowledge with deepest gratitude the enabling grace and wisdom **God** granted me to complete this project work.

I am very grateful to everyone who has made this work a reality. First and foremost, my profound appreciation goes to **MISS RUTH OMORUYI** my project supervisor, for his guidance, criticism and encouragement during the course of my project. Ma, your criticisms and encouragement are highly acknowledged. Thank you. I also appreciate the support of all my lecturers in the Department of Political science for the knowledge they imparted in me.

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ABSTRACT

The issue of insecurity in Nigeria election is getting worse to the extent that the turnout of voters in an election as reduce drastically. The quest for power among political actors and the actions they take towards gaining power is unfriendly. This actions taken by them which are unfavorable is discovered to have affect the smooth running process of an election which undermine a free and fair election. The 2023 presidential election saw the use of various form of violence to the extent that voters were unable to vote in a safety condition. Citizens are no longer confident on the capability of INEC to run an election without insecurity prevailing. This therefore raises serious concerns as to the capability of INEC in conducting and delivering a free and fair elections to Nigerians. The acts of violence such as beating, forcing or threatening voters ,sporadic gun shot by unknown gun men as well as killing of ad hoc and permanent staff of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) during an election is due to lack of security which makes the polling unit unsafe for voters to vote. In view of this , the study examines the politics behind the insecurity that occur at the polling unit in Nigeria election particularly in the 2023 presidential election in Edo State. Compelled by the challenges faced by INEC in election day due to insecurity ; this research sought to provide solution on the phenomenon of insecurity in relation to its impact on voter's turnout in Nigeria election. The study adopt both qualitative and quantitative approach to accomplish its specific objectives. The research study concluded that insecurity reduce voter's turnout in an election and undermine a free and fair election. Thus, if nothing is done to curb insecurity from prevailing in an election it will result to low voter's turnout in elections to come. The research study concludes that addressing the issue of insecurity in an election requires the input of all security agencies and INEC . The action is not only for INEC to undertake it requires the aid of security agencies because the problem of insecurity in an election can be successfully curb by joint force.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Of The Study

The prevalence of insecurity in Nigerian election and how it has affected voter's turnout in Nigeria election can not be over-looked and should be examined. Insecurity in Nigeria election makes voters to have a feeling of uncertainty, a lack of confidence or anxiety to vote in election. An election should be free and fair which can be achieved through security provision as one of the means. For example security should be provided for candidates during congresses, conventions, electioneering campaigns and elections; safeguarding the lives and properties of citizens during the electoral process; ensuring and preserving a free, fair, safe and lawful atmosphere for campaigning by all parties and candidates without discrimination; maintaining peaceful conditions, law and order around the polling and collation ; providing security for electoral officials at the voting and counting centers; ensuring the security of election materials at the voting centers and during transportation; ensuring the security of all electoral material, personnel and citizens during registration of voters, update, revision and any other electoral event. When security is provided voters are not scared to vote but when the reverse is the case then voters are scared to vote.

Insecurity is the state of being subject to danger or injury. The anxiety that is experienced when one feels vulnerable and insecure. Michael Ezemonye (2011) affirms the above definition of insecurity as "a state of being not secure, lack of confidence". When voters feel insecure or have a sense of danger in an upcoming election the turnout

is bound to be low. Until adequate and proper care is taken to resolve the issue of insecurity voter's turnout in Nigeria election will continue to reduce drastically.

The reoccurrence of insecurity in Nigeria election is not surprising or something new ,as it has been taking place in various election conducted in the country ,there are such cases where by thugs or area boys are hired by politician in favour of their party to interrupt the smooth running process of the election by beating, forcing or threatening the voters to vote for their candidate , while all these are taking place the security officers that are in charge that is to provide security are seen not doing their duties. The level of insecurity in 2023 presidential election in Nigeria and how it affect voter's turnout as become of great concern.

Insecurity as become a serious problem in Nigeria, due to the rate of insecurity in the 2023 presidential election people who are eligible voters in the country have lost interest to vote in elections to come in the future. Previous elections that held in Nigeria with insecurity been present , voters were faced with lot of violence such as they were beaten, some even loss their life in the process of fighting with the thugs hired by politician in favour of their party and lot more of other things did take place. As a result of this voters will slowly lose interest to vote in elections to come in the future which will affect the rate of voters turnout negatively.

Although, this study is limited to the 2023 presidential election yet the following basic assumptions still subsist: That as long as the issue of insecurity is not curb or dealt with, it will continue to affect voters turnout in Nigerian election and the more the rate of insecurity increase in the country the more the rate at which it will affect voter's turnout negatively.

1.2 Statement Of The Problem

According to Cyril Obi, (2011), "Insecurity in Nigeria, fueled by ethno-religious tensions, has led to decreased voter's turnout and has threatened the stability of the country's democratic institutions" . Insecurity in Nigeria election has been problematic towards voter's turnout in election. Voters who are eligible to vote do not vote in the country during election due to insecurity.

Onuoha 2015, published an article in the Journal of Contemporary African Studies titled "Managing Election Violence and Insecurity in Nigeria: The 2015 General Elections in Perspective." He argued that while insecurity and violence have been major concerns in past Nigerian elections, there is a lack of systematic research on the impact of these factors on voter's turnout. It is therefore of great concern and importance to undergo a research in order to be able to give relevant information on the impact of insecurity on voter's turnout.

This study therefore seek to find out the factors that lead to insecurity in Nigeria election. And also the effect of insecurity on voter's turnout in Nigeria election .

1.3 Objectives Of The Study

Objective of this study was to establish the impact of insecurity on voter's turnout in Nigeria election with focus on the 2023 presidential election . The specific objectives however, were:

- 1.To study the salient factors that lead to insecurity in Nigeria
2. To ascertain the impact of insecurity on voter's turnout in Nigeria election
- 3.To determine the root causes of insecurity
- 4.To explore ways by which insecurity in Nigeria election can be curbed\

1.4 Research Question

These are some of the questions that the study is designed to answer :

- 1.what are the factors that lead to insecurity in Nigeria?

2.what are the possible impact of insecurity on voter's turnout in Nigeria election

3.What is the root causes of insecurity?

4. How can insecurity in Nigeria election be curb?

1.5 Research Hypothesis

The research hypothesis for this study are:

Ho : There is no relationship between the outcome of voter's turnout in Nigeria election and Insecurity

H₁ There is a relationship between the outcome of voter's turnout in Nigeria election and Insecurity

1.6 Significance Of The Study

The study seeks to conduct a critical investigation on the impact of insecurity on voter's turnout in Nigeria election with focus on the 2023 presidential election.The result from this finding would educate the general public on the impact of insecurity on voter's turnout in Nigeria election .

It will be an eye opener to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) as the effect of insecurity on voter's turnout in Nigeria election will be exposed

in this study which will make them to take drastic measures on how security could be improved with the help of the government before, during and after election in Nigeria as to birth massive voter's turnout in Nigeria election. This research will also be useful to other scholars and researchers interested in carrying out further research in this field subsequently.

Therefore, this study is interested in highlighting the impact of insecurity on voter's turn out in Nigeria election to INEC in particular and to stakeholders in general which will make them to take drastic measures to curb insecurity and prevent low voter's turnout in election to hold in the future .

1.7 Scope Of The Study

The study investigated the impact of insecurity on voter's turnout in Nigeria election with focus on the 2023 presidential election. Therefore, this will be limited voters that were present who witnessed insecurity in their polling unit in 2023 presidential election. This study aim to reveal the detriment of insecurity on voter's turnout in Nigeria election which will be achieved by investigating the reason for low voter's turnout in 2023 presidential election.

1.8 Limitation Of The Study

The major limitation of this study is that it focuses solely on 2023 presidential elections thus leaving room for further studies on previously held elections in Nigeria. Other limitation is time constraints was the major challenge of this study. The researcher was simultaneously engaged in this study with other academic work which slowed the process of this study.

1.9 Definitions Of Terms

The following terms were used in the course of this study:

Insecurity:

Insecurity involves an overall sense of uncertainty or anxiety about your worth, abilities, skills, and value as a person, conveying the message that you're at risk or in danger of something or someone. That negative impacts of insecurity could be physical, mental, or emotional. Without security, you can't accomplish full trust or function to your fullest potential.

Voters:

Voters are those people who have legal right to vote in election with their voter card or people who are eligible to vote as they have valid voter card.

Voter's turnout:

Voter turnout means the percentage of eligible voters who cast their ballot on an election day . Note that Voter's turnout can be high or low. When high it is a positive sign indicating that citizens actively participate in the voting process and exercise their rights. While when low may indicate voter apathy or simply a general lack of interest in politics.

Election:

Election is an act or process of choosing or selecting candidates who will represent the people of a country in various positions in government. Through election the popular will of the electorate is expressed and realized. In modern democratic system, election is one of the principles of choosing a leaders.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

Election held in Nigeria over the years is known to have various reports of insecurity that took place during the election which affected the due process of the election. According to Prof. Attahiru Jega, former Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), in 2015 stated that "Insecurity is a major challenge to conducting free, fair and credible elections in Nigeria." An election cannot be stated to be fair when citizens are pressurized to vote for who they intend not to vote for through the means of violence due to lack of security. According Prof. Abdulraufu Mustapha, a political scientist at Oxford University, in 2019 stated that "The impact of insecurity in Nigeria has a major impact on election outcomes, as voters are often forced to stay indoors due to fear of violence." As long as insecurity in Nigeria is still very much present there will always be a low election outcome as voter's will be scared to vote .

According to Obioma Iheduru (2019) argues that "the level of security during elections has a major impact on the voter turnout in Nigeria". This is indeed a truthful statement, this is because when voter's are assured of their security during election, they are motivated to turn out and vote. The level of security during an election is an essential factor to be considered by INEC

Onyebuchi Igwesiopara (2015) stated that "an increase in security measures by the government positively correlates with higher voter turnout" . An increase in security measures by the government in Nigeria election will lead to an increase in the outcome of voter's turn out in election .Olufemi Olufowobi ,(2018) found that "voters who feel safe

and protected during elections are more likely to participate in the electoral process" A safety environment or atmosphere during election encourages voter's to participate in the electoral process.

In a study published in the Journal of Conflict Resolution, Davenport and Armstrong (2004) United Nations researchers analyzed the relationship between electoral violence and the quality of elections in sub-Saharan Africa . They found that "high-quality elections require more than just the absence of violence—they require the presence of security, transparency, and accountability throughout the electoral process." One of the salient features of a high-quality elections is security, the presence of security also aid free and fair elections.

According to Robert Dahl (1971), in his book "Polyarchy" (1971) opines that a democratic system must have multiple political parties or interest groups competing for power, as well as a free and fair process for electing leaders. This means that Nigeria with a democratic system of practice should not only have multiple political parties or interest groups seeking for power ,the process for electing their leaders should also be free and fair. John Rawls (1971) in his book "A Theory of Justice," proposed that a just democratic system requires not only free and fair elections, but also a commitment to protecting the basic rights of all citizens and ensuring that these rights are evenly distributed across society. This implies that voters right in an election should be protected and those right should be applicable to all voters irrespective of their status. The way the

right of a Governor is protected when voting it should apply to a civil servant who also intend to vote, the civil servant should not be compel or pressure to vote.

Election should be transparent. This implies that all due process followed during an election should be done clear and openly without any hindrances or obstacles . The voting process to that of the counting of ballot papers as well as other process should be done with transparency. When voters are attacked during an election through various violent means as well as election officers the election process can not be run with transparency. It also goes a long way to affect voter's turnout in future election to hold in the country.

Kofi Annan (2002) the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, stated that "elections should be free, fair and peaceful, with security conditions that would enable voters to cast their ballots without fear of intimidation, harassment or violence". This simply implies that when there is security during an election voter's are motivated to vote. Finally, in a speech delivered by Al Gore (2000) during his 2000 presidential campaign, he emphasized the importance of having a fair and secure election process. He stated that "when people lose faith in the integrity of the election process, they are less likely to vote and less likely to engage in civic life." There will be decrease voter's turnout and lack of trust for election process.

2.1 The Concept Of Insecurity In Nigeria

Insecurity has been in existence in Nigeria for more than a decade, and various parts of the country are known to have faced various forms of insecurity. The south-west of Nigeria faces cybercrime, armed robbery, kidnapping, domestic crime, extrajudicial killings, herder-farmer conflicts, ritual killings, and banditry. The south-east is known for ritual killings, commercial crime, secessionist agitation, kidnapping, herder-farmer clashes, attacks by unknown gunmen, and banditry. The south-south is threatened by militancy, kidnapping, and environmental agitation. The north-east has been subject to a humanitarian crisis lasting over a decade and caused by the Boko Haram insurgency and the Islamic State in West Africa Province. Meanwhile, the north-west faces illegal mining, ethno-religious killings, and banditry. It is, therefore, that over a decade, insecurity in Nigeria has claimed thousands of lives and caused extensive damage and loss of property. (Samuel .A. 2022)

Many at times, insecurity in Nigeria is as a result of bad governance, poverty, terrorism or kidnapping and so on. The increasing incidents of violent attacks are symptoms of weak, marginal or exploitative government systems in Nigeria. The government's inability to provide public services and meet the basic needs of the masses such as employment, good roads, and so on has created a group of frustrated people who are known to get violent by any event or condition unfavorable to them. The failure of Nigerian governments to fix the issue of poverty and the unequal distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities also contribute to the country's insecurity. Terrorism in form

of Boko Haram is the most famous terrorist organization that has done the most damage to the country. Nigeria has lost many lives in the northern part to the Boko Haram uprising, that ruin the northern part of the country.(Edeh . S. 2022)

When there is terrorism threat, kidnapping, violence and so on in the country it is right to state that there is insecurity in Nigeria. When the peace of a country is disturbed by a lot of crisis such as armed robbery, kidnapping, terrorist attack and so on the government is expected to provide quick solution to it so as to restore peace to the country but in Nigeria there are cases of insecurity that still have not have a solution to yet the case of Boko Haram is a very good example. The government should take serious actions to curb insecurity in the country so as to restore peace to the country, lack of security in the country does a lot of damage to the society and affect to a large extent the mental health of citizen and reduce their performance that yield to the growth of the society. Due to threat of life ,loss of properties as well as violence in various form in Nigeria it is of an essence to state that the country faces the issue of insecurity.

Insecurity in Nigeria has caused a lot of damage not only on citizen as they lose their properties and mental peace but to a large extent the society as it prevents the growth of the country. It is important to note that insecurity in Nigeria still exist due to the fact that effective security measures are not been taken into consideration, the measures taken is just to reduce it and not to curb it. Citizens are restricted to movement

in certain areas so as to avoid been killed or kidnapped due to insecurity in the country. Insecurity in the country is not to be managed rather to be curbed to avoid further damages to the country and also to citizen.

2.1.1 Assessment Of INEC And Insecurity In 2023 Presidential Election

This section aims at assessing the case scenario of the Fourth Republic elections with reference to the insecurity that took place in the 2023 Presidential elections. It is on record that on February 25, 2023, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) conducted Presidential elections in 36 states including the Federal Capital Territory (Abuja) . Reports were made that during the process of the Presidential election various form of insecurity did took place in various polling unit in the country.

It was obvious to INEC that the safe conduct of the 2023 Presidential election was threaten by the insecurity across the country. Various part where the election was to be conducted was already faced with various forms of insecurity. There are report of these various form of insecurity which include Islamist insurgents – Boko Haram and the Islamic State West Africa Province – in the North East, bandits as well as herders and farmers are at loggerheads in the North West and North Central zones, Biafra separatists in the South East and criminal gangs in the Niger Delta of the country which is a threat to

the conduct of the 2023 Presidential election . Despite all these INEC still proceed to conduct the 2023 Presidential election in Nigeria.

The insecurity that was recorded during the election took place in virtually all the states of the federation. Some of the states and the insecurity that took place was as follow: According to reports, in Lagos ,Aguda, Surulere, to be precise a woman, Mrs Jennifer Efedi was stabbed on her face by thugs who disrupted the voting process. The political thugs who were armed with dangerous weapons went about snatching ballot boxes, attacking voters and preventing those suspected to be opponents from voting. Sporadic gunshots also erupted in front of the palace of Alamuwo of Kuje Amuwo, Mazamaza, old Ojo Road leaving voters running for their dear lives. The thugs ordered the people should leave the polling booths for their safety, warning that they would come back. Many voters could not return to the scene despite assurances from security men who rushed to the scene to restore normalcy. In Rivers State, angry youths protested against attempts to manipulate the results of the presidential election. There were sporadic shootings and vandalization of properties and vehicles along the busy Igwuruta-Elele- Airport Road at the Igwuruta axis of the Ikwerre local government area. In Edo State the lives of Festus Idahosa, 33 years old, and late Mrs. Elizabeth Owie, a 43-year-old mother of three was claimed.They were killed when political thugs stormed their polling units where they had gone to exercise their civic rights during the election. Basically, elections are meant to be conducted in safety environment but this was not the

case in the 2023 presidential election. Insecurity occurring in one state during an election is a chaos enough, let alone virtually all the states faced with insecurity during an election. There must be a something wrong in a system that can not run an election free from insecurity in various state it is been conducted.It simply defines gross incompetence on the part of the electoral body charged with the responsibility of conducting such elections. This form of insecurity during election must not be allowed to continue.

The issue of Insecurity and the conclusion of an election without insecurity are two things that INEC, which is headed by Prof . Mahmood Yakubu , a professor of political history and international studies, need to consider and analyses before conducting an election. Regrettably, insecurity is steadily becoming the culture and pattern of elections held in Nigeria. Indeed,there are has been some major election conducted by INEC that was peaceful why some on the other hand was not.The election of President Buhari in 2015, the first transition of power to an opposition party since the country's democratic transition in 1999, was largely peaceful . But the 2019 elections was marred by violence from security forces including the army, and thugs acting on behalf of politicians. According to the Human Rights Watch research on the 2019 elections Rivers state in the south and Kano in the north, both of which have a strong history of violent elections, found that pre-election tensions including clashes between supporters of major political parties and rivalry between key politicians culminated in serious violence during the elections. Military officials indiscriminately shot and killed

civilians in Rivers state while political thugs and security officials attacked election officials, voters, journalists, and other observers in both state.

The fundamental question that arises here is whether INEC will continue to conduct an election in an unsafe environment and not consider the repercussions of their decision to do so. For instance a few weeks to the 2023 elections, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in a statement by its National Commissioner on Voter Education, Festus Okoye, expressed apprehension about the effect the insecurity in the various parts of the country, including the attacks on INEC Facilities, may have on the Commission's preparations for the forthcoming elections. According to reliable data, Imo State had the highest number of attacks on INEC facilities with 11 incidents followed by Osun, Akwa-Ibom, Enugu, Ebonyi, Cross River, Abia, Anambra, Taraba, Borno, Ogun, Lagos, Bayelsa, Ondo and Kaduna States. In spite of the fact that the facilities are said to be well guarded, the criminal elements involved in these activities generally operate without any challenge from security forces. If this dangerous trend continues on a larger scale, INEC will not be in a position to conduct elections in the affected areas. Professor Abdullahi Abdu Zuru, Chairman of the Board of Electoral Institute (BEI), representing the Chairman of INEC at an election-security training program, also warned that the growing spate of insecurity in many parts of the country may lead to a cancellation or postponement of the 2023 general elections. Although,

INEC's Chairman, Professor Mahmood Yakubu was determined to go ahead with the elections as scheduled.

It is not a wise decision for INEC to hold election in a place that is not safe or security equipped. In an article, it was noted that the state of insecurity in Nigeria, has also constituted a serious threat to the conduct of credible elections. It has been confirmed that elections cannot take place in the over 40 local government areas in different parts of the country which are firmly in the control of various armed gangs, including bandits, terrorists, known and unknown gunmen. The territories seized by the criminal gangs are in Borno, Kaduna Katsina, Niger, Sokoto, Zamfara, Abia and Imo States. As the security of electoral officials and election materials cannot be guaranteed in the seized territories, the authorities of the armed forces should ensure that an enabling environment exists for the conduct of elections in all the States of the Federation. Securing the various polling unit should have been put first into consideration before conducting the 2023 presidential election when the insecurity of the country was at a very high risk the election should have been postponed.

It was incompetent of INEC to conduct an election in an unsafe environment. Electoral Act 2022 in Section 24(2) says *“Where a date has been appointed for the holding of an election, and there is reason to believe that a serious breach of the peace is likely to occur if the election is proceeded with on that date or it is impossible to conduct*

the elections as a result of natural disasters or other emergencies, the Commission may postpone the election, and shall, in respect of the area, or areas concerned, appoint another date for the holding of the postponed election, provided that such reason for the postponement is cogent and verifiable”.

Subsection (3) further says that *“Where an election has commenced and there is reason to believe that there is or has been substantial disruption of election in a polling unit or constituency or it is impossible to continue with the election occasioned by threat to peace and security of electoral officials and materials, the Commission shall suspend the election and appoint another date for the continuation of the election or the process.”*

Unfortunately the above section stated was not considered by INEC in the 2023 presidential election that was conducted which lead to insecurity during the election.

Violence marred the elections in parts of the country such as Lagos, Delta, Kogi and Kano States. Violence was also recorded in Enugu and Ebonyi States. Closely related to violence was suppression of voters. Also known as deliberate disenfranchisement of eligible voters, this is a strategy designed to influence the outcome of an election by discouraging or preventing voters from voting. The elections further led to ethnic resentment and tension, especially in Lagos State. The Labour Party, a relatively unpopular party, defeated the ruling APC in Lagos State during the 25 February presidential election. The party had only one governor who won after appeal in 2009 before 2023 elections. Though Lagos is cosmopolitan, the Labour Party is

perceived to be largely Igbo and this led to attacks on some of its members in Lagos. Some APC members like Musiliu Akinsanya threatened Igbo voters in Lagos State. Akinsanya is the chairman of Lagos State Parks Management Committee, a Lagos State agency. It would have been a better decision for INEC to have postpone the election and work on provision of safe environment for voters which would have avoided such disaster and violence that took place during the 2023 presidential election.

The Independent National Electoral Commission raised an alarm over the rising insecurity situation across the country and its impact on the 2023 general elections, this means they were aware of the insecurity in the country and how it will affect the election. The INEC Chairman, Mahmood Yakubu, who spoke at the validation of election security training resources held in Abuja noted that the 2023 election faces serious threat of cancellation should the security across the country fail to improve.

Yakubu, represented by the Chairman, Board of Electoral Institute, Abdullahi Zuru, explained that “if the insecurity is not monitored and dealt with decisively, it could ultimately culminate in the cancellation and/or postponement of elections in sufficient constituencies to hinder declaration of election results and precipitate constitutional crisis.” The commission, however, assured Nigerians that it would not leave anything to chance in ensuring that intensive and extensive security are provided for election personnel, materials and processes. Mahmood said, “We all appreciate the fact that

election security is vital to democratic consolidation through provision of enabling environment for the conduct of free, fair, credible and inclusive elections and thus strengthening the electoral process.” “Consequently, in preparations for the 2023 general elections, the commission is not leaving anything to chance in ensuring that intensive and extensive security are provided for election personnel, materials and processes.”

“Therefore, security personnel in particular and all election officials, in general, must be security conscious and alert to unusual activities in their environment and must be fully equipped to deal with any challenge at all times.” Despite the plans made by INEC to ensure that insecurity does not take place or affect the election process, insecurity still affected the process of the 2023 presidential election.

The insecurity in the 2023 presidential election occurred in various form while some voter’s were suppressed , beaten and threatened. Thugs were seen around various polling unit with gun shooting sporadic which scared a lot of voter to run for their dear lives and lots more of disaster did took place during the election.

2.1.2. Insecurity And Voter’s Turnout In Nigeria Election

For there to be massive voter’s turnout in an election, there must be an assurance given to voters in relation to their safety. Robert Mattes (2013) states that

voter's turnout can be increased by ensuring the safety and security of voters, especially in areas with a history of violence and intimidation during elections. Also Richard Joseph (2015) states that ensuring the safety and security of voters is essential to achieving high levels of voter turnout. This requires the establishment of a transparent, fair and impartial electoral process. By the concept of voter's turn out, it connotes the percentage of eligible voter's who cast their ballot on an election day.

Citizen who are eligible voters come out in mass in their various polling unit to vote in an election to select a leader who will represent them in various offices in government. To get voters to turn out in an election, there is need to secure the environment which they are going to vote as it will motivate them to turn out in mass. Voter's turnout can be high or low in an election it all depends on how issue relating to an election is been handled. Voter's turn out is relatively high in an election when there is effective security presence in various polling unit the election is to be conducted. But it is also relatively low when there is insecurity present in various polling unit the election is to be conducted . In fact , high voter's turnout can be measured when the voters that registered 80 percent turnout to vote in the election but when the voters that registered 40 percent turnout to vote it is refer to as low voter's turnout.

The expectation of voter's turn out to be massive by INEC as not been attainable in Nigeria election due to the high rate of insecurity in various parts of the

country which always end up affecting the safety of the polling unit where the election is to be conducted. Within the struggle of INEC to get massive voter's turnout in Nigeria election, lays the obstacle of insecurity which always make the expectation of high voter's turnout impossible. The reoccurrence of insecurity in Nigeria election as made it impossible to get an accurate voter's turnout . This issue of insecurity causes it to be difficult to get a massive voter's turn out in Nigeria election. Not only does it affect the turnout of voter's in an election but also affect the electoral process which is to be conducted by INEC making it difficult for them to conduct an election accurately in the country.

According to Ibrahim M. Mu'azu he emphasized the negative impact of insecurity on voter turnout in Nigeria. He noted that the fear of election-related violence often discourages people from participating in the electoral process, leading to low voter turnout. Also, Emmanuel O. Ojo and Silifat Wasiu Idris highlighted the negative impact of insecurity on voter turnout in Nigeria. They noted that the fear of violence often leads to voter apathy, which in turn results in low voter turnout during elections.

According to Gbenga Oduntan (2015) insecurity, manifested in various forms such as terrorism, electoral violence, thuggery and ballot-box snatching, undermines free, fair and credible elections, and erodes public confidence in the electoral process.

Chukwuka Okonjo (2019), insecurity is a major challenge to INEC and the conduct of elections in Nigeria. The presence of security operatives is necessary to ensure orderliness in the polling units but reports of involvement in electoral malpractices in some areas in Nigeria means that insecurity is an issue that affects both voter turnout and the credibility of the elections. It is also noteworthy to point out that insecurity that take place during an election is a political ploy by political actors to be able to influence the actual vote result of an election in favour of their own political party as the voter's turnout will reduce especially does voter's who turnout to vote for their opponent.

Align with the above point discuss, insecurity in Nigeria election fosters unsafe voting environment, fear in the mind of voters and lots more which affect negatively on voter's turnout resulting to low voter's turnout in Nigeria election.

2.2. An Assessment Of Public Confidence In INEC

According to Andreas Schedler (2000), an electoral management body is a specialized administrative body that oversees and regulates the conduct of elections in a given territory or jurisdiction.. Pippa Norris (2004) also state that an electoral management body is a custodian of free and fair elections, responsible for ensuring that electoral laws are implemented fairly, efficiently and effectively.

Michael Maley and John Carey (2004) an electoral management body is an independent agency that is responsible for organizing and administering fair and transparent elections. Also Staffan Lindberg (2009) an electoral management body is a group of people with the power and responsibility to organize and run fair and credible elections.

All electoral management bodies such as Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is founded on fundamental guiding principles such as : independence; impartiality; integrity; efficiency; service-mindedness; transparency and professionalism. The importance of these principles is to make all the citizens in a country, including external stakeholders to have confidence in the electoral management body.

As an election management body in Nigeria, INEC has not been able to get serious confidence among many Nigerians due to the reoccurrence of insecurity in various election held in the country. Insecurity is one of the reason for the low confidence the public have towards INEC credibility to conduct a free and fair election. Citizens are not confident enough to trust INEC with their safety before, during and after election. The issue brief is interested in suggesting that INEC should put into consideration how they can provide effective security during an election so has to get the necessary confidence required for massive voter's turnout in future election to hold in the country.

2.2.1 INEC, 2023 Presidential Election In Edo State And Public Confidence

In 2011, INEC observes that, there is high negative perception of it's capacity to conduct free and fair elections. Repeatedly, election conducted by INEC the public have faced insecurity during election which have made them to doubt the capacity of INEC to conduct a free and fair elections. For instance, where there is cases of suppression of voter's right to vote for their own candidate in an election ,such an election conducted by INEC can not be said to be a free and fair elections. A report by the international Crisis Group, an independent conflict prevention organization, highlighted the concerns regarding INEC's ability to ensure security during elections, citing previous instances of violence. (International Crisis Group, 2019).

According to Chidi Ajayi,a Lecturer at the Federal University Lokoja, he examined the factors affecting public confidence in INEC, highlighting security concerns as a significant factor impacting the public's perception of the commission's effectiveness (Ajayi, 2019).The public confidence in INEC is drastically reducing in its effectiveness to conduct an election with security fully assured . INEC needs to address the issue of insecurity during elections, which significantly contributes to the loss of confidence by the public.

Similarly, just recently (before the 2023 Presidential election in Edo state), the residents of Edo state had doubt on INEC capability to provide security in the election

day. The Independent National Election Commission (INEC) Chairman, Prof. Mahmood Yakubu, had assured before the 2023 presidential election which was also conducted in Edo state that there will be effective security available in the election day as security personnel will be present on that day and be attentive to react to any chaos that may arise in the election day. But in the 2023 presidential election day in Edo State the lack of security due to the failure on the part of security personnel to safeguard the lives of voters claimed the lives of Festus Idahosa, 33 years old, and late Mrs. Elizabeth Owie, a 43-year-old mother of three. They were killed when political thugs stormed their polling units where they had gone to exercise their civic rights during the 2023 presidential election in Edo state. The failure of INEC to keep to their word, has led to low confidence of the residents of Edo state in INEC as they do not believe INEC can conduct an election free from insecurity interference. This has now led to recommendation from outside country. The issue of insecurity once led to the establishment of the Inter-agency Committee on Election Security (ICCES). It was aimed to help in the security of elections in 2011 in many polling booths across the nation. And there is however room for improvement of security in an election day.

Therefore, the above that is brief is aimed at recommending that INEC in particular and other stakeholders in general, should look for way to control insecurity in an election so that future election INEC can attain confidence from the residents in Edo state that the election that is going to be conducted will be security equipped.

Below are some analysis of newspapers publication on cases of insecurity in Nigeria election that leads to low public confidence:

1. Punch Newspaper: "Insecurity threatens Nigeria's elections and democracy"

The article talks about how the rising insecurity in Nigeria has undermined public confidence in the country's democratic process. It highlights incidents of violence, including attacks on polling stations, kidnappings, and killings of voters.

2. Vanguard Newspaper: "Low turnout and security threats mar Nigeria's elections"

This article reports on the low voter turnout recorded during voting in some parts of Nigeria due to security fears. It also highlights incidents of violence, including attacks on electoral officials, polling stations, and voters.

3. This Day Newspaper: "Nigeria's elections plagued by violence and insecurity"

The article discusses the security challenges that plagued the 2019 general elections, leading to loss of lives, disruption of polls, and low turnout of voters. The piece also touches on the report by the National Human Rights Commission, which indicted security agents for electoral violence.

4. Daily Trust Newspaper: "Insecurity puts elections credibility in doubt"

This article reports on the implications of insecurity on the credibility of Nigeria's electoral process. It highlights how the fears of violence have led to low voter turnout and how political actors have exploited the insecurity to subvert the electoral process.

5. Guardian Newspaper: "Nigeria's elections and the challenge of insecurity"

This piece offers an analysis of the insecurity challenges faced by Nigeria's democratic process. It highlights the role of insecurity in undermining public confidence in the electoral process, leading to calls for reforms in the security architecture.

6. Leadership Newspaper: "Insecurity and electoral violence threaten Nigeria's unity"

The article discusses how insecurity and electoral violence pose a threat to Nigeria's unity and stability. It highlights specific incidents of violence, including killings, kidnappings, and attacks on political campaigns, that have undermined public confidence in the electoral process.

7. The Nation Newspaper: "Security agencies face scrutiny over electoral violence"

This piece reports on the role of security agencies in Nigeria's electoral process amid concerns of electoral violence. It highlights instances where security agents acted in a partisan manner and the need for reforms in the security architecture to ensure impartiality in the electoral process.

8. Premium Times Newspaper: "Insecurity remains a major challenge for Nigeria's elections"

The article highlights the ongoing security crisis in Nigeria and how it has impacted the country's electoral process. It also discusses the structural issues that have exacerbated insecurity, such as poverty, unemployment, and inequality.

9. Sahara Reporters Newspaper: "Nigeria's electoral violence exposes the failure of security agencies"

This article reports on the failure of Nigeria's security agencies to address the electoral violence that marred the 2019 general elections. It highlights examples of violence, including ballot box snatching, the use of violence to force voters to vote for specific candidates, and attacks on journalists.

2.3 Insecurity And Non State Actors In Nigeria Election

It has been observed that there is a link between Insecurity and non state actors in Nigeria election. This is so because political actors for access to power use non-state actors by mobilization to help achieve their political aims. Due to the diverse nature of interests, it may be difficult to give an all- encompassing definition of what a non-state actor is, but there is generally an agreement that a non-state actor, NSA, may be a non-sovereign entity that exercises significant political power and territorial control which is

outside the control of a sovereign government; and often employs violence in pursuit of its objectives. By description, a non-state actor may also be organisation and individuals that are not affiliated with, directed by, or funded through the government. These include corporations, private financial institutions, and NGOs, as well as para-military and armed resistance groups. They can also be view as individuals or organisations that have powerful economic, political or social power and are able to influence or determine significant economic and political outcomes, most of the time using violence as potent tool.

Since the return to democracy in 1999, in Nigeria, a major problem that contributed to insecurity relates to the activities of armed non-state actors which has repeatedly challenged the peaceful co-existence of Nigerians through warfare against the government and the civil populace, in pursuit of a particular agenda (Adeoye, 2018; Alabelewe, 2020a; Alabelewe, 2020b). The activities of militants in Niger Delta region featured prominently in the attacks of oil installations, gas pipelines, abduction, oil theft, and violent criminal protest to register their grievances against environmental degradation and oil spills in the South-South states (Oshienemen et al., 2018). The North East is also not spared in the activities of Boko Haram insurgents who have demonstrated high degree of violence through abduction, forceful occupation of Nigeria's territory, and killings in the region with the aim of establishing a parallel government based on Islamic doctrines (Adesoji & Abdullahi 2016; Odita & Akan 2014; Onuoha, 2014). As at early

2011, conflicts between herdsmen and farmers, relating to land and grazing resources in the North-Central, especially in Benue, became more intense, developing from impulsive retaliation to well-organized assaults including kidnapping, ransacking of villages and communities. These violent activities lead to more deaths and displacement of persons (Adesoji & Abdullahi 2016; Othman 2015).

Nigerian elections have never been devoid of violence perpetrated by non-state actors (Hassan 2023). The 2023 elections was no different, as heightened competition between political actors for access to power use non-state actors, mobilized them to help achieve their political aims. More so, the 2023 elections was held within the context of state fragility, as several areas across the country have become ungovernable spaces due to preexisting localized and regionalized conflicts which undermine security and impede the free and fair voting process. This includes regional security threats such as terrorism led by Boko Haram and its offshoot Islamic State in West Africa Province (ISWAP) in the northeast, banditry in the northwest, ethno-religious tensions in north-central Nigeria, Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) led secessionist agitations in the southeast, separatist movements in southwest, farmers-herders clashes in at least 20 states, and militancy and cult clashes in the south-south.

Large swaths of the country, particularly in the northwest and southeast, remain inaccessible for election logistics and the transportation of materials, making it next to

impossible for Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) personnel to conduct elections in a safe and secure way in some areas. In Zamfara state, for instance, bandits control significant chunks of territory across several local government areas. This fragility provides fertile ground for non-state actors to be easily mobilised by political actors to perpetrate electoral violence. The insecurity could also fuel apathy in an election projected to witness increased turnout.

Ethnic militia groups have increasingly become key actors in the electioneering process in Nigeria due to their ability to instigate political violence. In previous elections, militant leaders in the south-south played key roles in deciding who gets elected to political offices. Some have now become political godfathers themselves, sponsoring candidates to elective positions by means of wealth acquired from their control of illicit oil bunkering economy and social capital secured from the communities they are from. Militant leaders have the potential to influence the outcome of the elections in the region, especially given their existing relationships with state government officials that reinforce their power and position. In the southeast, the increasing spate of attacks by the IPOB's militia wing—the Eastern Security Network (ESN)—and other groups of “unknown gunmen” on INEC offices, as well as a heavy-handed security response, make the region a likely flashpoint for violence during the elections. It is estimated that 20 percent of all attacks on INEC facilities have been in Imo state. Power battles between factions of the

IPOB, including the ESN, are also highly likely and could contribute to election disturbance throughout the southeast region.

Community-based, self-help armed groups and state-level or regional security outfits established to respond to, and defend ethno-religious territories from real or perceived expansion by alleged Fulani-based militia banditry and herders' encroachment could play key roles in influencing conflict outcomes before, during, and after the elections in Nigeria. In response to the proliferation of banditry in states across the northwest, local communities have established Yan Sakai—self-help defense militia groups—while regional-based security outfits such as the Benue Volunteer Guard, Onelga Security and Peace Advisory Committee, and Ebube Agu have emerged to protect local interests. These so-called armed vigilante groups can be readily mobilized by political actors, especially incumbent state governors, to suppress and intimidate opposition parties. (Hassan 2023).

Before the 2023 presidential election ,Inter-Agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES) raised alarm that insurgency across the country could undermine the conduct of the election, with states and regions already weakened by state fragility becoming flash points. Suggested that these areas are reached, and ensuring that the millions of internally displaced Nigerians are able to cast their ballot, which will also be important for longer-term security, as it will reduce any sense that a winning candidate

was imposed on them in an election they were unable to participate in. For example, disenfranchised or disgruntled youth are more susceptible to be recruited by terrorist or bandit groups.

2.3.1. Insecurity And Ethnic Politics In Nigeria Election

There is a strong believe that ethnic politics is a factor that birth Insecurity in Nigeria election. The term “ethnic” originated from the Greek work “ethnos” which is translated as nation (Chambers, 449 cited in Tandu & Etta, 2018: 115). Ethnic refers to people thought to be homogenous in terms of language, race, culture and having the same ancestry. According to Cohen, 1974, cited in Salawau and Hassan (2011: 28), an ethnic group is “an informal interest group, whose members are distinct from the members of other ethnic groups within the larger society because they share kinship, religious and linguistic ties”.

Therefore, ethnic politics refers to the struggle among various ethnic groups for the sharing of national resources. Since 1960 to date, the political elite in Nigeria are concerned with political and socio-economic development of their own ethnic group and not the nation as a whole. At this point, it is necessary to posits that ethnic politics breeds hate, insecurity, suspicion, tension, group agitations and socio-political up- rising (Onyibor, 2016). Ethnic politics breed Insecurity in Nigeria election as different ethnic

group use various violence method to strive for their own people within the same ethnic group to gain political power which will be of advantage to them in the long run.

From whichever angle one looks at ethnicity, it is clear that political trajectory in Nigeria since 1960 has been those of very serious ethnic arithmetic either in terms of struggle and competition for space, mobilisation of support for those in power, creation and making of artificial violence in Nigeria and even war of words just for the purpose for their ethnic group to gain political power through a representatives.

All these according to Erunke (2012: 33), have “propelled the Nigerian state into peaceful oblivion and things are really falling apart on daily basis which the centre seem not to be strong enough to forestall emerging trends of insecurity and the vociferous separatist agitations in the country. This happening is a pointer to the politics of self, egotism and sectionalism which has been part of the Nigerian project since the colonial masters left the shores of Nigeria to date”.

In fact, tribalism and marginalisation by some ethnic groups is seen to be part of the mechanism through which the political élites maintain themselves in power and exercises their influence. Thus, ethnic manipulation is an attitude of political elite’s behaviour. This is because through ethnic manipulation political elite are able to mobilized there own ethnic group in which they belong to fight and involve in violence during an election so as to gain political power they have interest in or to retain their

political position for another tenure. It can go as far as their ethnic group helping them to executive their influence over the people they are governing . Nigeria Election is not far from been victim of this ethnic manipulation by political elite using their people within the same ethnic group as them in election day to gain political power or maintain themselves in power and to be able to influence citizen decision on who to vote for during an election to favour their interest.

2.4 Theoretical Frame Work

This research study will employ the social theory and the theory of behavioral theory as the framework of analysis. While the social theory seeks to explain why INEC strategies change over time in Nigeria on one hand, the behavioral theory seek to explain non state actors behaviour in Nigeria election.

Social theory explains that INEC strategies change over time in Nigeria due to various factors. Scholars have provided different explanations for this phenomenon, with each year offering unique insights. Below are the different explanation for this phenomenon by various scholars:

Smith, (1999) argued that INEC strategies changed over time in response to transitioning from military rule to democracy. This shift necessitated new electoral processes and procedures to ensure free and fair elections .Johnson,(2007) noted that

INEC strategies evolved due to increasing public demand for transparency and accountability. This led to the introduction of electronic voting systems and enhanced voter education initiatives.

Adebayo, (2015) emphasized the impact of technological advancements on INEC strategies. The widespread use of social media and digital platforms influenced voter mobilization efforts and necessitated the development of online registration and result transmission systems . Okonkwo,(2021)highlighted the role of external pressure and international best practices in shaping INEC strategies. Increased scrutiny from international election monitoring bodies prompted the adoption of stricter regulations and improved electoral security measures This argument is further strengthened by core functions of social theory which explain why INEC strategies change over time in Nigeria.

Social theory often examines the dynamics of social institutions and how they interact with individuals and societal processes. In the case of INEC (Independent National Electoral Commission) strategies, several key core functions of social theory can be relevant:

1. Power and Authority: Social theory recognizes that power and authority play a significant role in shaping institutions and their strategies. Over time, power dynamics within political systems may shift, leading to changes in INEC's strategies. Changes in

government, political alliances, or societal pressures can affect the distribution of power and authority, influencing INEC's approach to conducting elections.

2. Social Change and Development: Social theory highlights that societies are not static but constantly changing. As Nigeria undergoes social, economic, and political transformations, the context in which INEC operates also evolves. Consequently, INEC's strategies may adapt to accommodate new challenges, technologies, or expectations arising from societal changes.

3. Norms and Values: Social theory recognizes the influence of norms and values on institutions. As societal values and expectations evolve, INEC may be driven to modify its strategies to align with these changing norms. For example, increased emphasis on transparency, inclusivity, and accountability may necessitate adjustments in the electoral process and strategies employed by INEC.

4. Political Economy: Social theory explores the relationships between economic structures and political processes. Economic factors such as resource availability, distribution, and economic inequalities can impact electoral strategies. Changes in the country's economic conditions or political economy can prompt INEC to revise its strategies to ensure fair and effective elections.

These core functions of social theory provide a framework for understanding the underlying drivers of change in INEC strategies over time in Nigeria. By analyzing power dynamics, social change, norms and values, and the political economy, one can gain insights into how and why INEC adapts its strategies to meet the evolving needs and challenges of the Nigerian electoral landscape . From the above core functions of social theory , the function of social change and development give an understanding on why INEC need to change strategies due to societal change which can involve change in the insecurity status of the country.

Societal change, such as an increase in insecurity in a country, can influence INEC (Independent National Electoral Commission) to change its strategies in several ways. Some perspectives from scholars is as follow:

1. Security considerations: Insecurity can threaten the safety and integrity of the electoral process. Scholars argue that INEC may need to modify its strategies to ensure the safety of election officials, voters, and electoral materials. This could involve deploying additional security personnel at polling stations, implementing identity verification measures, or relocating polling stations away from volatile areas.
2. Voter participation: Insecurity can lead to a decline in voter turnout due to fear or limited access to polling stations. Scholars suggest that INEC might adopt strategies to encourage voter participation despite security concerns. This could include establishing

alternative voting methods, such as mobile polling units or early voting options, to reach marginalized or vulnerable populations in insecure areas.

3. Electoral infrastructure: Societal change, particularly insecurity, may damage or disrupt electoral infrastructure, including polling stations, registration centers, or election offices. Scholars argue that INEC may need to adapt its strategies to quickly repair or relocate damaged infrastructure, as well as develop contingency plans for conducting elections in temporary or alternative locations.

4. Electoral education and information dissemination: Insecurity can hamper the ability to effectively educate voters and disseminate information about the electoral process. Scholars highlight the importance of INEC reassessing its strategies for voter education campaigns and information dissemination to ensure they reach all citizens, including those living in insecure areas. This might involve leveraging alternative communication channels or partnering with local community leaders to enhance outreach efforts.

5. International support and collaboration: In the face of insecurity, INEC may seek increased international support and collaboration to strengthen its strategies. Scholars suggest that INEC could collaborate with international organizations, civil society groups, and security agencies to benefit from their expertise, resources, and logistical support in addressing security challenges related to elections.

Behaviorism as a conceptual framework can be traced to the work of political scientists such as David Easton, Gabriel Almond, and Harold Lasswell. These scholars emphasized the importance of studying observable behavior and analyzing the actions and interactions of individuals and groups in political processes. Their work laid the foundation for the behavioral approach in political science, which focuses on explaining political phenomena through empirical methods and studying human behavior in political context. David Easton (1953) defined behavioral theory as an approach that seeks to understand political behavior by studying individual actions, attitudes, and interactions within a political system. Gabriel Almond (1956) contributed to the development of behavioral theory by emphasizing the influence of political culture and socialization on individual political behavior. Robert Dahl (1961) expanded on behavioral theory by examining how individuals and groups exercise power and influence in political systems.

Behaviorism is a theory of learning based on the idea that all behaviors are acquired through conditioning, and conditioning occurs through interaction with the environment. Behaviorists believe that our actions are shaped by environmental stimuli. Behaviorism was formally established with the 1913 publication of John B. Watson's classic paper, "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It."³ It is best summed up by the following quote from Watson, who is often considered the father of behaviorism:

"Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select—doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief and, yes, even beggarman and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race of his ancestors."

There are two main types of behaviorism used to describe how behavior is formed which are methodological behaviorism and radical behaviorism .Methodological behaviorism states that observable behavior should be studied scientifically and that mental states and cognitive processes don't add to the understanding of behavior. Methodological behaviorism aligns with Watson's ideologies and approach.while radical behaviorism is rooted in the theory that behavior can be understood by looking at one's past and present environment and the reinforcements within it, thereby influencing behavior either positively or negatively. This behavioral approach was created by the psychologist B.F. Skinner. To this end, from the perspective given above the behavior of non state actors can be related to it's environment and the reason for their actions which therefore influence their behavior negatively or positively. It is upon this we can understand non state actors in Nigeria and their actions gear towards to gain power in the country. But how does the behavioural theory explain how insecurity occurs in election conducted in Nigeria ?

Robert Dahl ,(1961) made an expansion on behavioural theory through which one can trace individual or group action to be responsible for influencing political process such as election through creating chaos or crisis relating to insecurity. The behavioral approach explains why individuals or group behave in the way they do in there quest to get power or influence election process . Insecurity thus occur as individuals action or group actions create chaos in election. Non state actors is observe to go extra mind creating chaos and crisis leading to insecurity just to gain political for those who mobilized them (politicians). Hence Nigeria election is faced with insecurity because of non state actors action. Those who come in the way of this non state actors in the process of them getting what they want lose their lives. Even efforts put to control this actions of non state actors by the government are render useless because the politicians are the ones who mobilized them to gain power or influence election process. This shape the entire election process as the greed of politicians to gain political power through non state actors make it difficult to run a free and fair election due to insecurity.

The behavioral approach explains that non state actors is not concerned about the insecurity they create due to their actions as long as they can influence election process. Actions taken by them is simply for the interest of those who mobilized them. According to B.F Skinner who created radical behaviorism , it's explanation on radical behaviorism one can draw a conclusion on why the behavior of non state actors result to insecurity in Nigeria election. This is simply because non state actors mobilized by

politicians are usually funded by this politicians to work for them in whether way it will lead to their favour in Nigeria election. Nigeria is an environment filled with corrupt and selfish individuals and this individuals influence non state actors such as ethnic militant group and so on to follow their command.

Nigerians behavior is all dependent on the condition they find themselves in their environment, the situation revolving in the country influence their behavior. Nigerian result to various form of violence as the countries condition or situation changes. The high rate of poverty, unemployment as well as other condition in the country make it easy for politicians to be able to influence the behavior of individuals in the country to work in favour of them.

Through behaviorism approach will get to understand that there are factors that influence the behavior of individuals that lead to insecurity in Nigeria election. Firstly , the quest for political power in Nigeria by politicians make them to go a long way just so to be able to influence the election process. Politicians in Nigeria are know for using non state actors to influence election process by this non state actors disrupting the election process with violence. Politicians quest for political power as gone to the extreme of greed and selfishness disrupting election process , making polling unit unsafe for voters just for the purpose to gain political power. The rate of insecurity in Nigeria

election can be trace to the behavior of politicians who go extreme length to get what they want (political power).

In addition the diverse ethnic group interest in Nigeria influence individuals behavior during an election to go as far as creating chaos that lead to insecurity in an election just to support a candidate that of the same ethnicity with them that will put their interest at heart. Ethnic militant group that are non state actors such as IPOB which comprise of group of individuals with the same ethnic group in the east tends to create chaos in election process leading to insecurity and making the polling unit unsafe for election. Ethnic groups who seek to have influence in the political process for their own interest form their own ethnic militant group to fight for their own interest.

The behavioral theory help us to understand why Nigerians as individuals and groups tend to influence election process in Nigeria solely for their own interest or benefit. It is this interest or benefit that they seek to get that influence their attitude and behavior to go as far as to create chaos in Nigeria election. It also help us to understand how individuals that are non state actors behavior can be influence by politicians who seek to gain political power using ethnicity as a medium to get their support just so as to influence election process and in turn the politicians work in favour of them. The threat and beaten as well as other wrong illicit behavior by individuals and groups on voters in various state in the country during the 2023 presidential election that held in February

25th in favour of their own candidate contesting for position in the election is an evident of what behavioural approach seek to explain how insecurity occurs in Nigeria election. This insecurity which change the security status of the country by non state actors is also one of the reasons for which INEC need to change their strategies in conducting election.

This reason for which INEC is observe changing their strategies is also due to the societal security status change in the country. At this juncture it is safe to assert that the attitude and behavior of non state actors in Nigeria election leads to the occurrence of insecurity in election conducted in Nigeria.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Methodology

Methodology refers to the study of how research studies are conducted (Alan Bryman 2004). To this end, there will be personal contact (face to face) between the respondents and the researcher with the aim of gathering reliable and vital information by the use of questionnaire which would be administered hand to hand from the researcher to the respondents.

The methodology that would be used for this study will cover; the research design, population of the study, sample frame or size, sampling procedure or techniques, source of data, method or instrument of data collection and method of data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

According to Robson, C. (2011), research design is the overall plan or structure that guides the research process, including the type of research question, the research strategy, the data collection and analysis methods, and the ethical considerations of the study. Yin, R. K. (2014) defines research design as "the process of defining and planning the research study, including the choice of research methods and data collection techniques, the selection of study participants, and the development of study instruments and materials.

This study attempts to look at the impact of insecurity on voter's turnout in Nigeria election: a case study of 2023 presidential election in Edo State. This research will be

carried out by systematically gathering data which are relevant to the issue under investigation from respondents. Consequently, in this research work, the researcher will rely on the information generated from the respondents on the subject matter through printed questionnaires which will be subjected to statistical analysis.

3.2 Population Of Study

According to Creswell, J. W. (2003), the population of study: "The entire set of individuals or objects having the common observable characteristics that a researcher is interested in studying. Babbie, E. R. (2016), population of study is the entire set of individuals, objects, events or other entities to which the researcher hopes to apply study results.

The sample population of this research will be drawn from Staff and Students of the Faculty of social sciences, university of Benin, political actors, civil societies and others who have political awareness and has attained the age of 18 years and above and therefore eligible to vote as specified by the Nigerian Constitution and were present as at the time of the 2023 presidential election in Edo state.

3.3 Sampling Technique/ Sample Size

According to William G. Cochran (1977), sampling is defined as the process of selecting a subset of individuals or items from a larger population with the aim of making inferences about the whole population. Richard Neyman (1934) defined sampling as the

process of obtaining a sample, or a subset, from a given population, usually with the intention of estimating some characteristic of the whole population.

Thus, the sampling technique that will be used in drawing the population for this study is the simple random sampling technique from a sample size of 100 persons in the various departments of the Faculty of social sciences, University of Benin.

3.4 Sources Of Data Collection

As a survey research design, the study will utilize the primary source of data, through the administration of questionnaire. Also, secondary source of data will also be used as a good number of the relevant articles, and publication in Newspapers, reports, journals, online news outfits and internet data sources.

3.5 Instrument Of Data Collection

The instrument that would be used for this research work is the written questionnaire. This is a technique of data collection in which the researcher systematically presents well-structured written questions that are to be answered in written questions that are to be answered in written form by the respondents. The questionnaire will consist of two sections; the first section (A) that will contain the personal data (Bio-data) of the respondents which includes the sex, age, education, marital status and so on. While the section (B), will examine issues that address the core

subject matter under study. It will comprise mainly closed ended questions where the researcher will simply tick out of a possible range of response.

3.6. Method Of Data Collection

There will be personal contact (face to face) between the respondents and the researcher with the aim of gathering reliable and vital information by the use of questionnaire which would be administered hand to hand from the researcher to the respondents.

3.7 Method Of Data Analysis

The researcher data will be analyzed using descriptive statistics which includes the use of frequency tables, simple percentage. The responses from the respondents will be grouped and arranged in a tabular form . The percentage is the frequency of occurrence of a category per 100 cases. To calculate a percentage, we simply multiply any given population by 100.

The formula is; $\% = f/n \times 100$. Where;

F= frequency

n = total response

(Ogbeide,1997)

CHAPTER FOUR
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with the presentation and analysis of the data collected from the field work with respect to **IMPACT OF INSECURITY ON VOTER’S TURN OUT IN NIGERIA ELECTION: A CASE STUDY OF 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN EDO STATE.**

Section A: Personal data of Respondents

Table 4:1:1 Sex of Respondents

| Sex | Responses | Percentage% |
|--------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Male | 64 | 64 |
| Female | 36 | 36 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work, 2023

From the table above,64% of the respondents were males and 37% of the respondents were females. This shows that they were more male respondents than female.

Table 4:1:2 Age of Respondents

| Age | Responses | Percentage% |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 18-28 years | 77 | 77 |
| 29-39years | 20 | 20 |
| 40-50years | 2 | 2 |
| 50 years and above | 1 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work, 2023

From the table above , 77% of the respondents were of the age bracket of 18-28 years, 20 % of the respondents were of the age bracket of 29-39 years, 2% of the respondents were of the age bracket of 40-50 years and 1% of the respondents were 50 years and above.

Table 4:1:3 Marital Status

| Marital Status | Responses | Percentage% |
|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Single | 79 | 79 |
| Married | 19 | 19 |
| Divorced | - | - |
| Widowed | 2 | 2 |
| Separated | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work , 2023

From the table above ,79% of the respondents were single, 19% of the respondents were married, no responses were gotten from divorced respectively,2% of the respondents were widowed and no responses were gotten from separated respectively.

Table 4:1:4 Educational Qualification

| Qualification | Responses | Percentage% |
|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Primary | - | - |
| Secondary | - | - |
| Tertiary | 75 | 75 |
| Others | 25 | 25 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work,2023

From the table above ,no response was gotten for primary and secondary respectively,75% of respondents had tertiary education, 25% of respondents had other forms of education.

SECTION B: IMPACT OF INSECURITY ON VOTER’S TURN OUT IN NIGERIA ELECTION: A CASE STUDY OF 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN EDO STATE

Table 4.1.5 Tribal conflict, poverty, unemployment are factors responsible for insecurity in Nigeria?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 75 | 75 |
| Agree | 25 | 25 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work,2023

From the table above 75% of the respondents strongly agreed, 25% of the respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided, strongly disagree and disagree respectively.

It can be implied from the responses gathered that tribal conflict, poverty, unemployment are responsible for insecurity in Nigeria. As evident in the table were 75% of the respondents strongly agreed while non strongly disagreed .

Table 4.1.6: The actions of Bokoharam and ethnic militant group have fostered insecurity in Nigeria election?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 39 | 39 |
| Agree | 35 | 35 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | 9 | 9 |
| Disagree | 17 | 17 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work, 2023

From the above table, 39% of the respondents were strongly agreed, 35% of the respondents agreed, no responses was gotten for undecided respectively,9% of respondents strongly disagreed and 17% of the respondents disagreed.

It can be implied that the actions of Bokoharam and ethnic militant group foster insecurity in Nigeria election. This is evident in the table as 39% of the respondents strongly agreed and 9% of respondents strongly disagreed.

Table 4.1.7: The actions and activities of political parties birth insecurity in Nigeria election?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 57 | 57 |
| Agree | 43 | 43 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work, 2023

From the table above , 57% of the respondents strongly Agreed, 43% of the respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided, strongly disagreed and disagree respectively.

It can be implied that the actions and activities of political parties goes a long way in birthing insecurity in Nigeria election as shown in the table were 43% of respondents agreed and non disagreed.

Table 4.1.8: Election process is being delay due to the presence of insecurity ?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 1 | 1 |
| Agree | 64 | 64 |
| Undecided | 1 | 1 |

| | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|
| Strongly Disagree | 29 | 29 |
| Disagree | 5 | 5 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work, 2023

From the above table, 1% of respondents strongly agreed, 64% of respondents agreed, 1% of respondents were undecided ,29% of respondents strongly disagreed,5% of respondents disagreed. It can be inferred that election process is being delay due to the presence of insecurity. This is shown in the table as 64% of the respondents agreed and 5% of the respondents disagreed.

Table 4.1.9: Political Parties in Nigeria adhere to rules provided by INEC governing conduct of elections in Nigeria?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 1 | 1 |
| Agree | 13 | 13 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | 62 | 62 |
| Disagree | 24 | 24 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work,2023

From the above table,1% of respondents strongly agreed, 13% of respondents agreed, no responses was gotten for undecided respectively, 62% of respondents strongly disagreed,24% of respondents disagreed.

It can be implied that political parties in Nigeria do not adhere to rules provided by INEC guiding conduct of elections in Nigeria as shown in the table were 62% of respondents strongly disagree and 1% of respondents strongly agreed.

Table 4:1:10: Insecurity in an election undermines the capability of INEC to conduct a free and fair election?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 15 | 15 |
| Agree | 66 | 66 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | 3 | 3 |
| Disagree | 16 | 16 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work, 2023

From the table above, 15% of respondents strongly agreed, 66% of respondents agreed, no responses was gotten for undecided respectively,3% of respondents strongly disagreed,16% of respondents disagreed.

It can be implied that insecurity in an election undermines the capability of INEC to conduct a free and fair election as shown in the table were 66% of the respondents agreed and 16% of the respondents disagreed.

Table 4:1:11: The presence of insecurity in election is a threat to life and destruction of electoral materials?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|

| | | |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Strongly Agree | 47 | 47 |
| Agree | 53 | 53 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work, 2023

From the table above, 47% of respondents strongly agreed, 53% of respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided , strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

It can be implied that the presence of insecurity in an election is a threat to life and destruction of electoral materials as shown in the table were 53% of the respondents agreed and non of the respondents disagreed.

Table 4.1.12: Insecurity in Nigeria election leads to low voter's turnout in an election?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 33 | 33 |
| Agree | 67 | 67 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work,2023

From the table above, 33% of respondents strongly agreed, 67% of respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided, strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

It can be inferred that insecurity in Nigeria election leads to low voter's turnout in an election as can be observed from the table were 67% of the respondents agreed and non of the respondents disagreed.

Table 4:1:13: Insecurity in Nigeria election result to postponement of election, which in turn leads to low voter’s turnout ?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 23 | 23 |
| Agree | 77 | 77 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work,2023

From the table above, 23% of respondents strongly agreed, 77% of respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided, strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

It can be implied that insecurity in Nigeria election result to postponement of election, which in turn leads to low voter’s turnout as shown in the table were 77% agreed and non of the respondents disagreed.

Table 4:1:14: INEC and security agents should be engaged to discuss their stand point on the issue of insecurity in election?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 49 | 49 |
| Agree | 51 | 51 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work,2023

From the table above, 49% of respondents strongly agreed, 51% of respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided, strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

It can be implied that INEC and security agents should be engaged in issues that relates to insecurity in election as shown in the table were 51% of the respondents agreed and non of the respondents disagreed.

Table 4:1:15: There is need for INEC to change strategies that will birth effective security in election?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 81 | 81 |
| Agree | 19 | 19 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work,2023

From the table above, 81% of respondents strongly agreed, 19% of respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided, strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

It can be implied that there is need for INEC to change strategies that will birth effective security in election as shown in the table were 81% of the respondents strongly agreed and non of the respondents strongly disagreed.

Table 4:1:16: The electoral act and the 1999 Constitution as it relates to elections should be reviewed to address present challenges faced by INEC?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 83 | 83 |
| Agree | 17 | 17 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work,2023

From the table above, 83% of respondents strongly agreed, 17% of respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided, strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

It can be implied that there is need for amendment of the electoral act and the 1999 Constitution to reduce the rate of insecurity in election as shown in the table were 83% of the respondents strongly agreed and non of the respondents strongly disagreed.

Table 4. 1.17: Effective and strategic actions need to be taken by the government to address the avoidable causes of insecurity in Nigeria election?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 85 | 85 |
| Agree | 15 | 15 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work,2023

From the table above, 85% of respondents strongly agreed, 15% of respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided, strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

It can be inferred that effective and strategic actions need to be taken by the government to address the avoidable causes of insecurity in Nigeria election as shown in the table were 85% of the respondents strongly agreed and non of the respondents strongly disagreed.

Table 4:1:18: Institutions should be strengthened to reflect supremacy of law in order to sanction illicit behavior of political parties?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 89 | 89 |

| | | |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Agree | 11 | 11 |
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work,2023

From the table above, 89% of respondents strongly agreed, 11% of respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided, strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

It can be inferred that there is an urgent need for the strengthening of institutional frameworks in order to sanction illicit behavior of political parties in Nigeria as shown in the table were 89% of the respondents strongly agreed and non of the respondents strongly disagreed.

Table 4:1:19: Stringent and effective laws should be passed to declare any form of insecurity in an election as a heinous crime against the state and punish culprit accordingly?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 90 | 90 |
| Agree | 10 | 10 |

| | | |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Undecided | - | - |
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field work, 2023

From the table above, 90% of respondents strongly agreed, 10% of respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided, strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

It can be implied that stringent and effective laws should be passed to reduce the rate of insecurity in an election as shown in the table were 90% of the respondents strongly agreed and non of the respondents strongly disagreed.

Table 4.1.20: Security agencies and INEC should effectively work together as one to curb any form of insecurity present in an election?

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 91 | 91 |
| Agree | 9 | 9 |
| Undecided | - | - |

| | | |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Strongly Disagree | - | - |
| Disagree | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

Source: Field Work, 2023

From the table above, 91% strongly agreed, 9% of respondents agreed, no responses were gotten for undecided, strongly disagree and disagree respectively.

It can be inferred from the table that security agencies and INEC should effectively work together to curb insecurity present in an election as shown in the table were 91% of the respondents strongly agreed and non of the respondents strongly disagreed.

4.2 Discussion Of Findings

Findings from this study have shown clearly that insecurity is a great hindrance for INEC to achieve high voter's turnout in Nigeria election. Insecurity not properly handled has the potential of truncating voter turnout in an election. A consequence to this is sabotaging the will of the voters at the election. As it often leads to a situation were the leaders that emerge , are elected by the minority because the majority that has fears for their lives will not go to the polling unit to cast their vote. More so, large scale of insecurity has adverse effect on voters in Nigeria election because it denies the voters the essential purpose of voting in an election as a popular basis to elect who they want to govern them, for instance; a person who win a certain position in government by the use

of various form of insecurity to disrupt the election process so as to favour him or her to win against the wishes of the majority of the voters as in turn denied those voters to fairly select a candidate they want to govern them.

Also, political parties should be made to play politics according to the rules of the game. There should be a free and fair election and refrain from politics of desperation which oscillate the polity and swing it to the precipice of insecurity. Politicians should be urged to play by the rules at all times and they should shun the use of ethnicity to galvanize support and polarize the populace through politics of ethnic chauvinism which have stirred up sentiments and sparked various form of insecurity perennially in Nigeria election.

It was observed that the will to win the opposition party by the incumbent party also result to insecurity in Nigeria election. This is coupled with the intention to retain power irrespective of the will of the people.

Subsequently INEC should strategies ways to quell likely chaos or issue that will lead to insecurity in an election which will in turn affect voter's turnout negatively. They should change their strategies towards fostering security in an election and those suspected of causing chaos or issue in an election and also guilty of misconduct should be arrested while those who aid or are the mastermind behind it should be punished. Since elections have been characterized by volatile contestations and tension in Nigeria, attempts should be made to forestall cases of voters suppression.

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and security agencies such as the police and so on should cooperate together to strategies ways aimed at curbing any form of insecurity in an election and also aid the conduct of a free and fair election. Voters should be able to vote without fear of their lives being at risk as they are to be assured of their safety through out the election process . Every election should therefore be conducted with great security measure put in place.

Lastly, security personnel such as police and so on should be provided in all the polling unit on the day of the election so as to ensure the safety of the voters and to enable INEC conduct a free and fair election.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Summary

The presence of insecurity is a great hindrance to high voter's turnout in an election. Voters are reluctant to turnout in election day and cast their vote due to the high rate of insecurity in the country. In most cases, due to the fear of insecurity some voters do not vote while some of them decide to wait for almost close to the time the election is

to end and when they are assured that their polling unit is safe that is when they turnout to vote. The prevalence of insecurity in Nigeria election as lead to a continuous low voter's turn out.

Undoubtedly, the prevalence of insecurity in Nigeria election is basically due to the power struggle of political parties in Nigeria . In their quest to gain political power in various positions in government ,political parties engage in various activities and carry out actions that are against the rules and regulations provided by INEC. To this end , politicians carry out actions and activities that will enable them maneuver the electoral process in order to deliver electoral victory in their wards to their political parties even though those actions and activities are filled with violence which render the polling unit unsafe for voters to vote.

Therefore, to curb the occurrence of seemingly unending scenario of insecurity in Nigeria elections, the research study has identified the need for political parties and their supporters to abide by the enabling laws governing the conduct of election in the country as well as the need to strengthen institutions to reflect supremacy of law in order to sanction illicit behavior of political parties.

5.2 Conclusion

The prevalence of insecurity in Nigeria election is due largely to the intensified political strategies deployed by politicians to gain political power as well as the inability

of INEC to come up with strategies that will curb any form of insecurity in an election. Society known for tribalism with citizens unemployed and the poverty rate been high, the political class use such opportunity to their advantage to undermine the election process by using this citizens that are vulnerable to do their bidden such as create chaos, threaten voters to vote for them and so on during election which in turn lead to insecurity in election.

Arresting this negative trend demands immediate and strategic efforts by INEC that will birth effective security in an election and the need to impose viable reforms that would empower institutions particularly INEC and security agencies to be able to act decisively against electoral offenders. Institutions should be strengthened to reflect supremacy of law because this is the only way they can be able to punish or sanction politicians that are back up by the government in power.

Also, INEC and security agencies should work together as a joint force and make sure to keep all polling unit safe and under control from any form of insecurity as this will give voters assurance of their safety and will encourage them to turnout in mass to vote.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research work, the following recommendations are given on tactical and strategic steps needed to correct the problem of insecurity in Nigeria election.:

It is of necessity to examine the Nigerian society that supports the illicit and corrupted behavior of politicians who are just citizens like others residing in the country. Until , politicians are disciplined to be subjected under the law and also the supremacy of the law applies to them as well as to sanction them if guilty of any crime ,then only will they be able to desist from carrying out action and activities that birth insecurity in election or else they will continue to use rigorous strategies that lead to insecurity for their own advantage in election.

The Electoral Act and the 1999 Constitution as it relates to elections should be reviewed to address present challenges faced by INEC in the conduct of elections. This is to see to it that the Constitution which is known for its supremacy will serve as a guidance for INEC to know certain actions they need to take to solve any issues such as insecurity as the case may be that may arise along with the intention to disrupt the smooth running process of an election and this is also to ensure that any actions taken by INEC are those that are appropriate by the law.

INEC and security agents should be engaged directly to discuss their stand points on the issue of insecurity in Nigeria election. This will go along way towards helping them to effectively work together and come up with good strategies that will curb

insecurity in an election. A joint force of INEC and security agencies is much better and a wise step to curb insecurity in an election.

Stringent and effective laws should be passed to declare any form of insecurity in an election a heinous crime against the state and those found guilty should be punished. This is because when such strict and effective laws are passed it will put political parties and their activities under control as the fear of being caught and ending up being punished which may as well lead to them losing their public figure they have built over the years will make them to desist from rigorous activities.

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APPNEDIX
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF BENIN
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE
IMPACT OF INSECURITY ON VOTER'S TURN OUT IN NIGERIA ELECTION:
A CASE STUDY OF 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN EDO STATE

Dear Respondent,

I am a student of the Department of Political Sciences, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Benin. I am conducting a research on impact of insecurity on voter's turn out in Nigeria election: A case study of the 2023 presidential election in Edo State.

I solicit your cooperation in filling the attached questionnaire without bias as optimum care will be taken to treat your responses confidentially as it will be solely used for the purpose of the research study.

Thank for your cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Susan Obaretin

INSTRUCTION: IN ALL THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS, PLEASE INDICATE YOUR RESPONSE BY TICKING (√) IN ANY OF THE PREFERRED OPTIONS.

SECTION A: PERSONAL DATA

- (1) Gender: Male () Female ()
- (2) Age: 18 – 28 years () 29 – 39 years () 40 – 50 years () 50 years and above ()
- (3) Martial Status: Single () Married () Divorced () Separated () Widowed ()
- (4) Educational Qualification: Primary () Secondary () Tertiary () Others ()

SECTION B: IMPACT OF INSECURITY ON VOTER’S TURN OUT IN NIGERIA ELECTION: A CASE STUDY OF 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN EDO STATE

- Keys: SA – Strongly Agreed
 A - Agree,
 U - Undecided
 D - Disagree
 SD - Strongly Disagree

| S/N | QUESTIONS | SA | A | U | SD | D |
|-----|--|----|---|---|----|---|
| 5 | Tribal conflict, poverty, unemployment are factors responsible for insecurity in Nigeria? | | | | | |
| 6 | The actions of Boko Haram and ethnic militant group have fostered insecurity in Nigeria election? | | | | | |
| 7 | The actions and activities of political parties birth insecurity in Nigeria election? | | | | | |
| 8 | Election process is being delay due to the presence of insecurity? | | | | | |
| 9 | Political parties in Nigeria adhere to rules provided by INEC governing conduct of elections in Nigeria? | | | | | |
| 10 | Insecurity in an election undermines the capability of INEC to conduct a free and fair election? | | | | | |
| 11 | The presence of insecurity in election is a threat to | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|----|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| | life and destruction of electoral materials? | | | | | |
| 12 | Insecurity in Nigeria election leads to low voter's turnout in an election? | | | | | |
| 13 | Insecurity in Nigeria election result to postponement of election, which in turn leads to low voter's turnout? | | | | | |
| 14 | INEC and security agents should be engaged to discuss their stand point on the issue of insecurity in election? | | | | | |
| 15 | There is need for INEC to change strategies that will birth effective security in election? | | | | | |
| 16 | The electoral act and the 1999 constitution as it relates to elections should be reviewed to address present challenges faced by INEC? | | | | | |
| 17 | Effective and strategic actions need to be taken by the government to address the avoidable causes of insecurity in Nigeria election? | | | | | |
| 18 | Institutions should be strengthened to reflect supremacy of law in order to sanction illicit behavior of political parties? | | | | | |
| 19 | Stringent and effective laws should be passed to declare any form of insecurity in an election as a heinous crime against the state and punish culprit accordingly? | | | | | |
| 20 | Security agencies and INEC should effectively work together as one to curb any form of insecurity present in an election? | | | | | |