



CLEEN
FOUNDATION

2019 ELECTION SECURITY THREAT ASSESSMENT OF NIGERIA (ESTA)

January, 2019

INTRODUCTION

- The rights to participate in the democratic process through elections provide mechanisms for deepening the democratic governance process.
- Participatory, free and credible elections being hallmarks of a legitimate government are reflection of the civic roles played by citizens to elect their leaders in a violence free electoral space.
- Election security management being a key consideration for a participatory electoral process and for smooth transition of power is imperative in strengthening democracy and in building strong and effective institutions.
- The 2019 general elections will be happening amidst various security threats; birthing mixed feelings as to concerns for safety and security of the elections and of the electorate.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The ESTA maps the election environment for possible electoral risk factors capable of disrupting the peaceful conduct of the elections in Nigeria.

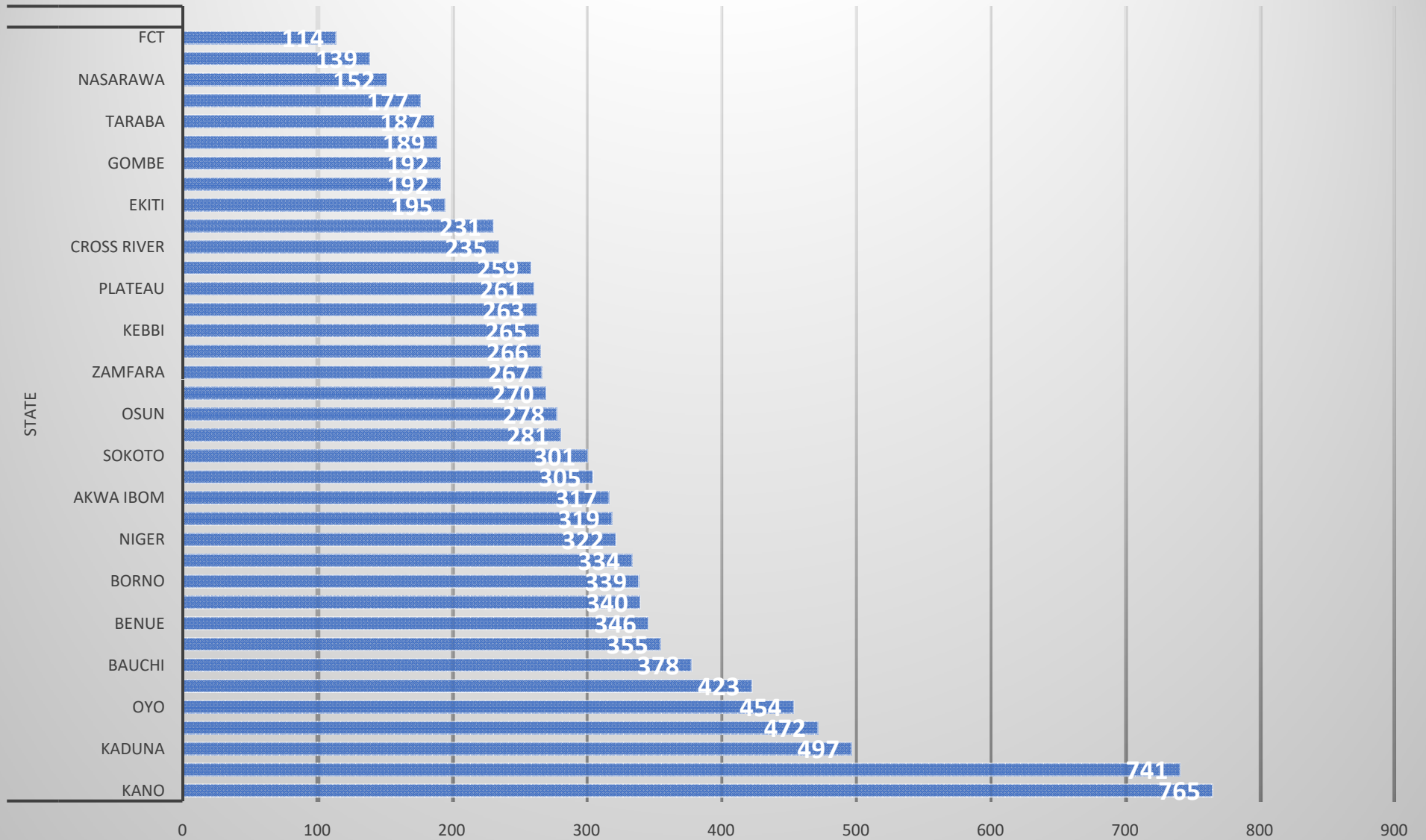
The objectives of the assessment include:

- Examine real and potential election security threats across the states including the FCT
- Identify actors and actions that could constitute threats to peaceful election in the states
- Proffer recommendations to mitigate identified threats or potential risk factors

METHODOLOGY

- ❖ In January, 2019, the field work for data collection for this study took place across the 36 states and the FCT by a team of enumerators.
- ❖ A total sample size of 11,421 respondents were randomly selected across the states taking into considerations gender, location, and other vital demographics.
- ❖ The Election Violence Mitigation and Advocacy Tool (EVMAT) questionnaire developed and revised by The Electoral Institute of INEC was deployed for primary data collection in the field. This was triangulated with secondary data on elections through the media and desk reviews of literature

Number of Respondents Per State



Main Findings

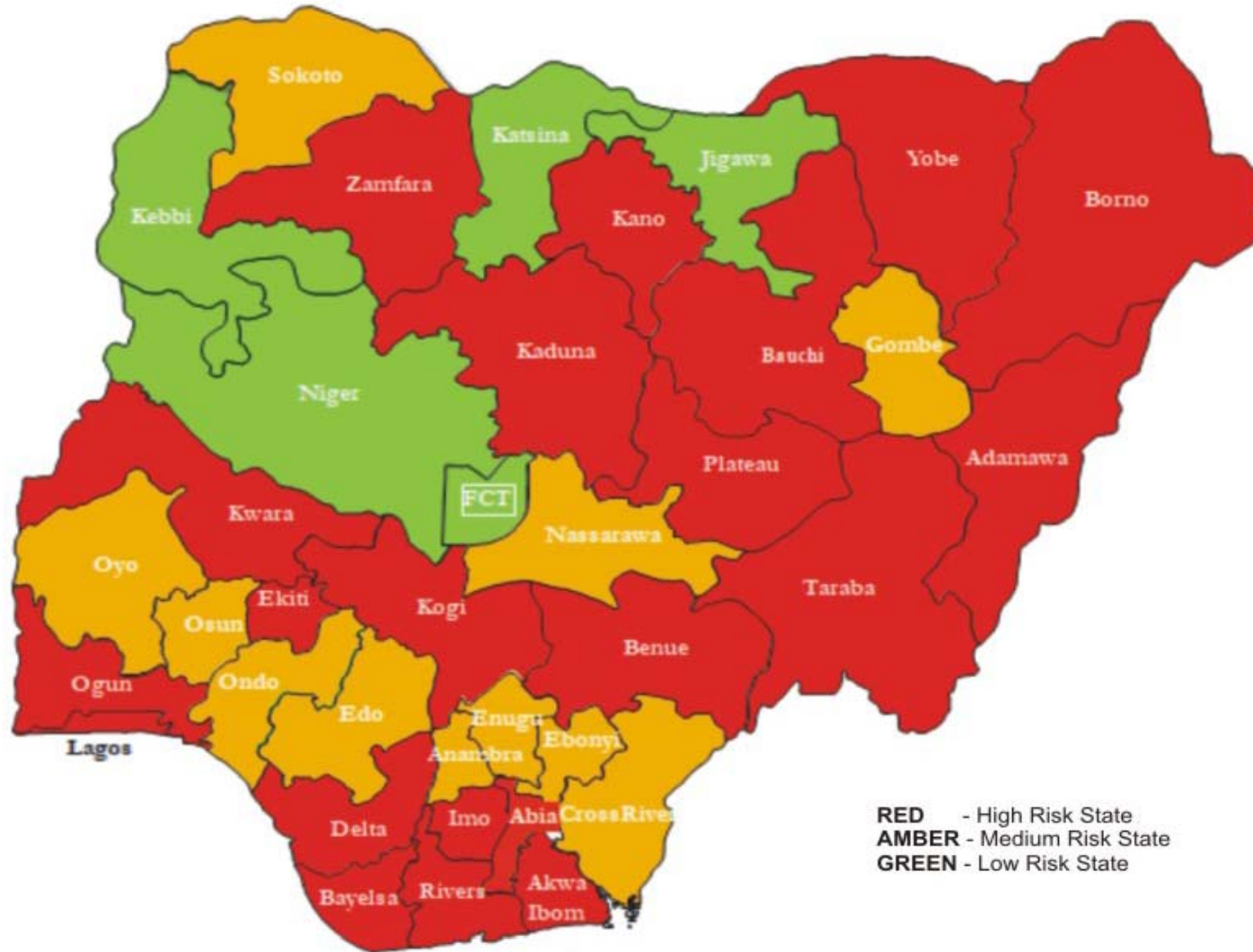
Expectation of Peaceful Elections

- Majority of Nigerians, 74% expects the 2019 general elections to be peaceful based on the findings from the quantitative data however, there are degrees of concern by Nigerians which differs from state to state.
- Generally, the report indicate that the forthcoming elections will be peaceful in four states and FCT: **Jigawa, Katsina, Kebbi and Niger**, states respectively.
- Varying degrees of concern were found in 11 states and
- 22 states were found to be flash points based on the findings of the study by triangulation.

Flashpoint/Hotspot States

- 11 States are in Amber with various security concerns. They include: **ANAMBRA, CROSS RIVER, EBONYI, EDO, ENUGU, GOMBE, NASARAWA, ONDO, OSUN, OYO and SOKOTO.**
- 22 States are on **Red zone** and they include:
ABIA, ADAMAWA, AKWA IBOM, BAUCHI, BAYELSA, BENUE, BORNO, DELTA, EKITI, IMO, KADUNA, KANO, KOGI, KWARA, LAGOS, OGUN, PLATEAU, RIVERS, TARABA, YOBE and ZAMFARA.
- These categorization which differs from state to state are reflections of the tension, presence and levels of various electoral risk factors in these states implicated in the study.

Nigeria Election Security Hotspots



RED - High Risk State
AMBER - Medium Risk State
GREEN - Low Risk State

Prospects for peaceful elections, electoral risk factors and actors across the states

Abia State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Undue influence of money and godfatherism, ❖ lack of respect for electoral law, ❖ lack of transparency of the electoral process and ❖ intra-party conflicts etc 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political parties, ❖ party thugs, ❖ pan-ethnic groups, and ❖ security agencies ❖ INEC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Politicians, ❖ godfatherism and ❖ IPOB (Biafra agitation)

➤ Despite the presence of the above electoral risk actors and factors in the state with various degrees of tension, 68% of Abians said that the election will be peaceful. They also recall past election violence in the state.

Adamawa State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Violent campaigns, ❖ Hate speech, ❖ Insurgency, ❖ Ethno-religious conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political parties, ❖ party thugs, ❖ Non state armed groups ❖ security agencies ❖ INEC ❖ Media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Violent campaigns, ❖ Hate speech, ❖ Insurgency

- Notwithstanding the presence of the above electoral risk actors and factors in the state with various degrees of tension, majority of the people of Adamawa state 60% feel that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Akwa Ibom State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Violent campaigns, ❖ Defections from one party to another ❖ Partiality and corruption of agencies – security, judiciary and INEC ❖ Vote-buying 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Cultist ❖ Political parties, ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Security agencies ❖ INEC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Godfatherism, ❖ Cult violence, ❖ Politicians

- There are feeling of pessimism on prospect of peaceful election in the state as less than average of the people of Akwa Ibom 42% said that the election will be peaceful. This can be attributed to the presence and magnitude of tension of the electoral risk factors above.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Anambra State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote-buying ❖ Activities of IPOB ❖ Activities of politicians ❖ Partiality of INEC and Security personnel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Cultist ❖ Political parties, ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Security agencies ❖ INEC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Godfatherism, ❖ Cult activities, ❖ Vote buying

- The Anambra people are very optimistic that the election will be peaceful with over 76% of the people who said that the election will be peaceful in spite of the presence and tension level of the above risk factors.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Bauchi State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Insurgency ❖ Vote buying ❖ Partiality of INEC personnel ❖ Armed groups ❖ Hard drugs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political parties, ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Security agencies ❖ INEC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Godfatherism, ❖ Hate speech ❖ Politicians

- 82% of the people of Bauchi said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents also noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Bayelsa State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Partiality of INEC officials, partiality of security agencies, availability and use of hard drugs, undue influence of money and godfathers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Armed groups, ❖ Political parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Godfatherism activities, ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Politicians and ❖ Hard drugs,

51% of the respondents said the election will be peaceful in Bayelsa state

50% of the respondents confirmed the state have history of electoral violence in the past

Benue State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Partiality of security agencies, ❖ Misinformation of the public by media, ❖ Partiality of INEC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political thugs, ❖ Armed groups, ❖ Media, ❖ Security agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Politicians ❖ God-fatherism ❖ Hard-Drugs ❖ Vote-buying

- 61% of the people of Benue said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, 22% of the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Borno State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Insurgency, ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Hate speech 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political parties, ❖ Party thugs ❖ Media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Insurgency, ❖ Vote-buying ❖ Hate speech

- 69% of the people of Borno said that the election will be peaceful despite the ongoing insurgency
- On the history of electoral violence, 90% of respondents confirmed the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Cross River State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Partiality and corruption of agencies; ❖ Security, ❖ Judiciary and ❖ INEC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Godfatherism, ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Cult activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hate speech, godfatherism, ❖ cult violence, ❖ agitation, ❖ Vote buying, ❖ Politicians and H ❖ Hard drugs

- 68% of the people of the state confirmed that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, 50% of respondents confirmed the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Delta State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Undue influence of money and godfather, ❖ Proliferation of arms, ❖ Inter-communal conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Armed groups, ❖ Political parties, ❖ Traditional institutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Godfatherism, ❖ Vote-buying

- 63% of the people of the state confirmed that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, 38% of respondents confirmed the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Ebonyi State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Godfatherism, ❖ partiality of INEC, ❖ partiality of security agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ political parties, ❖ armed groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Politicians, ❖ Godfatherism

- 64% of the people of the state confirmed that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, 38% of respondents confirmed the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Edo State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Proliferations of arms, ❖ Undue influence of money and godfathers, ❖ Intraparty conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Security agencies, ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Armed groups, ❖ Political parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Godfatherism, ❖ Cult activities ❖ Farmer-herder crisis, vote-buying, politicians

- 42% of the people of the state confirmed that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, 49% of respondents confirmed the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Ekiti State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
Undue influence of godfatherism and money, partiality of INEC officials, hard drugs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Misinformation by media, ❖ Political parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Politicians, ❖ Godfatherism

- 78% of the people of the state confirmed that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, 39% of respondents confirmed the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Enugu State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Godfatherism, partiality of INEC, partiality of security agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Political parties, ❖ Armed groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Politicians, ❖ Godfatherism

- 54% of the people of the state confirmed that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, 62% of respondents confirmed the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

FCT State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Partiality of security agencies, ❖ Excessive use of force, ❖ Partiality of INEC officials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Armed groups, ❖ Political parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hate speech, ❖ Godfatherism, ❖ Vote-buying

- 70% of the people of FCT said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Gombe State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hard drugs, ❖ Troublesome politicians, ❖ Hate speech, ❖ Ethno-religious conflict 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political parties, ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Politicians, ❖ vote-buying, ❖ History of electoral violence, ❖ Hard drugs, ❖ Godfatherism

- 57% of the people of Gombe said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Imo State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Lack of respect for electoral law, ❖ Contentious party primaries and candidacy, ❖ Intra-party conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political parties, ❖ Party thugs and armed groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Politicians, ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ History of electoral violence, ❖ Hate speech

- 47% of the people of Imo said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Jigawa State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hard drugs, ❖ Vote-buying ❖ thuggery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political parties, ❖ Armed groups, ❖ Party thugs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote buying, ❖ Hard drugs, ❖ Religious extremism

- 87% of the people of Jigawa said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Kaduna State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political intolerance, ❖ vote-buying, ❖ hard drugs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political parties, ❖ party thugs, ❖ violent gangs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ hard drugs, ❖ security agencies

- 74% of the people of Kaduna said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Kano State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hard drug ❖ Troublesome politicians ❖ Hate speech 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Godfatherism ❖ Party thugs ❖ Troublesome politicians 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Ideological extremism ❖ Hard drugs ❖ Vote buying

- 83% of the people of Kano said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Katsina State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hard drugs, ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Banditry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Troublesome politicians, ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Violent gangs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Troublesome politicians, ❖ Hard drugs, ❖ Godfatherism

- 75% of the people of Katsina said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Kebbi State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hate speech ❖ Illicit drugs ❖ Partiality of INEC officials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs ❖ Media ❖ Security agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote buying ❖ Problematic party primaries ❖ Hard drugs

- 76% of the people of Kebbi said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Kogi State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Troublesome politicians, ❖ Political parties, leaders and candidates (88%), ❖ Hate speech (81%) ❖ Illicit drugs availability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Security agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Politicians, ❖ Godfatherism, ❖ Hate speech

- 82% of the people of Kogi said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Kwara State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Troublesome politicians, political parties, leaders and candidates (64%) ❖ Illicit drugs, hate speech (76%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs ❖ Security agencies ❖ Political parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote-buying ❖ Hate speech ❖ Godfatherism ❖ Violent campaigns

- 92% of the people of Kwara said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Lagos State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Partiality of security agents, ❖ Excessive use of force, ❖ Armed groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Political parties, ❖ Misinformation by media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Politicians, ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Godfatherism, ❖ Hard drugs

- 82% of the people of Lagos said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Nasarawa State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Partiality of security agencies, ❖ Misinformation of the public by media, ❖ Partiality of INEC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political thugs, ❖ Media, ❖ Armed groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Farmer-herders conflict, ❖ Godfatherism

- 81% of the people of Nasarawa said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Niger State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Troublesome politicians, political parties, leaders and candidates, ❖ illicit drugs availability, ❖ Hate speech (81%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Security agencies, ❖ Political parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hard drugs, ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Politicians, ❖ Godfatherism

- 96% of the people of Niger said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Ogun State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Proliferation of arms, ❖ Corruption among INEC officials, ❖ Political interference in INEC work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Political parties, ❖ INEC officials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Godftherism, politicians, ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Hate speech

- 62% of the people of Ogun said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Ondo State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Partiality of INEC officials, ❖ Hate speech, ❖ Undue influence of godfatherism, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Media, ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Political parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Politicians, ❖ Hate speech

- 85% of the people of Ondo said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Osun State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Undue influence of godfatherism, ❖ Troublesome party leaders and candidates, ❖ Partiality of INEC officials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Security agencies, ❖ Political parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Godfatherism, ❖ Politicians

- 82% of the people of Osun said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Oyo State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Corruption of INEC officials, ❖ Partiality of security agencies, ❖ Armed groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Political parties, ❖ Armed groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Politicians, ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Hard drugs, ❖ History of electoral violence

- 73% of the people of Oyo said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Plateau State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hate speech, ❖ Misinformation of public by media, ❖ Partiality of security agencies; deployment of security agencies, ❖ Partiality of INEC officials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Political thugs, ❖ Media, ❖ Security agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Availability of hard drugs, ❖ Politicians, ❖ Herder-farmer

- 68% of the people of Plateau said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Rivers State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hate speech, ❖ Partiality and corruption of agencies – security, judiciary and INEC ❖ Cult activities ❖ Militancy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ INEC, ❖ Judiciary, ❖ Security Agencies ❖ Cultism, ❖ godfatherism, ❖ Vote-buying 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Problematic party primaries, ❖ godfatherism, ❖ Cult violence, ❖ Politicians, ❖ Hard drugs, ❖ History of electoral violence

- 49% of the people of Sokoto state said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Sokoto State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hate speech, ❖ Illicit drugs, ❖ Exclusion of youth ❖ Failure to prosecute electoral offenders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Partiality of INEC, ❖ Partiality of judiciary, ❖ Vigilante groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Vote buying, ❖ Hard drugs, ❖ Politicians

- 79% of the people of Sokoto state said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Taraba State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Internal political party conflicts, ❖ Hard drug, ❖ Hate speech, ❖ Disaffection with government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Party thugs, ❖ Armed groups, ❖ Political parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ God-fatherism, ❖ Vote-buying, ❖ Hard drugs

- 54% of the people of Taraba said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Yobe State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hate speech, ❖ Insurgency, ❖ Vote-buying 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Insurgents, ❖ Media (fake news), ❖ Political parties, ❖ Party thugs, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Insurgency, ❖ vote-buying, ❖ hate speech

- 80% of the people of Yobe said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Zamfara State

Factors identified and most likely to cause electoral violence in the state	Actors identified that constitute threat and most likely to cause election violence in the state	Three Critical electoral risk factors that generate tension in the state
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Illicit drugs, ❖ Hate speech, ❖ Movement and distribution of election materials, ❖ Exclusion of ethnic minorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Insurgents, ❖ Media (fake news), ❖ armed groups and ❖ judiciary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Insurgency, ❖ vote-buying, ❖ hate speech

- There is pessimistic feeling on peaceful election in Zamfara state. Only 44% said that the election will be peaceful.
- On the history of electoral violence, the respondents noted that the state has witnessed electoral violence in the past.

Recommendations

Justice Sector Reform



Recommendations

Election Management Body (INEC)

- a) Ensure timely, adequate and effective deployment of electoral personnel and materials
- b) Ensure impartiality and incorruptibility of their regular and ad hoc staff
- c) Ensure the functionality and reliability of electoral equipment especially the Smart Card Reader
- d) Ensure effective synergy and coordination with other electoral stakeholders such as political parties, security agencies, civil society organisations, the media and the general public throughout the electoral processes

Recommendations

Political Parties

- a) Should ensure that their leaders, candidates, members and supporters play the game according to the legal framework governing the electoral process (Nigerian Constitution 1999; Electoral Act 2010 as amended; INEC Guidelines and Regulations 2019 and Party Constitution).
- a) Should carefully recruit and train their agents on their electoral roles and responsibilities.
- a) Should avoid hate speeches and vote buying in all ramifications.

Recommendations

Security Agencies

- a) Should be professional, impartial and incorruptible in securing the election
- b) Should abide by the Code of Conduct governing election security management
- c) Avoid excessive use of force that will negatively impact on election security and participation of citizens during the election
- d) Oversight bodies should monitor the conduct of security agents on election duty and apply appropriate sanctions in the event of infractions.

Recommendations

Civil Society Organisations

- a) Should collaborate with other electoral stakeholders for a peaceful and credible election
- b) Should act in a professional manner in the discharge of their responsibilities before, during and after the election

Recommendations

The Media

- a) Should be professional in conduct and respect the ethical codes for free, open and transparent coverage of the elections
- b) Should avoid sensationalism and fake news or disinformation/ or misinformation of the public before, during and after the election
- c) Media regulatory bodies should monitor and apply appropriate sanctions against erring media practitioners and outlets

Recommendations

Nigerian citizens

- a) Encouraged to come out and exercise their civic responsibility in an orderly and peaceful manner.
- b) Are encouraged to report any observed infraction of electoral laws and guidelines to security agencies using appropriate reporting channels provided them

The Federal Government of Nigeria

- a) Ensure an enabling environment for a free, fair, credible and peaceful election

International Community:

Continue to support the electoral process to deepen democracy in Nigeria based on international best practices.

Conclusion

- With a few days to the 2019 general elections, the findings of this study suggest that the following risk factors and actors are serious threats to prospects of peaceful elections across the states:
- **Activities of politicians** (Godfatherism, lack of internal party democracy, party thuggery and vote trading (buying and selling of votes))
- **Hate Speech**, misinformation and disinformation
- **Widespread availability** and use of hard drugs and substances,
- **Partiality and corruption** of INEC, Security Agencies and the Judiciary.
- **Excessive use of force** and inadequate and ineffective deployment of security agents
- **Proliferation of small arms and light weapons** before, during and after the elections.
- **The marginalisation of vulnerable groups** including ethnic minorities, youths, women and people living with disabilities
- **Logistics challenges associated with INEC and electoral materials**

We hope that the recommendations for the different stakeholders will be activated early to mitigate all possible incidences of violence and ensure peaceful, free and credible 2019 general elections.



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Thank You

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