



## **ONDO STATE: Election Security Threat Assessment**

### **Key Risk Factors:**

- The activities of political parties
- Power of incumbency
- A history of electoral violence and activities of thugs
- Proliferation of small arms and light weapon
- The role and activities of INEC
- The role and activities of security agencies
- Judicial Institutions
- Political interference with the work of INEC
- The Media/ Traditional institutions

### **Key Mitigating Factors:**

- Activities of notable political thugs/gangs such as the Ade Basket Boys and the Orita Fogo Boys should be curtailed
- INEC and security agencies should meet periodically with these actors to assure them of their neutrality, impartiality, willingness and ability to act in a way that will ensure free, fair and credible election
- The judiciary should be up and doing in dispatching all election cases brought before it timely and impartially;
- There is need for demilitarization of the mind through social mobilization of the people on the need to shun violence during and after the election. is is a task for political parties, INEC, civil society organizations, mass media and the generality of the people;

### **Introduction**

All things being equal, the people of Ondo state will go to the poll on 26 November, 2016, to elect a governor who will lead the state for the next four years. Like all others before it, this gubernatorial election promises to be, arguably, the most keenly contested in the recent history of the state, especially under the fourth republic. It also has potentials for violence for obvious reasons. Above all else, the presence of election risk factors, most notably a history of electoral violence, contentious party primaries and candidate selection, intra-party conflict and fractionalization, litigations, counter-litigations and contradictory court orders/pronouncements attest to these possibilities. The ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressive Congress (APC) would appear to be the worst hit in these contradictions. Moreover, the electoral stakes are very high and the major political parties are strategizing to outdo one another. The attendant heating up of the political temperature of the state, if not well-managed, could generate violence of immense proportion during and immediate after the election. This places huge responsibility on the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), security agencies, mass media and other stakeholders in the overall governance of the election. The way these agencies comport themselves could help to salvage the situation or exacerbate it. This analysis explores potential security risks and flashpoints during the governorship election in the state. It also reflects some mitigating factors that could help remedy the situation.

### **Brief History of Ondo State**

Ondo state, popularly referred to as the "Sunshine State", was created from the defunct Western State on 3<sup>rd</sup> February, 1976. It covers a land area of 14,793 square kilometers with its administrative capital at Akure. The population of the state in the 1991 census figures was 2,249,548 while year 2006 census puts the population at 3,441,024, comprising 1,761,263 males and 1,679,761 females.

Located in the southwestern zone of Nigeria, the state is made up of 18 Local Government Areas, and is bounded in the north by Ekiti and Kogi States, in the east by Edo State; in the west by Osun and Ogun states and in the south by the Atlantic Ocean. Ondo State is located entirely within the tropics. The tropical climate of the state is broadly of two seasons: rainy season (April-October) and dry season (November – March). A temperature throughout the year ranges between 21<sup>o</sup>C to 29<sup>o</sup>C and humidity is relatively high. The annual rainfall varies from 2,000mm in the southern areas to 1,150mm in the northern areas. The state enjoys luxuriant vegetation with high forest zone (rain forest) in the south and sub-savannah forest in the northern fringe. The state is also endowed with numerous rivers, creeks and lakes, including Owena, Ala, Oluwa, Oni, Awara, Ogbese and Ose.



Ondo State is peopled predominantly by Yorubas who speak various dialects of the Yoruba language such as the Akoko, Akure, Apoi, Idanre, Ijaw, Ikale, Ilaje, Ondo and the Owo. The state is blessed with resourceful, industrious and hospitable people. Her crop of educated elite has led to its being classified as one of the most educationally advanced states in Nigeria. The people are mostly subsistence farmers, fishermen and traders. The life patterns of the people represent an embodiment of culture, ranging from the local foodstuff to the mode of dressing, dancing, wood crafts, such as, carved house posts and decorated doors. Antiquities and artifacts are also preserved in palaces of traditional rulers some of which have been declared as National Monuments.

The state has three Senatorial Districts; eight Federal House of Representative seats, 23 State House of Assembly Seat, 18 Local Government Areas. The three Senatorial Districts are Ondo North made up of Akoko North East, Akoko North West, Akoko South East, Akoko South West, Owola and Ose Local Government Areas; Ondo Central consisting of Akure South, Akure North; Ifedore/Igaraoke, Ondo West and Ondo East; and Ondo South, which consists of Odigbo, Irele, Ilaje, Ese Odo, Okitipupa and Ile Oluji/Oke Igbo LGAs. The distribution of LGAs according to Senatorial District is shown in the table below:

The local government areas are grouped into three senatorial districts:

S/N	Senatorial District	Local government Areas in each district
1.	Ondo North Senatorial District	Akoko North East, Akoko North West, Akoko South East, Akoko South West, Owola and Ose Local Government Areas
2.	Ondo Central Senatorial District	Akure South, Akure North; Ifedore/Igaraoke, Ondo West and Ondo East
3.	Ondo South Senatorial District	Odigbo, Irele, Ilaje, Ese Odo, Okitipupa and Ile Oluji/Oke Igbo

### Politics in Ondo State

As part and parcel of the defunct Western region, what is today referred to as Ondo state could be said to have a deep political history that dates back to the anti-colonial struggles under the influence of the Action Group (AG). It is, therefore, hardly surprising to note that the politics of the state since independence has manifested progressive tendencies associated with the AG, which held sway in the region in the first republic.

During the second republic (1979-1983), by which time the state had been created, the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), AG's successor in the South West, continued to dominate the politics of the state. During the period, the late Chief Michael Adegunle Ajasin of the UPN won the governorship election of 1979. However, by the second election of 1983, Akinwale Michael Omoboriowo, Ajasin's deputy from 1979-1983, decamped to the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), the ruling party at the centre, to contest the governorship race with Ajasin. As it turned out, Omoboriowo was officially declared winner of the governorship election by the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO). The declaration heralded an unprecedented level of post-election violence across the state, popularly referred to as operation wet e, during which many lives were lost and properties worth several billions of Naira destroyed. The state was, as a source puts it, 'the house of war' during the period. Ajasin of the UPN eventually reclaimed his mandate and Omoboriowo fled the state.

During the short-lived third republic (1992-1993), Chief Bamidele Olumilua of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) won the governorship election. His reign was, however, cut short with the abortion of the republic via the annulment of 12 June 1999 presidential election by the Babangida regime. As the country returned to democracy in 1999, following years of military autocracy, Chief Adebayo Adefarati of the Alliance for Democracy (AD) was elected Governor of the state. Adefarati, however, lost in his re-election bid in 2003 when Dr Olusegun Agagu of the PDP was elected the governor of the state. Agagu, who was earlier declared to have won his reelection bid in 2007, eventually lost to the incumbent governor of the state, Olusegun Mimiko of the Labour Party (LP), who happened to be a member of his inner cabinet, after protracted legal battles over the winner of the election.

The race for the governorship seat in the 20 October, 2012 election was keenly contested among there major parties, namely the LP, Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and PDP. The spate of decamping, especially from the LP to other parties, added more intensity to the race. Many had contended that since until then, no governor/party had been able to win a second term in the state under the fourth republic that Mimiko of LP would lose to another candidate. However, as it turned out, Mimiko defied the odds and made history as the first governor to win a second term in the state under the fourth republic. This feat was attributed to an alleged agreement between Mimiko and President Jonathan, which required that the former defect to the PDP after the election. That eventually happened.

In the race for the 2016 governorship election, it is important that the dramatis personae in the 2012 governorship election remain key players. Although Mimiko is no longer contesting having done so and won twice, he is believed to have been very central in the determination of his successor, showing strong preference for Jegede over Jimoh Ibrahim. Akeredolu Ale, the APC candidate, was also the candidate of ACN in 2012. Olusola Oke, one of those who contested the primary on the platform of APC, but lost out and defected to pick the ticket for the AD, was the PDP candidate in 2012 election. These add interesting dimensions to the 2016 gubernatorial election.

### Parties and Candidates in the Gubernatorial Election

The race for the Alagbaka Government house is a keen contest with 28 political parties fielding candidates. The candidates are:

S/N	STATE	NAME OF CANDIDATE	SEX	POLITICAL PARTY	AGE	QUALIFICATION
1	GOVERNOR	AMUDA OLADARE	M	A	55	MBA
2	GOVERNOR	YINKA OLOYEDE OROKOTO	M	AA	54	LLB, BL.
3	GOVERNOR	FRANCIS ADETUWO OGUNJUMELO	M	ACPN	68	FCMA, FCA
4	GOVERNOR	OLUSOLA ALEX OKE	M	AD	60	LLB, BL.
5	GOVERNOR	MARGARETA MODUPE OGUNYOKU (OJO)	F	ADC	60	DIPLOMA
6	GOVERNOR	OLUYI FOLASHADE HELLEN	F	APA	47	GRADE II
7	GOVERNOR	OLUWAROTIMI ODUNAYO AKEREDOLU	M	APC	60	LLB, BL
8	GOVERNOR	FRANCIS ADEYEMI ALAO	M	APGA	61	MSC
9	GOVERNOR	FUNMILAYO JENYO ATAUNOKO	M	BNPP	43	SSCE
10	GOVERNOR	FASUA PETER OYELEYE	M	CPP	55	B.SC
11	GOVERNOR	ADEEYO MATTHEW BOLORUNDARO	M	DPC	59	B. TECH
12	GOVERNOR	FALANA OLAMIDE JULIANA	F	DPP	33	B.TECH
13	GOVERNOR	ODEDEYI OLUMUYIWA JOHN	M	HDP	40	B.SC
14	GOVERNOR	SAMUEL OLUWATOYIN AKOGUNRIN	M	ID	37	B.SC
15	GOVERNOR	DANIEL OLUDARE OGUNGBEMI	M	KOWA	36	LLB, BL
16	GOVERNOR	ADEUTI STEPHEN TAYE	M	LP	65	MBA
17	GOVERNOR	OBAYORIJU JIMOH ABASS	M	NCP	46	HND
18	GOVERNOR	OLUWADARE BADA	M	NNPP	63	BM & S
19	GOVERNOR	AYIBIOWU MOSES IGE	M	NUP	43	MBA
20	GOVERNOR	OLUWASEGUN ODIDI	M	PDC	45	B.SC

21	GOVERNOR	JIMOH IBRAHIM FOLORUNSO	M	PDP	49	LLB, MPA
22	GOVERNOR	ADENIYAN ABIODUN DANIEL	M	PPA	44	B.SC
23	GOVERNOR	ORUNMOLUYI TEMIDOLA OLAGBEGI	F	PPN	55	GRADE II
24	GOVERNOR	ARIGBEDE ROLAND GBENGA	M	PRP	39	OND
25	GOVERNOR	OLU AGUNLOYE	M	SDP	68	B.SC, PHD
26	GOVERNOR	OLUGBENGA AKINWALE FALAIYE	M	UDP	42	B.SC
27	GOVERNOR	AIDI BOLARINWA ELIJAH	M	UPN	49	LLB, BL, MBA
28	GOVERNOR	ANTHONY ADENIYI ADENIRANYE	M	YDP	37	MSC

However, the contest for the governorship race seems to be among four main contenders, namely the AD, APC, PDP and SDP.

### AD Candidate: Olusola Oke



Olusola Oke was born on April 7, 1956 at the little fishing settlement of Ilowo located on the Ilaje coastline of Ondo State. He attended the UNA Primary School in the community in 1961. He enrolled at the then University of Ife and bagged LLB in 1986 and was called to the Nigerian Bar on October 22, 1987. Oke ventured into politics and was initially a member of the Ondo State Board of Internal Revenue in 1991 before he got elected into the Lower Chamber of the National Assembly as a representative of Ilaje/Ese-Odo Constituency in 1992 on the platform of the Social Democratic Party (SDP).

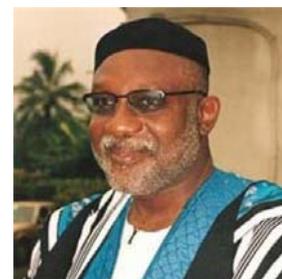
At the return of democracy in 1999, he became a member of the board of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) representing Ondo State. When the tenure of the board expired, Oke became the Chairman of the Ondo State Oil-Producing Areas Development Commission (OSOPADEC), and in the 2003 general elections, he was denied the seat of Ondo South Senatorial District in controversial circumstances after getting his party's (PDP) ticket and announced by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) as the winner of the election.

Oke was a member of the National Political Reform Conference (NPRC) in 2005 and had served as Chairman of the Boards of the Federal Polytechnic, Bida and the Steel Raw Materials Exploration Agency, Kaduna as well as a member of the Technical Committee of the Federal Government on Niger Delta. He is the immediate past National Legal Adviser of the PDP.

He was the governorship candidate of the PDP in the 2012 governorship election, where he lost to the incumbent governor. He later joined the APC and contested the governorship primaries where he lost to RotimiAkeredolu. Following alleged manipulation of the primary in favour of Akeredolu, and the futility of affords aimed at obtaining redress within the party, he defected to the AD where he obtained the ticket. Many believed that he has political structures spread across the state and financial resources to prosecute the governorship race. Besides, his political experience over the years is seen as an asset that could boost his chances. He will have to contend with other formidable forces especially the APC.

### APC Candidate: Rotimi Akeredolu, SAN

OluwarotimiAkeredolu was born to Reverend J. Ola Akeredolu of Akeredolu family in Owo and Evangelist Grace B. Akeredolu of Aderoyiju family of Igbotu, EseOdo, on the 21st July, 1956 in Owo. He started his primary education at Government School, Owo before he proceeded to Aquinas College, Akure, Loyola Colege, Ibadan and Comprehensive High School, Ayetoro, for his secondary school education and Higher School Certificate, respectively. Akeredolu went to the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University) to study Law, graduated in 1977 and was called into the Nigerian Bar in 1978. He was appointed Attorney General of Ondo State from 1997-1999 and was made a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) in 1998.



As an activist, he served the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) at various levels starting as the Secretary General of the Ibadan branch in 1985 and has been a member of the National Executive Council of the Association since then. He served as the Publicity Secretary during the regime of the late Alao Aka Bashorun, a period considered as the golden era of the

Bar, 1988-1989. He was also a member of Legal Aid Council of Nigeria from 1989 to 1991 and became its Chairman in 2005. He was a member of the Governing Council, Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies between 2008 and 2010, a member of Council of Legal Education, a member of Council, International Bar Association and Pan African Lawyers Union during the same period. He currently serves as NBA representative in the National Judicial Council (NJC).

Akeredolu was also the governorship candidate of the ACN in the 2013 election where he lost to incumbent Governor Mimiko. Reputed as better positioned than in 2012 now that he enjoys federal support (party at the centre), concerns have been raised about the manner of the party primary that produces his candidature. Attendant rifts and conflicts would appear to have weakened the party with fractionalization and a gale of defections to other parties. In his electioneering campaigns, like in 2012, Akeredolu has continued to emphasize the abuse and mismanagement of state resources by the incumbent government and promised to redress such if elected.

### **SDP Candidate: Dr. Olu Agunloye**



Dr. Olu Agunloye was born to the families of Mr. J. O. Agunloye in Erusu-Akoko and Chief Mrs J. A. Agunloye of the Osuporu family in Owo. He attended Ondo Boys High School, Ondo from 1961 to 1965, where he passed out with Grade 1. He attended the University of Ibadan to read Physics from 1966 to 1970 and graduated with Second Class Upper Division. He enrolled for postgraduate studies in Department of Physics at the University of Ibadan and Applied Physical Science, University of Reading, UK. He obtained a PhD degree in Physics in March 1974. He was appointed Lecturer in the Department of Physics, University of Ibadan in March 1974. Thereafter, he obtained a Master's degree in Applied Geophysics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, MIT, Cambridge, USA in 1976 while still lecturing at the University of Ibadan.

Dr. Olu Agunloye emerged the governorship candidate of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) for the November 26 governorship election in Ondo State through a party primary where he was the only aspirant. However, his candidacy was endorsed by 291 of the 310 delegates from the 18 LGAs of the state. It is instructive to note that Dr. Agunloye was a former Minister of Power during the administration of former President Olusegun Obasanjo. He was also the pioneer Corps Marshal of the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC). After his emergence as the SDP candidate, Dr. Agunloye, in his acceptance speech, thanked the party members and the chairman of the congress committee for finding him worthy to carry the flag of the party in the forthcoming gubernatorial election. He also used the occasion to make his governance plans known to the people. According to him, the SDO was on a rebuilding and rescuing mission, castigating the Governor Olusegun Mimiko's administration for squandering the states resources in the last eight years. According to him: I humbly accept the flag of the party and the responsibility associated with it. I assure you that I will not let the party down and will carry the flag to victory and install it high at the government house of Ondo State in February 2017. We are here today to signal a completely new path, new ways and new mindset. What you may call a shift from the unrealizable transformation programme of the PDP and unreliable 'Change Agenda' of the APC to a systems approach to citizens' empowerment and food security. Our party seeks new way and better alternative entrenched in integrity of managing people, infrastructure and economy for people's empowerment and emancipation. Despite his solid credentials and vast political experience, the political platform he has chosen to pursue his political ambition, namely the SPD is generally seen to be weak in the state without any solid base. His record of always changing party, especially his defection from LP to ACN and back to LP shortly before and after the 2012 governorship election in the state respectively has been seen as another weak point.

### **PDP Candidate: Jimoh Ibrahim**

Jimoh Ibrahim was born on February 24, 1967 to Alhaji Yakubu and Omofemiwa Jimoh of Igbotako in Okitipupa, Ondo State. His father was said to be a polygamous with 7 wives and 40 children. He studied law at Obafemi Awolowo University in Ile Ife, Osun State, Nigeria, where he bagged his LLB. He later Master of Public Administration (MPA) from the same university, before proceeding to Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, graduating with a combined Master of Laws (LLM) and Masters In International Taxation degree. He is an established entrepreneur with business interests in oil and gas, distribution, hotels, resorts, airlines, banking, real estate, insurance, publishing and investments. These businesses are operated under the Global Fleet Group, a group company that is in Nigeria, and has business interests and subsidiaries in several other West African countries. His foray into politics began in 2003 when he unsuccessfully expressed interest in becoming the governor of Ondo State, on the platform of All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP). However, in August 2016, obtained the nomination form to contest for the November 2016 governorship election in Ondo state from Senator Ali Modu Sheriff's factional executive of People Democratic Party (PDP). The attendant controversies linger on, including litigations and counter litigations. However, INEC has recognised and adopted Jimoh Ibrahim as the PDP candidate in the election. For some people in the state, especially within the PDP, the decision of INEC to Uphold Jimoh Ibrahim at the expense of Eytayo Jegede remains unpopular and has generated



protests and tensions in some parts of the state. It has also seriously fractionalized the party in the state. This is considered as a major weak point of the candidate.

Be that as it may, Ibrahim has continued his electioneering campaigns, promising that if he is elected the governor of the state, he would initiate reform measures that would help improve governance, including regular and up-to-date payment of workers' salaries.

### Synthesis of Security Threats

- **A history of electoral violence and activities of thugs:** Ondo state has a history of electoral violence, most notably the 1983 post-election violence -the AdekunleAjasin/Omoboriowo saga- which a public commentator described as the 'house of war'.The activities of various violent political gangs across the state, most notably the dreaded Ade Basket Boys with stronghold in Akure and subsidiaries across the state and Orita Fogo Boys predominantly in the Akungba axis, also constitute serious security threats;
- **The activities of political parties:** This is very central as both experts and the general public were unanimous in this respect. Specifically, 236 (71.7% and 272 (81.3%) of experts and general public respectively either strongly agreed or agreed that the activities of political parties could undermine the electoral process and cause violence. Some of the underlined factors by experts include contentious party primaries, godfatherism and undue influence of money, among others. The crisis rocking the PDP and APC over the conduct of their primaries lends credence to this position.
- **The role and activities of INEC:** A total of 182 (55.1%) expert respondents and 244 (68.7%) general public respondents either strongly agreed or agreed that INEC is pivotal to the peacefulness of the election. Issues such as early deployment of INEC staff and materials, impartiality, voter education, issuance of PVCs, making card readers function and other logistics issues were identified as vital issues whose handling could make or mar the election.
- **The role and activities of security agencies:** The role of security agencies was also identified as pivotal to peaceful election. 188 (57.8%) of experts and 242 (69.3%) either strongly agreed or agreed that unless security agents display exemplary professionalism, non-partisanship, the election could lead to violence. Experts also alluded to the need to pay good attention to the welfare need of security agents if they must measure up to expectations.
- **Judicial Institutions:** The judiciary was also identified as an important institution whose conduct could make or mar the election. 235 (68.7%) of the general public and 159 (48.5%) of experts either strongly agreed or agreed about the salience of the judiciary. Key variables identified by experts include timely and impartial dispatch of pre-election cases brought before the court, non-partisanship and the phenomenon of corruption, among others. The judicial saga over the PDP candidacy would appear to lend credence to this position. When the level of trust in the judiciary is poor, people may be tempted to resort to self-help strategies.
- **The Media:** Though the media were identified by 164 (50.2%) of experts and 239 (68.6%) of the general public as constituting potential source of threats that could instigate violence, especially when they fail to operate within their ethical and legal codes, it would appear that so far so good some measure of moderation has been observed with limited or no recourse to hate and inciting speech. It will be useful if this trend can be maintained throughout the electoral cycle.
- **Traditional institutions:** Traditional rulers are ordinarily the custodians of traditional customs, traditions and values. However, most of them appear to have been contaminated by politics. Little wonder that 170 (52.1%) of experts and 219 (64%) of the general public considered them as potential source of violence during the election.
- **Others:** many other factors identified by experts of constituting risk factors in the election include the following:
  - a) Geographical terrain:
  - b) Non-adherence to process and procedures
  - c) Funding of election
  - d) Problem with payment of election workers
  - e) Problem associated with recruitment of adhoc INEC staff
  - f) Power of incumbency
  - g) Proliferation of small arms and light weapon
  - h) Corruption among INEC officials
  - i) Reliability of election equipment
  - j) Inadequate training and conduct of security agents
  - k) Strong opposition
  - l) Political interference with the work of INEC
  - m) Involvement of informal policing groups

Though there were variations in the degree of responses to these questions from one LGA to the other, the approval rating to these questions were not lower than 50% across the LGAs. This further lends credence to the findings presented in this report.

### **Potential Flash Points**

- Akure Garage close to St Paul's Anglican Church because it's the hub of political thugs; Ilara Mokin around St Peter Clever Catholic Church because it's APC dominated area; Ijara Town its PDP dominated area; Ipogun because its PDP dominated area;
- Akuro nearby St. Joseph's Secondary Odode Idanre because the Chief of Staff to the Ondo State Government resides there; T-Junction along Owa of Idanre's Palace because Dr. Kola Ademujimi's personal hospital and house that are located there.
- Iju community the hub of political thugs and the hometown of Chief Omotayo Alasoadura the APC stalwart and the senator representing the Ondo Central Senatorial District who was once a strong PDP Member for sixteen years.
- Itaogbolu because of the Local Government Secretariat Training Centre there, PDP dominated Area and very close to Isinigbo the ancestral home of Eytayo Jegede.
- Ward 7 Odopetu-Irowo which was known to be violent in past elections, they are specifically known for snatching of ballot box and inducement of electorates during elections in the state;
- Ward 6 Oda-Ilekun, which was known for migrating voters to complement their voting capacity.
- Isinigbo the hometown of Eytayo Jegede that is presently aggrieved.
- Igbeyin-Adun and Igbekun in Ijagba community, Ose LGA known for violent activities generally. It's the centre for political thugs in the area.
- Okeigbo because of Hon Alegboye Adegbemisoeye who was ones a PDP stalwart and the Executive Chairman of Ile-Oluji/Okeigbo Local Government Chairman now in APC.
- Eso because it's one of the hubs of political thugs, Ayeyemi area which is the political base of APC; Olorunshola area the political base of PDP; Ansarundeen High School area where APC & PDP CHIEFTAINS reside.
- Agadagba, Arogbo and Bolowo are prone and could be flashy points for violence because of their history with election. Also, Apkaramo, located in the river side is a flash point.
- River side, Touts also called "Good Boys" are planning to snatch ballot boxes around Arigidi Agbaluku, Arigidi along Okeagbe road and Ajowa Ikaramu still along Okeagbe road for politicians that will give them money.

### **Mitigation factors**

#### **Key Mitigating Factors:**

- Activities of notable political thugs/gangs such as the Ade Basket Boys and the Orita Fogo Boys should be curtailed
- INEC and security agencies should meet periodically with these actors to assure them of their neutrality, impartiality, willingness and ability to act in a way that will ensure free, fair and credible election
- The judiciary should be up and doing in dispatching all election cases brought before it timely and impartially;
- There is need for demilitarization of the mind through social mobilization of the people on the need to shun violence during and after the election. This is a task for political parties, INEC, civil society organizations, mass media and the generality of the people;

## RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

### A. Methodology

In preparing this report, the study adopts a combination of both descriptive qualitative and quantitative methods. As such, data collection employs the method of triangulation, involving a combination of several methods in the collection of data. Primary data were collected through the use of pre-election risk assessment protocol and instrument developed by the Electoral Institute of INEC to elicit information from the general public and experts in elections and election-related violence in Ondo state. More specifically, a total of 740 of the instrument evenly distributed between the broad categories of 'General Public' and 'Experts' were administered in the 18 LGAs of the state. This implies that 20 instruments per category of general public and experts were administered in each LGA, making a total of 40 per LGA. This was complemented by Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) in the state. Secondary data were, however, collected through the use of media reports and reliable internet sources.

**Table 2: Frequency Distribution of Respondents (General Public) per LGAs**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Akoko North East	20	5.7	5.7	5.7
Akoko North West	18	5.1	5.1	10.9
Akoko South East	18	5.1	5.1	16.0
AKOKO SOUTH WEST	20	5.7	5.7	21.7
Akure North	20	5.7	5.7	27.4
Akure South	20	5.7	5.7	33.1
Ese-Odo	18	5.1	5.1	38.3
IDANRE	20	5.7	5.7	44.0
Ifedore	20	5.7	5.7	49.7
ILAJE	19	5.4	5.4	55.1
Ile-oluji/Okeigbo	20	5.7	5.7	60.9
Irele	20	5.7	5.7	66.6
ODIGBO	19	5.4	5.4	72.0
OKITIPUPA	20	5.7	5.7	77.7
Ondo East	20	5.7	5.7	83.4
ONDO WEST	18	5.1	5.1	88.6
Ose	20	5.7	5.7	94.3
OWO	20	5.7	5.7	100.0
Total	350	100.0	100.0	

**Source:** Field Work, CLEEN Foundation, November, 2016.

The administration of the instrument was preceded by a number of activities aimed at simplifying the task and boosting the reliability and credibility of the exercise. One of the most notable activities was the recruitment and training of field assistants who administered the instruments. This was further enhanced with the presence of field supervisors to monitor and ensure compliance with the rules of the game, including strict adherence to all relevant ethical considerations.

The representativeness of respondents across various categories of analysis was given adequate attention. In terms of geography, for example, the three senatorial districts were not only adequately represented since all LGAs were captured in the sample population, but almost in an equitable manner (see Table 4). Specifically, Ondo North has 116 (33.1%), Ondo Central 118 (33.7%) and Ondo South also 116 (33.1%).

The gender dimension of respondents was also significant, given the impressive representation of women across most of the LGAs (see Table 3).

**Table 3: Gender Distribution of Respondents (General Public)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative %
Valid	Male	239	68.3	68.3	68.3
	Female	111	31.7	31.7	100.0
	Total	350	100.0	100.0	

**Table 4: Senatorial Distribution of Respondents (General Public)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Ondo North	116	33.1	33.1	33.1
	Ondo Central	118	33.7	33.7	66.9
	Ondo South	116	33.1	33.1	100.0
	Total	350	100.0	100.0	

As could be seen from Table 3 above, of the 350 valid respondents, female representation stood at 111 (31.7%), while male was 239 (68.3%). Although the male respondents were more than their female counterparts, it is heartening to see that female representation crosses the 30% international benchmark at the aggregate level.

It is, important to note, however, that this does not tell the whole story of gender representation of respondents. There were a few instances (LGAs) where female respondents were actually more than male respondents. This was the case in Ilaje (63.2%), Ondo West (61.0%), Ese Odo (55.6%), Ifedore (50.0%), the trio of Akure South, Akure North and Akoko South West where female respondents stood at (45.0%). There were also LGAs without a single female respondent, namely Owo, Ondo East, Okitipupa and Akoko North East which were all 100% male. Two other LGAs recorded less impressive representation of women, namely Ose (20.0%) and Akoko North East (15.0%). Despite these discrepancies, we are unable to draw any definite conclusion about gender and electoral violence. For one thing, it is outside the purview of this report; for another, the discrepancy may be due to some other factors rather than a true reflection of the gender dimension of electoral violence, especially in terms of its agency and consequences.

The analysis of data was done using the qualitative and quantitative techniques, the former employing content analysis and the latter frequency distribution, simple percentages, tables, and charts.

In predicting and measuring the possibility and by extension the degree of violence at both the aggregate (state-wide) and specific (LGAs) levels, we adopt a classificatory scheme involving a range of scores indicating the probable degrees of violence with a lower and upper limits. In particular, **RED** ink is used to illustrate the highest level of election risk factors with a range of scores between 30-100%. This is followed by **AMBER** with a lesser degree of violence and a range of scores from 10-29%; and **GREEN** indicating a highly peaceful atmosphere with very limited likelihood of violence at 0-9%.

**Table 5: Measuring Indicators of Possible Degree of Violence**

Colour	Range of Scores (%)	Remarks
<b>Red</b>	30-100	Very violent
<b>Amber</b>	10-29	Violent
<b>Green</b>	0-9	Peaceful

## B. Key Findings I: Aggregate Level Data

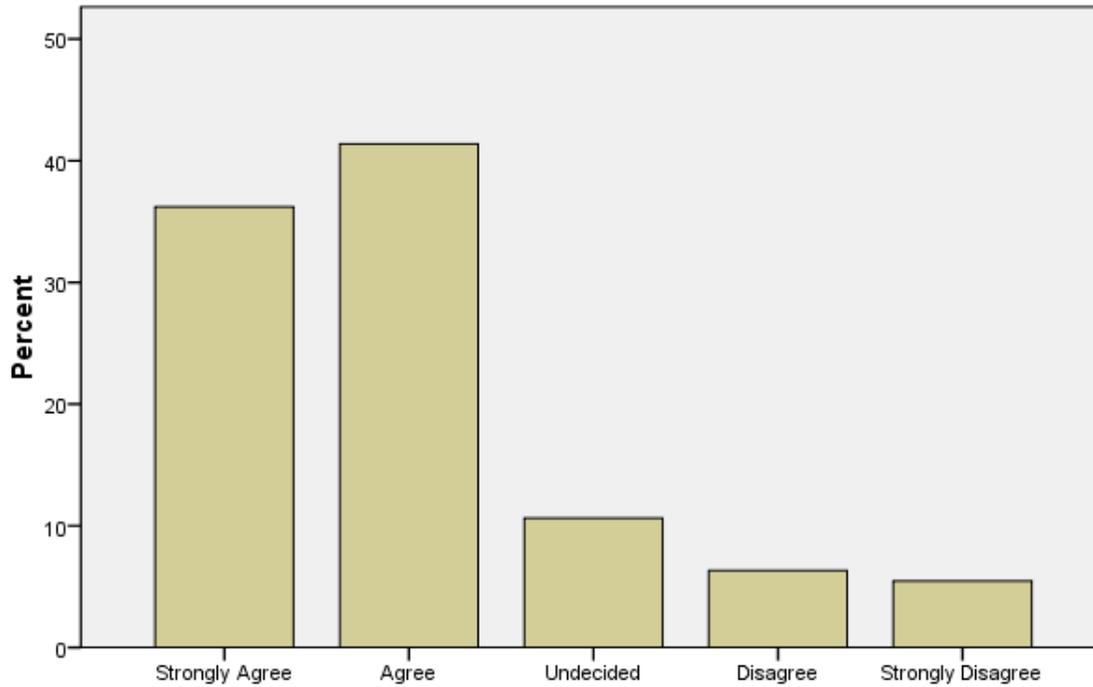
At the aggregate level (across the whole state), data generated from the study suggest that the 26 November, 2016 governorship election could generally be peaceful, devoid of any serious threats of violence. This much is evident from the various sources of information explored for the study.

**Table 6: Responses to Q1 - Do you agree that election in this area will be peaceful?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	126	36.0	36.2	36.2
	Agree	144	41.1	41.4	77.6
	Undecided	37	10.6	10.6	88.2
	Disagree	22	6.3	6.3	94.5
	Strongly Disagree	19	5.4	5.5	100.0
	Total		348	99.4	100.0
Missing	System	2	.6		
Total		350	100.0		

To begin with, majority of respondents at both the general public and expert categories are of the view that the elections would generally be peaceful. When asked to express their views as to whether the election in their respective locality will be peaceful or not, the responses were generally positive, as presented in Table 6 below. In specific terms, 126 (36%) and 144 (41.1%) of the respondents selected 'strongly agree' and 'agree' respectively. This gives a total of 270 (77.1%) of the respondents across the 18 LGAs of the state with positive response. Only 19 (5.4%) and 22 (6.3%) of the respondents selected 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' respectively, amounting to a total of 22%. 37 (10.6%) were, however, undecided. Situated within our measuring indices, these data suggest that the governorship election in Ondo state will be relatively peaceful, with the likelihood of violence standing at 22%. This falls within the category of Amber. These responses are depicted in Figure I below.

**Q1. Do you agree that election in this area will be peaceful?**



**Q1. Do you agree that election in this area will be peaceful?**

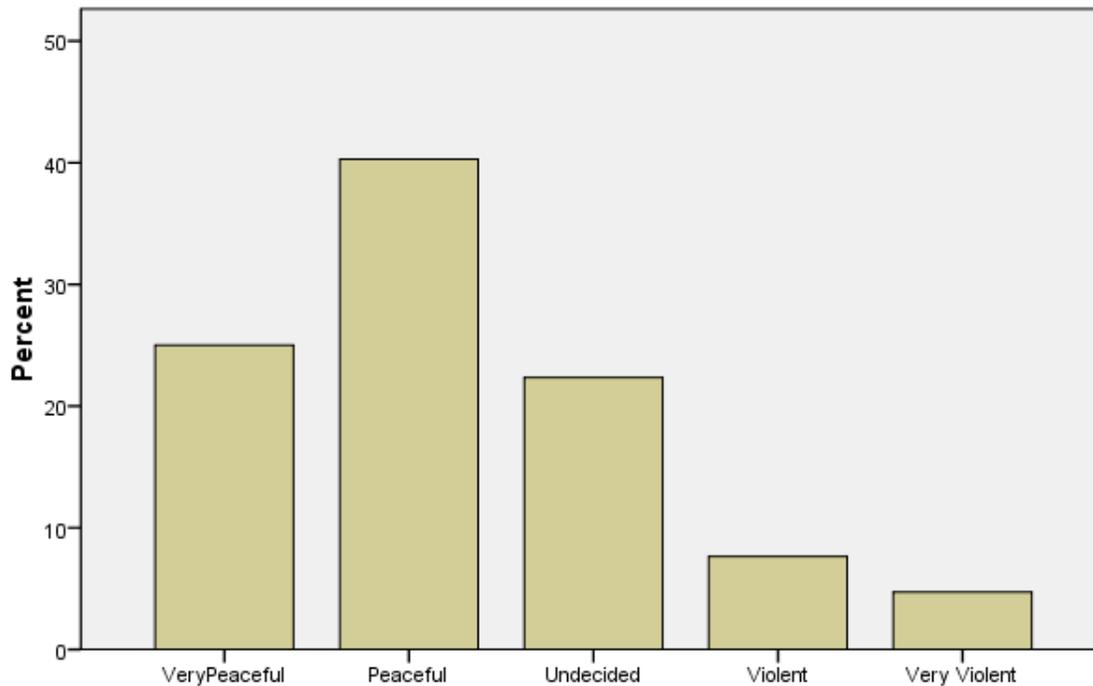
The possibility of violence was further underscored by the significant drop in the degree of positive response to another general question, which happens to be the last on the instrument. Specifically, respondents were asked how, after going through a number of other questions on specific election risk factors in their locality, they thought the election would go on the whole. The responses are presented in Table 7 below.

**Table 7: Responses to Q70 - On the whole, how do you think that this election will go?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	VeryPeaceful	85	24.3	25.0	25.0
	Peaceful	137	39.1	40.3	65.3
	Undecided	76	21.7	22.4	87.6
	Violent	26	7.4	7.6	95.3
	Very Violent	16	4.6	4.7	100.0
	Total	340	97.1	100.0	
Missing	System	10	2.9		
Total		350	100.0		

In their responses, 85 (24.3%) and 137 (39.1%) were of the view that the election would be 'very peaceful' and 'peaceful' respectively. This gives a total of 222 (63%) positive responses, compared to of 270 (77%) to the first question, constituting a downward slide of 14%. On the other hand, 26 (7.4%) and 16 (4.6%) were of the view that the election would be 'violent' and 'very violent' respectively, totaling 42 (12, 0%). These responses are represented: in Figure II below:

### Q70. On the whole, how do you think that this election will go?



Q70. On the whole, how do you think that this election will go?

Although this represents a sizeable drop from the degree of negative responses to the first question at 22%, the fact that a whopping 76(21.7%) were undecided in their responses to this question makes accurate generalization difficult. Yet, the data suggest the possibility of a peaceful election with pockets of violence in the category of Amber..

#### C. Key Findings II: Disaggregated Data by LGAs on the Peacefulness of the Election

Whereas the aggregate data presented in the immediate preceding section has significant analytical and predictive capability, there are, however, observable discrepancies across LGAs. In this section; we present data from the field survey on a local government basis to underscore such variations. This way, we are able to predict more accurately the likelihood and degree of violence across the various LGAs of the state. The LGAs are presented in alphabetical order as shown in Tables 8 and 9 under the appendix.

##### Akoko North East

This LGA is generally known to be peaceful, without any recognizable history of electoral violence. The respondents expect the tradition of peaceful election to continue during the 2016 governorship election. When asked if the election in the area would be peaceful or not, all the respondents answered in the affirmative. While 8 (40%) strongly agreed, the other 12 (60%) agreed without any dissenting voice.

##### Category: Green

##### Akoko North West

Like in Akoko North West, Akoko North West is also generally known to be peaceful. It also has no history of electoral violence. As such, the people expect a peaceful election in the region. There are, however, some likely exceptions, with some touts known as the Good Boys' around Arigidi and Ajowa both along Okeagbe road allegedly prepared to perpetuate violence in exchange for money. Despite this reservation, the general outlook of the survey was very positive as 8 (44.3%) and 6 (33.3%) of respondents 'strongly agreed' and 'agreed' that the election in the area would be peaceful respectively. This amounts to 77.6%, while the remaining 4 (26.2%) were undecided.

## **Category: Amber**

### **Akoko South East**

Like other parts of Akoko land in general, respondents expect the election to be peaceful. It has no history of violence and no specific hotspots of violence were identified in the LGA. In specific terms, 11 (61.1%) of the respondents strongly agreed that the election would be peaceful, while another 6 (33.3%) also agreed that it would be peaceful. This gives a total of 18 (94.4%) positive response. Only one of the respondents was undecided.

## **Category: Green**

### **Akoko South West**

The respondents largely expressed their expectation of a peaceful election in the LGA. In their responses, 13 (65%) and 4 (20%) strongly agreed and agreed respectively that the election would be peaceful respectively, giving a total of 85%. However, 1 (5%) respondent each was undecided, strongly disagreed and disagreed. This suggests the likelihood of violence on a small scale in the area. The fact that some protest took place in the LGA, specifically at Akungba against the removal of Eytayo Jegede as PDP's candidate is a pointer to such tendencies.

## **Category: Amber**

### **Akure North**

Since 1999 Akure North has been known for one form of violence or the other during elections. The 2016 governorship election may not be an exception and the signs are already manifesting. For example, the controversy over the authentic PDP candidate (Jimoh Ibrahim vs EytayoJegede) had already generated pockets of protests with residents who indulged in the burning of tires on the main roads leading to the Local Government Areas right from Agbogbo filling Station. Jegede is said to be very close to some communities in the LGA, particularly Isinigbo. The LGA also hosts some communities notorious for electoral violence. For instance, Iju community reputed as the hub of political thugs and the hometown of Chief OmotayoAlasoadura, an APC stalwart and Senator representing the Ondo Central Senatorial District is within the LGA. Worse still, Senator Alasoadura was until recently a strong PDP member for sixteen years. Itaogboluis also said to be sensitive not only because it houses the Local Government Secretariat Training Centre, but more importantly for being a PDP-dominated Area and also very close to Isinigbo the ancestral home of EytayoJegede, which has been wounded with the substitution of the name of their son as PDP candidate.

With these background information, it is hardly surprising that the level of expectation of peaceful election is not very high compared to the Akoko region. Only 4 (20%) strongly agreed that the election would be peaceful, while another 8 (40%) also agreed, making a total of 60%. While only 1 (5%) disagreed, a significant 7 (35%) were undecided. This suggest the possibility of violence on a bigger scale.

## **Category: Red**

### **Akure South**

The LGA is said to be generally known to be peaceful during elections. However, some respondents suggested that the saga over the PDP candidacy particularly as it affects Eytayo Jegede may compel the people to rethink their participation in the election. For these people, the outcome of the court case could have an influence on the future direction of their participation. However, some others felt if the PDP make good its threat not to participate, then the election would be peaceful, accusing the party of the being the one fomenting violence in previous elections. Overall, respondents considered the Jimoh-Jegede saga as the greatest source of threats to the peaceful conduct of the election because Jegede hails from the LGA. Possible hotspots of violence include Okelisa, Odokoyi-Isolo, Odopetu-Irowo and Oda-Ilekun,

These observations are corroborated by the responses to the peacefulness or otherwise of the election in the region. Specifically, only 5 (25%) and 7 (35%) strongly agreed and agreed that the election would be peaceful in the area respectively, making a total of 60%. Conversely, 2 (10%) each strongly disagreed and disagreed, while only 4 (20%) were undecided.

## **Category: Red**

### **Ese Odo**

The area has a history of electoral violence especially in the riverine axis. Communities such as Agadagba, Arogbo and Bolowohave been identified as potential flashpoints because of their history with election. Apkaramo, located in the river side, has also listed among potential hotspots because of its problematic location and terrain. Despite this history, respondents expect a largely peaceful election, with 8 (44.4%) and 8 (44.4%) strongly agreeing and agreeing respectively, making a total of 88.8%. Only one (1) was undecided and another one (1) disagreed.

## **Category: Amber**

### **Idanre**

Respondents expect a peaceful election, as has become customary in the area. However, they also express concerns over some factors they felt could generate violence during the election. These include the contentious primaries conducted by the PDP and APC, a history of vote-buying and the distant location of voting units. Likely hotspots identified by respondents include Akuro St. Joseph's Secondary school, Odode Idanre because the Chief of Staff to the Ondo State Governor resides in the area; and T-Junction along Owa of Idanre's Palace because Dr. Kola Ademujimi's personal hospital and house that are located there. Both of them may want to deliver their areas. In the field survey, 10 (50%) of the respondent strongly agreed that the election would be peaceful in the area, while 7 (35%) also agreed, making a total of 85%. Two (10%) however disagreed while one (1) was undecided.

## **Category: Amber**

### **Ifedore**

Respondents expressed concerns over certain developments that could lead to violence during the election in the area. Above all else, Igbaraoke, the headquarters of Ifedore LGA, is the country home of Engr. Clement Faboyede, the Ondo State PDP Chairman, who may want to deliver the votes in his domain at all costs. The controversy surrounding Jimoh Ibrahim and Eytayo Jedge DDP's candidacy was also highlighted across various parts of the LGA. Potential hotspots identified by respondents include Akure Garage close to St Paul's Anglican Church because it's the hub of political thugs; Ilara Mokin around St Peter Clever Catholic Church because it's APC dominated area; and other PDP dominated areas such as Ijara and Ipogun communities. The survey report lends credence to this tendencies as 8 (40%) and 4 (20%) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that the election in the area would be peaceful respectively. 3 (15%) were undecided, another 3 (15%) strongly disagreed and 2 (10%) disagreed.

## **Category: Amber**

### **Ilaje**

Generally the people expect the election to be peaceful. This evident from the survey report which shows that 8 (42.1%) of respondents strongly agreed that the elections would be peaceful in the area; and another 10 (52.6%) also agreed, making a total of 94.7%. Only 1 (5.3%) disagreed.

This finding is surprising given the history of violence in the areas not only over elections, but also as part of the oil producing communities involved in the Niger Delta struggles. Moreover, it is also the country home of Olusola Oke, the AD candidate, as well as the maternal home of Rotimi Akeredolu, the APC candidate. Worse still, the administration of election in the area may be confronted by some logistic challenges, most notably transportation in the riverine areas.

## **Category: Green**

### **Ile-Oluji/Oke Igbo**

Respondents were of the view that the election in the areas would be peaceful. 14 (70%) agreed with this proposition. However, 2 (10%) respondents each strongly disagreed and agreed, while 1 (5%) was undecided. Nevertheless, there some issues of concern were also highlighted. For example, a number of high profile PDP stalwart have defected to the

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APC, Dr. Pius Osunkunmi, the Director General of Technical Aid Corps, who was once a PDP member; and Hon AlegboyeAdegbemisoye who was once a PDP stalwart and Executive Chairman of Ile-Oluji/OkeigboLGA but now in APC. Their domains have been identified as possible flash points.

### **Category: Amber**

#### **Irele**

Respondents expect the elections in this area to be peaceful because the area has no history of electoral violence. This expectation is reinforced by the responses to the main question where 5 (25%) and 13 (65%) strongly agreed and agreed that the election would be peaceful respectively, making a total of 90%. Only 1 (5%) respondent was undecided without any negative opinion. However, respondents alluded to the presence of creeks and militants in the river-side areas of the LGA.

### **Category: Green**

#### **Odigbo**

The area reportedly has no serious record of electoral violence since 1999. As such, people expect a continuation of the peaceful tradition in the area. Almost all responses were positive, where 7 (26.8%) and 12 (63.2%) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed respectively that the election would be peaceful, given a total of 90%. No particular part of the area was identified as a hotspot.

### **Category: Green**

#### **Okitipupa**

The expectation of a peaceful election was widely expressed by the people. 9 (45%) and 8 (40%) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed respectively that the election in the areas would be peaceful, giving a total of 85%. However, 3 (15%) were undecided. However, the terrain of the area was identified as a source of concern, especially with respect to election logistics and transportation in the river-sides of the LGA. Despite this, no part of the LGA was identified as a hotspot.

### **Category: Green**

#### **Ondo East**

Though regarded as a peaceful LGA, respondents here were not very positive about the prospect of a peaceful election. This may not be unconnected with the fact that it falls under one of the strongholds of incumbent Governor Olusegun Mimiko, who has been deeply embroiled in the controversy associated with Eytayo Jegede. Besides, the LGA is also said to harbour a few hotspots, especially within the local government headquarter (Bolorunduro) and Owena. Only 3 (15%) and 6 (30%) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed respectively that the election in the region would be peaceful, giving a dismal total of 45%. Conversely, 4 (20%), 4 (20%) and 3 (15%) were undecided, strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

### **Category: Red**

#### **Ondo West**

The LGA is considered as a potential hotspot for obvious reasons. First, it is the country home of the incumbent Governor Olusegun Mimiko, who is currently engrossed in the struggle to get Eytayo Jegede restored as the flag bearer of the PDP in the governorship election. Second, the area has a history of electoral violence. Our findings revealed that during the 2015 election, there were gun shots and snatching of ballot boxes at Ansarundeen High School; opposition party members were said to have been denied right to vote at Surelere area; and Shokoti and Eso are reputed as the hub of political thugs who always threaten the people in the area. Yet, the Jimoh-Jegede crisis was identified as a source of violence as people in the area have been protesting the substitution of Jegede. Respondents corroborate these tendencies when only 2 (11.1%) and 6 (30%) strongly agreed and agreed respectively that the election in the area would be peaceful, making a dismal total of 41.1%. 3 (16.7%), 2 (11.1%) and 4 (22.2%) were undecided, strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

## Category: Red

### Ose

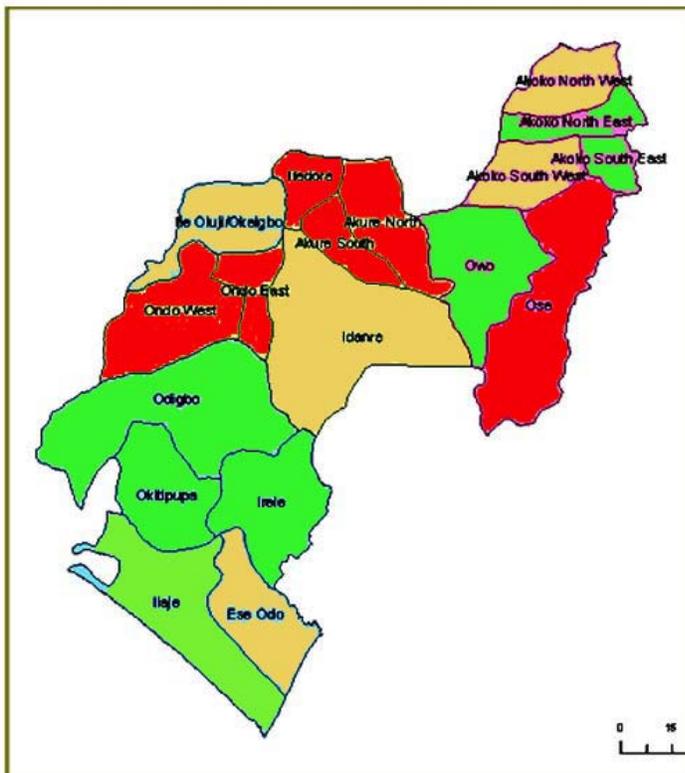
This area is identified as a potential flashpoint for many reasons. One, it is located in the borders of Ondo and Edo states, raising the fear of possible importation of electoral mercenaries from neighbouring Edo state. Two, the substitution of Eytayo Jegede as PDP candidate has been a major issue in the area. Three, some localities in the areas are reputed for violence such as Igbeyin-Adun and Igbekun in Ijagba community. It is said to be the centre for political thugs in the area. Little wonder that responses to whether the election in the area would be peaceful or not were not impressive. Specifically, 4 (20%) and 7 (35%) of respondents strongly agreed and agreed respectively that the election would be peaceful, making a total of 55%. However, 2 (10%), 4 (20%) and 3 (15%) were undecided, strongly disagreed and agreed respectively.

## Category: Red

### Owo

Respondents were of the view that Owo is generally peaceful and expect the governorship election to be peaceful. However, being the country home of Rotimi Akeredolu, the APC candidate, it has been a beehive of heightened political activities, which require adequate attention. Be that as it may, respondents were generally of the view that the election would be peaceful with 13 (65%) and 5 (25%) strongly agreeing and agreeing respectively. This makes a total of 90%. Only 2 (10%) were undecided.

Map of Ondo State Showing Various Indicators in Red, Amber & Green



Hotspots/Percentage level of violence across the 18 LGA		
S/No	LGA	Red(30-100)%, Amber(10-29)%, Green(0-9)%
1	Akoko North East	Green
2	Akoko North West	Amber
3	Akoko South East	Green
4	Akoko South West	Amber
5	Akure North	Red
6	Akure South	Red
7	Ese Odo	Amber
8	Idanre	Amber
9	Ifedore	Amber
10	Ilaje	Green
11	Ile-Oluji/Oke Igbo	Amber
12	Irele	Green
13	Odigbo	Green
14	Okitipupa	Green
15	Ondo East	Red
16	Ondo West	Red
17	Ose	Red
18	Owo	Green

#### D. Q1 vs Q70: On the Whole, How Do You think that the Election Will Go?

In an attempt to establish the validity and reliability of the responses to Q1 on whether the election would be peaceful or not, we evaluate responses to Q70, which was deliberately included to measure the level of consistency in respondents' perceptions.

Interestingly, we found synergy for the most part in the responses to the two questions.. To be specific, responses to the two questions were either the same or almost the same in 13 of the 18 LGAs, leading to the same classification/categorization in those LGAs as either: Green, Amber or Red. These LGAs are Akoko North East, Akoko South East, Akoko South West, Akure North, Akure South, Idanre, Ilaje, Ile Oluji, Irele, Odigbo, Ondo East, Ondo West, Ose.

However, there were notable exceptions in the remaining 5 LGAs, some of which can be explained. These are Akoko North West, EseOdo, Ifedore, Okitipupa and Owo. In Akoko North West, for example, 77.6% of respondents responded positively to the prospect of peaceful election in the area (Q1). Surprisingly, only 25% agreed that overall the election would be peaceful. The variation may not be unconnected to the fact that half (50%) of the respondents were undecided in their responses to the question, thus the movement from Amber (Q1) to Red (Q70). In EseOdo, the variation was

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positive, shifting from 88.8% to 94.4% (Amber to Green). In Ifedore, there was a downward slide of 15% from 60% to 45% (Amber to Red). Okitipupa slide from Green (85%) to Amber (68.4%). Ondo West maintained its classification as Red (41%) but with an extremely outrageous variation (5.9%). The reason for this was that the majority of respondents, specifically 13 (72.2%) were undecided in their responses. So some reasonable degree of consistency could be said to exist in the responses to the two questions. This finding underscores the reliability of this report.

### **E. Comparison with Expert Data**

At the aggregate level, there exists considerable synergy between responses of the general public and the experts'. For the experts, 113 (33.6%) and 140 (41.7%) strongly agreed and agreed respectively that the election would be peaceful across the state. This amounts to 253 (76.2%) of positive response. 20 (6.0%) were undecided, while 16 (4.8%) strongly disagreed. This is in agreement with the findings from the general public where 126 (36%) and 144 (41.1%) strongly agreed and agreed respectively that the election would be peaceful, with a total of 270 (77.1%).

Though not exactly the same when compared to the other general question (Q1), yet some degree of synergy was also observed in Q70 where 73 (22%) and 133 (39.6%) were of the view that the election in the state would be very peaceful and peaceful respectively, making a total of 206 (61%). This is also in consonance with data from the general public where 85 (24.3%) and 137 (39.1%) were of the view that the election would be very peaceful and peaceful respectively, with a combined positive response of 222 (63%).

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

All other things being equal, the Ondo State governorship election will hold 26 November, 2016. At the aggregate level, the data presented in this report appear to suggest that the election will generally be peaceful. This much was revealed from the data generated from both experts and the general public. However, when disaggregated on LGA by LGA, notable convergences and divergences were obvious. With the data, we have classified the LGAs based on the perceived degree of peacefulness of violent potential of the election in a given area. It is, however, important to note that nothing is cast in stone. The mere fact that an area is categorized as GREEN does not imply that the election in the areas will automatically be violence-free and vice versa. Much depends on proactive measures taken to mitigate identified risk factors across the various LGAs of the state. The following recommendations are considered imperative as we count down to the governorship election in Ondo State:

- There is need for all institutions connected with the administration of the election to embark on confidence building with all political stakeholders in the election, most notably the ruling and opposition parties, civil society organizations and the people at large.
- In particular, INEC and security agencies should meet periodically with these actors to assure them of their neutrality, impartiality, willingness and ability to act in a way that will ensure free, fair and credible election;
- There is need for timely distribution of election materials and personnel to ensure timely commencement of voting across the state. This is, however, much more crucial for the riverine areas where the challenges of transportation seem to be more entrenched;
- Notable potential flash points during the election should be given more security protection, together with more election observers, in such a way that no ballot station will be left uncovered;
- Activities of notable political thugs/gangs such as the Ade Basket Boys and the Orita Fogo Boys should be curtailed;
- There is need for demilitarization of the mind through social mobilization of the people on the need to shun violence during and after the election. This is a task for political parties, INEC, civil society organizations, mass media and the generality of the people;
- All adhoc election administrators should be adequately trained and monitored to ensure compliance with established rules and procedures;
- All political parties should be encouraged to adhere to the peace agreement they have signed, stating their commitment to eschew violence and work peacefully during and after the election;
- The judiciary should be up and doing in dispatching all election cases brought before it timely and impartially.