

## **Elections and Human Rights Violation in Africa: The Nigerian Experience**

Shaibu M. T.<sup>1</sup>, Lanre Olu-Adeyemi<sup>2</sup>, Ojo Olubunmi Raphael<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup>*Department of Political Science and Administration, Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba, Ondo State, Nigeria,*

<sup>3</sup>*Department of Political Science University of Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria,*

---

**Abstract:** Elections are democratic rituals that occur periodically across the globe, but in most developing democracies in Africa, human rights is under threat of violation due to Machiavellian dispositions of political players. This study investigates human rights violation in context of elections in Nigeria as well as level of stakeholders' involvement and consequences of violation. The sample frame consists of 300 male and female adults purposively drawn from the six geopolitical zones/regions of Nigeria. A self-developed and standardized Likert rating-scale style of measuring instrument titled "Elections and Human Rights Violation Questionnaire (EHRVQ)" was administered to obtain responses. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data gathered. Thus, this study is a descriptive survey. Study findings show: that the right to peaceful association in terms of belonging to political party of choice, freedom of expression in terms of political campaigns without disruptions and equal access to public service in terms of media/press is violated in context of elections in Nigeria among others and the level of stakeholders' involvement in violation is high. Consequently, doubt is often cast on the credibility of elections as it establishes illegitimate, unpopular, corrupt governments, triggers post-elections violence and weakens democratic consolidation. This study concludes that until stakeholders desist from violating human rights, democratic consolidation would remain rhetoric in Nigeria and recommends ways to reducing human rights violation in future elections.

**Keywords:** Elections; Human rights; Violations; Stakeholders' involvement; Nigeria.

---

Date of Submission: 15-08-2020

Date of Acceptance: 01-09-2020

---

### **I. INTRODUCTION**

Elections in democracies are political rituals that occur periodically across the globe to enable citizens' exercise their franchise and decide their leaders. But in most developing democracies in Africa, it seems the Machiavellian character of political players in elections constitutes threat to human rights. In real democracies, it is expected that the entire process of elections: party rallies, campaigns, primaries, nomination and elections; registration of voters for main elections, accreditation and voters, vote-sorting and counting; announcement of results across polling units, collations and declaration of results and winners are carried out in conformity with internationally acceptable standards without threatening human rights. However, United Nations Electoral Assistance (UNEA, 2019, Pp.4-5) acknowledges that the challenges faced by some States in holding free and genuine elections are posing serious threat to human rights. Besides, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2009, p.19) reports that, in African countries such as Burundi, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Sri Lanka, and Zimbabwe to mention few, electoral processes have been persistently violence ridden. Accordingly, Taylor (2019) confirms that the violence has been perpetrated by some incumbent governments and their supporters in elections without regards for human rights, even though, those incumbents are relatively strong including regimes such as Equatorial Guinea and Sudan in Africa. The situation appears not different in the context of Nigeria as Sule et al (2018) claims that the conduct, procedure and outcomes of elections in Nigeria are not encouraging since 1999, due to threats on human rights emanating from deliberate violence to manipulate the process. For instance, in 2003, 2007 and 2011, elections were characterized with threats varying from intimidation and violence, which denied voters from exercising their political rights in some part of Nigeria. For example: United States Institute of Peace (USIP, 2011) describes the Nigeria's 2011 elections as though highly commended for being well-managed, but post-election violence claimed 800 lives over three days in northern Nigeria and displaced 65,000 people. While, in the 2015 elections, there was improvement, as violence scaled down, there were perceived evidence of vote-buying and poor secrecy of votes among others. Equally, in the 2019 elections, the most contested and recent, there were also perceived irregularities and manipulations which all raised fundamental human rights question. As Onimisi and Tinuola (2019) observed that the 2019 elections, was the worst of elections, as many lives and property were lost to violence attacks;

characterized with denials of mandates as well as imposition of candidates against the will of the people. Olakunle et al (2019) confirms that one major way, human rights have been violated during elections in Nigeria is through violent machineries by overambitious, power drunk politicians who sponsored unemployed Youths and stark illiterates to carry out assaults on their perceived political opponents, manipulate the process for their personal gains, without regards for Local and International Electoral Observers (LIEO) presences, who are also often intimidated and harassed. Interestingly, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR, 2010, Pp.13-14) points out that:

Elections are expected to be the means of promoting and celebrating fundamental human rights, and more specifically, civil and political rights; political competition characterized by political pluralism, confidence, transparency, accountability and provides voters with an informed choice between distinct political alternatives; respect for basic fundamental freedoms: expression and information; association, assembly and movement; adherence to the rule of law; access to effective remedy; the right to freely establish political parties and compete for public office on a level playing field; non-discrimination and equal rights for all citizens; freedom from intimidation and pressure; and a range of other fundamental human rights and freedoms that States have made commitments to protect and promote within her territorial jurisdiction.

Moreover, United Nations Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNOHCHR, 2019) clarifies that many human rights are owed by States to all people within their territories, while certain human rights are owed by a State to particular groups of people. For instance, the right to vote in elections is only owed to citizens of a State. State responsibilities include the obligation to take pro-active measures to ensure that human rights are protected by providing effective measures against violating the rights of persons and remedies for persons whose rights are violated within its territory. However, how well the Nigerian State has discharged these responsibilities in context of elections is uncertain. It is equally not certain, the human rights that are been violated in elections and the consequences. Hence, the need for a rigorous inquiry, to shed light on these uncertainties and to discover the lacuna between human rights standards or principles and their applications in context of elections in Nigeria, while addressing some fundamental questions. This study investigates human rights violation in context of elections in the six geopolitical regions/zones of Nigeria and the consequences. Three research questions serve as cursor for this study: What are the human rights violated in context of elections in Nigeria? What is the level of stakeholders' involvement in violating human rights in elections? What are the consequences of violating human rights?

Why is this study significance? Empirically and methodologically, reviewed literature shows that there are only few research linking elections with human rights violation and there is methodological gap, as it was scarcely available where quantitative techniques were adopted to directly obtained responses on the human rights that are violated in context of elections in Nigeria and the consequences. This present study adopted quantitative techniques and provides quantitative data to support existing literature. Theoretically, scholars who have researched on issues that relate to elections and human rights violation, largely underpins their research works on Marx theory, frustration-aggression theory, displaced aggression theory and rational choice theory as suitable for their areas of focus. However, Machiavellian political theory underpins this study. Holistically, this study is not a departure; it aligned with the few researches that have adopted the theoretical framework to analyze the nature of Nigerian politics. Equally, in connection with theoretical relevance, this study is essential for the fact that human rights problems is of local and international interest. In context of elections the phenomenon appears to have defiled extant solutions and elections violating human rights appears to becoming a periodic culture and worsening in Nigeria, one of the largest democracies in Africa. Hence, this study no doubt would contribute newer knowledge on human rights, which is fundamental. Legally, it brings to the limelight of human rights advocators and practitioners, the human rights that have been violated and would persuade necessary action towards restoring the value for human rights in Nigeria. In terms of policy relevance, the recommendations of this research report represent policy guide for concerned authorities in ensuring legal standards or principles on human rights are conformed to in context of elections in the country. Academically, this study identifies and closes the lacuna between extant human rights standards/principles and the realities (applications) of same in Nigerian State. This entire research report serves as reference material to researchers across social sciences, art and humanities. Importantly, it is promising to expand the scope of knowledge and understanding of readers across the globe in respect to human rights.

## **II. OPERATIONALIZING ELECTIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS AND VIOLATION (EHRV)**

There are no universally acceptable definitions of elections, human rights and violation but those given here, provides suitable and measurable variables or characteristics that supported the ones provided under literature review to guide in the crafting of the research instrument adopted in this study. *Elections* are the legitimate way of transferring power from one regime to another through the ballot box in any democratic society (Ugoh, 2004 cited in Peter and AbdulRahman, 2018). Wojtasik (2013, p.27-28) conceives elections as competitive criterion for selecting and determining democratic legitimization of the exercise of public authority.

The competitiveness of elections ensures legitimacy of decisions taken by the elected representatives, provided all adults eligible participated in the elections and the outcome depend only on the decision of voters. Importantly, the decision legally made during the election is irrevocable, and cannot be changed in any other way than through the next election. Notably, elections have been conceptualized according to Merloe (2008) as the means of settling fairly, the competition among those seeking to exercise governmental powers as representatives of the people. Equally, election serves as the means for citizens to express freely their will as to who shall have the authority and legitimacy to exert the power of government as their representatives. For Roberts and Edwards (1991); Omotola (2007); Osumah and Aghemelo (2010) cited in Olakunle et al (2019) elections are means adopted in democratic societies for: selecting political elites, legitimizing those in power, determining control over authorities, ensuring political accountability, creating political programmes and recreating the image of public opinion for the benefits of all. More importantly, in this study, elections means competitive process through which the people qualified to vote under the laws and procedures of the electoral system choose their leaders periodically. Elections are equally the act of voting into different levels of political offices including into presidential/gubernatorial, national/state assembly offices preferred candidates who are to exercise legitimate authority for a specified constitutional period of years. In all categories of elections, human rights are expected to be protected but glimpse at recent election in Nigeria seems to show unsatisfactory scenario and human rights may be under serious violation or threat.

**Figure 1:** Scenario of election and the question of human rights at a glance.



What are *human rights*? according to Dahniar et al (2017:20) are the basic rights and freedoms to which all humans are considered entitled. These basic rights includes: right to life, liberty, freedom of thought, expression and equal treatment before the law, among others. These rights represent entitlements of the individual or groups from the government and/or the responsibilities of the individual. Such rights are ascribed "naturally," which means that they are not earned and cannot be denied on the basis of race, creed, ethnicity or

gender. Similarly, UNOHCHR (2019) conceptualizes human rights as the totality of rights every single human being is entitled to enjoy without distinction as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Human rights are legally guaranteed by human right law, protecting individuals and groups against actions which interfere with fundamental freedoms and human dignity. Human rights are expressed in treaties, customary international law, bodies of principles and other sources of law. Human rights law places an obligation on States to act in a particular way and prohibits States from engaging in specified activities. Human rights are applied equally and without discrimination to all people. It is insufficient to respect some human rights and disrespect others. Mbah and Augustine (2014, pp.13-15), classified human rights into three broader aspects, but only two are relevant here: (i) Classic and Social Rights: Classic rights involve an obligation for the state to refrain from certain actions, while social rights oblige it to provide certain guarantees. Examples of classic rights include freedom of: association, expression, assembly and right to fair trials, which are equally under civil and political rights. (ii) Civil and Political: Civil rights include the right to life, liberty and security of the person which offer protection from physical violence against the person. They includes protection from torture and inhuman treatment, arbitrary arrest, detention..., interference with one's privacy and right of ownership, restriction of person's freedom of movement and freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Generally, political rights include freedom of: expression, association and assembly, the right to take part in the government of one's country, and the right to vote and be voted for at elections. Whenever any of these rights are disrespected, contradicted or denied in elections by any actions or inactions of stakeholders, it implies a violation.

According to Online Cambridge Dictionary (OCD, 2020) *violation* is any action that breaks or acts against: a law, agreement, principle, or something that should be treated with respect. It is any action that does not show respect for an important principle. In the same vein Encyclopedia (2020) conceives violation as any act that fails to abide by existing law and violations usually lead to penalties or punishments but penalties or punishments are depended on the weight of the violations or offences committed and as stipulated in the law. Nevertheless, Eseyin and Udoh (2015, pp.80-86) broadly defines human rights violation as doing something which amounts to a disrespect of the rights that are guaranteed under international, regional or national legal instrumentalities, or doing something which is contrary to what the law stipulates as a recognition of human rights. It is failure or omission to do what is expected by law to protect human right. Therefore action and inaction can amount to a violation of human right where this is the subject of contention. Human rights violation can be said to occur when State, its agents, or non-state entities including individuals, abuse, ignore or deny basic human rights, including civil, political, cultural, social and economic rights, or breach any part of the universally declared human rights or other international human rights treaties and agreements. However, human rights are to be enjoyed with due regards and consideration to the rights of others, therefore their enjoyment is not unlimited. Everyone shall be subjected only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and general welfare.

### **III. EMPIRICAL REVIEW ON HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS AND VIOLATIONS IN ELECTIONS**

International, regional and national documentation credited to United Nations Centre For Human Rights (UNCHR, 1994); UNOHCHR (2019); African Union (AU, 2007); Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN, 1999) have reveals as captured in Table 1 and 2, some human rights standards and principles that is expected to be enjoyed by every person irrespective of status or position among others and are also not to be denied during elections as some even directly addressed on elections. For instance: UNCHR (1994, p.4) points out the basic international standards on elections involves three central rights: the right to take part in government; the right to vote and to be elected; and the right to equal access to public service. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights further states that the *will of the people* shall be the basis of the authority of government.

**Table 1: United Nations Human Rights standards regarding elections.**

<b>Both Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)</b>	<b>Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)</b>	<b>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)</b>
<p><i>Article 2:</i> Provides that the enjoyment of human rights shall be without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status - non-</p>	<p><i>Article 21:</i> 1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. 2. Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his</p>	<p><i>Article 25:</i> Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions: (a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or</p>

discrimination.	3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.	through freely chosen representatives; (b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors; (c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.
<b>Sources:</b> UNCHR (1994, p.4); UNOHCHR (2019, pp.97-102).		

Further in support of the above legal standards, the United Nations Manual on Human Rights Monitoring (UNMHRM, 2011) have reveals that every citizen has the right, without any discrimination and without unreasonable restrictions, to take part in the conduct of public affairs, to vote and to be elected to government. That the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs, and the right to vote and to be elected to government are at the core of democratic governance based on the consent of the people. Hence, noting that the right to participate in free and fair elections is intrinsically linked to a number of basic rights and the enjoyment of which is crucial to a meaningful electoral process. Accordingly, Singh (2013) sees the right to be part of public affairs, the right to vote and right to be candidate during election as most essential political or electoral rights and the exercise of electoral rights adds to the individual's self-respect, dignity, sense of responsibility, political and civic education. These can only be achieve according to UNMHRM (2011) through periodically held free and fair elections that reflects universal and equal suffrage, secrecy of vote and the expression of the will of electorates respected including: the right to freedom from discrimination - political participation must be enjoyed equally by all; the right to freedom of expression is a mechanism whose very purpose is the expression of the political will of the people. The right to express partisan ideas must, therefore, be firmly guarded during electoral periods; the right to freedom of political opinion is imperative in the context of elections. The right to freedom of peaceful assembly - participation in political rallies is an integral part of the electoral process and provides an effective mechanism for the public dissemination of political information. However, to be protected by law, an assembly must be peaceful. The right to freedom of movement is essential for all to be able to move without restriction and fear, and have access to all electoral events and related venues (e.g., voter registration, political rallies, and polling stations). Any restriction on this right must be in conformity with the law (insofar as the latter respects international human rights standards), necessary in a democratic society and based on specific grounds (e.g., national security or public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or of the rights and freedoms of others) and the least restrictive means must be employed.

In the same vein, European Union Election Missions (EUEM, 2019, p.5) suggested international standard(s) or principles on human rights in the conduct of elections, which are also refers to as the key principles for a genuine and democratic election process (including the relevant international standards and good practice) should includes: equal suffrage, freedom from discrimination, freedom of assembly, association, movement, opinion and expression, genuine elections that reflect the free expression of the will of the people, not specified, periodic elections; prevention of corruption/fairness in the election campaign, right and opportunity to participate in public affairs and hold office, right and opportunity to vote, right to effective remedy, right to privacy, right to security of the person, rule of law, secret ballot, State must take necessary steps to give effect to rights through transparency. Yet, Mahatma Gandhi of India has predicted with lamentation that, one of the things that will destroy a nation if care is not taken is politics without adherent to principles (cited in Dubagari 2017).

Table 2, shows that States including Nigerian State has responsibilities in ensuring that human rights are protected in democratic elections as found in Chapter 4 (Article 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10) of the 2007 adopted African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, which came into force February 15 2012.

**Table 2:** State responsibilities on human rights protection in context of elections

Article	Responsibilities
4	1. State Parties shall commit themselves to promote democracy, the principle of the rule of law and human rights. 2. State Parties shall recognize popular participation through universal suffrage as the inalienable right of the people.
5	State Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure constitutional rule, particularly constitutional transfer of power.
6	State Parties shall ensure that citizens enjoy fundamental freedoms and human rights taking into

	account their universality, interdependence and indivisibility.
7	State Parties shall take all necessary measures to strengthen the Organs of the Union that are mandated to promote and protect human rights and to fight impunity and endow them with the necessary resources.
8	1. State Parties shall eliminate all forms of discrimination, especially those based on political opinion, gender, ethnic, religious and racial grounds as well as any other form of intolerance. 2. State Parties shall adopt legislative and administrative measures to guarantee the rights of women, ethnic minorities, migrants, people with disabilities, refugees and displaced persons and other marginalized and vulnerable social groups. 3. State Parties shall respect ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, which contributes to strengthening democracy and citizen participation.
10	1. State Parties shall entrench the principle of the supremacy of the constitution in the political organization of the State. 3. State Parties shall protect the right to equality before the law and equal protection by the law as a fundamental precondition for a just and democratic society.
<b>Source:</b> African Union (AU, 2007, pp.5-6).	

Table 3 shows that, the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended is not silent on human rights protection. Fundamental rights that are expected to be enjoyed and not be denied in the context of elections are enumerated in Chapter IV of the Constitution.

**Table 3:** Constitutional rights that Nigerians should enjoyed in context of elections.

Section	Fundamental Rights
33	Right to life.
34	Right to dignity of human persons.
35	Right to personal liberty.
36	Right to fair hearing.
39	Right to freedom of expression and the press.
40	Right to peaceful assembly and association.
41	Right to freedom of movement.
42	Right to freedom from discrimination.
<b>Source:</b> Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN, 1999).	

Besides, scholars and writers have made contributions on human rights violation and elections but has not sufficiently identifies and analyze the human rights that are been violated in context of elections in Nigeria. On general note, Singh (2013) have pointed out that any time elections are suppose to be organized in regular interval in democratic society and it was unable to be organized, it is not only a threat to democracy, it is violation of the political rights of the people- right to vote and contest in election to be voted for which belong to the broader human rights. However, did not adequately show the human rights that have been violated in context of elections. Similarly, Verjee et al (2018, p.2) have observed that occurrence of any act of violence, threats of coercion, intimidation, or physical harm perpetrated to affect an electoral process or that arise in the context of electoral competition, or any efforts to delay, disrupt or derail a poll and influence and determine outcomes/winners in competitive elections for political office are violation of human rights. In the same vein, Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2007, pp.11-21) have broadly observed that political violence of any kinds including assassinations or attempted assassinations; attacks on party offices, and homes of candidates; clashes between armed supporters of rival political factions; attacks against voters and poll workers; “indictments” of questionable legality against opponents of the leadership of the ruling party in an attempt to have them disqualified from the elections; illegal use of police force as instruments of harassment against opposition candidates characterizes the nature of elections and perhaps violations of human rights in Nigeria; adding that several opposition parties have reported to HRW on police interference in their constitutional right to campaign and hold rallies before the elections; police to ask permission for a rally but it was denied. Equally, Eseyin and Udoh (2015, p.82) have revealed with reference to Nigeria, that the government and political figure usually referred to as 'god-father', usually and arbitrarily picks a particular candidate for a position, over and above all other available candidates presenting themselves to contest election, therefore they use all available machinery to ensure the emergence of the candidate, even if the person does not enjoy the confidence and support of the electorate, and electorate are coerced and induced with some financial rewards to toe the line of the 'god-father', intimidated other candidates, against what is constitutionally provided for in the electoral law. Acting out of fear of what might befall them should they revolt against the god-father’s choice, they vote against their conscience, are all violation of the electorate right to freely choose and for the contesting candidate, he or she is intimidated



with threats to life and can succumb to these external pressures out of fear as well, thereby depriving him the right to be voted for.

Worst still, Ibrahim (2007) cited in Osinakachukwu and Jawan (2011, pp.130-131) have identified several ways in which elections are been manipulated or rigged in Nigeria but did not systematically showed what human right(s), has been violated in the process of manipulating `elections. Hence, how manipulations or riggings are fraudulent act to deny the candidate of the right to be voted for and hold political or public office as well as the right of voters to vote are captured in Table 4 side by side with indicators identified as election rigging for better understanding. Better still, Table 5 shows issues relating to human rights violation in elections in Nigeria.

**Table 4:** Showing how some human rights can be at risk of elections.

S/N	Indicators of Rigging in Elections	Violation Described
1	Illegal printing of voters' cards	Fraudulent act to deny the candidate who is likely to win in an election of the right to be voted for and to hold public office.
2	Illegal possession of ballot boxes	Fraudulent act to rub the candidate who is likely to win in election of the right to be voted for and to hold public office.
3	Stuffing of ballot boxes	Fraudulent act to rub the candidate who is likely to win in election of the right to be voted for and to hold public office.
4	Falsification of election results	Illegal act deny the candidate who is likely to win in election of the right to be voted for and to hold public office.
5	Illegal thumb-printing of ballot papers	Fraudulent act to rub the candidate who is likely to win in election of the right to be voted for and to hold public office.
6.	Infant voting	Illegal act to deny the candidate who is likely to win in election of the right to be voted for and to hold public office.
7	Compilation of fictitious names on voters' lists	Illegal act to rub the candidate who is likely to win in election of the right to be voted for and to hold public office.
8	Illegal compilation of separate voters' lists	Fraudulent attempt to rub the candidate who is likely to win in election of the right to be voted for and to hold public office.
9	Illegal printing of forms used for collection and declaration of election results	Fraudulent act attempt to rub the candidate who is likely to win in election of the right to be voted for and to hold public office.
10	Deliberate refusal to supply election materials to certain areas	Unlawful act to rub potential voters in those areas of the right to vote and equally rub the candidate who is likely to win in election of the right to be voted for/to hold public office.
11	Announcing results in places where no elections were held	Illegal act to rub the candidate who is likely to win in election of the right to be voted for and to hold public office.
12	Harassment of candidates, agents, and voters	It is a violation of the right to personal dignity of candidates, agents and voters. Equally, it is an attempt to violate the right of the voters to vote and the right of the candidate to be voted for to hold public office respectively.
13	Box-switching and inflation of figures	Right to be voted for, of the candidate whose favourable ballot box is switched for another is been violated.
<b>Source:</b> Osinakachukwu and Jawan (2011).		<b>Source:</b> Authors, 2020.

**Table 5:** Showing issues relating to human rights violation in elections in Nigeria.

National Elections	Human Rights Issues				
	2003	2007	2011	2015	2019
General Elections (Presidential / Gubernatorial; National and States	Disenfranchisement was rampant in the 2003 general elections; Serious abuses were perpetrated by	Disenfranchisement was rampant in the 2007 general elections; and more than 800	Youths chanting 'Only Buhari!' rampaged through northern cities, killing	Even the more peaceful 2015 polls saw scores killed during campaigning and after the vote. At least	There were evidences of unidentified men armed with machetes, glass bottles, rods, and sticks stormed the polling places and the election commission's registration center and threatened to

Assembly).	members or supporters; Procedural laxities in certain instances facilitated deliberate electoral abuses characterized by widespread violence, intimidation, harassment, bribery, vote rigging and corruption.	people lost their lives in post-election protests morphed into mob attacks on minorities in twelve northern states.	supporters of Jonathan and burning down houses. At about 1000 people lost their lives far higher than the number killed during and after the heavily rigged elections of 2007. Reports of voting by underage voters.	108 people were killed – 58 in pre-election violence, and another 50 or so on polling day and afterwards, as fights broke out between the major parties' supporters in nine states.	kill the officials; destroyed ballot boxes, tore up ballots and snatched tallies of results. They assaulted and beat some election officials. One person in charge of a polling place said the attackers beat and slashed a female colleague with a knife. Another official said that people they did not know called and ordered her and her colleagues to go to a certain location to sign off on election results they knew nothing about. She fled the area in fear for her safety. At least 626 lives were lost during the 2019 election cycle.
<p><b>Sources:</b> HRM (2007); Gberie (2011); Mbah and Augustine (2014); International Crisis Group (ICG, 2018); HRM (2019).</p>					

Nevertheless, it is not surprising as Shehu et al (2016) have observed that enforcement of the provisions of fundamental human rights in Nigeria are constrained by poor or lack of political will and commitment, poor constitutional provisions, poor legal aid and services, ignorance of the existing laws and provisions, deliberate acts to thwart the arm of justice, corruption, judicial incompetence, inefficient justice system, socio-cultural provisions, poverty, state aligned threats and intimidations. It is no wonder Ozoigbo (2017) claims that the democratic government of Nigeria, with regard to the issue of human rights violation is not too different from military dictatorship as government agencies are the worst violators of human rights and tacitly backed by the government and perhaps some of the agencies are sometimes used during election against opponents or party rivalries. To this end therefore, Singh (2013); Verjee et al (2018); HRW (2007); Eseyin and Udoh (2015); Ibrahim (2007) cited Osinakachukwu and Jawan (2011); Shehu et al (2016) as well as Ozoigbo (2017) contributions largely showed the character of elections but did not sufficiently show the human rights that have been violated in context of elections in the six geopolitical region/zones of Nigeria or directly captured the opinions of Nigerians which this present study has done.

From the above reviewed related literature, the contributions of UNCHR (1994); UNOHCHR (2019); AU (2007); CFRN (1999); EUEM (2019) and Dubagari (2017) provided specific information on legal standards and principles on human rights as it relates to election which are relevant to this present research as they will serve as indicators that will help use to measure or scale responses on the violation of right in context of elections. Nevertheless, Singh (2013); HRW (2007); Verjee et al (2018); Eseyin and Udoh (2015); Shehu et al (2016); Ozoigbo (2017); Osinakachukwu and Jawan (2011) among others readings, do not sufficiently addressed the violations of Human Rights in Context of elections. Apart from this, there is equally methodological gap, as extant literature heavily relied on qualitative research techniques which did not allow research to obtain responses. However, this present study rely on quantitative research techniques to directly get responses that address relevant items the major research questions earlier raised. Theoretically, scholars who have researched on issues that relate to elections and human rights violation largely underpin their study on Marx theory, frustration-aggression theory, displaced aggression theory and rational choice theory to mention few, some are without theoretical rooting, but Machiavellian theory underpins this present study. Holistically, this research may not be a departure as aforementioned; it aligned with the few researches that have adopted the Machiavellian theory in analyzing the character of Nigerian politics - one of the largest democracies in Africa. Equally, in connection with theories, this study is essential because human rights problems in context of elections remain unsolved, hence this present study would contributes new knowledge to fill the lacuna between existing human rights legal standards/principles and their applications in the realities of elections in Nigeria.



#### **IV. THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CONTEXT OF ELECTIONS**

Machiavellian political theory is relevant in this study as it describes the characters of contemporary political players in the context of elections that tend to undermine standards and principles of human rights in Nigerian State. The proponent of this theory is Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527). In his most infamous work, *The Prince* (1513), Machiavelli analyzes the mechanism of exercising authority and his suggestions are contradicts in some ways the conventional moralities, standards and principles (Mahrik, 2017, p.125). Ramsay (2007) wrote, that Machiavellian political theory prescribes and promotes: selfishness, cunningness and unscrupulous political dispositions; it suggests that the only real concern of political rulers should be to acquire and retain power. It equally suggests that in order for the prince (rulers) to maintain their States and achieve great things, they must cultivate not traditional virtue but 'Machiavellian virtù'. That is, the rulers must be courageous and prepared to break promises as well as act against charity, truth, religion and humanity; the rulers must combine the cunning of the fox with the strength of the lion and be devious, ruthless, violent or cruel as the situation demands; political necessity frequently demands rulers learns how not to be good; provided any rulers succeeded in acquiring, retaining power to preserving the states, the wrongness of the means used does not matter; since in politics, actions are judged by their success, the rulers will be honoured and praised; hence, the popular description of Machiavellian political principle of 'the end justifies the means'. In addition, Enemuo (1999, pp.68-69) explains that Machiavelli's political theorization suggests that there is no one morality but two 'moralities': Political morality and private morality. The political morality suggests that: rulers may need to employ violence, falsehood, murder, arrogance, cruelty and fraud in pursuit of power and break agreements attempt to safeguard the state, hence, approving of things which are forbidden by private morality. Equally political morality is the morality of ruler's success in defending them and guaranteeing the safety of the people. In view of this, a statesman cannot afford to adhere to the standards of private morality or principles including individual human rights. Therefore, it is necessary to note that Machiavelli approves the immoral acts of the prince(s) or the ruler(s) only as a means of saving the state but many contemporary political leaders or politicians have misconstrued it for their own selfish interests.

It follows therefore, that Machiavellian political morality or principles can be used to justify all forms of political villainy for self-centred reasons, looking at the shocking level of deception and decadence into which the contemporary political elites, rulers or politicians have acquire power and sustain themselves in authority in Nigeria. It equally follows, why actions and conduct of ambitious Nigerian political elites, rulers or politicians portrays no respect or regard for human rights standards and principles when it comes to elections. As International Crisis Group Asia (ICGA, 2004); International Crisis Group (ICG, 2007); Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2010) cited in European Commission/United Nations Development Programme Joint Task Force on Electoral Assistance (ECUDPJTFEA, 2011) confirms that, the lead-up to elections are always marked by insecurity increasing tensions resulted from armed clashes backed by the state or central governments and those resisting the extension of their authority; shooting and killings and injuries resulting from clashes between rival aspirants during elections; elections primaries are characterized by violence; hijacking of voting materials by political parties agents, their affiliated thugs; denying political opponent to nomination form; denying voters access to polling units and their secrecy of voted; destruction and or burning of political opponents property; attacking of oppositions supporters and arbitrarily detaining of oppositions among others has become the culture in context of elections among Africans and Nigerian political elites in particular, which have garnered international attention. In some cases, oppression is usually more subtle, involving threats, harassment, closure of offices, breaking up of meetings, and denying individuals access to state resources, unless they are linked to the ruling party.

Equally, Fischer (2002); Ibrahim (2006); Mehler 2007 cited in Onapajo (2014, p.30) confirms as regards how the political elites and in particular power of incumbencies had characteristically manipulates elections not only in the context of Nigeria but across Africa countries through violence that occurs at three major stages of elections: pre-election, election-day and post-election periods. The pre-election violence: disruption of opponents' campaigns, intimidation of voters and candidates, political assassinations, kidnappings – occurs primarily during voter registration, campaign periods and at other important electoral events such as voter-education exercises. Election-day violence frequently manifests in the form of ballot-snatching, armed attacks on electoral officers and opponents, destruction of electoral facilities and voter intimidation. In the post-election stage, politicians destroy electoral materials or use force to intimidate people to manipulate final results, particularly in opposition strongholds. Following this, large-scale violence usually occurs as a form of protest over manipulated elections in their aftermath. All together, are not just reflections of unscrupulous disrespects for electoral laws, human rights standards/principles but gives credence to Machiavellian theorization of what mater is political morality and not any other moralities, any means employ could help to conquer, gain and retain power. Notably, for example some of these unscrupulous political dispositions are manifest in the most recent and criticized 2019 rerun elections held in some states in Nigeria (Bayelsa, Kogi and Osun state). It is no

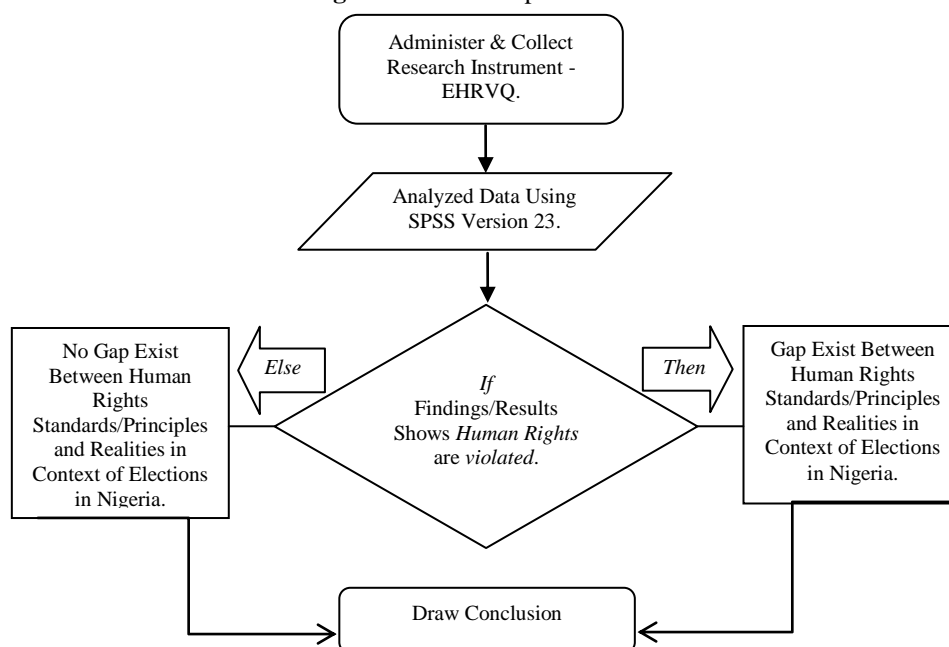
wonder, Eseyin and Udoh (2015, pp.80-86) conceives human rights violation as doing something which amounts to a disrespect of the rights that are guaranteed under international, regional or national legal instrumentalities, or doing something which is contrary to what the law stipulates as a recognition. In like manner, HRW (2007); Singh (2013); Verjee et al (2018); Eseyin and Udoh (2015); Shehu et al (2016) and Ozoigbo (2017) observations aforementioned under empirical review also support the Machiavellian contemporary political dispositions of some political elements in Nigerian State.

On the contrary, some scholars have criticized that the amoral arguments pervaded about Machiavellian theory does not suggests holistically that rulers be wicked or bad to people or should disrespects moral principles and norms. For example, Harris (2010) contends that to label Machiavelli amoral would be a generalization and a distortion. That larger proportion of Machiavelli's work encourages actions, which are by modern standards ethical and show moral leadership. Hence, described the amoral label of Machiavelli as over-generalization and over-simplistic. That Machiavelli never suggested brutality and indeed devious actions should be adopted as the norm but Machiavelli believes that men should always act in a way appropriate to the times, and this rule applied equally to morality. That if one were to label Machiavelli in modern political terms he would be seen as a form of liberal as he believed in popular relatively democratic national rule, earned rights and benefits for individual and was very international in his outlook. However, whatever arguments on Machiavellian political theorizations, this study upheld that, the characters of Nigerian political elites and rulers in context of human rights violation in elections are largely the reflections of the amoral-centric argument than the moral-centric argument upheld by Harris and some other scholars.

### V. METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The research design adopted was descriptive survey. The sample population consisted of 360 male and female adults are drawn from the six geopolitical regions/zones of Nigeria (north-central, north-east, north-west, south-east, south-south and south-west) using purposive sampling technique. A self-developed Likert style rating-scale research data collection instrument titled "Elections and Human Rights Violation Questionnaire (EHRVQ)" was administered through e-mail, whatsapp, physical contact with some respondents and research assistants to acquire responses due to COVID-19 containment or lockdown in some part of the country. The instrument were retrieved through the same medium and used for the analysis carried out in this research report. In terms of validity of instrument, a copy was first given to experts for scrutiny and screening. The questionnaire was standardized to capture what is to measure appropriately and acceptable to respondents. The contents of the instrument were also consistent with the research questions of the study. In terms of reliability, it was administered on fifteen adults two times and there was consistency between the former response and the later. The main survey was carried out from First week of May to first week of July 2020. Three hundred and sixty (360) questionnaires were administered but 300 returned. With the aid of SPSS version 23 the data gathered from responses were analyzed using percentage, mean and standard deviation statistical methods. The results are thematically presented using tables. Figure 2 shows how the conclusion of this research was arrived at.

**Figure 1: Research procedures.**



Source: Designed by the Authors 2020.

**Figure 3:** Map of the study area showing the six geopolitical regions/zones of Nigeria.



Source: [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-nigeria-showing-the-six-geopolitical-zones-Note-reproduced-from-national\\_fig1\\_322828162](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-nigeria-showing-the-six-geopolitical-zones-Note-reproduced-from-national_fig1_322828162) [accessed May 5, 2020].

## VI. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

### *Demographic information*

The characteristic of the categories of respondents that provide the information used in the analysis of this research report are summarized and captured in Table 6.

**Table 6:** Summaries characteristics of respondents from gender, age, qualifications, year last voted and their region/zone.

		Frequency	Percentage (%)
<b>Gender</b>	Male	141	47.0
	Female	159	53.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Age</b>	18-30years	79	26.3
	31-50years	101	33.7
	51years and above	120	40.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Qualification</b>	School Cert.	28	9.3
	ND/NCE	56	18.7
	HND/B.Sc.	119	39.7
	M.Sc.	70	23.3
	PhD	27	9.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Year Voted Last</b>	1999	0	0
	2003	26	8.7
	2007	35	11.7
	2011	51	17.0
	2015	76	25.3

	<b>2019 Total</b>	<b>112 300</b>	<b>37.3 100%</b>
<b>Region/Zone</b>	North-Central	52	17.3
	North-East	48	16.0
	North-West	54	18.0
	South-East	53	17.7
	South-West	54	18.0
	South-South	39	13.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100%</b>

As illustrated in Table 6, out of the 300 respondents, 141(47%) were male while the remaining who constituted 159 (53%) were female. The result shows that female respondents were slightly higher in number than male respondents. Regarding the age, the larger category of respondents was 51 years and above 120(40%), followed by those between 31-50 years 101(33.7%) and the category of those between 18-30 years was the least 79(26.3%). Also, from the table it can be seen that 28(9.3%) of the respondents have school leaving certificate as their qualification, 56(18.5%) had OND/NCE certificate, 119(39.7%) of them were graduates with HND/B.Sc certificate, 70(23.3%) were masters' degree holders while 27(9%) of the respondents had PhD degree certificate. Regarding the year last voted, none of the respondents voted last in 1999, 26(8.7%) voted last in 2003, 35(11.7%) of them in 2007, 51(17%) in 2011, 76(25.3%) of them voted last in 2015 while larger percentage of them 112(37.3%) voted in the year 2019. Concerning the region/zone of the respondents, 52(17.3%) of them were from North-Central, 48(16%) of them were from North-East, 54(18%) of them were from North-West, 53(17.7%) of them were from South-East, 54(18%) of them were from South-West while 39(13%) of the respondents were from South-South region of the country.

***Human rights that are been violated in context of elections in Nigeria***

The answer to research question 1: What are the human rights violated in context of elections in Nigeria? The results are presented in Table 7 below and analyze accordingly.

**Table 7: Human rights violated in context of election in Nigeria**

No	Item	SA	A	D	SD	Mean	Std. D	Remark
1	The right to peaceful association in terms of belonging to political party of choice	82	164	54	0	3.09	.66	Accepted
2	The right to peaceful assembly to participate in party rallies	49	70	124	57	2.37	.97	Not Accepted
3	The right to freedom of expression in terms of political campaigns without disruptions	48	122	54	76	2.47	1.03	Accepted
4	The right to equal access to public service in terms of media/press (radio, television and newspaper etc)	97	64	123	16	2.80	.95	Accepted
5	The right to possess Permanent / Personal Voters Card (PVC).	161	91	10	38	3.25	1.00	Accepted
6	The right to freedom of movement in terms of access to polling units.	75	54	152	19	2.61	.93	Accepted
7	The right to votes for candidates of choice	82	54	73	91	2.42	1.18	Not Accepted
8	The right to be voted for and to be given mandate of the office.	122	64	95	19	2.96	.98	Accepted
9	The right to personal dignity (self-respect).	56	57	81	106	2.21	1.11	Not Accepted
10	The right to life without intimidation of armed attacks.	170	69	45	16	3.31	.91	Accepted

11	The right to property without violent destructions.	72	77	87	64	2.52	1.07	Accepted
12	The rights to sue and seek for redress.	38	26	91	145	1.85	1.02	Not Accepted

**Key:** SA= Strongly Agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree  
**Decision value for remark:** 0.00 - 2.44 =Not Accepted, 2.45 - 4.00 = Accepted

Table 7 shows the human rights that are violated in context of elections in Nigeria. The table shows that the respondents accepted the following items: right to peaceful association in terms of belonging to political party of choice ( $\bar{x} = 3.09$ ), right to freedom of expression in terms of political campaigns without disruptions ( $\bar{x} = 2.47$ ), right to equal access to public service in terms of media/press (radio, television and newspaper etc) ( $\bar{x} = 2.80$ ), right to possess Permanent/Personal Voters Card (PVC) ( $\bar{x} = 3.25$ ), right to freedom of movement in terms of access to polling units ( $\bar{x} = 2.61$ ), right to be voted for and to be given mandate of the office ( $\bar{x} = 2.96$ ), right to life without intimidation of armed attacks ( $\bar{x} = 3.31$ ) and right to property without violent destructions ( $\bar{x} = 2.52$ ). Furthermore, the table shows that the following were not accepted by the respondents: right to peaceful assembly to participate in party rallies ( $\bar{x} = 2.37$ ), right to votes for candidates of choice ( $\bar{x} = 2.42$ ), right to personal dignity (self-respect) ( $\bar{x} = 2.21$ ) and rights to sue and seek for redress ( $\bar{x} = 1.85$ ). Meanwhile, based on the result from this table, the human rights that are violated in context of elections in Nigeria are: right to peaceful association in terms of belonging to political party of choice, right to freedom of expression in terms of political campaigns without disruptions, right to equal access to public service in terms of media/press (radio, television and newspaper etc), right to possess Permanent/Personal Voters Card (PVC), right to freedom of movement in terms of access to polling units, right to be voted for and to be given mandate of the office, right to life without intimidation of armed attacks and right to property without violent destructions.

**Stakeholders' involvement in violating human rights in elections**

The answer to research question 2: What is the level of stakeholders' involvement in violating human rights in elections? The results are presented and analyze in Table 8 below.

**Table 8:** Stakeholders' level of involvement in violating human rights in elections

No	Item	EH	H	L	EL	Mean	Std. D
1	The Voters.	83	73	93	51	2.62	1.06
2	Party Contestants.	38	212	32	18	2.90	.68
3	Election Monitors and Observers.	38	99	68	95	2.26	1.04
4	Ruling Parties and their Supporters.	204	96	0	0	3.68	.46
5	Opposition Parties and their Supporters.	73	122	71	34	2.78	.94
6	Party Polling Agents.	51	167	64	18	2.83	.77
7	Incumbent Government at Federal Level.	112	118	35	35	3.02	.97
8	Incumbent Governments at State Level.	102	144	54	0	3.16	.70
9	Incumbent Governments at Local Level.	54	137	91	18	2.75	.81
10	Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Officials.	118	97	67	18	3.05	.92
11	The Judiciary.	67	119	45	69	2.61	1.07
12	Security Agents in Polling Unit.	68	134	64	34	2.78	.92
<b>Weighted Average</b>						<b>2.87</b>	

**Key:** EH= Extremely High, H = High, L = Low, EL = Extremely Low  
**Decision Value:** 0.00 - 2.44 =Low, 2.45 - 4.00 = High

**Note on Decision Value:** Mean values of all the items in the table were added and divided by the number of items in the table. This gave the mean weighted average of which 4.00 is the highest value that can be obtained. Any value of the weighted average that is between 0.00 and 2.44 was taken to stand for **Low** while the one between 2.45 and 4.00 was taken to stand **High**.

Table 8 shows the level of stakeholders' involvement in violating human rights in elections in Nigeria. The table shows that the following stakeholders have high involvement: the voters ( $\bar{x} = 2.62$ ), party contestants ( $\bar{x} = 2.90$ ), opposition parties and their supporters ( $\bar{x} = 2.78$ ), party polling agents ( $\bar{x} = 2.83$ ), incumbent government at federal level ( $\bar{x} = 3.02$ ), incumbent governments at state level ( $\bar{x} = 3.16$ ), incumbent governments at local level ( $\bar{x} = 2.75$ ), Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) officials ( $\bar{x} = 3.05$ ), the judiciary ( $\bar{x} = 2.61$ ) and security agents in polling unit ( $\bar{x} = 2.78$ ). The table further shows that the election monitors and observers have low involvement ( $\bar{x} = 2.26$ ). Also, from the table, ruling parties and their supporters have extremely high involvement in violating human rights in election ( $\bar{x} = 3.68$ ). Meanwhile, based on the value of the weighted average (2.87 out of 4.00 maximum value obtainable) which falls within the decision value for **high**, it can be inferred that the level of stakeholders' involvement in violating human rights in elections in Nigeria is high.

***The consequences of violating human rights during elections in Nigeria***

The answer to research question 3: What are the consequences of violating human rights during elections in Nigeria? The results are presented and analyze in Table 9 below.

**Table 9:** Consequences of violating human rights in elections in Nigeria.

No	Item	SA	A	D	SD	Mean	Std. D	Remark
1	Promotes the Integrity of electoral institutions.	0	61	64	175	1.60	.80	Not Accepted
2	Doubt is casts on credibility of the elections.	217	46	0	37	3.47	.99	Accepted
3	Public acceptance of election outcomes and results.	0	45	99	156	1.63	.73	Not Accepted
4	Triggers post-elections violence.	157	74	35	34	3.18	1.03	Accepted
5	Encourages political participation.	51	19	58	172	1.83	1.13	Not Accepted
6	Weakens democratic consolidation and development.	220	45	35	0	3.61	.68	Accepted
7	Represents and promotes the public interests.	19	35	61	185	1.62	.92	Not Accepted
8	Establishes illegitimate, unpopular and corrupt governments.	191	71	38	0	3.51	.71	Accepted
9	Promotes international image of the country.	0	54	97	149	1.68	.76	Not Accepted
10	Triggers international sanctions.	73	129	80	18	2.85	.85	Accepted

Table 9 shows the consequences of human right violation in elections in Nigeria. The table shows that the following items were not accepted: promotes the integrity of electoral institutions ( $\bar{x} = 1.60$ ), public acceptance of election outcomes and results ( $\bar{x} = 1.63$ ), encourages political participation ( $\bar{x} = 1.83$ ), represents and promotes the public interests ( $\bar{x} = 1.62$ ) and promotes international image of the country ( $\bar{x} = 1.68$ ). Furthermore, the table shows that the following were accepted by the respondents: doubt is casts on credibility of the elections ( $\bar{x} = 3.47$ ), triggers post-elections violence ( $\bar{x} = 3.18$ ), weakens democratic consolidation and development ( $\bar{x} = 3.61$ ), establishes illegitimate, unpopular and corrupt governments ( $\bar{x} = 3.51$ ) and triggers international sanctions ( $\bar{x} = 2.85$ ). Meanwhile, based on the result from this table, the consequences of human violation in elections in Nigeria are: doubt is casts on credibility of the elections, triggers post-elections violence, weakens democratic consolidation and development, establishes illegitimate, unpopular and corrupt governments and triggers international sanctions.

## VII. CONCLUSION

From the above study findings it is glaring that the human rights that are violated in context of elections in Nigeria are: right to peaceful association in terms of belonging to political party of choice, right to freedom of expression in terms of political campaigns without disruptions, right to equal access to public service in terms of media/press (radio, television and newspaper etc), right to possess Permanent Voters Card (PVC), right to freedom of movement in terms of access to polling units, right to be voted for and to be given mandate of the office, right to life without intimidation of armed attacks and right to property without violent destructions. It is equally obvious from study findings that the level of stakeholders' involvement in violating human rights in elections in Nigeria is high and consequence upon this, doubt is often cast on the credibility of elections as it establishes or upholds illegitimate, unpopular, corrupt governments, stimulate post-elections violence and weakens democratic consolidation as well as development and could trigger international sanctions. It is evidently clear that there is serious gap between human rights standards/principles and realities in context of elections in Nigeria. To this end therefore, until stakeholders drop the Machiavellian amoral political characters enjoyment of human rights and democratic consolidation would remain rhetoric in context of election in Nigeria because the major challenge is the way the stakeholders play in elections. This study recommends that to reduce human rights violation in future elections the stakeholders at federal, state and local level must determine to start appreciating the benefits that conforming with legal and democratic standards or principles relating elections can unfold. In this way, human rights to peaceful association in terms of belonging to political party of choice, freedom of expression in terms of political campaigns without disruptions, equal access to public service in terms of media/press, possess Permanent Voters Card (PVC), freedom of movement in terms of access to polling units, right to be voted for and to be given mandate of the office, right to life without intimidation of armed attacks among others would be restored and enjoyed by all in context of elections in Nigeria and perhaps legitimate, popular, incorruptible governments, elections free of violence, democratic consolidation and development can be achieved through future elections in the country.

## REFERENCES

- [1]. AU, African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. *The Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 30 January 2007: 1-20.
- [2]. Cambridge Dictionary "Violation", Cambridge University Press 2020: Available from: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/violation> (Accessed April 16, 2020).
- [3]. Campbell, J. Electoral Violence in Nigeria. *Council of Foreign Relation, Contingency Planning Memorandum No. 9*, September 2010: 1-11.
- [4]. CFRN, Chapter IV-Fundamental Rights. *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* 1999: Available from: <http://www.nigeria-law.org/Constitutionofthefederalrepublicofnigeria.htm> (accessed April 20, 2020).
- [5]. Dahniar, *et al.* Gross Violation of Human Rights in Aceh: Patterns of Violence through the Indonesian Government's Policy. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 22(5), Ver. I, 2017:19-40.
- [6]. Dubagari, U. A. The Rule of Law and Electoral Process in Nigeria: A Critical Reflection. *Global Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences (GJISS) published by Global Institute for Research & Education: GJISS*, 6(6), November 2017:1-7. DOI: 10.24105/gjiss.6.6.1701.
- [7]. ECUNDPJTFEA. Elections, Violence and Conflict Prevention. Spain: *Thematic Workshop, Hosted by Barcelona International Peace Centre*, June 20-24, 2011: 1-100.
- [8]. Encyclopedia, "Violation of law." Available: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Violation\\_of\\_law](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Violation_of_law) (April 16, 2020).
- [9]. Enemuo, FC. Political Ideas and Ideologies in *Elements of Politics* (eds.) Remi Anifowose and Frances C. Enemuo. Nigeria, Malthouse Press, 1999: i-385.
- [10]. Eseyin M. and Udoh, S. E. When Rights Violate Rights: International Protection of Human Rights, Some Necessary Considerations. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 5, No. 6(1); June 2015: 78-87.
- [11]. EUEM, (2019). *Quick Guide on the European Union Election Missions*, July 2019: 1-8.
- [12]. Gberie, L. The 2011 Elections in Nigeria: A New Dawn? *Institute for Security Studies Situation Report*, 2011. Available from: <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/140539/13May2011Nigeria.pdf> (accessed May 17, 2020).
- [13]. HRW, Election or "Selection"? Human Rights Abuse and Threats to Free and Fair Elections in Nigeria. Abuja: *Interview*, April 2007: 1-40.
- [14]. HRM, "Nigeria: Widespread Violence Ushers in President's New Term." June 10, 2019: Available from: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/06/10/nigeria-widespread-violence-ushers-presidents-new-term> (accessed May 17, 2020).



- [15]. ICG, Nigeria's 2019 Elections: Six States to Watch. *International Crisis Group Report\_268 / Africa*, December 21, 2018:1-43, Available from <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/268-nigerias-2019-elections-six-states-watch> (accessed May 17, 2020).
- [16]. Mahrik, T. The End Justifies the Means: Ethical Analysis. 2017: 124-138.
- [17]. Merloe, P. Promoting Legal Frameworks for Democratic Elections: An NDI Guide for Developing Election Laws and Law Commentaries. *National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)*, 2008: i-52.
- [18]. Mbah, P. & Augustine, O. Security, Human Rights and Elections in Nigeria: A Retrospective Analysis of the Militarization of the 2007 General Elections. *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. V, No 4. Quarter IV, 2014: 1-30.
- [19]. Olakunle, O. et al, Trends in Electoral Violence in Nigeria. *Journal of Social Sciences and Public Policy*, 11(1), 2019: 37-52.
- [20]. Onapajo, H. Violence and Votes in Nigeria: The Dominance of Incumbents in the Use of Violence to Rig Elections, in: *Africa Spectrum*, 49, 2, 2014: 27-51.
- [21]. Onimisi, T. and Tinuola, O. L. Appraisal of the 2019 Post-Electoral Violence in Nigeria. *Malaysian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (MJ - SSH)*, 4(3), June 2019: 107 - 113.
- [22]. OSCE/ODIHR, Election Observation Handbook. Sixth Edition, Published by the OSCE *Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)*, Poland, 2010: 1-120.
- [23]. Osinakachukwu, NP and Jawan, J. A. The Electoral Process and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria. *Journal of Politics and Law*, 4(2); September 2011: 128-137.
- [24]. Ozoigbo, B. I.. Democracy and Human Rights in Nigeria: A Critical Inquiry. *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences (GJAHSS)*, 5(5), June 2017: 25-31.
- [25]. Peter, S. A. and AbdulRahman, I.. Political and economic effects of post-election Violence on National Development. *Net Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(2), 2018: 18-26.
- [26]. Ramsay, M. "Machiavelli: Good to be Bad", 2007: 1-4. Accessed from: <https://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/the-faith-column/2007/12/machiavelli-prince-politics> (accessed April 24, 2020).
- [27]. Shehu, I. M. et al. Nigerian Citizens and Fundamental Rights: Myth, Manoeuvre and Reality. *Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 12, 2016: 53-64.
- [28]. Singh, L. M. "Electoral Rights: Concept and Theory" 2013: 1-15. Available from: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2341060> (accessed April 16, 2020).
- [29]. Sule, B. et al. Nigerian 2015 General Election: The Successes, Challenges, and Implications for Future General Elections. *The Asian Institute of Research Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, 1(2), 2018: 183-204.
- [30]. Taylor, V. Shared Security, Shared Elections: Best Practices for the Prevention of Electoral Violence. *A Study by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)*, 2019: 1-82.
- [31]. UNEA, Strengthening the Role of the United Nations in Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Periodic and Genuine Elections and the Promotion of Democratization. *Report of the Secretary-General, A/74/285*, August 2019: 1-21.
- [32]. UNCHR, Human Rights and Elections. *A Handbook on the Legal, Technical and Human Rights Aspects of Elections - Part II*. United Nations New York and Geneva. Professional Training Series No. 2, 1994: i-24.
- [33]. UNDP, *Elections and Conflict Prevention: A Guide to Analysis, Planning and Programming*. USA: Democratic Governance Group Bureau for Development Policy, 304 East 45th Street, Tenth Floor New York, NY 10017, 2009: 1-128.
- [34]. UNMHRM, Monitoring Human Rights in the Context of Elections. *United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, HR/P/PT/7/Rev.1*, 2011: 1-39.
- [35]. UNOHCHR, Human Rights. A Basic Handbook for UN Staff. *United Nations Staff College Project*, 2019: 1-127.
- [36]. USIP, Nigeria's 2011 Elections: Best Run, but Most Violent. *USIP Peace Brief 103*, Washington, D.C, August 2011: 1-4.
- [37]. Verjee, A. et al. Nigeria's 2019 Elections: Change, Continuity, and the Risks to Peace. *United States Institute of Peace, Making Peace Possible*, 2301 Constitution Ave, NW Washington, DC 20037, Special Report 429, 2018: 1-20.
- [38]. Wojtasik, W. Functions of Elections in Democratic Systems. *Political Preferences*, No. 4, 2013: 25-38.

Shaibu M. T, et. al. "Elections and Human Rights Violation in Africa: The Nigerian Experience." *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 25(8), 2020, pp. 39-54.