



**KIMPACT 2019 HOTSPOT MAPPING AND
PRE-ELECTION SURVEY IN SOUTH WEST
NIGERIA**

**Kim pact 2019 Hotspot Mapping and Pre-Election Survey in South West
Nigeria**

***Southwest Nigeria pre-election survey exploring opinions, knowledge and
non-violence expectations in elections***

January 2019



This pre-election survey is with the support of International Foundation for Electoral systems (IFES).



Kim pact 2019 Hotspot Mapping and Pre-Election Survey in South West Nigeria

Copyright © 2019 Kim pact Development Initiative (KDI).

All rights reserved.

Permission Statement: No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system without the written permission of KDI.

Requests for permission should include the following information:

- A description of the material for which permission to copy is desired.
- The purpose for which the copied material will be used and the manner in which it will be used.
- Your name, title, company or organization name, telephone number, fax number, email address and mailing address.

Please send all requests for permission to:

Kim pact Development Initiative

2, Bolaji Olagunju Street,

Adjacent to Lapo Microfinance Bank,

Deeper Life Junction, Ibikunle Area,

Osogbo, Osun State.

Email: info@kimpact.org.ng

Tel: +234 813 482 8527

CONTENTS

- Background
- Objective of the study
- Conduct of the study
- Respondent
- Key findings
 - History of violence in the southwest Nigeria
 - Expectation of peaceful elections per states
 - Overall expectation of peaceful elections in the southwest
 - Age categorization of respondent on peaceful elections
 - Gender categorization of respondent on peaceful elections
 - Uncertainties over elections / Hotspot mapping
 - Local Government breakdown using Hotspot mapping
 - Prominent stakeholders
 - Recommendation

BACKGROUND

Election in general is often one of the largest activities that are ever organized in a democratic country. It is a complex administrative operation, implemented in a politically charged atmosphere. The founding pillars of any democratic political system, whether considered fragile or established, remain undoubtedly elections which can simply be taken as the most critical and visible means through which all citizens can peacefully choose or remove their leaders, and which are evidently costly affairs. In other words, elections are the principal instruments that 'compel or encourage the policy-makers to pay attention to citizens. It follows that, in any political system, elections by and large prevail across most countries of the world but how credible and peaceful an election is; determines its democratic measurement. The democratic litmus test will be, by default, the peaceful changeover of government power. Overtime, failed and fallacious elections have thrown nations into looping violence and conflicts. Hence, upholding the credibility and integrity of elections have become a tool to strengthening democracy in nations.

Nigeria's electoral history has always had one form of violence at the pre, during and post-election phases, with high consequences including deaths, displacement and destruction of livelihood. April 2011 elections orchestrated violence which left more than 800 people dead and more than 65,000 homeless, with more than 350 churches burnt (*Human Rights Watch, 2014*).

Nigeria's anticipated national elections are scheduled to take place in February and March 2019. These elections will mark the sixth times Nigerians will be going to poll since the reintroduction of democracy in 1999 and this would be the election that precedes the first peaceful transition of power to an opposition party. 2019 general elections will feature the highest number of political parties in the history of elections in Nigeria (91 registered parties)

The South West states of Nigeria are not excluded from history book of electoral violence despite been the most educationally advanced geopolitical zone in Nigeria. The South West states in Nigeria are native for the Yoruba people. South West Nigeria is the most educationally advanced geopolitical zone in Nigeria. It has six states; Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Oyo with 137 Local Government Areas. Given the history of political crisis in the former Western Region, the South-West geopolitical zone is seen as prone to the use of thugs and criminals employed by godfathers to win elections. The Southwest region has since 1983, experienced different forms of electoral violence, for instance, post-election violence followed the declared landslide victory of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) in Oyo and Ondo states, which were the stronghold of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN). During the planned transition from military rule to democracy, General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida and his successor, Sani Abacha, also witnessed demonstrations and bombings when supporters of the National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) called on the Government to step down in favour of the winner of the 12 June 1993 election, late Chief MKO Abiola. With the return to a civilian regime in 1999, Nigerians went to the polls again, though this time with relatively low violence before and after the vote. Yet the elections, which brought retired General Olusegun Obasanjo to power, were blighted by widespread fraud. Likewise, in 2003, the election was characterized by violence, corruption, and the falsification of results, according to the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), a coalition of 170 NGOs in Nigeria. Similarly, in 2007, foreign and national monitors observed violence, corruption, fraud, and manipulation³. History also have it that different states within the southwest region have experienced electoral violence in different ways for instance Osun state governorship election was staggered away from the normal circle of elections in Nigeria because of a 2010 Court of Appeal judgement that nullified Governor Oyinlola's re-election and installed Rauf Aregbosola. The court annulled votes in 12 LGAs and

based its decision on widespread electoral violence and rigging. Also, a close examination of political trends in Osun state from 1999 to date reveals a deep-seated culture of political and election-related violence. This is exemplified by several high-profile deaths witnessed in the state, including the assassination of Hon. Odunayo Olagbaju, a State House of Assembly member representing Ife Central Constituency in 2001, allegedly by political thugs in Ile-Ife. In 2007, a by-election conducted at Iree, for the Ifelodun/Odo-Otin/Boripe Federal Constituency resulted in the death of a member of the now defunct All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP). As campaigns were being rounded off during the 2015 elections, the motorcade of Governor Aregbesola was attacked by suspected political thugs in Obokun LGA, Osun state. The attackers' fired sporadic gun shots in the area and destroyed APC campaign posters and flags, leaving one-person dead in their trail. In the lead up to the September 22, 2018 governorship election in Osun, the people believed to be supporters of Iyiola Omisore a leading PDP aspirant invaded the party's secretariat and vandalized property following their loss of the party chairman's position to another faction. This and other similar intra and inter-party incidences are early warning signs of violence in the election that must be curtailed.

Likewise, in Oyo State, the Nigeria Watch database confirms that political incidents recorded in Oyo State have links to hoodlums and, sometimes, Chief Lamidi Adedibu, a powerful political force and Godfather in the state, for instance; 50 political thugs of Chief Adedibu, attempted to attack the former Governor of Oyo State, Senator Rashidi Ladoja. They were overpowered by security men and 3 gunmen died. Also, PDP hoodlums stormed the rally of AC Senator Rashidi Ladoja, just after AP members attacked them. Two apprentices at the market died in the pandemonium and 22 people were injured.

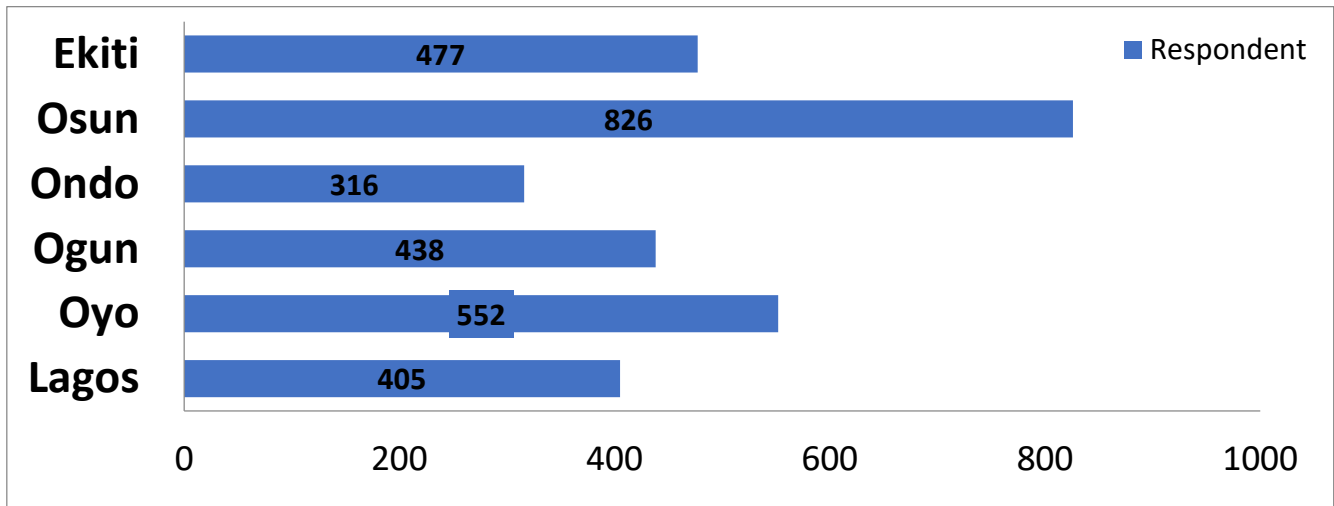
OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

KDI's commitment to deepening democratic processes incites her to embark on an assessment of electoral risk factors in the six states of the south west geo-political zone of Nigeria ahead of the 2019 general elections with a view to identify early warning signals that could assist relevant stakeholders, especially the INEC, security agencies and civil society organisations (CSOs) to deploy appropriate responses.

The specific objectives of the assessment are to:

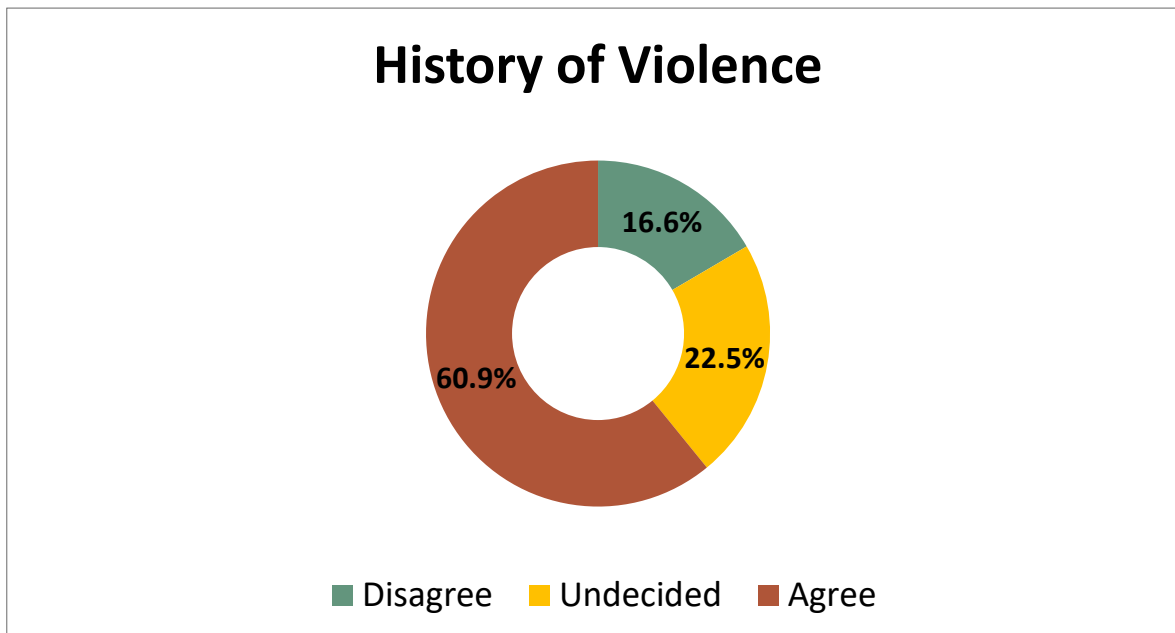
- **Examine real and potential election security threats in the zones**
- **Identify actors and actions that could constitute threats to peaceful election in the zones**
- **Proffer recommendations to mitigate identified threats or potential risk factors**

Kimpect pre-election public opinion survey searches the environment in the run-up to the 2019 general election in Nigeria. This research was conducted in the 6 states of the south west geo political zone of Nigeria ahead of the 2019 general elections in January 2019, by KDI’s field researchers with 3014 respondents.



HISTORY OF VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH WEST NIGERIA

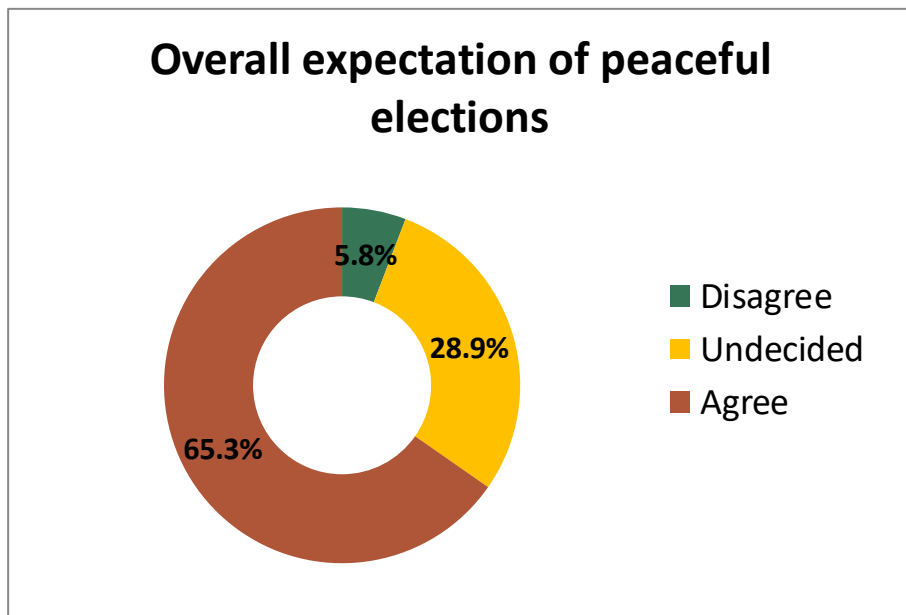
A majority of South West Nigerians (60.9%) say they agree that the geopolitical zone had experienced one form of election violence or another. 16.6% is the share of those that “disagree” to previous occurrence of electoral violence in the south west Nigeria. However, 22.5% of the respondent says they are not sure of what the history says.



MAJORITY OF SOUTH WESTERNS EXPECT PEACEFUL ELECTIONS YET MANY STILL UNCERTAIN OF WHAT COULD HAPPEN IN THE ELECTIONS

Most persons (65.3%) in the South West Nigeria believes the elections will be peaceful. Among the responders, 5.8% says they are not expecting peaceful election in the 6 states of the south west Nigeria, but we can't throw

away the colossal amount (22.5%) that says they are not sure of peaceful election.



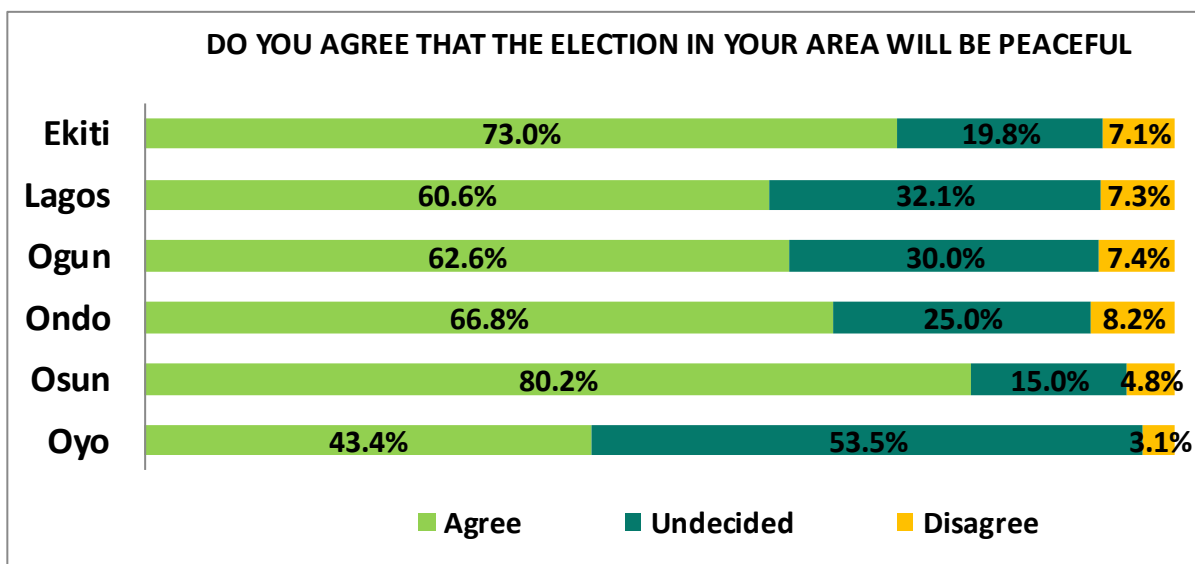
Regarding expectations of free, fair and peaceful elections based on responders from the 6 states of the south west Nigeria. In Ekiti state a plurality (73%) expect the 2019 general elections to be peaceful and 7.1 percent expect a violent election while 19.8 percent are characterized by indecision.

While the majority (60.6%) of persons in Lagos State expect the

elections to be peaceful, 32.1 percent of the respondents are unsure of what could happen in polls and of the respondents from Lagos; 7.3 percent respondents are more likely to agree that elections would be violent.

62.6 percent are completely sure of peaceful elections in Ogun State, and 7.4 percent expect a violent election while 30 percent are characterized by indecision. Meanwhile in Ondo State, (66.8%) expect the 2019 general elections to

be peaceful, 25 percent of the respondents are uncertain of what could happen in the elections and 8.2 percent respondents are more likely to agree that elections would be violent.



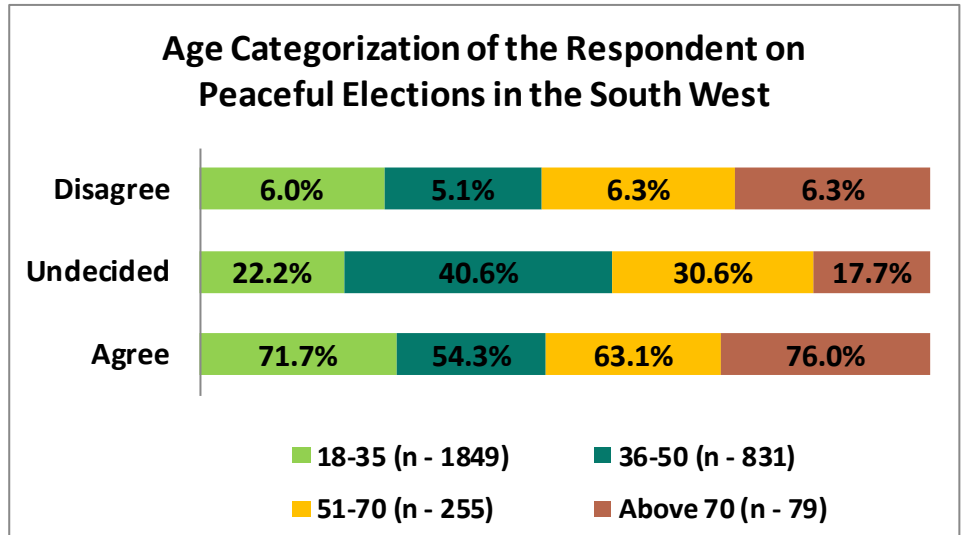
Furthermore, a large number (80.2%) says 2019 general elections would be relatively peaceful in Osun State, at the same time, 4.8 percent of declares that they have mind set that elections will not be peaceful, while 15

percent are characterized by indecisiveness. Additionally, less than half (43.4%) of persons agree to peaceful elections in Oyo State. But, a huge amount (53.5%) are uncertain of what could happen in the elections whereas 3.1 percent expect violent elections.

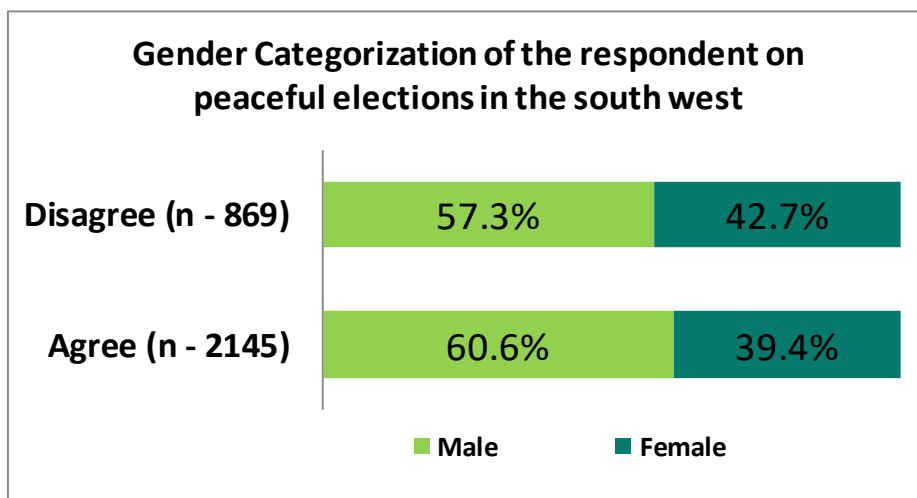
MOST SOUTH WEST NIGERIAN YOUTH ARE CONFIDENT OF PEACEFUL ELECTIONS IN THE ZONE, YET CONCERN STILL ON THE DEMOGRAPHIC THAT ARE UNDECIDED.

Even though Nigerians in the south west geopolitical zone expect the elections to be relatively peaceful, but the vast amount of percentages unsure of what could happen in the polls. 22.2 percent, 40.6 percent, and 30.6 percent of those between the age of 18-35, 36 – 50 and 51-70 are not sure if the elections will be peaceful or not respectively.

Meanwhile, majority (71.7% and 76%) of those between the age of 18-35 and above 70 respectively agree that the 2019 elections would be a peaceful one.



MORE MEN SAYS 2019 GENERAL ELECTIONS WOULD BE PEACEFUL IN SOUTH WEST NIGERIA, WOMEN FAIRLY AGREE TO PEACEFUL ELECTIONS IN THE ZONE.



60.6 percent of men are completely expecting peaceful elections as compare to the 39.4 percent of women.

More men (57%) equally disagree towards having peaceful elections in the south west Nigeria.

VIOLENT HOTSPOT MAPPING BASED ON EXPECTATION OF PEACEFUL ELECTIONS, HISTORY OF VIOLENCE AND CONCERNS AROUND ACTIVITIES OF MAJOR STAKEHOLDERS AT THE LOCAL GOVERNEMENT AREAS (LGAs).



There are diverse degrees of concern in the 6 states of the south west with Ekiti, Ogun, Ondo on Amber. While, Lagos and Oyo are the two states on Red based on the findings of the survey. The findings also suggest that Osun State could have a certain degree of peace in the forthcoming elections.

At the local government level, based on expectation of peaceful elections, history of violence and activities of major election stakeholder, local government areas of the states were mapped out to violent prone. Oyo state has the highest number of LGAs (10) on the red zone followed by Lagos state (6). Ogun state has 5 LGAs on red zone, Ondo and Ekiti have 4 LGAs each on the red zone. While, Osun has just 2 LGAs on the red zone.

Ekiti have 4 LGAs each on the red zone. While, Osun has just 2 LGAs on the red zone.

VIOLENT HOTSPOT MAPPING BASED ON LGAs IN THE SOUTH WEST NIGERIA

	EKITI	ONDO	OGUN	LAGOS	OSUN	OYO
1	Irepodun/Ifelodun	Ilaje	Abeokuta North	Agege	Orolu	Ogbomosho South
2	Ikole	Akoko South West	Abeokuta South	Alimosho	Irepodun	Iwajowa
3	Ijero	Okitipupa	Ado-Odoota	Amuwo Odofin	Atakunmosa East	Ogooluwa
4	Ido/Osi	Ese Odo	Ifo	Mushin	Ife South	Oluyole
5	Ado	Irele	Odeda	Surulere	Ife East	Ona Ara
6	Efon	Odigbo	Ijebu North	Oshodi	Ede South	Oyo East
7	Ekiti West	Ile Oluji	Imeko Afon	Kosofe	Ede North	Afijo
8	Ikere	Ifedore	Odogbolu	Eti Osa	Boripe	Akinyele
9	Oye	Ose	Sagamu	Ikeja	Boluwaduro	Atiba
10	Ise Orun	Akoko North East	Ijebu East	Ikorodu	Ilesa East/West	Atisbo

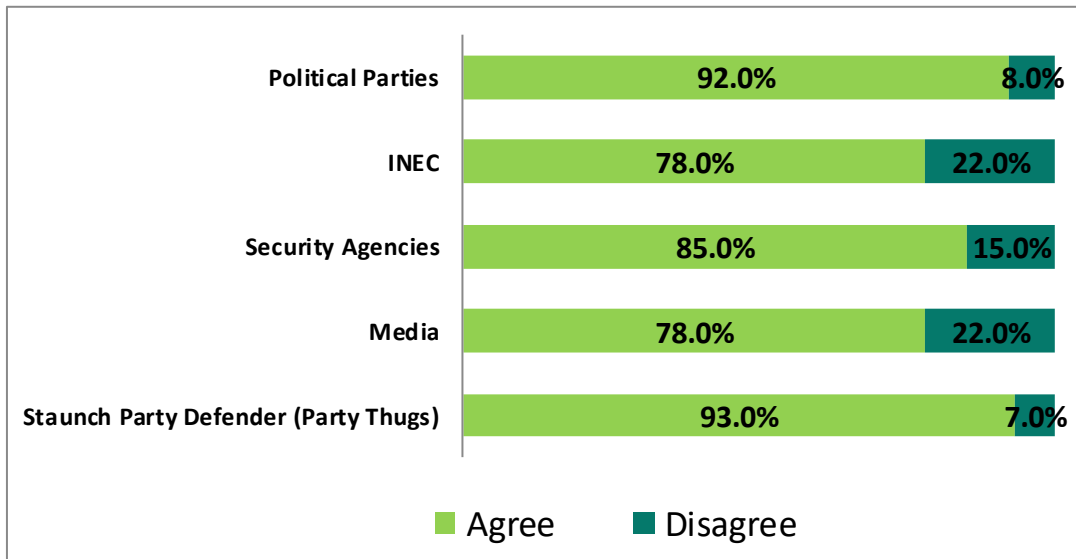
11	Gboyin (Aiyekire)	Akoko South East	Ipokia	Lagos Mainland	Osogbo/Olorunda	Iseyin
12		Akure South	Obafemi Owode	Ojo	Ifelodun	Ibadan North
13		Akoko North West	Iremo North	Somolu	Ife Central	Ibarapa North
14			Yewa South	Apapa	Ejigbo	Kajola
15			Ikene	Badagry	Egbedore	Saki West
16				Ifako ijaiye	Olaoluwa	Egbeda
17					Aiyedaade	Lagelu
18					Aiyedire	Ogbomoso North
19					Ila	Saki East
20					Iwo	Ibarapa East
21					Odo Otin	Ibadan South West
22					Oriade	Ibadan South East
23					Ifedayo	Ibadan North Esast

NOTE: ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS THAT IS NOT IN THIS TABLE ARE ON THE GREEN ZONES

ACTIVITIES OF STAUNCH PARTY DEFENDERS AND OTHER RELEVANT STAKEHOLDERS IS A CONCERN: THEIR INORDINATE ACTIVITY IS A POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE

Do you agree that the following could cause violence during elections in this?

The number of respondents for each categories (N) = 3014



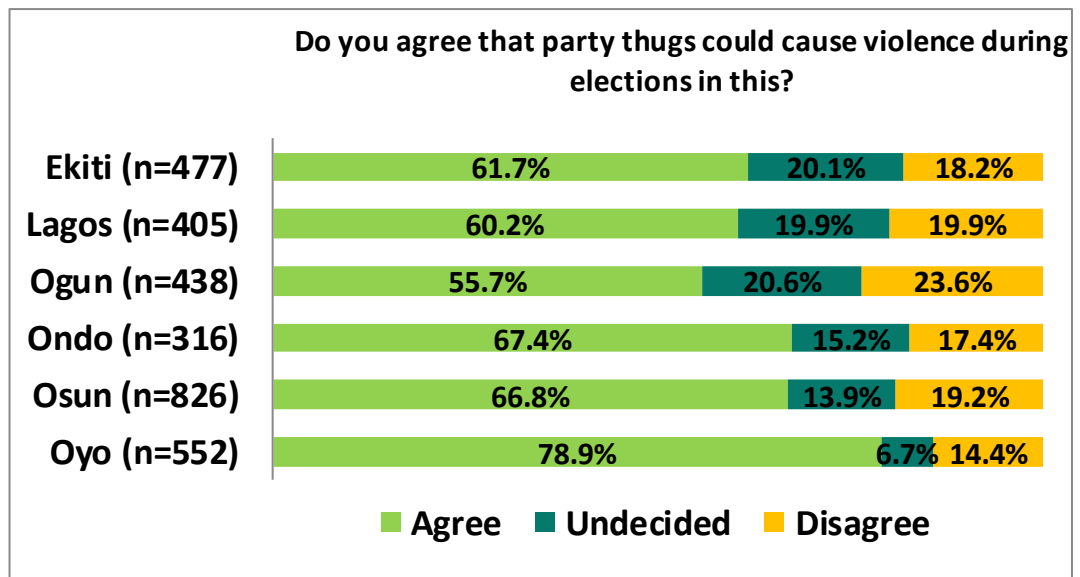
Most persons in the South West Nigeria believe activities of Staunch Party Defenders (93%), Political Parties (92%), Security Agencies (85%), INEC (78%) and Media (78%) is a potential for violence.

Pluralities, if not majorities (93%), of South West

Nigerians believes the mode of activities and involvement of staunch political party defender otherwise known as

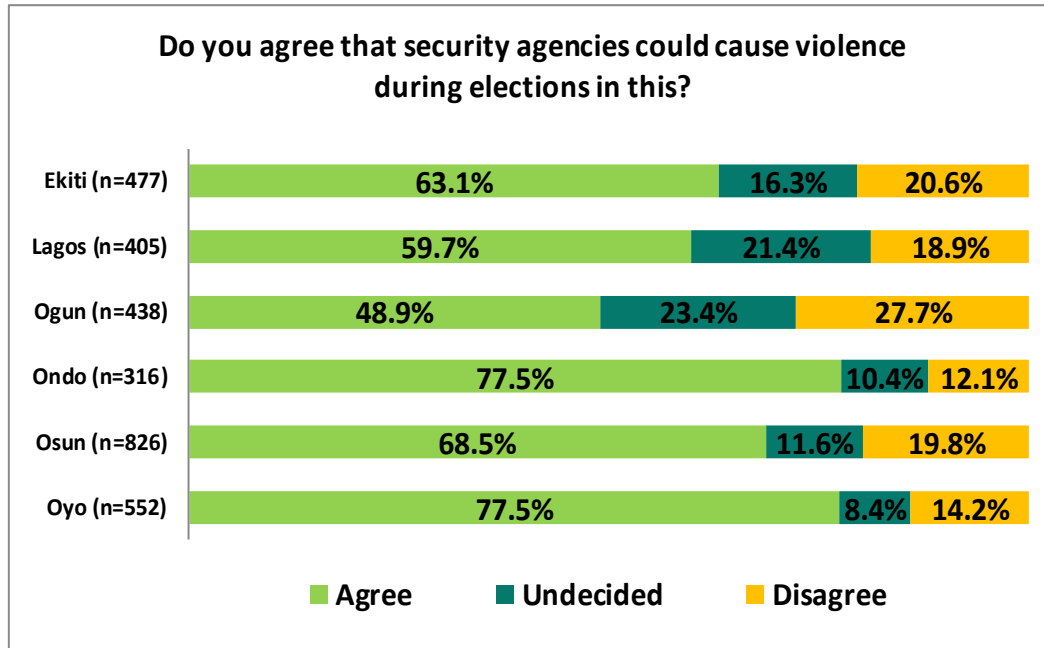
party thugs is a threat to peaceful elections. For the pass month, political thugs disrupting rallies and even group clash has been on the lips an average Southwestern most especially in Lagos and Oyo state.

We cannot throw the issue of the renowned transport worker that was



stabbed in one of the political campaigns at the early days of January. Even clashes recorded at most political campaigns across the South West.

SOUTH WESTERNERS WANT SECURITY AGENCIES TO BE IMPARTIAL AND SHOW HIGH LEVEL OF PROFESSIONALISM

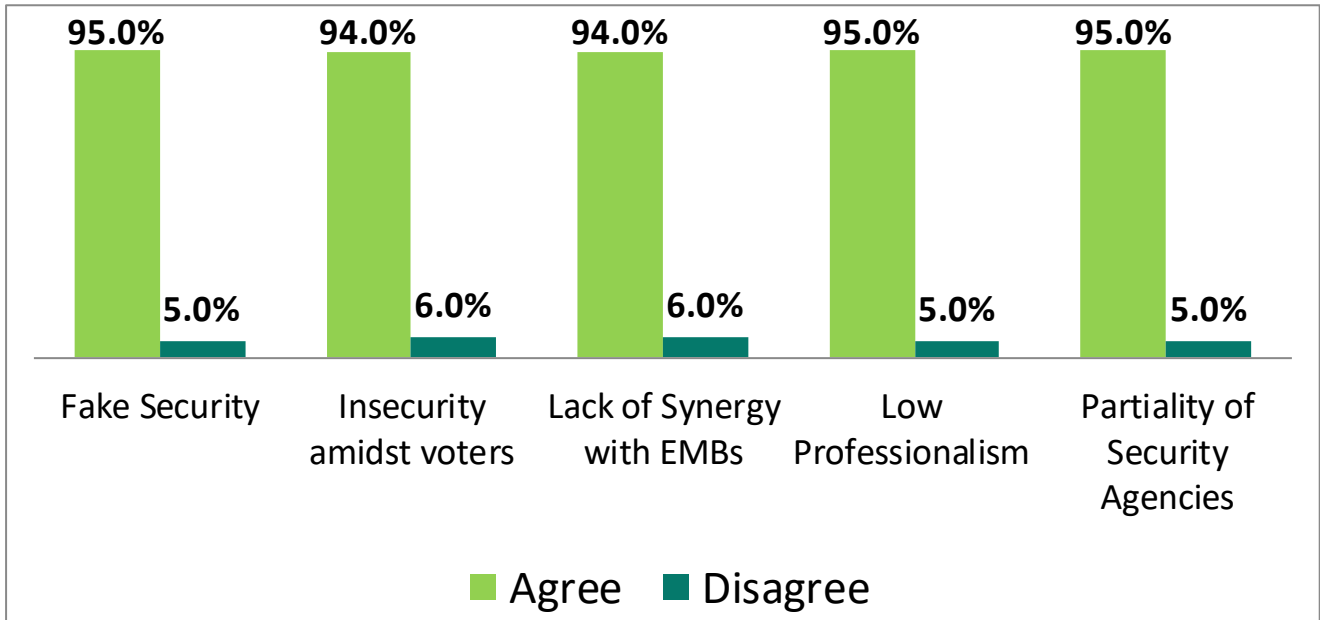


85 percent of the respondents (n=3014) believes that security agencies could cause violence if they are partial, lack synergy with Election Management Board (EMB) or exhibit low professionalism.

In Ondo and Oyo, Majorities have a strong believe that any partiality and low professional act from the security agencies could disrupt the peace of the

respective states in elections.

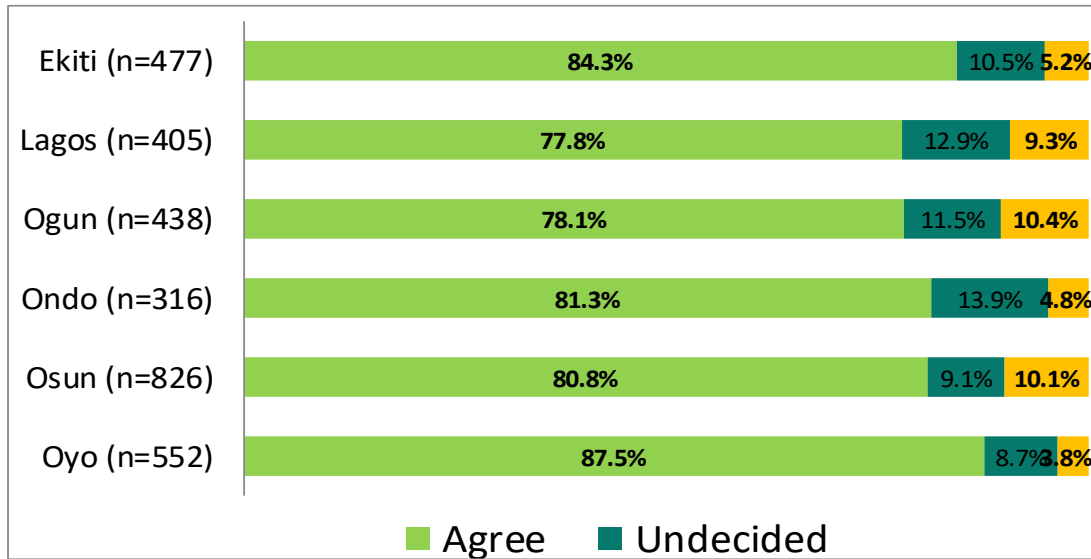
The 85 percent (n=2562) that believes security agencies could cause violence resulted into that based on lot of concerns. According to the respondent, their concerns are mostly issue around Partiality of Security Agencies, Low Professionalism of Security Officials, Lack of Synergy with EMBs.



95 percent of the respondent (n=2863) agree that Partiality of Security Agencies, and Low Professionalism is a major factor that needs attention. This cannot be far from the perception established in most of the southern western states after the off-circle governorship election in Ekiti and Osun. Many Civil Society organisations stated in their statements about the low professionalism displayed by security agents. Equally, 95 percent of the respondent reiterates that Fake Security agents during elections is tantamount to irregularity and against the law. Imposters have nothing good to contribute to the polls other than to disrupt the election process.

Most (94%) of the respondents feels so unsafe and frightened as a voter. Some says they tends to stay at home upon seeing the level and number of militaries on the street in the community before and during elections. Some feels unsafe due to cruelty or act of the staunch party supporters otherwise known as party thugs which After all no justice we be served. This established mindset of voters could lead to voter apathy which is not a good quality of democracy.

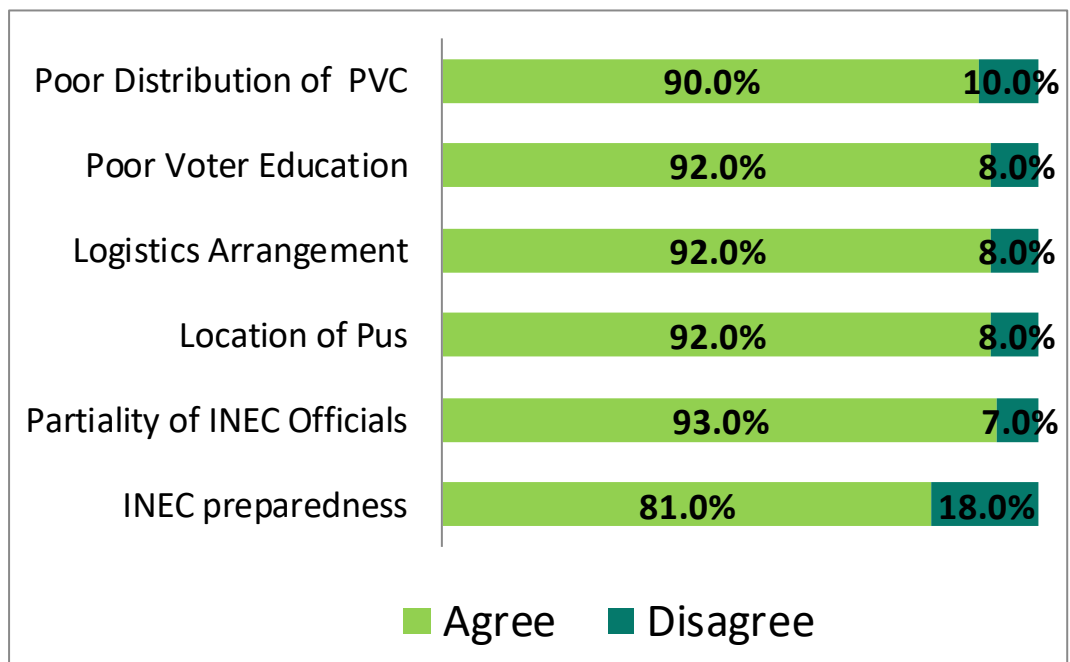
INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSIONER (INEC) SHOULD NOT BE PARTIAL SAYS SOUTH WEST NIGERIANS: PVC SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED PROPERLY AND INEC SHOULD PLAN VERY WELL TO AVOID ISSUES AROUND LOGISTICS.



In all the six state of the south west, plurality considers INEC as a major role to play if 2019 general elections would be violence free. Majority believes as at the time of this study that INEC readiness to conduct this forthcoming election is somewhat

middling. Majority indicated that any show of partisanship from INEC may lead to chaos, so they have zero tolerance to any partisanship act from INEC. They should be an unbiased umpire; they shouldn't be a tool to subvert their will and their decision of who leads for the next four years. The thought that INEC readiness is middling won't ne far from issues around that this study pointed out such as PVC distribution, logistics arrangement and voter education.

Many (90%) feels PVC distribution is poor due to the fact that they couldn't access theirs that may be due to busy schedule at work, meanwhile INEC really employ different strategies to get distribute PVC before the final closure of PVC collection. A good number (92%) feels voters need to be education on



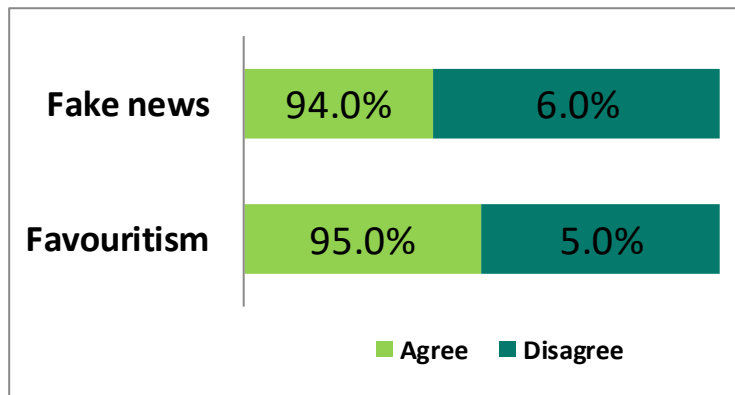
election process and procedure. Inadequate voter education could aid violence in lections without any relevant

motive. South westerners show that logistical problem is really a potential for violence, stating the issues relating to logistics ranges from Opening of polls, adequate sensitive materials, location and arrangement of polling booth. Issues of the functional state of the smart card was not left out. People of the south west believes INEC should make SCR function at it best.

FAKE NEWS IS THREATENING OUR DEMOCRACY

Deliberate disinformation or hoaxes spread via traditional print and broadcast news media or online social media is really on the high side, this is really common on social media. Many uses this attract viewers to their page or timeline so as to generate online advertising revenue. the popularity of social media, primarily the Facebook News Feed and twitter have all been implicated in the spread of fake news. Many posts on their as a joke but

viewers might the and the share option even without how authentic that news is written and the intent to mislead incite violence. cannot be speech which sow average Nigerian. respondent shows



understand the intent, is not far from Nigeria verifying the source or information is. Fake published usually with viewer and this could Many of this fake news disassociated from hate hatred in the mind of an Majority of the that fake news and show

of favouritism from the media is also a thing of concern. Media is an instrumentality that is widely used to store and disseminate information, such tool shouldn't be used as tool in the hand of any political class or used to communicate hatred. South westerners seek that the media show not a pinch of favouritism, they should make their reporting unbiased as many counts on them so as to be informed. Many of our respondent sees fake news as a threat to our democracy, thereby they seek to see a measure to curtail it as we move into elections.

RECOMMENDATION

- Key elections stakeholders need to establish an Early Warning and Response Mechanisms (ESTEWARM) across the states for identifying proximate factors and potential flashpoints for electoral violence.
- A framework for effective monitoring post on the media – print, broadcast and social media platforms should be established– to proactively prevent and counter fake news which can embitter or lead to hate speech before, during and after the elections.
- The number of respondents that answered **Not Sure** in the survey is really worrying, more of peace initiatives and voter education needs to be conducted.
- Measures should be in place to control activities that would involve large group of supporters gathering.
- The security agencies should be trained more on election processes and procedures. Also, on the needs to be neutral in the discharge of their roles in the electoral process.
- INEC ad-hoc staff and officials should be well trained on professionalism at polling units.
- Aggressive voter education needs to be conducted, the public need to understand the electoral cycle: it processes and procedures.



**KIMPACT
DEVELOPMENT
INITIATIVE**

**2, Bolaji Olagunju Street,
Adjacent Lapo Microfinance Bank,
Deeper Life Junction, Ibikunle Area,
Osogbo, Osun State.**

**Suite 31, H&A Plaza,
Olusegun Obasanjo Way
Wuse, FCT
Abuja**

info@kimpact.org.ng

www.kdi.org.ng

+234 813 482 8527

www.facebook.com/kdinigeria

[www.twitter.com/KDI ng](https://www.twitter.com/KDI_ng)