



Nigeria's Pursuit of Electoral Compliance:

**National Peace Committee (NPC)
2023 General Elections Report**



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www.nationalpeacecommittee.org

The National Peace Committee (NPC) is a non-governmental initiative conceptualized in 2014 in response to emerging threats occasioned by the 2015 general elections. It is an initiative made up of eminent elder statesmen who undertake efforts to support free, fair and credible elections as well as intervene in critical issues of national concern through high-level mediated and alternative dispute resolution mechanisms.

At inception, the NPC had an urgent, broad based mandate to make modest contributions towards a smooth and peaceful conduct of the 2015 elections, devoid of any breakdown of law and order before, during and after the electioneering process. Consequently, the core mandate is: To observe and monitor compliance with Abuja Accord signed by the political parties during elections; to provide advice to the Government and INEC on resolution of political disputes and conflicts arising from issues of compliance with the Abuja Accord; to make itself available for national mediation and conciliation in the case of post-electoral disputes or crises; to ensure peaceful outcome of General Elections that is acceptable to a generality of Nigerians and the international community.

Core Value of the National Peace Committee

The Core values of the National Peace Committee include neutrality, integrity, transparency, efficiency and effectiveness through: fairness; confidentiality; meritocracy; justice and patriotism.

ISBN: 978-978-59445-9-4

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Produced in Nigeria by
Virtual Insignia Ltd
www.virtualinsignia.com.ng
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Acronyms and Abbreviations

APC	-	All Progressives Congress
BVAS	-	Bimodal Voter Accreditation System
CDD	-	Centre for Democracy and Development
CSO	-	Civil Society Organization
CVR	-	Continuous Voter Registration
EU	-	European Union
FCDO	-	Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office
HD	-	Humanitarian Dialogue
IFA	-	Inclusive Friends Association
ISPAs	-	Independent State-based Peace Architectures
INEC	-	Independent National Electoral Commission
IREV	-	INEC Result Viewing Portal
LGA	-	Local Government Area
LP	-	Labour Party
LTO	-	Long-Term Observer
NPC	-	National Peace Committee
NOA	-	National Orientation Agency
NNPP	-	New Nigeria People's Party
PDP	-	Peoples Democratic Party
PREO	-	Pre-election Observation
PRVT	-	Process and Results Verification for Transparency
PWD	-	Persons with Disabilities
PU	-	Polling Unit
PVC	-	Permanent Voters Card
RAC	-	Registration Area Center
RATECH	-	Registration Area Technical Support
SDP	-	Social Democratic Party
SFP	-	State Focal Point
TARF	-	The All-Rights Africa Foundation
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
WTV	-	Watching the Vote



Acknowledgement

The National Peace Committee extends its profound gratitude to all Nigerians for their active participation in the 2023 general elections and for the unwavering support shown to the members of the Peace Committee during its interventions. The Committee expresses special thanks to the European Union and Her Excellency, Ambassador Samuela Isopi, the EU Delegation to Nigeria and ECOWAS, for their invaluable support. Our appreciation also goes to the Swiss Embassy and the Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office, FCDO, for their complementary support to the Kukah Centre, NPC Secretariat. The Centre is particularly grateful to Ms. Laolu Olawumi and all the EU cluster members for their technical support and guidance.

Similarly, the Committee is grateful to the consultants, donors, partners and supporters for their significant contributions which have enhanced the effectiveness and reach of the Committee's work. Notable mentions include; the Office of the UN Resident Coordinator, TAF Africa, Nigerian Governors Forum, Caritas Nigeria, the ISPAs across all the states, the Policy Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC), Kaduna State Peace Commission, the Plateau State Peace Building Agency, Kimpact Development Initiative, YIAGA Africa and all others too numerous to mention. Finally, the Committee deeply appreciates the dedicated staff of the NPC Secretariat whose tireless effort day and night have been instrumental in coordinating all the activities of the Peace Committee and to ensure that this report comes alive.

Thankyou all.

Foreword

With immense gratitude to the members of the National Peace Committee, and to all Nigerians, I am delighted to write the Forward of the Peace Committee's 2023 General Election Report titled: *Nigeria's Pursuit of Electoral Compliance: National Peace Committee (NPC) 2023 General Elections Report*. The report provides a comprehensive analysis of the engagements, interventions and efforts undertaken by the NPC to contribute to peaceful and credible elections in 2023 both at the national and sub-national levels. The report undoubtedly echoes the faith of the Peace Committee members in the Nigerian Project. It underscores the fact that compliance with electoral laws, guidelines and policies by all Nigerians remains the gateway to choosing leaders of integrity and honesty, who are committed to Nigeria's Pursuit of Electoral Compliance and to the common good, unity and development of Nigeria. This, for the Peace Committee members, is not only desirable, but also possible.

Like previous elections in Nigeria, the period leading up to the 2023 general elections was palpable with tension and division. Within the major political parties, the sense of desperation and the determination not to lose was particularly acute. The governing party APC was bent on retaining power, for the fear that if it loses control of the top office, the party could disintegrate. The PDP, which has been out of power for the past 8 years, prior to the elections, saw the 2023 presidential election as its best opportunity to recapture the centre. Losing a third presidential election could deal a severe blow and make the party unlikely to recover. On the other, the defection of Mr. Peter Obi to the Labour Party, galvanised a cross section of youths in Nigeria who were desirous for change. For the youths, the 2023 election was their best opportunity to improve the quality of governance in the country. Many of the youths vehemently rejected any suggestion that their champion might lose.

Similarly, tension around the election was

deepening religious and regional polarisation. Some Christian organisations protested Tinubu's choice of a fellow Muslim, Senator Kashim Shettima, the former governor of Borno State, as his running mate. Tinubu insisted that the selection was based on competence, and not religious affiliation. Yet, religious sensitivities around the election were getting deeper and more divisive. In the mostly Muslim far north, some voters were wary of Obi, as he is a Christian. Opposition to Atiku Abubakar was particularly strong among southerners. The contest stoked ethnic divisions, too. In Lagos state, friction was brewing between the large, pro-Obi Igbo population and many Yorubas who back their ethnic kinsman Tinubu for the presidency.

At the sub-national level, stakes were high in different states, particularly those with longstanding ethnic or religious feuds that persisted since previous elections. The situation was further exacerbated by the politics of succession, incumbency and the desire for second term. For example, on 11 November 2022, the national security adviser to the president, Major General (retired) Babagana Monguno, said police had recorded 52 incidents of election-related violence in 22 states since the presidential campaign officially commenced on 28 September. Election preparations were proceeding amid growing concern about public safety due to the activities of armed groups in swathes of the country. Insecurity is widespread, with significant death tolls in many states. From January to mid-December 2022, armed groups killed more than 10,000 people and abducted more than 5,000 in about 3,000 incidents that occurred in at least 550 of the country's 774 local government areas. Fears were growing in many areas that armed groups may kill politicians and attack rallies. There are several cases already. In Katsina state, on 6 February, the APC cancelled its presidential road show after an armed group attacked

villages in Bakori local government area, killing more than 100 people.

In the southern part of the country, armed non-state actors attacked INEC offices and facilities, security personnel were killed and the risk for a peaceful process was heightened.

For these reasons, the NPC undertook certain strategic considerations for interventions to support a peaceful process but in line with its mandate. First, the NPC agreed and encouraged the setting up of the Independent State-based Peace Architectures in all the 36 states of the federation. This was to create the opportunity in liaising with local partners in providing moral interventions and alternative dispute resolutions where necessary. The NPC also identified and brought on board new members with different skillsets to improve its engagements with critical stakeholders. The new members included Mr. Femi Otedola whose reach, contacts, networks and influence were an important factor for the work of the Committee. General Martins Agwai was included for his vast experience in managing conflict nationally and internationally. Ms. Idayat Hassan, whose work with the Civil Society Organisation, and her incredible capacity at analysing electoral and social issues became invaluable to the NPC. Mr. Ahmad Yayale, has an incredible access to critical stakeholders across the country as a former Secretary to the Government as well as former Head of Service and finally, Mr. John Momoh, veteran journalist and owner one of the most reputable TV stations i.e Channels TV, bringing together their experience and exposure to support the work of the Peace committee.

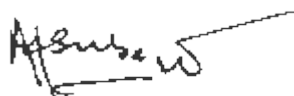
The Committee also set up the NPC Situation Room. The situation room, organised and managed by its Secretariat, collected evidence and data, verified the data and designed policy recommendations for NPC's interventions and engagements. In the process, the NPC maintained its traditional engagements with civil society organisations, the security agencies, political parties, traditional rulers, religious

leaders and opinion shapers. Leading up to the signing of the first presidential peace accord in September 2022, the Committee also, for the first time, held a strategic meeting with the like-minded Ambassadors in Nigeria (Ambassadors of the EU, US, France, Germany, UK and representatives from the UNDP). The meeting compared notes and agreed on the way forward if the process did not pan out as planned. Consequently, the Committee aligned itself with all legislative and administrative policy frameworks designed to enhance the integrity of elections in Nigeria.

Indeed, the engagements and interventions of the Peace Committee, which in most cases, were not open to public, significantly contributed to a peaceful process. It mitigated the widespread violence that was predicated by many analysts and television pundits. It simply paved the way for broader engagement on the issues of peace. However, we must concede that the lack of compliance to electoral laws and guidelines remains a challenge, and we must all work towards ensuring that the culture of impunity is reduced to the barest minimum.

On behalf of all the members of the National Peace Committee, I would like to thank all Nigerians for their continuous trust and confidence in the committee. To every single member of the Peace Committee, I want to say well done and thank you most sincerely for the love you have shown to Nigeria and your tireless work in support of peaceful elections. I would like to thank all political parties, INEC, diplomatic missions, international development partners, Nigerian CSOs, traditional rulers and a host of others for their support to the NPC.

May God continue to bless and protect the Federal Republic of Nigeria.



General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar, GCFR
Chairman, National Peace Committee.

Executive Summary

The massive outbreak of political violence that dominated the aftermath of the 2011 general elections informed the establishment of the National Peace Committee (NPC), in 2014, under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar, GCFR. The mandate was to deploy informal channels and to provide alternative dispute mechanisms in facilitating peaceful elections and mitigating widespread violence in the different regions of the country. This includes intervening in non-electoral matters that have the potential to damage the electoral process. By extension, the NPC advocates for substantive, issues-based electoral campaign devoid of divisive ethnic, religious, and hate slurs, to reduce politically motivated violence before, during, and after the elections. In all cases, the NPC encourages losing candidates at both the federal and state levels to concede the election in a timely and unequivocal manner and where they cannot accept the outcome, to seek redress through established legal channels.

The NPC partners with INEC, the Security Agencies and other institutions of government responsible for election management to be transparent and non-partisan in the discharge of their duties. By facilitating the resolution of intra-party and inter-party disputes that may undermine the electoral process, serving as a platform for mediation and conciliation. It proactively works with religious, traditional, and community leaders and organizations to de-escalate tension and build trust ahead of the

For example, on October 16, 2022, there was a clash between APC and PDP supporters in Zamfara state. One person was killed, and 18 others were injured. This was followed by another attack on October 17 by thugs during a PDP rally in Kaduna state. Again, a mob beat up a Labour Party (LP) supporter in Lagos state, Southwest Nigeria on 2 October. The incident, which took place in Oshodi Local Government Area (LGA), was the latest in a series of targeted attacks against supporters of candidates in opposition strongholds. The Southeast states of Enugu, Anambra, and Abia were faced with an increase in violence involving the Eastern Security Network (IPOB's armed wing), unknown gunmen, as well as federal and state security forces.



elections, especially in active conflict zones and parts of the country prone to electoral violence. By engaging other stakeholders such as the business community, civil society groups, media proprietors and professionals, and relevant regulatory agencies, the NPC ensures credible and peaceful elections.

Consequently, since 2015, the NPC has played this vital role, and has received recognition globally for its interventions in contributing to peaceful elections in Nigeria and in supporting peaceful transition at both the national and sub-national levels. In 2023, the situation before, during and after the elections were similar to previous years, but much more profound. On the positive side, a new electoral framework, **the Electoral Act 2022**, a law that provides a more robust legal framework for the conduct of the polls, was in place. There was a surge in youth interest in political proceedings never seen before in Nigeria. Citizens across the country became much more aware and were willing, using social media and technology to engage in political debates. They inserted themselves in

conversations calling for change of attitudes and active participation in the electoral process. In 2021, INEC introduced a portal for the voter registration process which provides opportunity to start an application process online by filling out personal voter details, printing out the slip and locating the nearest registration centre for data capture.

Yet, like most elections in Nigeria, the 2023 general election was conducted under a deeply contentious, and disputed, atmosphere. A third force emerged, led by Mr. Peter Obi's decision to join the Labour Party after decamping from PDP and for the first time in Nigeria's fourth republic, three main parties (the All-Progressives Congress - APC, the People's Democratic Party - PDP, and the Labour Party - LP) fought a hard, but divisive, campaign. Incidences of violence were recorded as indicators of what could possibly come. For example, on October 16, 2022, there was a clash between APC and PDP supporters in Zamfara state. One person was killed, and 18 others were injured. This was followed by

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Southwest Nigeria on 2 October. The incident, which took place in Oshodi Local Government Area (LGA), was the latest in a series of targeted attacks against supporters of candidates in opposition strongholds. The Southeast states of Enugu, Anambra, and Abia were faced with an increase in violence involving the Eastern Security Network (IPOB's armed wing), unknown gunmen, as well as federal and state security forces. There were multiple attacks against prominent politicians in Anambra state alone, including Late Senator Ifeanyi Ubah of the Young Progressives Party, and the husband of late Dora Akunyili, **Dr. Chike Akunyili**. Frequent militia attacks have been reported across the Northwest while the main security concerns in the North Central region, including the FCT were linked to elevated levels of banditry, militias, and kidnapping. ISWAP and Boko Haram's activities in the Northeast were a cause for concern as insurgents waged attacks against





government forces and set up checkpoints. Other southern parts remained susceptible to inter-communal clashes, mob violence, and general unrest, including attacks against INEC facilities.

For these reasons, it became necessary for the National Peace Committee, ahead of the 2023 general elections, to come up with a strategic programme of intervention and to provide moral engagements that substantially contributed to peaceful elections and transition. First, the NPC participated in all the off-cycle elections in Ekiti and Osun. This participation was necessary to observe the performance of critical stakeholders and the election management body, and to design possible ways of interventions. Second, owing to the support the committee received from the Independent state-based Peace Architectures, the NPC Secretariat was mandated to expand this to all the states, including the FCT so that they work closely with the NPC before, during and after the election in contributing to the maintenance of peace and stability in the different regions of the country. Third, the Committee had a broad-based engagement with critical stakeholders, the election management body, political parties and the security agencies. Their concerns were equally presented to the executive arm of government at the highest levels. Furthermore, the NPC organised the signing of two presidential peace accords at the national level. The first was to promote issue-based campaigns among and between the political parties and the second, was to ensure that political parties and their candidates accept the outcome of the vote if it's adjudged to be free, fair and credible, and if they are aggrieved, they seek redress in the

court of law. The violations of the terms of the first accord, and the hateful slurs, personal attacks, insults and lack of civility in the campaigns forced the NPC to call for an urgent meeting in January 2023 with all the political parties and the presidential candidates. This was necessary to douse tension and it also reminded their stakeholders of their roles to maintain peace.

The NPC also supported the process of mediation to manage the fall out from the announcement of the presidential election results. It conducted back-channel mediations and called on all losing candidates to abide by the terms of the accord. The committee reminded parties and candidates about the importance of appealing to the judicial process if they are aggrieved and ensuring that there is peace in Nigeria. The announcement of the presidential election results was followed by the governorship elections, and the NPC, in addition to the 2 peace accords signed at the national level, contributed to the signing of 8 other peace accords. There were 5 peace accords during the governorship elections in Oyo, Cross River, Taraba, Kano and Enugu states, mostly facilitated by the ISPAs, and 3 peace accords in Kogi, Imo and Bayelsa where off-cycle elections were held. The NPC also intervened, though with much difficulty, with other social and economic issues that hugely impacted the elections such as the currency redesign and the fuel crisis that derailed the INEC's logistics preparations for the elections. Furthermore, the NPC was called upon to address certain issues of insecurity and conflict, such as the recent tussle for the *emirship* of Kano state.

Key Observations by the NPC

Lack of Compliance: Since 1999 when Nigeria returned to multi-party democracy, many efforts have been made to design and institute credible legal frameworks to support election integrity. Some of these legal frameworks are seen in the provisions of the Nigerian Constitution, Electoral Acts and Electoral Guidelines. In addition to the constitutional provisions pertaining to elections, four different electoral acts have been passed in 2002, 2006, 2010 and the most recent is the Electoral Act of 2022. INEC itself has also passed a series of guidelines at different times, aimed at facilitating peaceful elections and smooth transition after elections. These legal frameworks are further supported by political party constitutions, guidelines and policies. Despite these efforts, concerns have been raised about the quality of elections in Nigeria related to electoral violence, manipulation of election results to achieve predetermined outcomes, the judicialization of the electoral process and many others. Following the engagement of the NPC in the 2023 general election process, two critical issues were evident. First, there is abundance of laws designed to ensure the credibility of our electoral process. Second, there is a flagrant violation of these laws, with an entrenched culture of impunity and complete disregard of the rule of law. Addressing these issues at all levels is essential for the improvement of elections in Nigeria

Trust Deficit: Throughout the 2023 election cycle, the increase in voter registration did not translate into voter turnout on the election day. Both the government and the election management body promised to deliver a free, fair and credible elections. President Buhari

made this assurance during his speech at the 2nd signing of the Peace Accord on 18th February 2023. The INEC Chairman assured many Nigerians of free, fair and credible elections. Security agencies were determined to comply with rules of engagement and keep citizens safe. But when it mattered, officials across different agencies failed to comply with laws, policies and the guidelines already put in place. All these, as in previous elections, combined to influence the perception of citizens who questioned the neutrality, impartiality and the objectivity of election management bodies. Due to trust deficit, the turnout in the just-ended 2023 presidential elections was a paltry 29 percent, down from 69 percent in 2003 and 53 percent in 2011. President Tinubu secured his victory with the support of less than nine million voters out of the total 93 million registered voters, granting him the mandate to govern a nation of more than 220 million people. This outcome highlights a significant trust deficit and voter apathy within the country. It is imperative to take measures to restore the trust and confidence of citizens in the electoral process.

Citizens and Limited Political Awareness: Many people perceive the NPC and its interventions are elitist, often disconnected from the concerns of ordinary Nigerians. To address this, since the 2019 general elections, the NPC through its secretariat enhanced its engagement with Nigerians, particularly with women, youth and PWDs at the local level via training, seminars, and workshops on political participation and peaceful

elections. In all, 620 students benefitted from these engagements in the 6 geopolitical regions. It also utilised the media in deploying its voice to support its intervention and provide counter information on the propaganda while calling for peaceful elections and Nigeria's unity via both traditional media (Newspapers, Radio, and Television) as well as on social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.). Through these engagements, the NPC reached over 60 million persons locally and internationally, shaping narratives, driving change, and empowering communities with necessary information and highlighting the impact of the Committee's influence on the electoral process. However, one lesson learnt during these engagements was the lack of knowledge about electoral laws, processes, policies and guidelines. Many citizens equally demonstrated limited awareness regarding political party processes, structures, ideologies and citizens' political rights. This is of immense concern to the political process and Nigeria's desire to conduct credible elections.

The Challenges of Technology: Popular distrust in the electoral process generally, and in the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) particularly, has seen voter apathy in recent elections reach record levels. To salvage this situation, Nigeria decided to adopt digital technology to, among other things, enhance transparency and integrity in the electoral process and boost popular confidence in the INEC. Digital technology is expected to guarantee a credible electoral roll and bring some robustness to voter-accreditation processes, while simultaneously enabling public access to results in real time. However, on election day, when the voting began, some challenges with the use of the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) were noted. Despite the training delivered to all INEC ad-hoc staff on the use of the new technology tools, recruitment shortcomings and ongoing capacity gaps affected its effective deployment. Section 64 (6) of the Electoral Act also designates primacy to the results from BVAS in the event of a disputed result. However, technical issues

were also noted by our observers, including BVAS malfunction. This was particularly predominant in northern Nigeria despite the intervention of INEC. Again, there was challenge with the INEC Result Viewing Portal (IReV). This was designed to provide real-time transmission of election results (Form EC 80A) from polling units to the central collation centre to enhance the transparency of the electoral process and reduce the incidence of vote rigging and election manipulation. However, as at 21:00 hrs on election day, there were no results uploaded to the platform for the presidential election, and Technical Glitch was the only reasonable explanation on hand. The technology deployed in the 2023 elections proved to be insufficient in resolving these credibility deficits. Aside from the multiple technical challenges that bedevilled the technology during these elections, voter turnout was the lowest in the history of the Fourth Republic and popular trust in the electoral process and the INEC does not seem salvageable in the short term.

Poverty, Dispossession and Credible Elections: Throughout the 2023 general elections cycle, the NPC was aware of the growing reality of how poverty derails the aspiration for fair and credible elections in Nigeria. This reality was more pronounced than in any other election. Ahead of the 2023 general elections, poverty rates have increased due to the economic policies of the government which include the redesign of the naira, its scarcity and the increase in fuel prices. For example, due to the biting economic situation, the NPC Situation Room observed that unrestrained incidents of vote buying were recorded across most polling units, but most especially in the Northeast and Northwest states of Bauchi, Adamawa, Katsina, Zamfara, and Sokoto. Improving the electoral process and ensuring credible elections equally means attending to the socio-economic conditions of citizens in a way and manner that political participation becomes worth undertaking.



NPC's Strategic Consideration for Intervention

Following its remarkable success of the NPC's contributions to peaceful elections in 2015 and 2019, the NPC emerged as the most credible and trusted body for dispute resolution in Nigeria. As already observed, this led to a groundswell of calls for its transformation into a permanent Peace Council to deal more broadly with major conflicts in Nigeria. In both elections, the Committee consulted widely with a cross section of Nigerians on the issue of peaceful elections and transition. Those consulted include former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, President Muhammadu Buhari, the leadership of the National Assembly (the Senate and House of Representatives), the leadership of the two major political parties along with the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC), prominent civil society groups and key professional bodies (e.g. the leadership of the Nigeria Bar Association), the security agencies, traditional rulers and key stakeholders among

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many others who all enthusiastically endorsed the broadening of the Committee's mandate. The Committee also worked with INEC and other CSOs to expand its intervention in other state staggered elections such as Kogi, Bayelsa, Ondo, Edo and Anambra states. Since January, the Committee has also intervened in the violent ethno-religious conflict in Southern Kaduna, the regional agitations, the increasing levels of insecurity and the kidnapping of school children as well as the impact of the COVID 19 pandemic on the most vulnerable. In truth, most Nigerians and international partners remain very grateful to the Committee for its role in the 2015 and 2019 General Elections and consider it indispensable for the peaceful outcome of the 2023 general election cycle.

To support and contribute to a peaceful, credible and fair election process in 2023, the NPC took certain strategic decisions that became necessary to ensure that some form of progressive change is recorded. First, the NPC agreed to expand the Independent State-based Peace Architectures beyond the 15 states where they have been mobilised and established to include all the 36 states of the federation. This was informed by the local level grievances, the expanding nature of conflict, the culture of impunity, trust deficit in government institutions and agencies, and the burden placed on the NPC for interventions at all levels. It became necessary that trusted and influential Nigerians at the sub-national level begin to support the work of the committee at the national level. Consequently, the Kukah Centre, secretariat





of the Committee was mandated to sort for funds in support of this expansion and initiative.

Second, the NPC agreed to include new members with different skillsets into its fold to improve the engagements undertaken by the Committee. This decision was taken at its meeting on 22nd September 2022. The new members included Mr. Femi Otedola whose reach, contacts, networks and influence were an important factor for the work of the Committee. General Martins Agwai was included for his vast experience in managing conflict nationally and internationally. Ms. Idayat Hassan, whose work with the Civil Society Organisation, and her incredible capacity at analysing electoral and social issues became invaluable to the NPC. Mr. Ahmad Yayale, has an incredible access to critical stakeholders across the country as a former Secretary to the Government as well as former Head of Service and finally, Mr. John Momoh, veteran journalist and owner one of the most reputable TV stations i.e Channels TV, bringing together their experience and exposure to support the work of the Peace committee.

To enhance its support for peaceful elections in 2023 in line with its specific mandate, the

Peace Committee accepted to set up the NPC Situation Room. In addition to the reports of its research experts and in collaboration with the Civil Society Situation Room, ISPA networks and other partners, the situation room collected evidence and data, verified the data and

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designed policy recommendations for NPC's interventions and engagements. In the process, the NPC maintained its traditional engagements with civil society organisations, the security agencies, political parties, traditional rulers, religious leaders and opinion shapers. Furthermore, the committee accepted to engage the like-minded Ambassadors in Nigeria (Ambassadors of the EU, US, France, Germany, UK and representatives from the UNDP). The meeting was held in September 2022 on the sideline of the signing of the first Peace Accord.

Finally, as an intervention strategy, the NPC aligned itself with all legislative, administrative

policy framework to enhance the integrity of elections in Nigeria. The Committee committed itself to supporting CSOs and all processes of rebuilding public confidence in the electoral process, including enhancing the integrity and accuracy of the voter register, improving election security, strengthening the institutional capacity of INEC, protecting voting rights and inclusiveness of elections, addressing the ambiguities, complexities and inadequacies of the electoral legal framework, Safeguarding the use of electoral technologies and refining the quality of political engagement especially between citizens, political parties and candidates.

Section One:

Keeping Hope Alive for 2023 General Elections



To kickstart its preparations for the 2023 election cycle, the NPC carried out series of activities that were very significant to its contribution towards peaceful election and transition. The interventions were equally targeted and became opportunities for review to change course and determine which interventions will be more beneficial to the expected outcomes. Some activities were undertaken directly by the NPC while others were conducted by the Secretariat on behalf of the NPC. The NPC directly engaged in plenary and strategic meetings with different groups; coordinated the signing of peace accords in Ekiti and Osun states, and intervened in some non electoral matters that could derail the integrity of the coming elections.

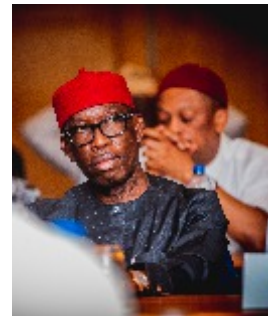
Plenary and Strategic Meetings: As the 2023 elections approached, the NPC held more than 11 strategic meetings with the intention to contribute to a peaceful and non-violent electoral process. The meetings were both physical and virtual, with some of them behind closed doors. Some of the most important meetings held include the March 2022 meeting where the NPC members decided on the best strategies for supporting the off-cycle elections in Ekiti and Osun. At these meetings, it was decided that Bishop Kukah, the Secretariat staff and some members of the committee should be deployed to witness the Accord signing ceremony. The NPC Situation room was also mandated to ensure that monitoring of compliance with the accord is conducted thoroughly and comprehensively undertaken. At this meeting also, the Committee identified



His concerns centered on the potential for politicians to use these security outfits against their opponents, the possibility of abuses to be committed by these informal security outfits as well as the emergences of inter-agency rivalry and its impact on the elections

five eminent Nigerians to be part of the NPC. They are Ms. Idayat Hassan, Mr. Femi Otedola, General Martins Agwai, Mr. John Momoh and Mr. Ahmad Yayale. The second most important meeting was held in Minna, Niger State on the 22nd of September 2022. At this meeting, the new members of the Peace Committee were welcome, and their roles were clearly explained. The Chairman asked for their support in helping with the interventions of the Committee.

At this meeting also, the Chairman of INEC, Professor Mahmood Yakubu briefed the NPC members and sought their support in providing moral intervention for a peaceful and credible process. During his briefing, the chairman provided analysis on the INEC's preparation for the 2023 general elections. He mentioned that the elections were scheduled to hold in 1049 constituencies and 993 State Assemblies, 889 wards, 774 LGAs. Additionally, there was to be 28 governorship elections and 95,997 million people had been registered, the voting population in Nigeria was 20million voters more than the remaining 14 countries in west Africa.



He further stated that thankfully there are now only 18 registered political parties, unlike the last election. He reported that INEC was cleaning up data on the registered voters and a supplementary list had been awarded. He said INEC promised the availability of PVCs by the first week of November 2022, and over 5million PVC's had been printed but to avoid some citizens claiming to be disenfranchised all voters' cards will be delivered at once. However,

he also outlined the challenges faced by INEC, ranging from the printing of sensitive materials, national infrastructural deficit, the recruitment and training of almost 1.4 million staff for 176,846 polling units. The briefing with INEC chairman reinforced the commitment of the NPC members to provide interventions in support of peaceful elections and transition. It also laid out very clearly the challenges Nigeria is

facing in terms of achieving fair and credible elections.

The Committee held another strategic meeting with the UK All Parliamentary group where it brought to the attention of the group the challenges faced by Nigeria as preparations towards the general elections progressed. The Committee held other meetings with EU, AU and ECOWAS Election Observation Missions. Some of these strategic meetings included engagements with like-minded Ambassadors from the EU, UK, Germany, France, US and representatives from multi-lateral organisations such as the UNDP. The meetings once again reviewed the potential challenges that could be faced during the elections, and identified ways that the NPC can work together with international development partners to provide mediation in case things do not turn out as envisaged.

Furthermore, the NPC held other strategic meetings with the Service Chiefs, including the Chief of Defence Staff, Chief of Army Staff, Navy, Airforce and the Inspector General of Police. This meeting underscored the security situation ahead of the elections and provided the NPC with a comprehensive understanding of what the security risks could be during the elections. The former Inspector General of Police, Usman Alkali-Baba raised serious concerns about the proliferation of vigilante groups and informal security outfits established by different state governors. His concerns centered on the potential for politicians to use these security outfits against their opponents, the possibility of abuses to be committed by these informal security outfits as well as the emergences of inter-agency rivalry and its impact on the elections. The NPC equally held meetings with traditional rulers, religious leaders, Inter-party advisory council, political parties to prepare for the signing of the peace accords. Other meetings were private and direct contact with party executives and presidential candidates calling for commitment to a peaceful process ahead of the accord signing ceremony.

In addition to the engagements undertaken by

the members of the NPC, the Secretariat staff, led by the Head, Fr. Atta Barkindo, also organised other series of engagements to promote the interventions of the Committee and to ensure that partnership participation and citizens engagement and input are all part of the process. Ahead of the signing of the Peace Accords in Osun and Ekiti, the Secretariat held meetings with critical stakeholders to design media strategies for engagements and to prepare political parties for the event. Similarly, in July 2022, the NPC secretariat held a review meeting with CSOs and other partner groups to plan for the signing of the Presidential Peace Accord for the 2023 elections. During this meeting, contents of the accords were reviewed, logistics plans were completed, media strategies and publicity plans were all completed to ensure that the impact of the ceremony is properly outlined. Additionally, the discussion enabled a comprehensive understanding of the contents of the peace accord through a thorough review process. It focused on various aspects, including gender issues, technology's role, and harmful information and behaviours. The Participating political parties were able to send in their review suggestions to the accord document which was considered. Another achievement was the conversation towards

The experiences from these off-cycle elections also highlighted the significant trend of vote trading perpetuated by political parties in undermining the credibility of the process. While it is relatively straightforward to deploy resources during these elections, doing so for the entire country poses an even greater challenge particularly, within the context of our security problems.

developing an effective mechanism for compliance and accountability.

During this period, the NPC Secretariat also improved its engagement with Nigerian women, youth and PWDs at the local level via training, seminars, and workshops on political participation and peaceful elections. There were two levels of engagements. The first level engagement is civic space engagement where through the convening power of the NPC, 3 workshops and conferences were held in three different universities to improve citizens engagement in the civic space and the political process. In all, 620 students benefitted from these engagements. Additionally, the NPC organised 6 regional engagements and training in the 6 geopolitical regions: F.C.T Abuja [North-Central], Kano State [North-West], Taraba State [North-East], Akwa Ibom State [South-South], Imo State [Southeast] and Oyo State [South-West]. The training also reached 453 persons. For this reason, the NPC has undertaken to improve its engagement with Nigerians at the local level via training, seminars, and workshops on political participation and peaceful elections. It aspires to support these engagements by helping young people upscale their skillsets in peacebuilding initiatives. Most importantly, the engagements are intended to monitor progressive change in the attitude of university students and young people towards democracy and party politics in Nigeria.

Off-Cycle Elections – Ekiti and Osun: Ahead of the 2023 general elections, the NPC and most critical stakeholders, particularly INEC, had the opportunity to observe the elections in Osun and Ekiti state to anticipate what could be possible during the general elections. The Peace Committee using its convening power engaged the governorship candidates in both Osun and Ekiti states. It convened critical stakeholders in both states, including political parties, party executives, security agencies, traditional and religious leaders and brokered in Ekiti and Osun States on 15th June and 13th July 2022 respectively. This was preceded by the INEC stakeholder engagements that allayed any fears of election malpractice, and addressed the concerns raised by parties, voters and citizens generally. The agreements for peaceful elections in Ekiti and Osun were signed at the

end of the legal campaign period and a few days to the election. In Ekiti state, 12 out of the 16 political parties contesting the elections turned up for the peace accord signing ceremony. Candidates from the two main political parties were present: Abiodun Abayomi Oyebanji (APC) and Olusegun Adebayo Oni (SDP). In Osun State, 14 of 15 political parties contesting the elections signed the accord. Again, both front runners in Osun State, Adegboyega Isiaka Oyetola (APC) and Adeleke Adedamola Jackson Nurudeen (PDP) attended and signed up to the accord. A total of 636 persons attended both ceremonies, excluding the security agencies designated to ensure safety and security. Arrangements for these events (in Ekiti and Osun) were facilitated effectively and through partnerships with INEC and the Police, with both recommending appropriate and secure venues and mobilizing the institutions of government to participate in the ceremonies.

It is also important to note that ahead of the signing of the accords in both Ekiti and Osun States, there were threats and cases of violence, the rhetoric emerging from the campaigns fuelled toxic debates, with the front runners in both States making claims and counter claims of sabotage to the process. The experiences from these off-cycle elections also highlighted the significant trend of vote trading perpetuated by political parties in undermining the credibility of the process. While it is relatively straightforward to deploy resources during these elections, doing so for the entire country poses an even greater challenge particularly, within the context of our security problems. However, the intervention of the NPC provided a platform for citizens from both states to hold their leaders accountable if anything went wrong during the elections. It also allowed contesting parties and candidates to commit to peace. In both Ekiti and Osun States, the candidates that lost complied with the spirit and letter of the Peace Agreement as some had to seek for redress in the courts of law.



Section Two

The Day of Reckoning – 2023 Presidential Elections



Shortly ahead of the 2023 presidential elections, the NPC deployed its experience during the off-cycle elections and began its engagements very early. The committee increased its strategic engagements with development partners, mandated the NPC situation room to improve data collection and the provision of evidence, particularly on flashpoint areas of conflict. It organised and conducted the first and second signing of the peace accords as well as management of the fallout from the election result announcement.



Planning for Peace Accords: Before the signing of the Peace Accords for the 2023 Presidential Elections, the Chairman of the National Peace Committee, General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar, GCFR, held strategic meetings with the various International Partners and Observation Missions that came to support a peaceful process for the vote. The meetings broadly discussed threats that could derail the integrity and success of the elections, strategies to be adopted by the Peace Committee to ensure safe and peaceful transition. The Committee first met with the ECOWAS Pre-election fact-finding mission, led by Dr Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, the former Head of Electoral Commission of Ghana. The ECOWAS fact finding delegation applauded the NPC for their concerted efforts in peace building and supporting the entrenchment of free fair and credible elections in the Country and ultimately ensuring stability of democracy. The ECOWAS mission also encouraged the NPC to ensure that the political parties and their candidates abide by the spirit and letter of the recently signed Peace Accord. Furthermore, the Committee held a meeting with the European External Action Service (EEAS). Election Exploratory Mission headed by Ms. Mette Bakken from the Democracy and Electoral Observation Mission held a meeting with Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah the Convener of the National Peace Committee and Fr. Atta Barkindo the Head of the Secretariat of the NPC.

The meeting was part of their stakeholder engagements to assess whether the European Union should deploy the European Union Election Observation Mission for the elections. Other members present include the Deputy Head of

European Union Delegation to Nigeria and ECOWAS Mr. Alexandre Borgis, Mr. Fredrick Schumann, from the European Commission Foreign Policy Instrument, Ms. Hannah Roberts, Ms. Marek Mraika, and Ms. Laolu Olawumi. Additionally, the Committee hosted the United States Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, H.E Ms Molly Phee, and the Ambassador of the United States of America to Nigeria, H.E Ms Mary Beta Leonard, at The Kukah Centre, Secretariat of the National Peace Committee. Among other things, the US delegation discussed the emerging issues that could derail the integrity of the elections. The meeting also underscored the need for free, fair and peaceful elections, and what technical support the US could offer to facilitate this. Ms Molly appreciated the efforts of the National Peace Committee in consolidating the gains of democracy since its inception in 2015 and encouraged the members to continue to speak against electoral violence. The Peace Committee met with Rt. Hon. Baroness Patricia Scotland, Secretary General of the Commonwealth; the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel – UNOWAS, led by Ms. Giovane Biha, Acting Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for West Africa and the Sahel, and Head of UNOWAS; His Excellency, Ernest Koroma, former President of Sierra Leone and Chief Observer of ECOWAS; His Excellency, Uhuru Kenyatta former President of Kenya and the Chief Observer for the African Union Commission Observation Mission; and the European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) to Nigeria 2023, led by Barry Andrews, Member of the European Parliament.

2023 Presidential Peace Accords and the Echoes of Compliance

The Peace Accord is central to the committee's work as it commits political parties and their candidates to peaceful conduct of elections and seek redress in the court of law if they feel aggrieved. During the 2023 election cycle, there were 10 peace accords, 2 at the national level, 3 in states with off-cycle elections, and 5 with ISPA's, that is Oyo, Cross River, Taraba, Kano and Enugu states. For the presidential elections, there were two peace accords. The reports collated by the NPC situation room indicated the rising toxic culture of the campaigns, saturated with insults, fake news, lack of civility and complete disrespect for opponents. This was more so promoted by the media aides and spokes persons of the different parties. For example, the NPC situation



monitored, collected and analysed thousands of election campaign messages from the political parties, their presidential candidates, spokespersons and supporters on social media and the traditional media. The political parties struggled to align their messages to party policy manifesto. Rather, their messages were dominated by populist and prebendal politics, hate speeches, fake news, smear campaigns and propaganda. Social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter (X) were the dominant tools for attacking opponents and promoting disinformation. Influencers on these platforms, including some who work as journalists, and some who are on party payrolls, traded in distorted narratives and inflammatory rhetoric.

Although the absence of Bola Ahmad Tinubu, the APC presidential candidate was frowned upon by some parties, including the seating arrangements, the turn out indicated that parties and candidates were interested in peace as well the optical commitment to peace by Nigerians.

Acrimony among the three main political parties was already a worrying sign for the NPC. Bitter altercations between politicians and political parties have already sparked fighting, as has polarisation along ethnic, religious and regional lines. For example, on 11 November 2022, the National Security Adviser to the President, Major General (retired) Babagana Monguno, said police had recorded 52 incidents of election-related violence in 22 states since the presidential campaign officially commenced on 28 September. Election preparations were proceeding amid growing concern about public safety due to the activities of armed groups in swathes of the country. Insecurity was widespread, with significant death tolls in many states. From January to mid-December 2022, armed groups killed more than 10,000 people and abducted more than 5,000 in about 3,000 incidents that occurred in at least 550 of the country's 774 local government areas.¹ Fears were growing in many areas that armed groups may kill politicians and attack rallies. There are several cases already. In Katsina state, on 6 February, the APC cancelled its presidential road show after an armed group attacked villages in Bakori local government area, killing more than 100 people

1st Peace Accord: Assessing the situation, the NPC reached out to the President, His Excellency President Muhammadu Buhari, all the presidential candidates and all the political parties for the signing of the first Peace Accord. This Accord was centered on issue-based campaigns. It sought to encourage political parties and their candidates to streamline their goals with election campaign strategies as against misinformation and align political party manifestos with public interest. Additionally, the accord wanted political parties to commit to campaigns and political rallies defined by civility, respect and tolerance for opposing views. It discouraged politicians from attacking and degrading the qualities and competences of



opponents. The first accord was signed on Thursday 29th September 2022. Ceremony was conducted a day after the commencement of election campaigns on 28th September 2022. It was signed by 16 out of the 18 political parties at the International Conference Centre, Abuja. Significantly, the main contenders from the PDP, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, Peter Obi of the Labour Party (LP), and Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso of the New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP) were present, committing to adhere to the accord. However, the Presidential candidate of the APC, Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu did not participate in the event but was represented by his running mate Senator Ibrahim Shettima. Although the absence of Bola Ahmad Tinubu, the APC presidential candidate was frowned upon by some parties, including the seating arrangements, the turn out indicated that parties and candidates were interested in peace as well the optical commitment to peace by Nigerians. Additionally, it reflects the convening power of the NPC and the trust it has achieved in bringing parties and candidates to the table.

Yet, a few weeks after the signing of the first peace accord, the campaigns witnessed a toxic culture of engagements by the political parties. The first peace accord lists 12 commitments that the National Peace Committee had identified will help ensure peaceful and

¹“Borno, Kaduna, Zamfara most unsafe states as terrorists, others kill 7,222, kidnap 3,823 in Nigeria within 7 months –Report”, Sahara Reporters, 2 Dec 2022.



rancour-free campaigns by the political parties and their candidates:

1. To conduct our campaigns in a manner that focuses on policy issues and the promotion of our party manifestos
2. To ensure that we, our spokespersons, members, and supporters refrain from insults, intimidations, incitement, bribery, extortion, and violence. Our conduct will be in accordance with the rule of law both online and offline, throughout the electoral process
3. To ensure that we, our spokespersons, party members and supporters refrain from disseminating fake news, misinformation, disinformation throughout our campaign engagements both online and offline
4. To engage in authentic campaigning practices, including responsible use of genuine and official online social media
5. To ensure that in our parties, women, youths and persons with disability are protected from assaults, violence and discrimination throughout the campaign period and beyond
6. To condemn, both publicly and privately, instigators and perpetrators of all acts of discrimination and violence based on gender, ethnicity, belief, age and political affiliation.
7. To support all institutions of government involved in conducting or securing the elections – in particular the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the security

agencies – to act with professionalism, impartiality and transparency

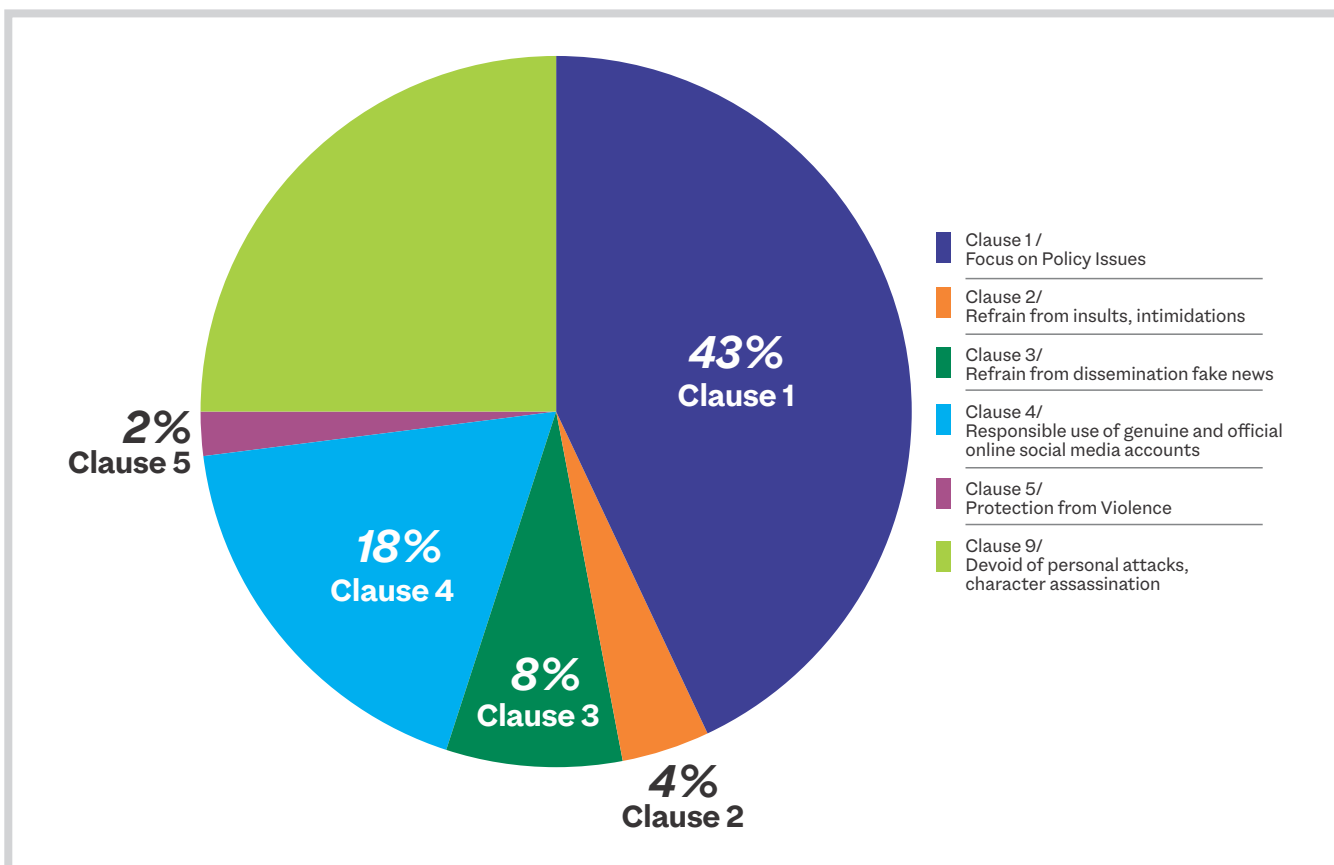
8. To discourage state agencies, institutions, and public officers from supporting partisan interests in any form, incitement to violence or other offences that may threaten the integrity of the electoral process. This includes vote-trading and any action that endangers the security of Nigerians and non-Nigerians before, during and after the elections
9. To use peaceful, inclusive, respectful, culturally sensitive, educative and issue-based communications, devoid of personal attacks, character assassination throughout the electoral process
10. To fully collaborate with the National Peace Committee – made up of respected

statemen and women, traditional and religious leaders – in its mission to monitor the adherence of this Accord

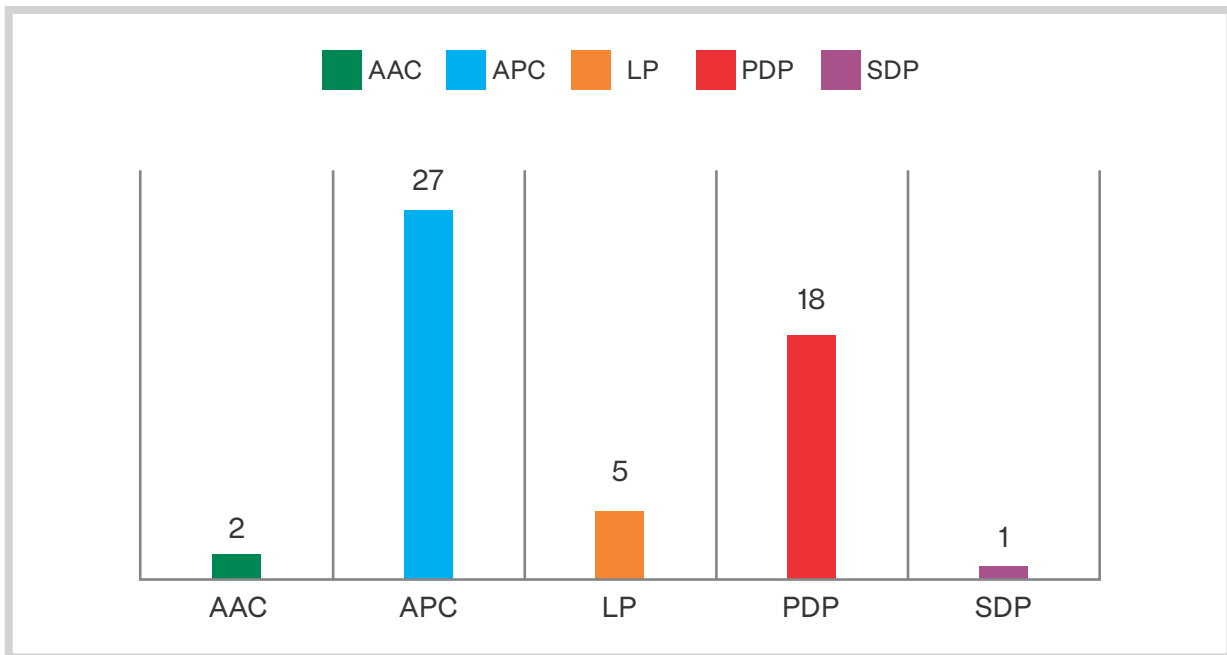
11. To abide by the letter and spirit of this Accord, and if my actions and utterances, or those of any party and that of my party violate the principles of this Accord, we accept to be held accountable according to the laws and constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
12. We agree to the full application of national and international laws against any subversion of the electoral process.

The NPC Situation Room monitored and recorded infractions to provide an update and guidance to parties in the final stretch of the campaign.

Infractions Review



Party Participation



- Most of the recorded infractions were by the two major parties – All Progressives Congress (APC) and People's Democratic Party (PDP) – which might be a sign of the extent of their engagement and the impact of the statements that were recorded.
- Most of the instances recorded were by official spokespersons of the presidential campaigns, which does not augur well for the ability of the nominees and their parties to manage their campaigns in line with the accords. Notably, Reno Omokri of the PDP and Femi Fani-Kayode of the APC accounted for 30 of the 52 (58%) recorded infractions together. Their statements were dismissive, discourteous and deliberately provocative and they should be called to order by their nominees.



Beyond Recorded Infractions

- There is need for better review of infractions being recorded. Notable Twitter accounts supporting Peter Obi and the Labour Party, such as @FS_Yusuf, @firstladyship and @Topboychriss have not been flagged despite repeatedly being flagged by internal reviews
- Most of the challenges within reviewing these accounts is because they are not official campaign accounts. Despite this, the reach of this accounts is such that there is clearly communication between the campaign and these online influencers. As such, they can and should hold them to account and manage their conversation



Prepared by the NPC Secretariat

Assessing the First Accord: Of the 89 clause infractions (some of the 52 recorded instances had multiple clause incidents), 38 (43%) were infractions of clause 1 – which seeks to engender policy campaigning. It means that, despite promises to the contrary, the listed campaigns have failed to abide by this and mostly resorted to personality-focused attacks, instead of policy attempts.

Media platforms also have a responsibility to either correct/call out spokespersons on their platforms that engage in such activities, and to avoid providing a platform to promote such messages when reporting on news. It is concerning that the spokespersons largely resorted to ad hominem and ethnic-focused attacks when posting messages against other candidates. Whoever is elected still must govern and such statements, especially by visible members of their campaign, will not help with the difficult task of building bridges and confidence across the country after these closely fought elections.

Because of these major violations, and the potential for post-election violence, questions were already swirling around the elections' integrity, with some doubting the credibility of the accord. The Peace Committee immediately

The most pressing issue was that the conduct of the parties during the campaign was building up party supporters to reject the outcome of the vote. This risked throwing Nigeria into a major mayhem. Candidates and party leaders discussed their challenges during campaigns and their hopes for the electoral process. All parties recommitted themselves to the intentions of the accord.

summoned an emergency meeting on January 19, 2023, with all the political parties and their presidential candidates to present the infractions, outline the risks and potential for violence, and to review their conduct during the campaign period. The most pressing issue was that the conduct of the parties during the campaign was building up party supporters to reject the outcome of the vote. This risked throwing Nigeria into a major mayhem. Candidates and party leaders discussed their challenges during campaigns and their hopes for the electoral process. All parties recommitted themselves to the intentions of the accord. The NPC equally visited President Muhammadu Buhari to brief him on the work of the Committee and to reassure him of the commitment of NPC members to support peaceful, credible and fair electoral process in Nigeria.

2nd Peace Accord: A few days to the elections and owing to the depth of the agitations and divisions already explained above, it became necessary to commit all candidates and political parties to accepting the outcome of the vote. Beyond the conventional timetable and mandate of the NPC, many other factors necessitated the 2nd presidential peace accord. First, a major threat to the elections was violence arising from inter-party tensions. All three main parties were bent on victory, albeit each for its own reasons. The sense of desperation pervading the camps of all three front runners was also a source of rising tension among them and concern about how the losing parties' candidates and supporters may react to defeat. For the two big parties, the determination not to lose was particularly acute. The governing party APC, a coalition that wrested power from the PDP in 2015, wanted to retain the presidency for several reasons, including the fear that if it loses control of the top office, the party could disintegrate. The PDP, out in the cold for the past eight years, saw the end of President Buhari's faltering administration as its best opportunity to recapture the centre. Losing a



third presidential election in a row could also have deleterious effects on its future.² Moreover, for both parties' presidential candidates – Tinubu and Abubakar – this election was possibly going to be the last chance to run for the presidency on account of age; both are at least in their seventies, and while there is no constitutional age limit for presidential candidates, they may be increasingly unattractive to a predominantly youthful electorate. Labour is similarly motivated. Many of Obi's youthful supporters (who call themselves “Obidients”) consider the election their best opportunity to improve the quality of governance in the country – and maybe their last to do so through electoral means. Many Obidients vehemently reject any suggestion that their champion might lose.

Similarly, tension around the election was deepening religious and regional polarisation. As President Buhari is a Muslim Fulani from the north, many Christians, based on the informal principle, which Nigerian elites have mostly followed in recent decades, that the presidency

should alternate between Nigeria's two largest religious groups, feel strongly that the next president should be a Christian. They opposed Tinubu and Abubakar, both of whom are Muslim, on those grounds. Christian organisations protested as well when Tinubu chose a fellow Muslim, Senator Kashim Shettima, the former governor of Borno State, as his running mate, departing from an unwritten convention by which political parties' field both a Christian and a Muslim on every ticket. Tinubu insisted that he selected Shettima for competence, not religious affiliation, and he has pledged, if elected, to govern without religious bias.³ Many Christians were unconvinced, however, and religious sensitivities around the election were getting deeper and more divisive.⁴ In the mostly Muslim far north, many voters were wary of Obi, as he is a Christian. Opposition to Abubakar was particularly strong among southerners. The contest stoked ethnic divisions, too. Many Igbos in the Southeast strongly supported Obi, who hails from that zone, particularly as an Igbo politician has not led the country since 1966. In Lagos state, friction was brewing between the large, pro-Obi Igbo population and many Yorubas who back their ethnic kinsman Tinubu for the presidency. Tinubu says it is “Yorubas' turn” to hold the top office.⁵

² PDP may die if we don't win 2023 presidency, Atiku tells BoT members”, The Cable, 16 March 2022.

³ “I'm for secular govt, Tinubu assures CAN”, Vanguard, 17 November 2022; “Tinubu meets CAN, defends choice of Shettima as running mate”, Daily Sun, 17 November 2022.

⁴ “We've not shifted ground on same-faith ticket – CAN”, Vanguard, 23 November 2022; “PFN disowns northern bishops fraternizing with Tinubu”, Leadership, 26 September 2022.

⁵ It is my turn, it is Yoruba's turn – Tinubu”, Nigerian Tribune, 3 June 2022. See also “Avoiding Igbo-Yoruba crisis (I)”, Vanguard, 21 September 2022.



The accord committed all the eighteen [18] political parties and their presidential candidates to accept the outcome of the vote if it is adjudged to be free, fair, and credible, and to seek legitimate and peaceful means of addressing any concern that may arise thereafter. It encouraged all party members, key stakeholders, and Nigerians, in general, to support a peaceful transition, promoting the ideals of peace, social cohesion, and a violent free post-election period.

Owing to these concerns, the NPC, once again, contacted all the political parties and candidates, and organised the signing of the 2nd Presidential Peace Accord on 23rd February 2023 – two days to the presidential elections. The accord committed all the eighteen [18] political parties and their presidential candidates to accept the outcome of the vote if it is adjudged to be free, fair, and credible, and to seek legitimate and peaceful means of addressing any concern that may arise thereafter. It encouraged all party members, key stakeholders, and Nigerians, in general, to support a peaceful transition, promoting the ideals of peace, social cohesion, and a violent free post-election period. Notable dignitaries, national and international, including former Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari GCFR, former Nigerian Head of State General Yakubu Gowon GCFR and former South African president, Thabo Mbeki, Former Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta, Former Malawian President Joyce Banda, Commonwealth Secretary-General, Right Honourable Patricia Scotland KC, members of diplomatic communities all witnessed the commitment undertaken by political parties and the presidential candidates. All the 18 registered Political parties signed the 2nd presidential Peace Accord. Significantly, the main

contenders from the APC, Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu, PDP, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, Peter Obi of the Labour Party (LP), and Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso of the New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP) were present, committing to adhere to the accord.

Arrangements for the peace accords were facilitated effectively and through partnerships with INEC and the security officials, with both recommending appropriate and secure venues and mobilizing the institutions of government to participate in the ceremonies. These strong partnerships further bring to the fore, the importance of collective responsibility in the electoral process and building trust between different stakeholders. In preparation for the signing of the Peace Accords [both National and State levels], the NPC Secretariat held a series of meetings with key stakeholders [at the National and State Levels]. The mobilised political parties and their candidates committed themselves to 10 critical clauses within the Accord:

1. To support a peaceful, transparent, and credible electoral process and abide by the outcome of the election results.





2. To support all institutions of government involved in conducting or securing the elections – in particular, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the security forces – to act with professionalism, impartiality, and transparency.
3. To ensure that we, our spokespersons, party members and supporters refrain from intimidations, incitements, bribery, vote-trading, extortion, and violence in subversion of the electoral process, compromising the integrity of the ballot and the security of Nigerians and non-Nigerians before, during and after the elections.
4. To respect that the results can only be announced by INEC, and to accept the outcome of the vote as long as it is adjudged to be free, fair, and credible, devoid of intimidation and conducted in accordance with the provisions of the law.
5. To ensure that we, our spokespersons, party members and supporters refrain from disseminating fake news, misinformation, disinformation particularly related to the reporting of any election results.
6. To condemn both publicly and privately instigators and perpetrators of all acts of

discrimination and violence based on gender, ethnicity, belief, age, and political affiliations.

7. In the event of any disputes that may arise, to follow due process by resorting to the courts of law, and to act in a spirit of statesmanship, putting the country first before individual or party interest.
8. To fully collaborate with the National Peace Committee—made up of respected statesmen and women, traditional and religious leaders—in its mission to monitor the adherence to this Accord.
9. To abide by the letter and spirit of this accord, and if my actions and utterances, those of my party violate the principles of this Accord, we accept to be held accountable according to the laws and constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
10. We agree to the full application of national and international laws against any subversion of the electoral process.

Other stakeholders that witnessed the signing ceremony included traditional rulers, religious leaders, women and youth groups, CSOs, State chapters of the Inter-Party Advisory Council (IPAC), INEC's Resident Electoral Commissioners, and the Joint National Association of Persons with Disabilities (JONAPWD). This partnership participation reiterated the different roles and responsibilities each stakeholder had to play to ensure the peaceful conduct of the electoral process. It also underscored the need for the NPC to work collaboratively with each one of the stakeholders before, during, and after elections.



Election Day and the Announcement of Results

On 1 March, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) proclaimed Bola Ahmed Tinubu the victor with 36 percent of the vote. His main rivals, Atiku Abubakar of the Peoples Democratic Party and Peter Obi of the Labour Party won 28 and 24 percent, respectively. Expectations for the vote were sky-high, due mostly to INEC's assurances of greater transparency thanks to technological innovations. Anticipating a genuinely competitive race, voters registered in record numbers, making the election one of the most closely watched in Nigeria's recent history. The post-election tensions have not triggered large-scale violence, as some analysts had feared. Fatalities in 2023 are far lower than the levels seen after most previous elections, particularly in



Anticipating a genuinely competitive race, voters registered in record numbers, making the election one of the most closely watched in Nigeria's recent history. The post-election tensions have not triggered large-scale violence, as some analysts had feared.

2011, when ethno-religious violence killed some 1,000 people in twelve northern states. Still, it is hard not to worry about what may be coming down the pike. Yet things played out differently than anticipated.

On election day, the voter turnout was much lower than expected, an abysmal 27 per cent, down from about 35 per cent in 2019. The low voter turn out was linked to different factors such as voter fatigue after previous elections that have brought no improvement in livelihoods; fears of violence by thugs and armed groups; and the effects of the Central Bank of

Nigeria's rushed policy of swapping out the bills of the national currency, the naira, which left many voters without enough cash to travel to polling stations. Furthermore, the process suffered from logistical and technological shortcomings, as well as reports of staff misconduct, some of which the electoral commission has yet to clearly explain. In many areas, tallies for the presidential election were not uploaded from polling stations to INEC's electronic portal for several days after voting was over, and even after the commission had declared Tinubu the winner, despite pre-

YIAGA Africa estimated that only 41% of polling units had commenced voting by 9:30am, an hour after voting was scheduled to start. Similarly, Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room data claimed less than 30% of units had started by 8:30am, with other reports claiming that the currency crisis had precluded INEC from paying cash to transporters prior to election day which led some drivers to refuse to convey INEC materials or personnel.

election promises that the results would appear online in real time.

Additionally, on the election day, the NPC Situation Room report, corroborated by other reports indicates widespread delayed starts to voting. YIAGA Africa estimated that only 41% of polling units had commenced voting by 9:30 am, an hour after voting was scheduled to start. Similarly, Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room data claimed less than 30% of units had started by 8:30 am, with other reports claiming that the currency crisis had precluded INEC from paying cash to transporters prior to election day which led some drivers to refuse to convey INEC materials or personnel.⁶ Again, there were reports of violence in certain areas, most notably in Lagos State where thugs alleged to be aligned with the APC targeted predominantly ethnic minority areas.⁷ Additionally, several attacks on journalists by unknown assailants or even security personnel occurred throughout election day.⁸ Although INEC chairman

Mahmood Yakubu acknowledged several problems at his 1 pm briefing and called on voters to stay at polling units, civil groups called on INEC to extend voting past the 2:30 pm deadline.⁹

Although INEC had announced that collation centres would only open at noon on 26 February, the commission had long promised to upload polling unit results to its INEC result viewing portal (IREV) on election day; however, no results were uploaded for most of the day, leading to protests by the civil society groups and online citizens.¹⁰ The Obi campaign also decried the lack of uploads, claiming the act drew the election's fairness into doubt and noting that legislative results had already been uploaded; Labour Party Chairman Julius Abure went as far to claim that compromised or threatened INEC officials were holding back results from Obi-supporting areas of Lagos and Delta states.¹¹ Around 10:45 pm on the night of 25 February, INEC finally began uploading data to the portal.¹²

Meanwhile, INEC released a statement that blamed technical glitch for the delayed uploads of results in the wake of further protests by both the PDP and LP. On 27 February, criticism of INEC continued with international observers and the Nigeria Labour Congress lambasting the commission's lack of transparency amidst the delays. Similarly, agents of political parties (notably including PDP and LP agents) at the national collation centre protested the prolonged delay in uploading results on IREV, even in states where results had been announced along with discrepancies in result totals.

External observers joined reputable Nigeria-based groups, such as the Civil Society

⁶ YIAGA Africa [@YIAGA] (25 February 2023). "By 9:30 am, accreditation and voting had commenced in 41% of polling units" (Tweet) – via Twitter.

⁷ Toromade, Samson, 2023. "Violence, intimidation disrupts election in Lagos". Pulse.ng, 25 February 2023.

⁸ Premium Times, 2023. "Angry youth attack journalists, voters in Ibadan". Premium Times. News Agency of Nigeria, 25 February 2023.

⁹ Ejekwonyilo, Ameh, 2023. "JUST IN: #NigeriaDecides2023: Thugs disrupt elections, steal BVAS machines – INEC Chair Yakubu". Premium Times, 25 February 2023.

¹⁰ Osaji, Sharon, 2023. "#Uploadtheresults trends on Twitter, INEC bows to pressure". The Punch, 25 February 2023.

¹¹ Osaji, Sharon, 2023. "#NigeriaElections2023: INEC officials refusing to upload election results in Lagos, Delta – LP". The Punch, 25 February 2023.

¹² Tolu-Kolawole, Deborah, 2023. "#NigeriaElections2023: INEC begins uploading of presidential results on portal". The Punch, 25 February 2023.



Situation Room, Yiaga Africa and the Centre for Democracy and Development, in criticising the process. The European Union’s mission said INEC’s “lack of efficient planning in critical stages and effective public communication reduced trust in the process, including on election day.” At the same time, the election produced significant upsets in several local races, suggesting a clean vote in those places. Disparities in the conduct of the polls and credibility of results among various locations, some even within the same area, have led to intense disputes between winners, who claim the polls were free and fair, and others who reject the results as irredeemably flawed.

Interference with voting in some states further poisoned the air. While the elections were largely peaceful in most states, armed thugs disrupted voting in a number of them. They carried out activities such as snatching or destruction of polling materials; intimidation of voters and election officials; hinder citizens from casting ballots for anyone but their candidates; and force electoral staff to credit candidates with votes at the expense of others or to upload badly altered result sheets to the INEC platform. In Lagos state, these disruptions targeted areas that had large Igbo populations, known to be strongly supportive of the Labour Party’s Obi. Particularly in Lagos and Rivers states, the police and other security personnel seemed unwilling or unable to counter such acts or downplayed reports of malfeasance, giving ammunition to opposition supporters who charged that their votes were significantly suppressed. Attention then turned to the National Peace Committee to intervene to forestall the breakdown of law and order. As the election day progressed, criticisms and counter criticisms became abundant. The NPC was already being faced with flurry of phone calls and the need to call INEC to order.

NPC, Post Presidential Election engagement and the Burden of Public Expectations

The results were announced in the early hours of 1 March 2023. Bola Tinubu of the All Progressives Congress was named the president-elect in a tight election, with Atiku Abubakar and Peter Obi earning substantial votes.¹³ Within minutes of the announcement, the President-elect, Bola Ahmad Tinubu declared that Nigeria is the only nation we have and we must work together to build it. He further stated, this is a shining moment in the life of any man and an affirmation of our democratic existence. I represent a promise and with your support, I know that promise will be fulfilled.¹⁴ Although the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) called the election free, fair and credible, several observers, including the European Union, said the election was not transparent. A joint

Although the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) called the election free, fair and credible, several observers, including the European Union, said the election was not transparent. A joint observer mission of the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute said, “The election fell well short of Nigerian citizens’ reasonable expectations.”

observer mission of the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute said, “The election fell well short of Nigerian citizens’ reasonable expectations.” Samson Itodo, the head of YIAGA Africa, said there were serious concerns about the electoral process because major issues such as violence and technical problems had hampered public trust in the election process. The United Nations urged “all stakeholders to remain calm through the conclusion of the electoral process.” In a joint news conference, Nigeria’s main opposition parties said the results of the election were “heavily doctored and manipulated.” Yusuf Datti Baba-Ahmed, labourparty’s VicePresidential candidate claimed, “we won this election as Labour Party, we are going to claim our mandate as Labour Party” Ndi Kato, the Labour Party’s presidential

campaign spokesperson, said, “We are defiant. The elections were rigged.” Both the PDP and Labor Party separately filed formal petitions challenging Tinubu’s victory on 22 March.

The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the Labour Party (LP) filed a petition against INEC, asking the court to void the pronouncement of the All-Progressive Congress (APC) candidate, Bola Tinubu, as President-elect. To trail on this mission, the duo asked the court for permission to inspect the sensitive materials INEC used in the just concluded Presidential Election. This is in a bid to establish facts and evidence to support their claims before the court. The court ruled that both parties should be allowed to inspect the sensitive material used by INEC during the elections. However, the same court had granted INEC permission to reconfigure the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System to enable the commission to conduct the Governorship and States Assembly elections rescheduled for Saturday March 8, 2023. There were mixed reactions emerging from this court ruling. The scepticism for PDP and LP with the court ruling, which favoured all parties involved, is whether the evidence that will substantiate their claims, will be wiped out or tempered with. INEC has assured the Court that accreditation data contained in the BVAS would be preserved in a back-end server and can be accessed by the parties concerned. Despite these assurances, many conspiracy theories were circulating on the social media

¹³ Burke, Jason, 2023. "Nigeria's ruling party candidate Tinubu wins presidential election – electoral commission". The Guardian. 1 March 2023.

¹⁴ Stephanie Busari; Nimi Princewill; Bethlehem Feleke; Larry Madowo; Jessie Yeung, 2023. "Opposition vows challenge as Tinubu wins Nigerian presidency". CNN, 4 March 2023

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space. What became obvious was the low citizens' trust on the process of the elections. With the unfolding of these events, INEC's integrity was under scrutiny.

The Peace Committee was flooded with requests for intervention. Both the Chairman of the Committee, General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar, the Convener, Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah and the Head of NPC Secretariat, Fr. Atta Barkindo, were inundated with calls, requests, and petitions demanding the intervention of the NPC. Some of the requests wanted the NPC to prevail on INEC to stop collating election results because there were gross violations and lack of compliance with the electoral act. Others demanded that the tenets of the Peace Accord signed were not adhered to and therefore the Committee should call for

cancellation of the election entirely. The most significant call was related to the 25% threshold for Abuja as the Federal Capital Territory. Some of the analysts that reached out to the committee asked that the final election result should not be announced because the resumptive president-elect did not score the required 25% as stated in the electoral act. If anything, there should be a runoff. For example, the Centre for Reform and Public Advocacy described the silence of National Peace Committee (NPC) as deafening in spite the avalanche of election petitions and likely far-reaching outcomes that could follow the decisions. The Centre stated that the NPC led by General Abdulsalami Abubakar (rtd) had prior to the 2023 elections engaged political leaders on the need for a peaceful and credible election. However, what was missing was a post-election formal statement of the NPC on the outcome of the election and the sort of intervention needed to prevent widespread violence.

The biggest bone of contention was the significance of the 25% threshold for the FCT, the vacuum created by pre-election legal interpretation that was not given by INEC. Prior to the 2023 general elections,



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Olisa Agbakoba, SAN, and former President of the Nigeria Bar Association had written to INEC requesting that the commission provides an interpretation of Section 134, sub-section 2 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Section 134 provides that “a candidate for an election to the office of the President shall be deemed to have been duly elected where, there being more than two candidates for the election: (a) he has the highest number of votes cast at the election; and (b) he has not less than one-quarter of the votes cast at the election in each of at least two-thirds of all the states in the federation and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. The above provision has been given a different interpretation. Some are of the view that so far, a candidate has not less than one-quarter of the votes cast at the election in each of at least two-thirds of all the states, he does not necessary need to get one-quarter of the votes cast in FCT, while others are of the view that getting one-quarter – 25% of the votes cast in Abuja is mandatory in addition to 25% in two thirds of the states of the federation. However, ahead of the elections, INEC failed to give any interpretation to this.

In response to all these public expectations, the NPC issued a statement calling for calm, and asked political parties, candidates and party supporters to allow INEC, the agency empowered by law to follow through with the process. In part, the statement read, “we are following up with the same appeal that we made ahead of the Presidential elections on February 25th, 2023. We at the Peace Committee understand and appreciate that these are trying times for our country and its citizens. Presidential elections have come and gone. However, problems have arisen from the process of the collation, transmission and release of the final results. This has generated the crisis that we now find ourselves. Notwithstanding all this, we are pleased and encouraged by the matured attitudes of the candidates who contested the

presidential elections. We are encouraged by the restraint they have exhibited and their commitment to seek justice through due process. This is in keeping with the spirit of the Peace Accord. We therefore appeal to the supporters of all the parties and our citizens to please follow the good example of their leaders and remain law abiding till the process is brought to an end.” The statement also reminded all the contestants about the content of the accord, and the need to approach the courts if there are issues. Additionally, the NPC, through its chairman reached out to the different presidential candidates to issue statements that will calm the nerves of their followers not to take up arms or to engage in violence.

Within the general context of the mandate of the Peace Committee, there were requests that demanded the Committee to go beyond its mandate and to interfere in an electoral process that only agencies empowered by law can do so. The interventions provided by the NPC is purely and squarely moral, particularly in a context that trust deficit is widespread, the culture of impunity and lack of compliance with laws. The mandate is founded on the need to promote peace, prevent widespread violence and encourage parties and candidates to uphold the rule of law. The NPC has no mandate to arrest violators of process or interfere with the constitutional duties of INEC. It is set up to provide moral intervention, defined by mediation and moral persuasion to ensure that there is peace. It is also expected to, on behalf of public interest, speak truth to power when things are going terribly wrong. After the presidential elections, the NPC has continued with its engagements with political parties, youth and women led groups, persons with disabilities, the security agencies, traditional rulers and religious leaders, including the Independent State-based Peace Architectures.

Section Three

Collective and Off-Cycle Governorship Elections



The widespread tension that greeted the announcement of the presidential election results in 2023 suggested that election violence could break out in many parts of the country, but the danger looms larger in some states than in others. In these states, the stakes were high. Some had longstanding ethnic or religious feuds that persisted since previous elections. For others, outgoing governors were seeking to install handpicked successors and where unpopular incumbents are running to be re-elected for a second term. Others have unresolved conflicts from previous elections and the risks were very high especially in states such as Lagos, Rivers, Kano, Kaduna, Ebonyi and Imo.

For decades, it has been deeply divided between north and south. The former is predominantly Muslim, Hausa and Fulani, while the latter is predominantly Christian and has more than twenty minority ethnic groups. In recent years, inter-faith and interethnic relations have deteriorated badly.

Kano state in the north has the second-largest electorate among Nigerian states, numbering 5,921,370, according to INEC's final register. It has been a reliable source of votes for the APC, but competition was tougher in 2023. In Kano, the 2023 presidential race was a three-way contest among Tinubu, Kwankwaso and Abubakar. Kwankwaso was governor from 1999 to 2003, and again from 2011 to 2015, serving as a senator representing Kano Central from 2015 to 2019. The immediate past governor, Abdullahi Ganduje, strongly backs Tinubu. Another former two term governor, Ibrahim Shekarau, is supporting Abubakar.¹⁵ With these three heavyweights in the ring, the election fight will be fierce. On 23 November 2022, the APC's state chairman said the party would win in Kano "by hook or crook".¹⁶ The two other parties have expressed similar resolve, though less explicitly. All three parties could instigate violence to depress turnout for their main rivals as well as for fourth alternatives. Voting could be disrupted in areas like Sabon Gari, which has a large population originating elsewhere in the country, particularly pro-Obi Igbos from the south, to keep down the Labour tally.

Lagos state is important because it has the highest number of registered voters of all the 36 states – 7,060,195 on INEC's final register. The 2023 election in Lagos state was a three-way contest between the APC, the PDP and Labour. The state also has a large Igbo population and Obi's emergence as the Labour candidate has galvanised many of them. Competition between

Tinubu and Obi is particularly fierce, turning Lagos into a battleground between their respective supporters. On 9 June 2022, after traders' union leaders at Alaba International Market in the Ojoo area directed the predominantly Igbo members to shutter their shops in order to register for voter cards, thugs reportedly disrupted the exercise.¹⁷ It was reminiscent of incidents in 2019, in which pro APC thugs attacked polling stations to chase away voters in PDP strongholds with large Igbo populations, such as Ijesh and Okota. Notably as well, a mob beat up a Labour supporter in the state's Oshodi area on 2 October. The road transport workers' union in the state, whose members are known for a tendency to use violence, has pledged to work for a Tinubu victory. APC supporters had also threatened dire consequences for residents originally from the Southeast and South South zones, along with their businesses, accusing them of "treachery" that could cost Tinubu the presidential contest. The risk of unrest was high, both during the elections and afterward, especially if Tinubu loses.¹⁸

Kaduna state has a large electorate of 4,335,208, according to INEC's final count. For decades, it has been deeply divided between north and south. The former is predominantly Muslim, Hausa and Fulani, while the latter is predominantly Christian and has more than twenty minority ethnic groups. In recent years, inter-faith and interethnic relations have deteriorated badly. Prior to 2019 elections, Governor Nasir El-Rufai fielded a Muslim-Muslim ticket, arguing that religion should play no role in composing a slate of candidates. That action, which many Christians in southern Kaduna saw as rendering them politically irrelevant, has heightened religious sensitivities around elections. In the 2023 elections, voters are sharply polarised along religious lines. For president, many in the north

¹⁵ "Why I dumped NNPP, by Shekarau", *The Nation*, 23 August 2022.

¹⁶ "We'll win Kano by hook or crook – APC chairman", *The Punch*, 24 November 2022.

¹⁷ "Fight disrupts voter registration exercise in Lagos community", *The Cable*, 10 June 2022.

¹⁸ "MC Oluomo levies N500 bumper sticker fee on Lagos transporters to support Tinubu campaign", *People's Gazette*, 20 September 2022.

of the state are likely to choose Tinubu or Abubakar. Voters in the south support Obi. The gubernatorial contest poses perhaps even greater risks. The race is between the APC’s Uba Sani – who is running with the incumbent deputy governor, Hadiza Balarabe, a fellow Muslim – and Labour’s John Asake, who hails from southern Kaduna. The 2023 election may further strain inter-religious relations in the state, and campaign frictions could degenerate into violence, especially after the polls. Already, there have been many violent incidents in the state. Notably, on 28 November 2022, gunmen killed Victoria Chintex, a Labour women’s leader, in Kaura local government area.¹⁹

In Rivers state, there has always been considerable political and economic weight. It has the largest electorate of any state in the Niger Delta and South South zone – 3,537,190, according to INEC’s final register. An oil-producing state, it receives considerable subventions from the federal government, via

¹⁹ “Labour Party’s women leader assassinated in Kaduna”, Daily Post, 29 November 2022.

Nigeria’s system for allocating federal revenues. Governors have long siphoned some of this money into party coffers. Rivers state is sharply contested between the two major parties, though the PDP has consistently won its elections since 1999. The state has been notorious for electoral violence since 2011. In 2015, a report by a state government-appointed commission of inquiry said an average of nineteen election-related killings occurred in the state each month between November 2014 and the general election in April 2015. In the countdown to the 2023 elections, tensions

Besides this central rivalry, there is a considerable risk of violence between the PDP and other parties. Wike has clamped down on all opposition, threatening to “finish off” anyone who defects from his camp and to demolish hotels or other buildings that host parties “planning to cause trouble”. On 4 November 2022, Wike began recruiting 200,000 “political aides”, naming them special assistants on political unit affairs, who are to work for him until May.



are highest in two contests. The first is the presidential race, where quarrels have erupted within the governing PDP. Governor Nyesom Wike – along with four other state governors in a group called the G5 – is at loggerheads with presidential candidate Abubakar. The bad blood stems partly from the party’s May 2022 presidential primary – which Wike lost – and also his opposition to the party having both its presidential candidate, Abubakar, and national chairman, Iyorchia Ayu, from the north. Afterward, Wike vowed not to support Abubakar. He went so far as to offer two other parties’ candidates – Labour’s Obi and NNPP’s Kwankwaso – logistical support, apparently to spite his PDP rival.²⁰ Wike has sought to intimidate PDP leaders in the state who remain aligned with Abubakar. On 6 November, a mob attacked three Abubakar supporters with machetes while they were hanging posters at Eberi-Omuma in Omuma local government area. On 14 December, gunmen shot the director of youth mobilisation for the state’s Abubakar campaign team, Rhino Owhorkire, in Aluu, Ikwerre local government area.²¹ The NPC Situation Room report indicated that more of such attacks were possible if nothing was done.

The second tense competition is that for the governor’s seat, in which fourteen parties are running. At first, this contest looked like a two-horse race between Wike’s PDP candidate Siminialayi Fubara and APC candidate Tonye Cole, who is backed by a Wike foe, former Rivers Governor Rotimi Amaechi. On 25 October, however, a federal high court in Port Harcourt nullified the APC’s primary, due to illegal exclusion of delegates, ruling that the APC therefore has no candidate for any state office in 2023. The APC appealed. On 15 December, the appellate court reversed the high court’s

judgment, thereby restoring the APC to the ballot.²² In another ruling on 5 January 2023, an appeals court in Port Harcourt set aside an earlier federal decision that had annulled the candidacies of the APC’s sixteen House of Assembly aspirants in the state.²³ These judgments have made Rivers state into a key APC-PDP battleground once more. Besides this central rivalry, there is a considerable risk of violence between the PDP and other parties. Wike has clamped down on all opposition, threatening to “finish off” anyone who defects from his camp and to demolish hotels or other buildings that host parties “planning to cause trouble”.²⁴ On 4 November 2022, Wike began recruiting 200,000 “political aides”, naming them special assistants on political unit affairs, who are to work for him until May.²⁵

Ebonyi state in the Southeast, with 1,597,646 voters on INEC’s final register, was set for a fierce contest. The PDP has long controlled the Ebonyi government, starting in 1999; but in November 2020, Governor David Umahi, citing “injustice” done to the Southeast by the party, defected along with other elected officials to the APC. In October 2022, Umahi declared that the PDP was no longer a strong force in the state. He rallied the public to vote for Tinubu for president, though Obi seems to have a lot of support in the state. To succeed him as governor, Umahi is backing Francis Nwifuru, whom he handpicked as a candidate, and he himself was running for senate. Violence had already transpired, consisting mostly but not exclusively of attacks on opposition candidates and their supporters, and it could well get worse during and after the elections. Opponents accuse Umahi of using the state-sponsored vigilante organisation Ebubeagu to intimidate the opposition.²⁶

²⁰ “2023: Wike promises Peter Obi ‘logistics support’”, Premium Times, 17 November 2022; “Wike pledges logistics support for Kwankwaso”, Vanguard, 22 November 2022.

²¹ “Gunmen shoot Rivers PDP PCC youth mobiliser”, The Punch, 15 December 2022.

²² “A Court sets aside judgement nullifying Rivers APC candidates”, The Punch, 15 December 2022.

²³ “7 Appeal Court clears all APC House of Assembly candidates in Rivers for 2023 election”, Daily Post, 5 January 2023.

²⁴ “I’ll leave our enemies, finish you first, Wike tells Rivers PDP ‘Rebels’”, Vanguard, 21 August 2022.

²⁵ “Wike appoints 200,000 political aides”, Saturday Vanguard, 5 November 2022. The cost of these aides is estimated at 42.1 billion naira (\$95.2 million)

²⁶ How I was caned, beaten with wood by Ebubeagu – PDP spokesman”, Vanguard, 11 November 2022.

In April 2022, INEC was forced to suspend voter registration in three local government areas – Njaba, Orsu and Ihitte Uboma – due to such attacks. Police blame IPOB for the assaults – a charge the separatist group denies – pointing, as mentioned above, to the separatist insignia worn by the gunmen. State officials, including Governor Uzodimma, say opposition politicians are the masterminds, accusing them of hiring thugs who pretend to be IPOB members. Federal security forces and the state-sponsored vigilante group, Ebubeagu, have gone after the armed groups, but thus far with limited results.

Imo State, in the Southeast, with 2,419,922 voters on INEC's final register, has been the theatre of sharp partisan rivalry in several past elections. Candidates have been assassinated, apparently by their adversaries' supporters, and deadly clashes have sometimes erupted between groups of party loyalists. In 2023, there were three main sets of tensions that could fuel strife.²⁷ First, the campaign had rekindled a bitter feud between supporters of the incumbent governor, Hope Uzodimma, and those of his predecessor, Rochas Okorochoa. Secondly, the APC state government had thrown its weight behind Tinubu, while the Igbo electorate (which makes up the majority) is strongly pro-Obi. Thirdly, IPOB separatists – or armed groups pretending to be them (the attacks have gone unclaimed) – have been making violent attempts to disrupt election preparations.

These groups have been staging attacks since early 2021, hitting security personnel and federal facilities, including courts, prisons and INEC offices. In April 2022, INEC was forced to suspend voter registration in three local government areas – Njaba, Orsu and Ihitte

Uboma – due to such attacks. Police blame IPOB for the assaults – a charge the separatist group denies – pointing, as mentioned above, to the separatist insignia worn by the gunmen. State officials, including Governor Uzodimma, say opposition politicians are the masterminds, accusing them of hiring thugs who pretend to be IPOB members. Federal security forces and the state-sponsored vigilante group, Ebubeagu, have gone after the armed groups, but thus far with limited results. In the countdown to the elections, the state had already seen several deadly incidents. On 16 December 2022, assassins shot a Labour candidate for the Imo state House of Assembly, Christopher Eleghu, setting his house and vehicles on fire. On 2 January 2023, gunmen ambushed the convoy of a former Imo state governor, Ikedi Ohakim, and killed four police officers guarding him at Oriagu town in Ehime Mbano local government area. On 22 January, an armed group kidnapped and later beheaded a local government administrator allied with Governor Uzodimma, warning of more such acts. Unless authorities take urgent steps to curb the insecurity, the state could suffer greater violence as the polls approached.

As the situation escalated, the NPC Situation Room monitored the trend of activities across the different states leading up to the governorship elections. This was necessary to keep the NPC members informed and to ensure that adequate mobilisation is done for peaceful elections across the 28 states of the federation.

Days leading up to the governorship elections, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) postponed the governorship and state houses of assembly elections by one week, from Saturday March 2023 till Saturday March 18. Nigeria has a history of election postponement in previous elections. These consecutive postponements were necessitated by logistical and security

²⁷ Crisis Group interview, APC member and former Imo state government official, Abuja, 9 December 2022.



concerns. In 2011, INEC, then led by Prof. Attahiru Jega announced the postponement of the Presidential and National Assembly elections on the day of elections, when voting had commenced in states like Lagos. The election was first moved from April 2 to April 4, 2011, and was eventually extended to April 9, 2011. Again, in 2015, elections were postponed by six weeks due to increased violence orchestrated by the insurgent group, Boko Haram in Northeast Nigeria. In the morning of the election day in 2019, Nigerians woke up to news of the postponement of the elections – a decision blamed on logistics and bad weather. The Commission postponed the elections by one week, from February 16 to February 23, 2019. Consequently, the governorship and state Houses of Assembly elections, which were to hold on March 2, were also postponed to March 9, 2019.

However, in 2023, it was only the governorship elections that were rescheduled. This has to do with alleged technical irregularities and questions around the credibility of the elections. Both PDP and Labour Parties have gone to court to obtain an injunction, allowing them to inspect sensitive materials, including the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS). Consequently, The Presidential Election Tribunal had restrained the commission from

tampering with all sensitive materials – including the BVAS – used in the conduct of the presidential election following the request by the candidates of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the Labour Party (LP), Atiku Abubakar and Peter Obi, respectively, who rejected the outcome of the presidential election. While INEC approached the court after this ruling to seek permission to reconfigure the BVAS, the request was only granted on Wednesday, two days to the initial date of the governorship election. Consequently, INEC rescheduled the elections from 11th to 18th March 2024. Following the above scenario, the NPC worked closely with the ISPAs to engage as many critical stakeholders in all the states, particularly, Rivers, Kano, Kaduna, Ebonyi, Lagos and Imo. Peace accords were signed in Oyo, Cross River, Taraba, Kano and Enugu states. The NPC particularly paid attention to Rivers, Kano, Lagos and Imo states.

Off-Cycle Elections (Imo, Bayelsa and Kogi):

Imo State

The security situation in Imo State ahead of the elections was particularly concerning, marked by recurring challenges such as political violence, assassinations, hate speech, and attacks by non-state actors. The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) or its fraction has posed a continuous threat, issuing seat-at-home orders, attacking government facilities and INEC offices, and killing security personnel. In the lead-up to the elections, more than eight police officers were killed. Renewed attacks by gunmen have led to numerous deaths, kidnappings, and the burning of INEC offices in various Local Government Areas within the state. High-profile attacks included an assault on former governor Ikedi Ohakim's convoy on January 2, 2023, resulting in the deaths of four police officers, and a June 18, 2023, attack on former governor Rochas Okorocha's convoy, killing one person.

These incidents have caused many residents from Oru East, Oru West, Oguta, Orlu, Okigwe, Orsu, and Njaba to flee their communities, resulting in low voter turnout. Additionally, accusations of the Imo State Council of Traditional Leaders publicly supporting the incumbent governor had led to agitation among youth groups, eroding trust in traditional leadership, particularly in Owerri. This had compounded the existing trust deficit between citizens and state institutions such as the State Independent Electoral Commission, the Nigeria Police Force, and the judiciary.

Bayelsa State

Bayelsa State's unique geographical challenges have also affected the election process. Flooding and water bodies between communities have become breeding grounds for pirates and criminals, who exploit the situation to commit crimes like operating illegal refineries. For the INEC, navigating through riverine communities to deploy election materials is a daunting task. This logistical challenge had led to the late arrival or non-deployment of election materials, as witnessed in the 2023 presidential and Houses of Assembly elections.

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Kogi State

In Kogi State, political rivalry has fueled violence ahead of the elections. Allegations of attacks on Social Democratic Party (SDP) campaign rallies, with the SDP accusing the APC of importing thugs from Jigawa and Nasarawa to incite violence, have heightened tensions. The LP governorship candidate also alleged body-shaming by opposition parties. Historical evidence and security reports have highlighted Kogi State as a potential hotspot for electoral violence. During the last general elections, violent activities by thugs in Anyigba and Dekina LGAs resulted in the loss of two lives and the abduction of 11 individuals.

The political landscape in Kogi State is also marked by intense competition among senatorial zones to produce the governor. From 1999 to 2015, governors were predominantly from the Kogi East Senatorial zone, inhabited largely by the Igala tribe. In contrast, Kogi Central produced the governors in 2015 and 2019. As the election approached, Kogi West and Kogi East Senatorial Districts were keenly interested in producing the next governor. The governor who was from Kogi Central supported a candidate from his region, intensifying the competition across regions.

In response to these challenges, the NPC, supported by the ISPA in the various states, organized a series of stakeholder dialogues in preparation for the signing of peace accords in Kogi, Imo, and Bayelsa States. These efforts aim to mitigate the risks and ensure a more peaceful election process across these states. The stakeholders included- political parties Chairmen and gubernatorial candidates, State chapters of the Inter-Party Advisory Council (IPAC), Traditional leaders – Chairman Council of Obas such as the Ooni of Ife, Onisan of Isan, INEC's Resident Electoral Commissioners, the Commissioners of Police in the states and CSOs, particularly the Joint National Association of Persons with Disabilities (JONAPWD). The stakeholders especially collaborated openly by – granting media interviews committing themselves to the rule of law, maintaining the integrity of the electoral process, and calling on the electorate and supporters to do the same. These messages were used to promote peaceful election advocacy and were disseminated on state and national media, as well as via the Secretariat's social media handles. Utilizing Public awareness campaigns using its media and communication strategy to educate citizens about the importance of peaceful elections, the need for active participation in the electoral process, and a call on all citizens to be law-abiding and peaceful. These campaigns mobilized public support for peaceful elections while discouraging any form of violence or electoral malpractice. Through organized consensus-building, the NPC helped reduce tensions and promoted a shared commitment to peaceful electoral processes at the state level.

Section Four

NPC and the Challenges of Managing Political Diversity



As far back as 2014, in the build-up to the general elections of 2015, a National Peace Committee had already been conceptualized, ostensibly in response to emerging threats of violence and the potential breakdown of law and order occasioned by the elections. But it was not until a National Sensitization Workshop held on January 14, 2015, which provided an opportunity, not just for the signing of a peace accord by all the presidential candidates in the general election of that year, but also for far reaching commitments to accept the outcome of the election no matter the result, that the National Peace Committee emerged, with the primary objective of holding the signatories accountable to their commitments. This was a milestone event and a significant turning point in the 2015 general election.

The formation of the NPC was necessary because, the lead-up to the 2015 general elections generated so much tension and fear that many informed analysts both within and outside the country predicted the disintegration of Nigeria. Reasons for such fears include the competitive nature of the elections in which APC an amalgam of several smaller Parties was challenging the dominance of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) which had ruled Nigeria since the return to civil rule in 1999. The situation was compounded by the very vitriolic tone of the campaign in which religious, ethnic and hate slurs were commonly used to pit groups against each other. Tensions were further heightened by the existential threat posed to Nigeria by the Boko Haram insurgency primarily in the Northeast along with the destabilizing influence of such ethnic militias like the Odua Peoples' Congress (OPC) in the Southwest, the Niger Delta Militants in the South-South and the Movement for the Actualization of Biafra (MASSOB) in the Southeast. A combination of some or all of these, many feared, would likely lead to the implosion of Nigeria with the almost inevitable disputation of the election outcomes as the final trigger.

Consequently, the members of the NPC were assembled by the Convener, Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah and General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar was adopted as the Chairman. Initially, the group was intended to intervene only for the 2015 election, however, requests from different sectors of the country pushed for them to stay on and provide these continuous Interventions.

Thus, the creators of the National Peace Committee were aware of the level of trust deficit in Nigerian government institutions. There was an urgent need for moral intervention undertaken by eminent Nigerians who have the neutrality, objectivity and the impartiality to command the respect and trust of political actors and other stakeholders in resolving serious issues that threaten the corporate existence of Nigeria. Consequently, the members of the NPC were assembled by the Convener, Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah and General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar was adopted as the Chairman. Initially, the group was intended to intervene only for the 2015 election, however, requests from different sectors of the country pushed for them to stay on and provide these continuous interventions. At the inaugural meeting, the Committee adopted the following terms of reference:

- To observe and monitor compliance with the Abuja Accord signed by the political parties on 14 January 2015.
- To provide advice to the Government and INEC on resolution of political disputes and conflicts arising from issues of compliance with the Abuja Accord.
- To make itself available for national mediation and conciliation in the case of post-electoral disputes or crises.

In essence, the Committee is registered with the Corporate Affairs Commission as a non-profit organisation, with Kukah Centre as its secretariat. It is not a government agency and does not have any constitutional backing to perform its duties. It is simply a pro bono effort by eminent Nigerians to provide moral interventions in Nigeria's fledgling effort for stability and progress. In its conceptual stage, the mandate of the committee was specifically to support and contribute to free, fair and credible elections acceptable to all Nigerians. To do this, the committee is expected to engage critical stakeholders and policy makers at the highest level of government. It is based



on this mandate that the NPC facilitated the signing of the Peace Accords during the 2015 and 2019 general elections.

Another significant step undertaken by the NPC is that the peace conference and signing of the peace agreement was devolved to subnational level as well. The Peace Committee participated extensively in state-based elections. This participation has been informed by the research and data collection unit of the NPC Secretariat which assessed the risk of widespread violence in the different states. For example, the NPC undertook the mobilization and signing of Peace Agreements in Kogi, Bayelsa, Ondo, Edo and Anambra states. The experience of the NPC in these states indicates that the Committee alone cannot support elections in all the states, especially when general elections hold. It is easy for the NPC to intervene in states during staggered elections, but more difficult during general elections. For this reason, the NPC mandated its secretariat to mobilize key stakeholders in 8 states as a pilot scheme for establishing state-based peace architecture. This was done in Adamawa, Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Gombe, Taraba, Bauchi and Enugu states. Again, the NPC strengthened its research and data collection unit to ensure that its interventions are driven by facts, evidence and data rather than misinformed narratives and political sentiments.

The mandate of the NPC was officially expanded to include intervention in non-electoral matters. This decision was initiated by the members in their September 2019 plenary meeting and

eventually endorsed. Based on this, a stakeholder meeting was held in April 2021 with key stakeholders and policy makers at the highest level of government to fashion out strategies in response to the rising levels of insecurity evidenced by the spate of kidnapping, assassinations, banditry and terrorist attacks across the country. Indeed, the NPC has carved a niche for itself since 2015 and considering the level of trust deficit in state-aligned institutions, the committee remains relevant in the political and social life of Nigerians. However, the NPC faces some challenges in its effort to provide interventions in support of free, fair and credible elections, including peace generally.

Limited Awareness on the Role of the NPC: Generally, there is limited awareness among critical stakeholders and ordinary Nigerians about the mandate, the intentions and the objectives of setting up the NPC. Most people are not aware that the NPC provides only a moral intervention, and it has not constitutional duty to arrest, punish or prosecute any citizen for any wrongdoing. Rather, the Committee has the moral obligation to encourage, persuade and appeal to political actors, community leaders and other stakeholders on the importance of peace. This limited awareness has forced some Nigerians to question to significance of engaging with the NPC if only what the committee brings to the table is moral persuasion. This is a challenge for the work of the Committee.



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The Burden of Public Expectations:

Considering the optics, the individual and collective influence of NPC members and the convening power they have demonstrated over the years, it is nearly impossible to explain to many Nigerians that the NPC cannot move mountains. Because of this convening power, an enormous amount of expectation has been placed on the NPC both by the public, individual political parties and political actors. Community and religious leaders, including traditional rulers constantly appeal to the NPC to intervene in issues way beyond their mandate. Failure to respond to some of these expectations have somehow become a burden to the NPC in the process of providing the interventions it should.

Peace Accord and Accountability:

Another challenge for the NPC has been how to make the Peace Accords more effective, and political actors who sign them are made accountable. Since 2015, the NPC has facilitated 25 accords at the national and sub-national levels to contribute to peaceful elections in Nigeria. In 2015, one peace accord was signed. In 2019, 14 peace accords were signed, 2 at the national level, 8 in all the off-cycle election states, and 4 in states with no off-cycle elections but with ISPA's, that is Adamawa, Benue, Bauchi and Gombe. In 2023, there were 10 peace accords, 2 at the national level, 3 in states with off-cycle elections, and 5 with ISPA's, that is Oyo, Cross River, Taraba, Kano and Enugu states. Usually, the accord ceremonies assemble critical stakeholders and political actors who make

speeches committing themselves to a peaceful process. However, the NPC Situation Room has also recorded violations of the terms and conditions of this accord. While the NPC continues to appeal and persuade political actors to abide by the spirit of the accords, there has been no tangible demonstration of violators being held accountable. If this trend continues, there is a potential risk to the very essence of promoting the peace accords.

The Limit of Neutrality:

Another challenge is tied to the members of the NPC as individuals and as a group. It is often not brought to the fore that these members are equally Nigerians, with private views, opinions and perspectives on what is happening in the Country. They are engaged with different groups and opinion moulders across the country. The fact that they are members of the NPC makes it difficult for a lot of sectors to distinguish when they are speaking on behalf of the NPC, on behalf of their individual capacity or on behalf of the current offices they occupy or the businesses they run. It is a slippery slope, and it is necessary to make an active distinction between these blurred lines.

Absence of Peace Mechanisms at the Sub-National Level:

Since Nigeria's return to multi-party democracy, the concentration of power, influence and resources at the national level continues to be reinforced. As such, other cultural and traditional structures for conflict management and resolution have been heavily politicized and completely overtaken by political dynamics. For example, the recent events in Kano, Rivers and Sokoto states indicates that the survival of traditional institutions who are ideally supposed to be custodians of tradition and original agents for managing local conflicts have been caught up and made part of political negotiations. This means that there is a vacuum, and the absence of influential, trustworthy and reliable peace agents at the local level makes the work of the NPC even more difficult and demanding.

NPC and the Value of Self evaluation

After the election and transition to the new government, it was imperative to assess what went wrong and how we move on to do better. At this backdrop, the secretariat of the NPC organised two conferences. One with the ISPAs and the another with women, youth and PWDs. The conferences aimed to promote peace, social cohesion, and rebuild trust in the electoral process following the recent elections. Strengthening ISPA interventions, improving stakeholder collaboration, gathering feedback for NPC recommendations, and fostering community resilience against electoral interference were key objectives. Fr. Atta Barkindo, Head of the secretariat of the NPC in both conferences highlighted the NPC's history and interventions since 2015, emphasizing collaborations with various stakeholders and need for peace in the country.



Participants from the conferences emphasized the importance of recognizing ISPAs, women, youth and PWDs at all government levels. They identified issues like godfatherism and zoning that disrupt peace and recommended transparent governance and continuous community dialogue. The need for civic education, inclusivity, and independent scrutiny of candidates was highlighted. Proactive youth involvement and adherence to peace accords were seen as crucial to mitigating electoral violence. Building ISPA capacity through voter education and grassroots engagement, and providing educational outreach beyond formal settings, were recommended. Participants

stressed rejecting electoral bribery and involving traditional and religious leaders in peace processes.

Recommendations included building ISPA capacity to address challenges and supporting ISPAs in voter education at grassroots levels. Officially introducing ISPAs to state governments for recognition and extending ISPA concepts to local government levels were suggested. Introducing ISPAs to funding opportunities for sustainable support was also recommended.



The conference concluded that government support for ISPA, transparent governance, community dialogue, comprehensive civic education, youth involvement, inclusive processes, and robust stakeholder collaboration are essential for lasting peace and societal development. The conference with women, youth and PWDs highlighted several key issues faced by marginalized groups in Nigerian politics. Women feel suppressed due to the patriarchal nature of politics and society, which limits their opportunities compared to men. They seek equal footing in appointments and elective positions, citing the existence of capable women who can perform well in political roles. More enlightenment and training for

women, such as those in the Lagos market women association, is necessary. Persons living with disabilities (PWDs) emphasized the need for inclusivity in elections, advocating for their right to vote and be elected, and for better accessibility to voting areas and public facilities. Training from the Kukah Centre has helped PWDs engage more actively in politics, though they still face significant discrimination. Youths are challenged by the pervasive issue of Godfatherism and the high costs of entering politics, while the welfare of security personnel remains critical for ensuring peaceful, free, fair, and credible elections.

INDEPENDENT EVALUATION REPORT ON: The Overall Effectiveness of the 2023 General Elections activities of the National Peace Committee.

The NPC commissioned Migtan Consulting to evaluate its activities related to the peaceful and largely acceptable outcome of the 2023 General Elections in Nigeria. This independent evaluation assesses the effectiveness of the NPC's initiatives and how well they met their objectives, using data from past outcomes and monitoring and evaluation (M&E) results.

To measure the NPC's impact and ensure an objective evaluation, they consulted internal stakeholders, key interlocutors, and diverse external groups. Recommendations for improving future peacebuilding efforts were based on these consultations and desk research outcomes.

The NPC's activities were divided into three phases:

1. **Before the elections**
2. **During the elections**
3. **After the elections**

In the pre-election phase, the NPC engaged with political parties, INEC, security agencies, traditional and religious leaders, women's groups, youth, and persons with disabilities. They also conducted conflict mapping for policy recommendations. The signing of the Peace Accord was a key milestone for promoting peaceful elections and power transitions.

During the election phase, the NPC monitored compliance with the Peace Accord and addressed violations using a mini-situation room for data analysis. Post-election, the NPC continued interventions to reduce tensions and promote peace. This report evaluates the NPC's activities across all phases and offers recommendations for improving future interventions.

MAIN OBJECTIVE:

To assess the overall effectiveness of the NPC and the extent to which its core and specific objectives were met.

EVALUATION SCOPE:

- Harvest outcomes from previous work, monitor and evaluate progress against country M&E plans and long-term strategies.
- Assess compliance with Peace Accords and evaluate the impact of signing the Peace Accord.

- Document progressive changes from NPC Project implementation.
- Recommend improvements to the logical framework.
- Design policy documents based on the independent evaluation.

1. OUTCOME HARVESTING/ MONITORING & EVALUATION RESULTS ON PREVIOUS WORK DONE

The activities /outputs are broadly categorised into three phases: Pre-election phase, Election phase and Post-election phase

1. PRE-ELECTION PHASE:

Plans, actions, interventions, trainings, strategic engagements, and mediations aimed at ensuring peaceful electoral processes.

2. ELECTION PHASE:

Real-time monitoring and collation of voting activities, including compliance with the Peace Accord.

3. POST-ELECTION PHASE:

Includes outcome reviews, lessons learned, back-channel efforts to manage potential negative fallout, and peace and reconciliation activities.

NPC KEY PROJECT ACTIVITIES: 2023 ELECTIONS

	Project Activities	Objectives/ Outcome	Independent Evaluation Outcome
1	Organise plenary meetings of all NPC members and key stakeholders for interventions in electoral and non-electoral issues.	The plenary meetings are high level engagements with key stakeholders to develop strategies for interventions in both electoral and non-electoral matters. The meetings were expected to hold at specific intervals- before, during and post elections to ensure The NPC secretariat played a pivotal role in convening these strategic meetings for supporting peaceful general and off-cycle elections.	Evidence from the outcome harvesting and review of M&E report, including media reports in public space, clear show that the NPC organised the plenary meetings and other strategic engagements, before, during and after the general elections in line with the project planned activities.
2	Collaborate with INEC, Political parties, security agencies, religious, traditional, and community leaders, the business community, civil society groups, media proprietors and professionals, relevant regulatory agencies organizations, and the independent state-based peace architectures to de-escalate tension and build trust ahead of the elections, especially in active conflict zones and parts of the country prone to electoral violence	In order to achieve its strategic and core objectives, the NPC must proactively build strategic partnerships and collaborations with other critical stakeholders and key players across the geo-political, ethno-religious and socio-economic sectors. These strategic partnership would ensure that the message of peaceful elections is cascaded across different strata of the society.	Through its plenary meetings, stakeholder engagements, grassroots mobilisation initiatives via the Independent state-based peace architecture the NPC was able to galvanise these diverse stakeholders towards peace and trust building ahead of the elections and also as part of post-election peace building initiatives.
3	Facilitate the signing of the Peace Agreement (Peace Accord) by all the candidates and parties participating in the elections at the federal and state levels and ensure compliance with the provisions of the accord.	The signing of the Peace Accord remains the crux of NPC's intervention for peaceful elections from pre-campaign through to post-election periods. The Peace Accord offers a huge platform for engaging with the key political players and other relevant stakeholders for both general elections and off-cycle elections.	The signing of the Peace Accord at different stages prior to the 2023 general elections recorded the highest turn-out and participation of candidates and political parties. The Peace Accord received massive publicity and public acceptance which increased the confidence of Nigerians in the electoral process and doused the pervasive apprehension in the country at the time. However, there were various recorded incidents of non-compliance with some or all of the clauses of Peace Accord, especially by the major political parties and /or their candidates.
4	Organise the training of women and youths on political participation and electoral violence in the six geopolitical zones and other states of the federation.	In order to cascade the peace building efforts further down to the grassroots the NPC mobilised women, youths and people with disability form the six geo-political zones of the country for training and capacity building on the mandate of the NPC, political participation and electoral The participants would come to serve as the local network for early warning signs system and compliance monitoring and also as peace ambassadors.	There was full mobilisation and capacity building for women, youths and PWDs across the six geo-political zones covering 15 states, with full achievement of the set objectives.
5	Visibility action- Deploy both social media and traditional media to amplify the call for peace, unity, and security in Nigeria in the 36 states of the federation.	Having gained a high level of national recognition, it became imperative to reach more stakeholders at the subnational level, and to stem the tide of negative and unhealthy social media propaganda and fake news bedevilling the polity. In this regard the NPC embarked on a well-articulated media drive in order to cascade the message of peace and unity down further down to the grassroots level.	The activities of the NPC was felt across both social and traditional media. 2023 election recorded more collaboration with key stakeholders across national and subnational levels as a result of the media outreaches, social media engagements and advocacy for peace. Activities of the NPC members received more visibility across various media platforms thereby lending credence to the peace building process.
6	Conduct research and evidence-based mapping of emerging conflicts before, during and after elections and deploy the evidence collected to design policy recommendations for NPC interventions both at the national and state levels.	The main objective of this workstream was to ensure data-driven decision making, With potential conflict /risks proactively identified and mapped, it became easier for the Committee members to engage properly and minimise the effect of these emerging conflicts and other risk factors likely to impede peaceful elections.	This was a step change in the entire peace building activities of the NPC. Collating evidence-based data helped in the proactive response to issues before they snowball out of control. Expert were engaged to map emerging conflicts and reports were made available to guide the proactive and timely intervention of the Committee in potential conflict areas.
7	Set up mini-situation room during elections and monitor compliance and violations of the letter and spirit of the accord and prepare strategic recommendations for NPC interventions and engagement with political parties and or candidates to address violations.	The mini-situation room was created as the central hub for monitoring and capturing election activities in real-time. The activities of the M-SR provided insights into various election situations and the likely factors influencing the electoral climate. Providing useful data on compliance/non-compliance of the political parties at pre-voting, during voting and post voting periods to the Peace Agreement signed. These data served as reference for the NPC engagement with the relevant stakeholders.	The Mini-situation room was set up and was domiciled within The Kukah Centre. It was manned by experts and consultants who relied on data gathered by the field staff deployed across the 36 states, verified media reports and data from other collaborating CSOs. Harvested data from the independent evaluation indicate that the mini-situation room provided critical data and information needed by the NPC to drive informed timely decisions needed for interventions before and during elections.
8	Provide institutional memory for the activities and interventions of the NPC, analysing how these interventions have contributed to the democratic progress in Nigeria.	As part of institutional memory preservation The NPC has continued to document its activities and interventions through various media. Part of this process was the publication and presentation of two significant books during the electoral period: one focused on the history and interventions of the NPC, and the other on the 2023 Election Report.	The NPC through The Kukah Centre has painstakingly documented its activities and interventions as part of institutional memory preservation. There are video documentaries, digital photo-books, reports and book publications showing NPC's footprints and contributions towards democratic progress in Nigeria.

2. ENGAGEMENT WITH MAIN INTERLOCUTORS FOR MORE DATA

Purpose:

Interlocutors were engaged due to their involvement in NPC initiatives before, during, and after the elections. Their insights, feedback, and data were crucial for outcome harvesting and M&E.

Target Demography:

- Youths
- Women
- Persons With Disabilities
- Independent State-based Peace Architecture –ISPA
- Select CSOs

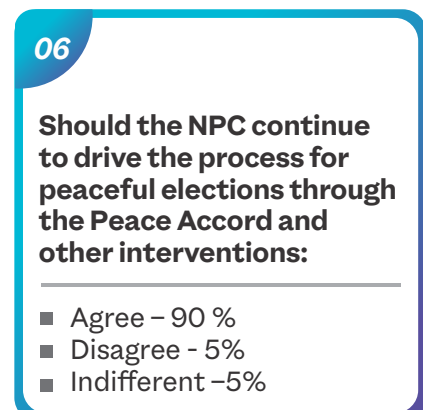
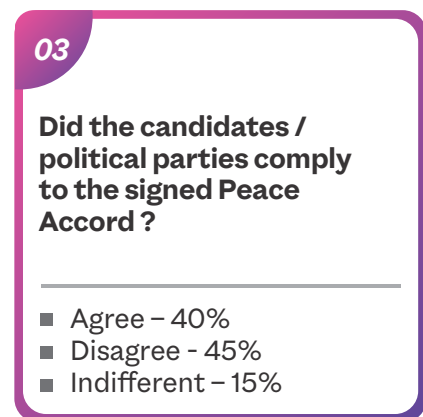
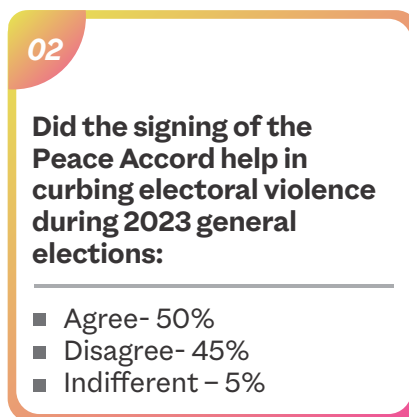
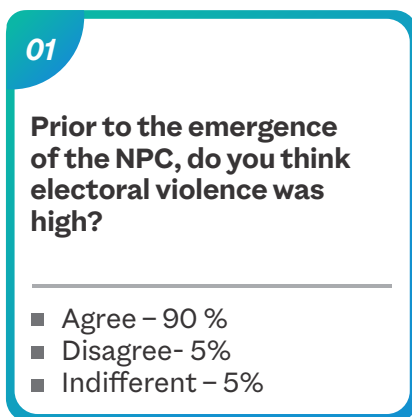
Engagement Metrology:

- Questionnaire administration.
- Focus group discussions
- One-on-one random opinion sampling

Total polled:

100+

DATA ANALYSIS : MAIN INTERLOCUTORS



3. ENGAGEMENT WITH EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS FOR MORE DATA

Purpose:

The public was engaged to gauge awareness of the NPC and the Peace Accord, assess politicians' and supporters' compliance, and gather recommendations for improving NPC's role in promoting peaceful elections.

Target Demography:

- Youths - Undergraduates, employed & unemployed.
- Women - from diverse groups & backgrounds
- Men - from diverse groups and backgrounds

Engagement metrology:

- Online survey via questionnaire administration.
- Focus group discussions
- One-on-one random opinion sampling

Total polled:

- Online survey – 2000+
- One-on-one – 100+
- Focus group – 4 sessions of varying number of participants

DATA ANALYSIS : EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS ENGAGEMENT

01

Awareness of the existence of the NPC and Signing of the Peace Accord:

- Youth – 40 %
- Women- 80%
- Men – 90%

02

Did the signing of the Peace Accord help in curbing electoral violence during 2023 general elections:

- Agree- 40%
- Disagree- 50%
- Indifferent – 10%

03

1the candidates/political parties comply to the signed Peace Accord:

- Agree – 40 %
- Disagree - 50%
- Indifferent – 10%

04

Should there be sanctions for non compliance with the Singed Peace Accord:

- Agree – 90 %
- Disagree- 10%
- Indifferent – 0%

05

Should the signing of the Peace Accord be compulsory for every level of the electoral process:

- Agree – 90 %
- Disagree - 10%
- Indifferent – 0%

06

Should the NPC continue to drive the process for peaceful elections through the Peace Accord and other interventions:

- Agree – 90 %
- Disagree - 5%
- Indifferent – 5%

Key Findings

In 2014, the NPC aimed to ensure peaceful elections and candidate acceptance, leading to the first Peace Accord. Between 2015 and 2019, the NPC expanded its role, facilitating dialogue for peaceful elections and becoming more structured.

By 2023, the NPC enhanced its capacity through peace accords, state-based peace architectures, and involving youths, women, and persons with disabilities as peace ambassadors. The NPC's conflict mapping, research, and back-channel discussions have established her as a trusted mediator and partner in promoting good governance and democracy. Here are the key findings:

- The NPC significantly improved the quality of strategic engagements, program content, demographic diversity, and visibility.

- Research and evidence-based conflict mapping before, during, and after elections provided valuable data for timely interventions.

- The NPC's digital presence and traditional media coverage grew significantly, enhancing engagement and visibility of its activities.

- The mini-situation room played a pivotal role in real-time monitoring of Peace Accord compliance, generating data for strategic interventions.

- Engagement with Independent State-based Peace Architectures extended the peace message to grassroots levels, reducing the elitist perception of the NPC.

- The signing of the Peace Accord gained visibility, awareness, and acceptance across political, religious, and ethnic divides, and within the international community.

- The NPC remains the most influential mediation body for electoral and non-electoral issues, promoting peace, unity, and social cohesion.

- Despite reported cases of electoral violence and non-compliance, the 2023 general elections were generally accepted by the population and international monitors.

- Public trust in the NPC's ability to manage tensions remains strong, despite controversies surrounding the 2023 presidential elections.

- The lack of consequences for violations of the Peace Accord by politicians and their supporters remains a major concern, leading to calls for legal backing to sanction violators.

- A small, mischievous group of party fanatics and hero worshippers, who spread violence and misinformation independently of political figures, needs to be properly studied and engaged.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on:

- Review of M&E results from outcome harvesting activities
- Public opinion from polls and focus group sessions during field surveys
- Suggestions from engagements with main interlocutors
- Inferences from data and feedback from social and traditional media

For clarity, they are grouped into four major areas:

1. Before Elections
2. During Elections
3. After Elections
4. General

While not exhaustive, these recommendations outline how the NPC can better achieve its core objectives and mandate.

Recommendations – Before Elections

- Conduct extensive voter and civic education to rebuild trust in the electoral process and encourage mass participation.
- Promote peace advocacy in secondary and tertiary institutions through youth-friendly programs and events.
- Provide training and capacity building for politicians and aspiring candidates, focusing on peaceful conduct and attitudes towards power and elective positions.
- Engage more with INEC, the judiciary, and law enforcement agencies to ensure neutrality and impartiality in dealing with electoral law violators.
- Publicize the contents of the signed Peace Accord to boost public confidence and understanding.
- Advocate for the Peace Accord to be legally binding, with enforceable sanctions for non-compliance.
- Strengthen and empower ISPA's to spread the peace message and advocacy to grassroots levels well before elections.
- Target peace advocacy and non-violence training at at-risk youth, who are often used as thugs by politicians.
- Require candidates to publicly condemn violence and electoral malpractices before, during, and after elections.
- Make signing and complying with the Peace Accord mandatory for all election candidates.
- Develop an enforcement mechanism to sanction Peace Accord violators, such as public naming and shaming.
- Implement economic empowerment initiatives in rural areas to combat vote buying.
- Empower more peace ambassadors at state and local government levels.
- Amplify the peace advocacy message using both conventional and unconventional platforms.
- INEC should consider harmonizing the general elections calendar to reduce violence from off-cycle elections.
- Rebuild public trust by having major stakeholders (INEC, security agencies, the government, and political parties) work together to encourage mass participation in the electoral process.

Recommendations – During Elections

- Ensure law enforcement agencies are accountable for maintaining peace and order at polling units and collation centers.
- Implement real-time monitoring and flagging of violations and non-compliance.
- INEC must be perceived as an impartial umpire, not favoring the ruling party.
- Deploy more election monitoring personnel, especially in areas prone to malpractices.
- Advocate for the disqualification of candidates whose supporters engage in vote buying or electoral violence.
- Use technology for monitoring, particularly in areas prone to violence.

Recommendations – After Elections

- Establish a reward mechanism to publicly recognize compliant candidates and parties, encouraging adherence in future elections.
- Make post-election negotiation and reconciliation processes more inclusive.
- Amplify the peace advocacy message after elections to de-escalate tensions among supporters of losing parties.
- Create a platform for the NPC to engage and reconcile both winning and losing parties, fostering a peaceful transition and inclusive government.
- Maintain ongoing, neutral engagement with winning candidates and parties.
- Enhance efforts towards reconciliation, national healing, and social cohesion.

General Recommendations

- Expand NPC Leadership: Create an extended national leadership layer that includes representatives from Youth, Women, and Persons with Disabilities (PWDs). This will enhance inclusivity, improve NPC's acceptance, and reduce elitist perceptions.
- Enhance ISPA Scope:
 - Make membership structures more inclusive.
 - Provide capacity-building and program-specific training.
 - Engage state governors and stakeholders to officially recognize and partner with ISPA.
 - Ensure adequate funding for independence and efficiency.
- Establish Local Government-level units for community-based engagement.
- Expand the ISPA framework to additional states.
- Electoral Offenses Tribunal: Collaborate with the National Assembly and INEC to prioritize the passage of a bill to establish an Electoral Offenses Tribunal, improving accountability for electoral violations and reducing INEC's prosecutorial burden.
- International Advocacy: Advocate for international sanctions against government and party officials who orchestrate, tolerate, or encourage electoral violence.

- **Capacity Building for NPC Staff:** Enhance training and technical support for NPC secretariat staff in areas such as technology-driven research, data analysis, conflict resolution, mediation, and train-the-trainer programs.
- **Public Documentation:** Make NPC's activities and impact accessible to the public through various formats like documentaries, books, audio-visual materials, policy documents, and research papers to reinforce awareness of their contributions to democratic progress in Nigeria.
- **Government Collaboration:** Intensify engagement with relevant government agencies (e.g., National Orientation Agency, Ministry of Information, Ministry of Youth and Sports, Ministry of Women Affairs) to co-create programs that drive national peace consciousness, social cohesion, and values reorientation, while maintaining neutrality.
- **Youth Engagement:** Address widespread political apathy among youth, particularly in tertiary institutions, by launching campus-focused peace advocacy, civil and voter education, and political awareness campaigns. This can also serve as an opportunity to recruit more peace ambassadors and change agents.

Conclusion

General elections in Nigeria are always fraught with heightened tensions, violent killings and palpable fear of possible disintegration occasioned by highly divisive ethno-religious politicking.

2023 general election was no different and this, once again prompted for the call on the National Peace Committee to intervene, leveraging on its widely recognized convening power, to ensure a peaceful outcome of the 2023 General Elections that is largely acceptable to Nigerians and the international community. And to facilitate before and beyond the 2023 General Elections interventions in other non- electoral matters which will foster reconciliation and the overall socio-economic development of the country.

The NPC, leveraging on previous successful interventions, rose the occasion, thereby making the 2023 general elections a step change in the depth and breadth its stakeholder engagements and interventions.

The pre-election period witnessed a host of foundational activities geared towards galvanizing all relevant stakeholders, creating awareness and visibility at both national and sub-national levels Proactively mapping of emerging conflicts ahead of the elections. These activities and many more, culminated into the signing of the

Peace Accord by the candidates and their parties at different times prior to the elections

During the elections the NPC played a pivotal role towards monitoring and ensuring that the political actors adhered to letter and spirit of the Peace Accord. All the necessary mechanisms for intervention and engagement were deployed at this time to ensure peaceful polls.

Post election activities of the NPC have been largely, engagements and interventions to foster peace, reconciliation, strengthening social cohesion and rebuilding public trust.

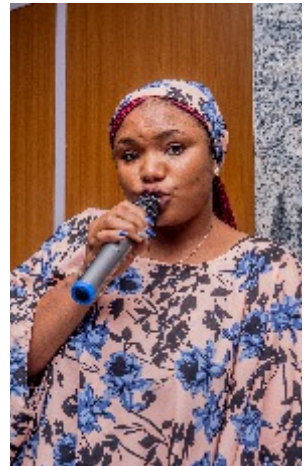
In summing up this independent evaluation, in comparing the outcome of our independent evaluation of the NPC activities vis-à-vis the stated results, we can conclude that the NPC carried out all requisite engagements and interventions in line with the set objectives and goals of the project

The NPC played a pivotal role, within the ambits of the power it wields, towards ensuring the peaceful conduct of the 2023 general election and peaceful transition of power.

Although the impact of the enormous work the NPC has put into the peace building process, may not have matched in full measure, the expectations of the general populace, majorly as result of non-compliance with the Peace Accord by the key political actors, the 2023 elections can be adjudged to be acceptable as far as peaceful transition of power is concerned.

The lessons learnt from the 2023 elections should form the basis for further reflections and actions toward making the NPC more formidable and fully empowered to continue the peacebuilding interventions. We believe that the best time to start preparing for 2027 elections and beyond is now, because achieving peaceful elections in Nigeria should be treated as a marathon rather than a sprint.

The National Peace Committee remains the only body that has the capability, the structure and public trust to be at the forefront of Nigeria's quest for peaceful electoral process.



Section Five

NPC and the Framework for Deepening Nigeria's Democratic Culture



Following the intense engagement of the NPC in the entire electoral process for the 2023 general elections, the members of the Committee are aware that certain critical issues need to be taken seriously to improve the democratic culture in Nigeria. These issues include rebuilding public confidence in the electoral process through prosecution of electoral offenders, improving the quality of communication by agencies charged with the responsibility of managing elections and providing independent evaluation of previous elections to obtain what lessons can be learnt. This should include the evaluation of previous recommendations provided by various reform groups to identify which ones fit the bill and to undertake them. Another aspect is the need to address all complexities, ambiguities, inadequacies and lack of clarity in the different laws, policies and guidelines that support the growth of our electoral process. This must be done without recourse to the parochial interest of politicians and other sectional claims. Some of the review of these laws must include issues related to election dates, the use of technology and the review and implementation of a comprehensive legal framework that prosecutes and holds electoral offenders accountable.

Furthermore, there is an urgent need to promote integrity and update the accuracy of the voter register. There are claims and counter claims by political parties on the number of memberships, and in many instances, there are also discrepancies in the voter register, with limited update to expunge those who have not voted for more than 3 electoral cycles, those who are dead or have left the country many years ago. There are double registrations across different states. There is the need to eliminate duplications, audit and update the register to make the process more transparent. There is also a need to promote inclusion, protect the rights of citizens to vote, improve election security, raise the quality of political engagement among and between political actors and citizens, improve the culture of managing political parties and strengthen the institutional independence of INEC and its effectiveness. Strengthening INEC's institutional Independence and effectiveness. To do this successfully undertake all these, the NPC provides some guidelines.

Whole society approach: There must be a whole society approach to managing elections and providing peace generally in Nigeria. Elections provide an opportunity for peaceful competition between political ideas and personalities and for political and social debates to play out in an arena of constructive conflict. Maintaining this opportunity for constructive conflict requires attention to the election process beyond Election Day. Voting is only a single event within a cycle of activities and processes that connects one Election Day to the next. In transitional democracies such as Nigeria, there are simmering religious, regional and ethnic conflicts that happen before elections, and when they remain unresolved, the potential and risk remains that the conduct of that particular election could be threatened. Bridging this gap requires reframing elections and conflict. Electoral conflict (and violence) can be better understood when placed within the conflict, political and social cycle of grievances felt by citizens and left unaddressed by the government. This means that there must

be an integrated approach that looks at the whole society and identify the different roles to be played by different sectors. As such, the government must do its homework. Political parties must comply with laws. Citizens should endeavour to understand and participate in the electoral process and the judiciary, security agencies and election management bodies must remain neutral, impartial and objective in the discharge of their duties.

The Responsibility of the Government in Power: It is inconceivable for the Nigerian government to aspire for a free, fair and credible elections amidst biting poverty, deepened culture of impunity and lack of accountability, sometimes promoted by the political class in power. As part of free and fair elections, the government must live up to its constitutional responsibility in securing the lives and property of citizens in-between elections. The government must comply with the social contract it has signed with citizens, and the political class must be seen to lead by example, and not display ill-gotten wealth while the citizens live in squalor.

Election Management Body: For many Nigerians, INEC is perceived compromised, politically exposed and overburdened, and therefore it is constrained from within its own structure to deliver on its constitutional mandate. Consequently, the NPC suggests that owing to public interest and the interest of deepening democracy in Nigeria, it is important to consider amending the constitution to divest the power of appointing the Chairman, National Commissioners and Resident Electoral Commissioners in line with Justice Uwais electoral reform committee recommendations. In the current climate where technology has become an important tool, Election administration requires individuals with diverse legal, IT, logistics, statistics, and communications skills. Defining instrument for public and private management, professional skills and qualifications should be considered when making appointments into

INEC. The appointing authority should also consider the age, health status and gender of nominees when making appointments into the commission. It is also conceivable that the general public could be allowed to participate in the appointment processes. Consequently, all those who have the privilege of serving the country within the election management body must do so with integrity, impartiality and neutrality. They must have the courage to comply with laws and regulations and uphold the rule of law in managing elections.

Changing Political Party Culture in Nigeria: Political parties in Nigeria provide linkage functions for citizen's participation in governance and public discourse that are critical for the health of the nation's democracy. These parties require structures that are participatory, inclusive, transparent, and value-driven, with the capacity to provide dynamic solutions to the complex societal concerns. However, over the years, Nigerian political parties have been bedevilled by incidences of indiscipline, corruption, defections, lack of inclusion, judicial injunctions and disregard for legal frameworks. Consequently, in Kukah Centre, Secretariat of

the NPC, conducted in 2023 a needs assessment of political parties, and five issues were identified that are critical to political party development and democracy delivery in Nigeria. These are: Organisation Structure; Membership Profile; Political Communications; Compliance with Legal Frameworks; and Ideological frameworks, Policy Making and Strategic Plans. It is therefore necessary for political parties to be supported and technical training be given to them to improve on their functions, comply with regulations and provide intellectual component to governance issues in Nigeria.

Peace Committee and National Duty: The Peace Committee cannot afford to give up at this time in the national life of Nigeria. Many of the citizens look up to the Peace Committee to speak on their account and hold the feet of government to fire. The committee must continue to deploy its convening power to provide moral interventions in cases where trust deficit is rampant, and the judicial structures have failed. The committee must continue to





bring the voices of ordinary Nigerians to the attention of the government and policy makers. It should work with CSOs and opinion makers in promoting electoral reforms, engaging INEC, religious leaders, traditional institutions, political parties and actors as well as security agencies to promote free, fair and credible elections acceptable to all Nigerians. The NPC must support the peace initiatives at the local level, and work with them in effective partnerships to promote peace in the states.

In this regard, the NPC should work with the National Assembly and INEC to prioritize passage of the bill that would establish the Electoral Offenses Tribunal to better hold perpetrators accountable for electoral violations and alleviate the burden on INEC to prosecute offenders. The Committee should advocate for the international community to publicly sanction government and party officials who orchestrate, tolerate, or encourage electoral violence. The NPC should intensify engagement with relevant government agencies to co-create programs, interventions and activities that would drive national peace consciousness, social cohesion and values reorientation. Agencies like: National Orientation Agency, Ministry of Information, Ministry of Youth and sports, Ministry of Women affairs, etc. while remaining neutral.

There is wide-spread political apathy among the youth population, especially in the tertiary institutions, their disillusionment is majorly based on the outcome of the presidential election. They had high expectations of their preferred candidate emerging winner at the presidential polls. The NPC should take advantage of this gap to launch campus-centric peace advocacy, civil and voter education and political awareness campaigns. This could be an opportunity to recruit more peace ambassadors and change agents. For this reasons, the NPC secretariat staff should be provided with more capacity building opportunities and technical support to enable them discharge their duties effectively. (technology-driven research and data analysis, conflict resolution and mediation skills, train-the- trainer capacity building). Documented activities of the NPC in various formats should be made accessible to the public to reinforce awareness on how these interventions have positively contributed towards democratic progress in Nigeria. (Documentaries, Books, Pictures, Audio-visual messages, policy documents, research papers, etc.)

Conclusion

General elections in Nigeria are always fraught with heightened tensions, violent killings and palpable fear of possible disintegration occasioned by highly divisive ethno-religious politicking. The 2023 general election was no different and this, once again prompted for the call on the National Peace Committee to intervene, leveraging on its widely recognized convening power, to ensure a peaceful outcome of the 2023 General Elections that is largely acceptable to Nigerians and the international community. And to facilitate before and beyond the 2023 General Elections interventions in other non- electoral matters which will foster reconciliation and the overall socio-economic development of the country.

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Post election activities of the NPC have been largely, engagements and interventions to foster peace, reconciliation, strengthening social cohesion and rebuilding public trust. The NPC played a pivotal role, within the ambits of the power it wields, towards ensuring the peaceful conduct of the 2023 general election and peaceful transition of power. Although the impact of the enormous work the NPC has put into the peace building process, may not have matched in full measure, the expectations of the general populace, majorly as result of non-compliance with the Peace Accord by the key political actors, the 2023 elections can be adjudged to be acceptable as far as peaceful transition of power is concerned. The lessons learnt from the 2023 elections should form the basis for further reflections and actions toward making the NPC more formidable and fully empowered to continue the peacebuilding interventions. We believe that the best time to start preparing for 2027 elections and beyond is now, because achieving peaceful elections in Nigeria should be treated as a marathon rather than a sprint. The National Peace Committee remains the only body that has the capability, the structure and public trust to be at the forefront of Nigeria's quest for peaceful electoral process.



My Afterword

This is the third report in the series documenting the activities of the National Peace Committee (NPC), published by its National Secretariat, The Kukah Centre. These publications are crucial because we believe that preserving memory is fundamental to a nation's ability to learn from its past, recognize where we may have taken wrong turns, and navigate back to the path of unity and greatness. By recording our election experiences and making this information and data available, we provide valuable resources for scholars, political science and history students, and young citizens. This helps deepen their understanding and appreciation of our nation's ongoing journey towards its elusive greatness.

In 2019, many Nigerians were concerned about the lack of enforcement of the interventions provided by the NPC, particularly the Peace Accords. The interventions offered by the NPC are purely moral, especially in a context where trust deficit is widespread, and there is a culture of impunity and non-compliance with laws. The NPC's mandate is founded on the need to promote peace, prevent widespread violence, and encourage parties and candidates to uphold the rule of law. However, the NPC has no authority to arrest violators of the process or interfere with the constitutional duties of INEC. It is established to provide moral intervention through mediation and moral persuasion to ensure peace. Additionally, it is expected to speak truth to power on behalf of the public interest when things are going terribly wrong. As a result, the NPC has become central to the electoral process, and confidence in its role during elections has become critical to both Nigerians and the diplomatic community.

For this reason, the NPC remains steadfast, backed by Nigerians from every walk of life, members of the international community, the media, and the political class, along with local and international election monitoring groups, all placing their trust in our efforts. This unwavering support has fueled the NPC, bringing in vital funding and fostering ongoing dialogue. These engagements have imparted valuable lessons, strengthening the NPC's resolve and capacity to serve.

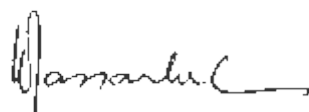
The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has clearly demonstrated that it considers the National Peace Committee (NPC) an ally in its arduous task of providing Nigerians with a credible platform for legitimizing our nation's electoral processes. Our visible collaboration with INEC has been appreciated by both the commission and political actors, enhancing the process's legitimacy in the eyes of ordinary citizens. In his foreword to this publication, the Chairman has already outlined the NPC's efforts to improve

the commitment of political actors to signing the Peace Accord.

To this end, the NPC has implemented a two-stage signing process for the Peace Accords at the national level and extended this effort to all off-cycle elections. To further support peace, the NPC has agreed to mobilize the Independent State-based Peace Architectures in all 36 states across the country, including the FCT. This is essential to ensure that all political actors adhere to their commitments, ensuring their campaigns do not jeopardize the process or undermine citizens' ability to exercise their hard-earned mandate. We hope that, moving forward, the Peace Accords will be strengthened to hold politicians more accountable.

Finally, on behalf of the Chairman and Members, I wish to pay tribute to three key individuals who were central to the NPC's inception. First is Mr. Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary-General. His Centre continues to work closely with the NPC. Next are Chief Emeka Anyaoku and Chief Ben Obi, the former Special Adviser to the President on Interparty Affairs. I want to thank all the members of the Peace Committee for their commitment to the Nigerian Project.

Additionally, I want to express my gratitude to the staff of the NPC Secretariat, led by Rev. Fr. Athanasius Atta Barkindo, for their dedication and hard work in ensuring the smooth interventions provided by the Committee members. Rev. Fr. Barkindo and his team have efficiently managed the NPC Secretariat and these publications. I hope you find this document both useful and informative.



Most Rev. Matthew Hassan KUKAH
Convener, NPC.

Press Statements Before and After Presidential Elections



NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE

A CALL TO ISSUE-BASED CAMPAIGNS IN THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS

Since Nigeria's return to multi-party democracy in 1999, there has been slow and gradual consolidation of a democratic culture in the country. This is not to suggest that the democratic progress in Nigeria has not faced challenges. One of such challenges has been the inability of politicians and political parties to manage diversity and ensure equal distribution of resources. This has facilitated the ugly reality of much of the conflicts and political violence Nigeria has witnessed since 1999. The build-up to the 2023 general elections has raised some major concerns.

The Boko Haram conflict that defined the 2015 election is yet to be quelled, and with bandits operating across the North-West, violent secessionist agitation spiralling in the South-East and farmer-herder clashes ongoing across the country, the 2023 election is set to take place amidst nationwide insecurity.

The precarious economic situation across the country has made vote-selling and buying easy, especially as witnessed during the governorship elections in Ekiti and Osun States. Voter turnout is another area of concern. Just 34.75 percent of eligible Nigerians voted in 2019 and a similarly low, or lowerturnout in 2023 would further undermine the credibility of the poll.

The rise of fake news and misinformation continues to pose a significant threat to the pattern of democracy in Nigeria. It informs public perception, creates platforms for incitement and endangers the country's effort at deepening the culture of democracy.

Most significantly, the pattern of public communication among political actors, their publicity agents, spokespersons, and media consultants has amplified the potential for personal attacks, insults, and incitement, relegating to the background, the civility and decency in public discourse and debate. Additionally, it has shifted focus away from issue-based campaigns to consolidating identity politics and the

politics of thuggery.

In view of this, there is need to promote a culture of healthy issue-based campaigns and political communication. Consequently, the National Peace Committee (NPC) has organised the signing of two Peace Accords for the 2023 general elections. The first Peace Accord, which holds on Thursday, 29th September 2022, at the International Conference Centre, Abuja, is to commit all political parties, presidential candidates and their spokespersons to peaceful political campaigns and rallies, devoid of violence, incitement and personal insults, but defined by issues at the very heart of national development and progress. The second Peace Accord will come up shortly before the elections, and it is intended to commit candidates to accept the outcome of the votes as long as it is adjudged to be free, fair and credible.

Therefore, the NPC calls on all Nigerians, politicians, political parties, security agencies, the election management body, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and all stakeholders to ensure that Nigeria is placed first above regional and sectional claims.

The NPC reminds all Nigerians that the 2023 general election is more than an election. It is an opportunity to serve Nigeria, defend Nigeria and uphold her unity and progress. Nigerians should avoid the spread of fake news, and uphold the principles of tolerance, respect, civility and decency in all public and private conversations and engagements about the elections and the progress of Nigeria.

Finally, all political actors, especially their publicity agents and media advisers, must shun personal attacks, avoid insults and incitement, reject the spread of fake news, and commit to issue-based campaigns and political rallies in the upcoming 2023 general elections.

God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria!

Signed

His Excellency,
GENERAL ABDULSALAMI A. ABUBAKAR, GCFR
Chairman, National Peace Committee

MOST REV. DR. MATTHEW HASSAN KUKAH
Catholic Bishop of Sokoto
Convener, National Peace Committee

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NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE

TOWARDS PEACEFUL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS: OUR CONCERNS

1: The Members of the National Peace Committee, NPC, have watched with utter sadness and deep concern, the deterioration in the communication of fundamental issues among the politicians since the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, lifted the ban on political campaigns on September 28th, 2022. A day after the ban was lifted and in response to a call by the NPC, the Presidential Candidates and their running mates met and participated in the signing of the Peace Accord at the International Conference Centre, Abuja. Since its successful outing preceding the 2015 Presidential Elections, the signing of the Peace Accord has become embedded in our electioneering campaigns. Over the years, the event has elevated the level of trust and confidence among ordinary Nigerians in the Democratic process. Some have even called for the institutionalisation of the process into our democratic process due to its moral significance.

2: The NPC has continued to maintain its partnership with the INEC to deliver peaceful elections in our country. The international community has taken very keen interest in the development and progress of our country on the path of Democracy. For this reason, the NPC has continued to work with and receive high level delegations from Europe and the United States of America interested our elections. Their passion, concerns and commitment in our Democracy are genuine and we find this very encouraging. We should therefore know that the world is watching us.

3: We appreciate the fact that the President and Commander in Chief, President Muhammadu Buhari in collaboration with the National Assembly have shown their commitment to ensuring the successful elections. On our part, we, the members of the Peace Committee, are also encouraged by the progress and innovation that INEC has continued to make under the leadership of Professor Mahmood Yakubu. All Nigerians can testify to this development by the successes recorded in the peaceful conduct of the off-circle elections in Edo, Ondo, Anambra, Ekiti and Osun states. We are not where we want to be yet, but we are right to assume that we can do more.

4: Nigerians are genuinely concerned, troubled and disappointed by the conduct and attitude of some of the political actors in the last few weeks. Nigerians have been fed a menu of intemperate language, intimidation and outright violence in the field of the campaigns. It is evident that some of our actors have not learnt any lessons from the past. There is an increasing tone of desperation, if not incitement, among some of the contestants and members of their parties. Intra and inter party wranglings still persist, with occasions of violence. In desperation, some selfish political actors use these strategies to pursue their frivolous ambitions in the courts.

5: When all the Presidential candidates and the Party Chairmen signed the Peace Accord, they were committed to infusing a sense of decency, civility and nobility in the political process. The political actors cannot pretend to be oblivious of the content of the Peace Accord that they signed. Nigerians expect that as men and women of honour, they were committed to keeping their words.

6: The Security agencies have continued to do their best as they monitor security developments across the country. We continue to encourage them to ensure that the right environment is created for, peaceful elections. During the signing of the Peace Accord, the Inspector General of Police, Mr. Baba Usman called attention to the fact that the federal government does not recognize any of the many security outfits that have mushroomed across the country. We call on the law enforcement agencies to enforce the law with the understanding that everyone will be held accountable for their actions, no matter their status.

7: We wish to call on the Media to remain focused in managing information. The social media is with us and it can be a tool for good if only we decide to use it for peaceful purposes. Citizens must be more discreet in the kind of information that they circulate on various platforms. Individuals must take responsibility for what they read. We encourage the Youth to be more restrained and to use their numbers well so as to guard their future.

8: We call on all the candidates to rein in their Spokespersons and those who claim to represent them and their parties in the public media. All candidates will be held responsible for what is said on their behalf or of their party. Aggressive and abusive language only diminishes the integrity of the individuals, their candidates and their parties. Nigerians should be ready to punish instigators of violence by isolating them or their candidates.

9: We call on the federal and state governments to ensure a level playing field for all parties in the course of the campaigns. Access to federal or state facilities must be open to all candidates as long as they meet their financial and other commitments to using the facilities. It is morally wrong to abuse the power of incumbency by subverting the efforts of those who are in opposition to the status quo. Parties and citizens do not lose their rights because they are opposed to the party in power. All citizens are above political parties.

10: Finally, we call on fellow citizens to appreciate the global trends around the world and Africa and their impact on the future where resources are becoming scarce. Nigerians must appreciate the huge resources committed to elections and do everything possible to ensure its integrity. May God the creator of Heaven and earth continue to guide our country and hear our prayers for peace, prosperity, and progress.

General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar, GCFR
Chairman, National Peace Committee

Most Rev. Dr. Matthew Hassan Kukah
Convener, National Peace Committee



A CALL FOR CALM:

PLEASE GIVE PEACE AND THE PROCESS A CHANCE

1. We commend Nigerians for turning out in mass to exercise their civic duty by voting in the February 25 elections. We took note of their patience, dignity and enthusiasm which Nigerians lined up to vote despite observable challenges in the polling units.
2. Along with millions of other Nigerians and the international community, we have followed developments since the commencement and end of the Presidential and the National Assembly elections last Saturday. Not unexpectedly, the elections got on to a rather rocky start with the usual problems around logistics and accreditation processes across the country. On balance, despite these glitches, the elections were peaceful across most part of the country. However, now that the process of casting our votes has been largely concluded, the challenge now lies with the collation of the results. We perfectly understand that Nigerians are quite disturbed by these developments. Against, this backdrop, we make the following appeals:
3. Nigerians must be reminded that the world has invested a lot of goodwill towards us in these elections. We have taken note of the dissatisfaction among voters who braved all harsh weather elements to perform their civic duties. All citizens deserve to be rewarded by a process that ensures that their votes truly count. We appeal to INEC to heed the grievances being expressed, to take the necessary steps to escalate investigations of all allegations of infractions and to ensure that justice is clearly done to all citizens who went out to vote.
4. We have received reports of the culture of voter suppression manifested across the country through the application of targeted violence, disruption of processes, inducement of voters, intimidation, deliberate frustrations of voters and the challenges of the election equipment.
5. We are pleased that INEC has accepted these lapses and promised to rectify these lapses. We appeal to the Security Agencies to collaborate with INEC in their investigations of these weighty allegations. Concerns about the failures of the INEC Result Viewing Portals (IReV) across the country must be thoroughly investigated to ensure transparency.
6. In the spirit of the Peace Accord which all candidates and their Chairmen signed on February 23rd, 2023, the NPC appeals to all the Presidential candidates, the Chairmen of Parties to take full responsibility for statements made by their Spokespersons and agents. We appeal to all our citizens to remain calm, while INEC continues with its process to its conclusion.
7. Finally, let us all stand together trusting in the will of God, Allahu Subhanahu Wata'ala for our country. We appeal to INEC to take all the time it requires to ensure that it delivers results that inspire the confidence of our people and meet time-tested international standards.


General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar, GCFR
Chairman, National Peace Committee

27/02/2023



NIGERIANS: AGAIN, A CALL FOR CALM
AN APPEAL TO NIGERIANS FROM THE NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE

1. We are following up with the same appeal that we made ahead of the Presidential elections on February 25th, 2023. We at the Peace Committee understand and appreciate that these are trying times for our country and its citizens. Presidential elections have come and gone. However, problems have arisen from the process of the collation, transmission and release of the final results. This has generated the crisis that we now find ourselves. Notwithstanding all this, we are pleased and encouraged by the matured attitudes of the Candidates who contested the Presidential elections. We are encouraged by the restraint they have exhibited and their commitment to seek justice through due process. This is in keeping with the spirit of the Peace Accord. We therefore appeal to the supporters of all the Parties and our citizens to please follow the good example of their leaders and remain law abiding till the process is brought to an end.

2. This weekend, on March 18th 2023, the second round of Elections for the Governorship and State Assemblies will be conducted. We are worried by the open threats of intimidation and violence by certain elements within the society who are using ethnic and religious labels to achieve their intentions of voter suppression. We appeal to the Security and Law enforcement Agencies to remain alert and to bring to book anyone, no matter their position in society who poses a threat to the peaceful conduct of the elections. We encourage all citizens not to be intimidated and to go out and exercise their God given rights.

1
SECRETARIAT

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CHAIRMAN: GEN. ABDUSALAM A. ABUBAKAR, (RTD), GCFR CONVENER: BISHOP MATTHEW HASSAN KUKAH



3. Finally, we at the Peace Committee wish to thank all our peace-loving citizens. We thank the Security Agencies and pray that INEC will do everything possible to ensure that the elections are peaceful so as to gain the confidence of citizens. May Almighty God bless our country and bless you all.

General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar, GCFR
Chairman, National Peace Committee

16 March, 2023

SECRETARIAT

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NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE

Bayelsa, Imo, Kogi Governorship Elections: A Call for Calm

On behalf of all the Members of the National Peace Committee, I wish to commend Nigerians, particularly the people of Bayelsa, Imo and Kogi states where the off-cycle governorship elections took place last Saturday, 11th November 2023.

The National Peace Committee is grateful to all critical stakeholders who worked round the clock to ensure that the elections are free, fair and credible. Our appreciation goes to the staff of the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, Security agencies, Traditional rulers, leaders of Political parties, Non-governmental organisations, Civil Society groups, the media and others who ensured the success of the elections in the three States. We express our gratitude to voters in the states for defying obstacles and threat by performing their civic duties. We encourage our people to remain resilient and to use our experiences to correct the mistakes in the process of our elections.

We are not unaware of the glitches recorded during the elections. Sadly, we have noted that some of the old ways

remain and ordinary people continue to collude with corrupt members of society to stall the processes of our elections. The persistence of the culture of vote-buying, intimidation, voter apathy, among others are disturbing. A democratic culture will only grow if we participate in cleaning up the process of our elections because in the end, we are the victims. The corruption of the process will lead to the emergence of corrupt leaders if we collude with merchants of corruption.

Finally, while we congratulate candidates who emerged winners during the elections we encourage other participants not to lose faith in the judiciary and other means of seeking redress. With its imperfections, the Judiciary is critical to the development of a good society. Irrespective of our diversity and political differences, we are better as one, united and indissoluble country. We call on the bearers of the sacred trust to deliver on their promises because good governance creates the condition for citizens to feel confident about elections.

Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria!

General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar, GCFR,
Chairman, National Peace Committee
November 2023



NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE

2023 Off-Cycle Governorship Elections in Bayelsa, Imo and Kogi States: Democratisation as a work in constant progress, and thoughtful exchanges

The National Peace Committee (NPC), as a dedicated advocate for peace, stability, and the democratic process in Nigeria, maintains its steadfast commitment to contributing to peaceful elections and nurturing unity across our great nation. We acknowledge this pressing need to cultivate a peaceful and conducive environment, especially with the escalations of violence in various regions of our country. The governorship elections in Bayelsa, Imo and Kogi States offer another opportunity to underscore our unwavering commitment to peaceful democratic transitions, setting an inspiring example for the entire nation.

The NPC continues to engage state institutions and political actors in our bid to facilitate the commitment of stakeholders to democratic processes, for the development and wellbeing of the nation. These efforts aim to ensure that the electoral process is conducted with transparency and impartiality, devoid of intimidating actions and incitive rhetoric, which could trigger violence. We implore all key stakeholders in Imo, Bayelsa, and Kogi States to step forward and play their part in safeguarding our country's peace and stability—before, during, and after these Governorship Elections. The responsibility for peace belongs to each of us. We appeal to citizens in these States to exercise their rights to vote, choosing their leaders according to the

provisions of the law. Remember, your vote is your voice, and with your participation, we can collectively build a better state.

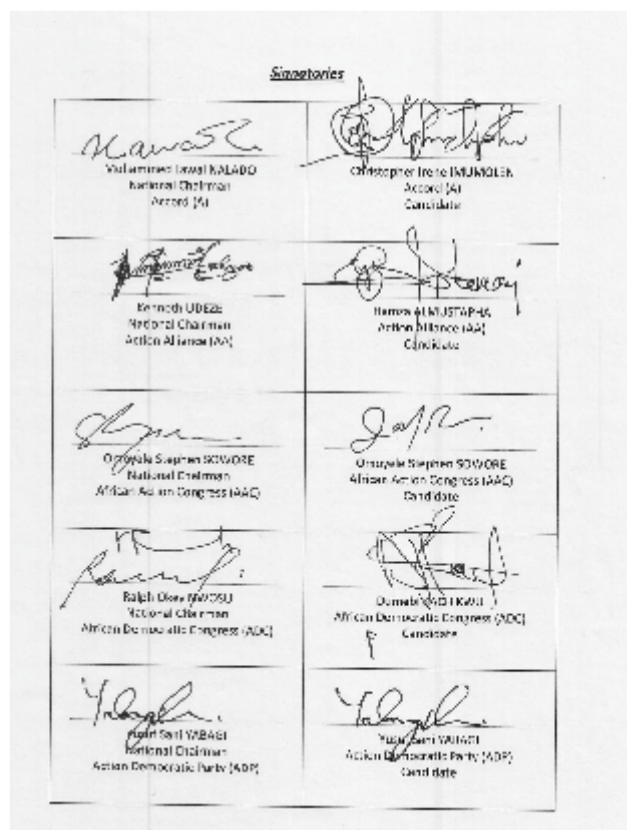
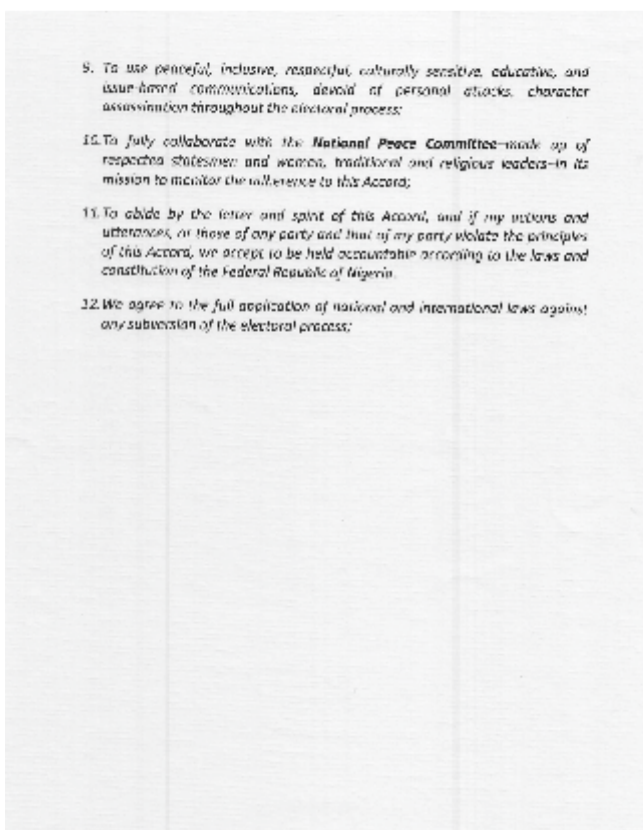
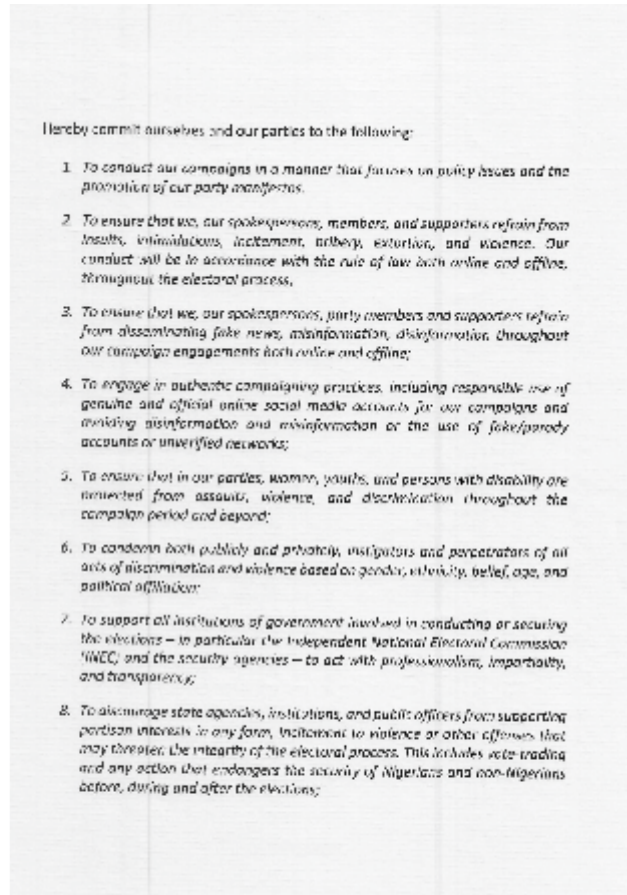
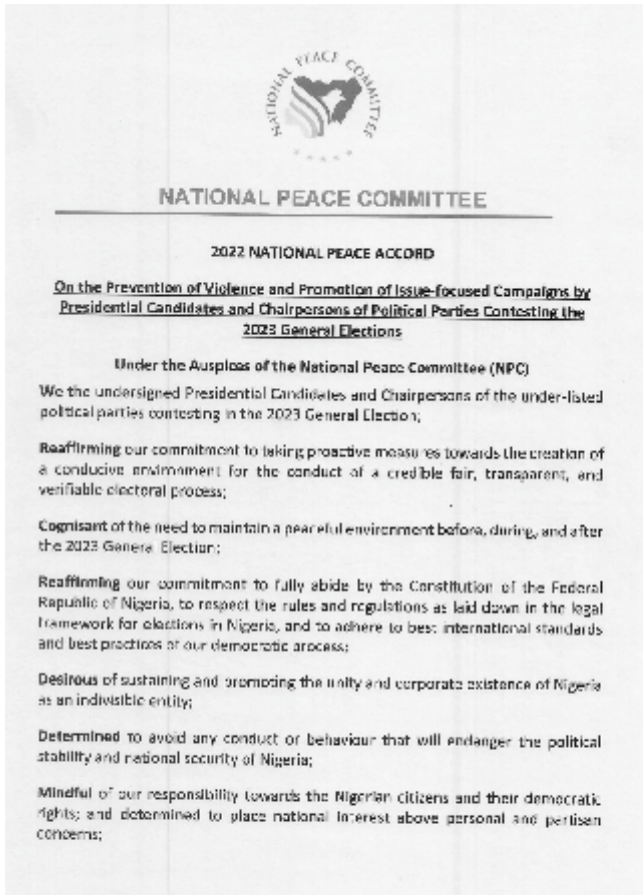
As an apolitical body, which places the utmost importance on preserving the peace, unity, and tranquillity of our nation, we urge the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)—the elections ombudsman, security agencies and other government agencies that facilitate the conduct of the electoral process to do so with transparency, particularly because the entire nation and the world is watching. It is important to continually build and reinforce public trust in the process to ensure free, fair, credible and transparent elections.

In conclusion, we extend our best wishes to the residents of Bayelsa, Imo and Kogi States, noting that your collective efforts to ensure the electoral process epitomizes the spirit of progress and hope, will set the standard for unity and growth in our Nation.

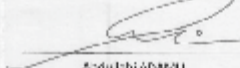

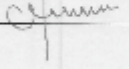
The NPC hereby wishes to announce the signing of Peace Accords on Wednesday, 8th November 2023, by political parties and other election stakeholders in Bayelsa, Imo and Kogi States. This is to pledge their commitment to peaceful, transparent, and equitable elections in their respective states.

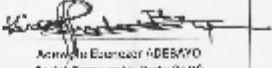
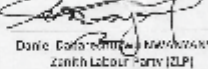
General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar, GCFR
Chairman, National Peace Committee
November 2023

Peace Accords: 1st Accords Signed for presidential Elections

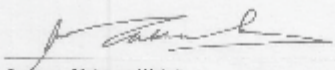


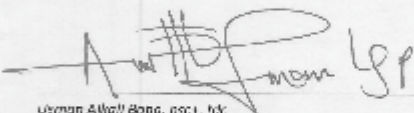
 Julius ABURE National Chairman Labour Party (LP)	 Peter Grego v OBI Labour Party (LP) Candidate
 Rufai Ahmed ALIQAL National Chairman New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP)	 Muhammed Rabiu Kwankwaso (MUSA) New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP) Candidate
 Isaac Chigocha JIJIKU National Chairman National Rescue Movement (NRM)	 Felix Johnson OSAKWE National Rescue Movement (NRM) Candidate
 Victor Oluwalade National Chairman Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	 Akin ABUSOKAN Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) Candidate
Faolu BELLO National Chairman Peoples Redemption Party (PRP)	Lanre Kolawole ABIO-A Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) Candidate

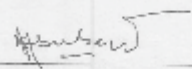
 Adulachi ADAMU National Chairman All Progressives Congress (APC)	Bole Ahmed TINIBU All Progressives Congress (APC) Candidate
 Victor Awolowo (VP) National Chairman All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA)	Chikwendu Peter Amuna JMLADI All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) Candidate
Yusuf Usman DANTALLE National Chairman Allied Peoples Movement (APM)	Joseph Chibiri EBI Allied Peoples Movement (APM) Candidate
 Ucheoma NWADI National Chairman Action Peoples Party (APP)	Charles Dada NWADI Action Peoples Party (APP) Candidate
Sunday Oluwalade AINUNGA National Chairman Basa Party (BP)	Sunday Oluwalade ADEUNGA Basa Party (BP) Candidate

Shahin Musa GABAM National Chairman Social Democratic Party (SDP)	 Akin Oluwalade ADEMYO Social Democratic Party (SDP) Candidate
Blaise AMAKU National Chairman Young Progressive Party (YPP)	Adunmbike ADEGBE Young Progressive Party (YPP) Candidate
Daniel Oluwalade NWANYAMU National Chairman Zenith Labour Party (ZLP)	 Daniel Oluwalade NWANYAMU Zenith Labour Party (ZLP) Candidate

And witnessed by


Professor Mahmood Yakubu
 Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission

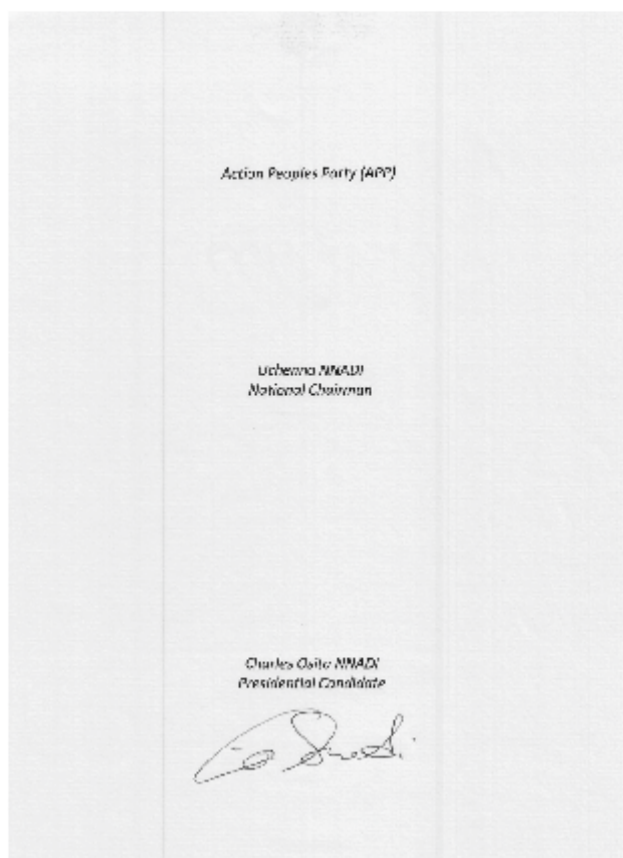
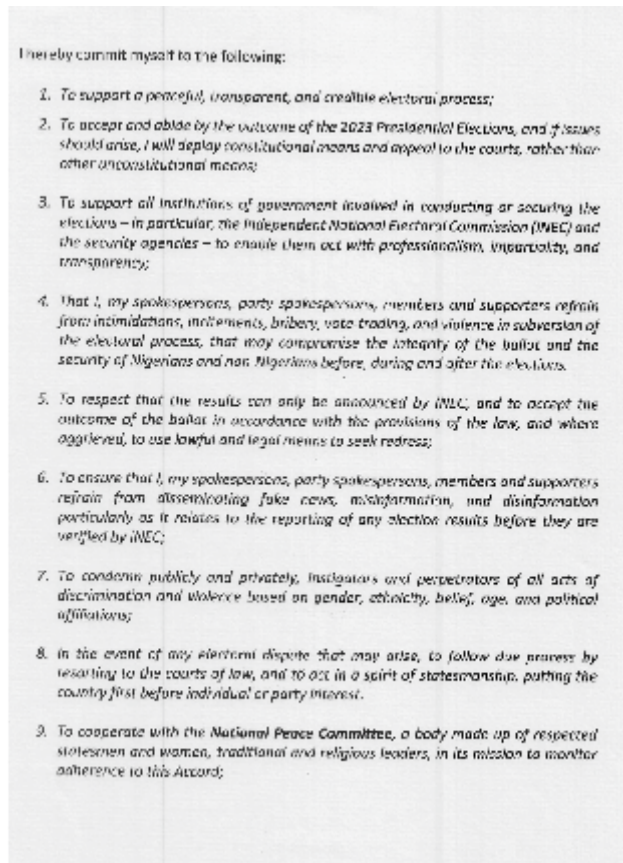
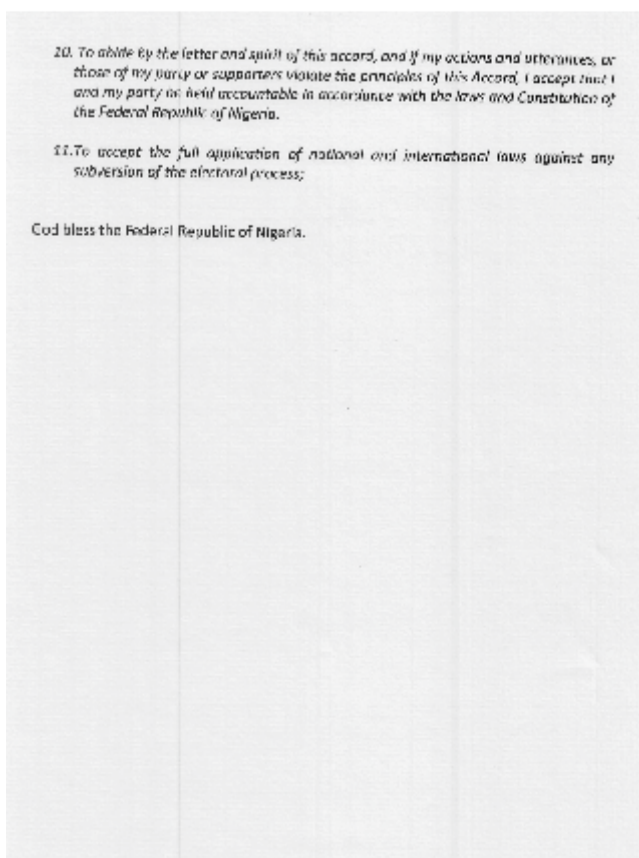
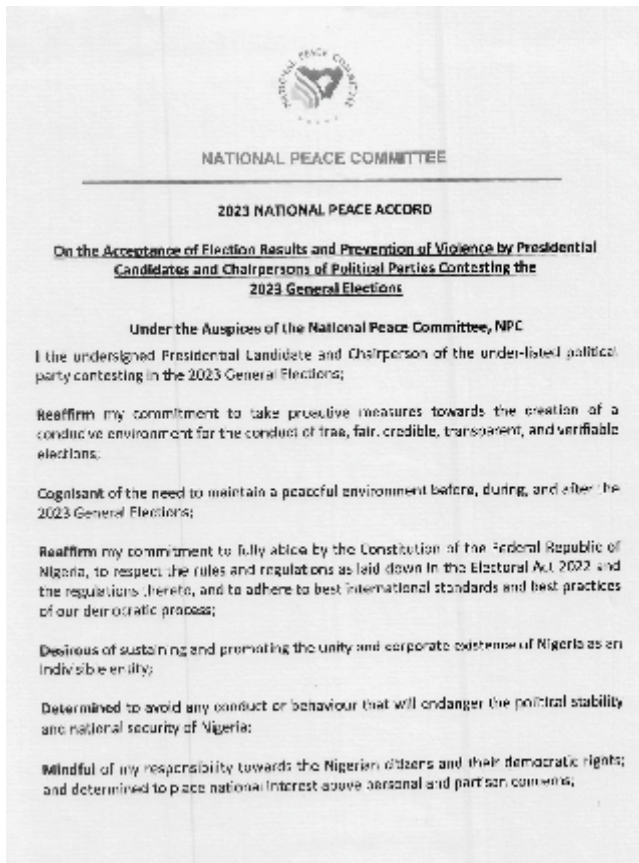

Usman Alkali Bano, psc1, fcy
 Inspector-General, Nigeria Police Force


His Excellency, General Abdulazami A. Abubakar, GCFR
 Chairman, National Peace Committee

God Bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria

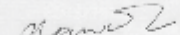
Adopted in Abuja, Federal Capital Territory, on this day, Thursday, 29th September 2022

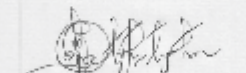
Peace Accords: 2nd Accords Signed for presidential Elections



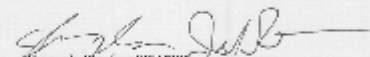
Signatories

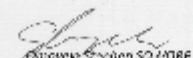
Annex (A)


Mohammed Isaac MALIQI
National Chairman

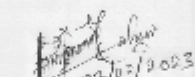

Chastanley Isaac AMUMOH
Presidential Candidate

African Action Congress (AAC)


Omoshe Stephen SOADRE
National Chairman 22/9/23


Omoshe Stephen SOADRE
Presidential Candidate

African Alliance (AA)


Nicholas UDEZI
National Chairman 22/10/2023

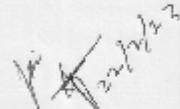

Hassan Ali MUSTAPHA
Presidential Candidate 22/9/2023

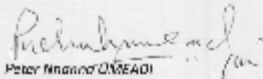
African Democratic Congress (ADC)


National Chairman

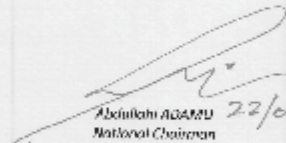
Presidential Candidate

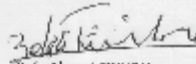
All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA)


Victor Ikpekhwa DYE
National Chairman


Peter Mwanza OMEADI
Presidential Candidate

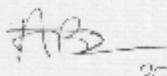
All Progressives Congress (APC)


Abubakar ADAMU
National Chairman


Bola Ahmed TINUBU
Presidential Candidate

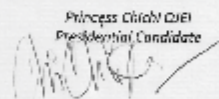
Action Democratic Party (ADP)


Yusuf Sani YABAGI
National Chairman

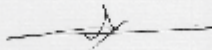

Yusuf Sani YABAGI
Presidential Candidate

Allied Peoples Movement (APM)

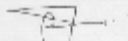
Yusuf Mohammed DANFALLE
National Chairman


Princess Chichi OJEI
Presidential Candidate

New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP)

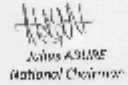


Rafiq Ahmed ADAMI
National Chairman

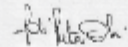


Babu Maun KWAME/MSU
Presidential Candidate

Labour Party (LP)



Julius ASURE
National Chairman

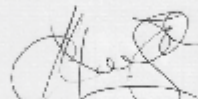


Peter Gregory DBI
Presidential Candidate

Itor Party (IP)

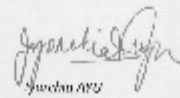


Sunday Oluwole ADENUGA
National Chairman

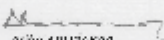


Sunday Oluwole ADENUGA
Presidential Candidate

Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)



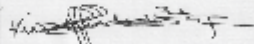
Yunusa ABU
National Chairman



Aliko ABUBAKAR
Presidential Candidate

Social Democratic Party (SDP)

Shehu Musa GABAWA
National Chairman



Andrew Ebenezer AGLUAYO
Presidential Candidate

Peoples Redemption Party (PRP)

Folarin BELLO
National Chairman



Lotin Kolaolu ABIGLA
Presidential Candidate

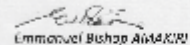
National Rescue Movement (NRM)

Isaac Chigote ODEH
National Chairman



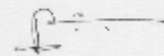
Felix Johnson OSAYWE
Presidential Candidate

Young Progressive Party (YPP)




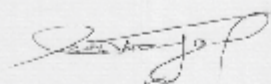
Emmanuel Bushay AUMKOR
National Chairman

Abdulmalik ADD ISRAHIM
Presidential Candidate



Zenith Labour Party (ZLP)

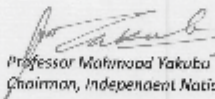

Daniel Dabarechukwu Nwanyanwu
National Chairman

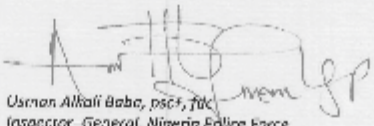

Daniel Dabarechukwu Nwanyanwu
Presidential Candidate

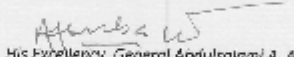
God Bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria

Adopted in Abuja, Federal Capital Territory, on this day, Wednesday 22nd February 2023.

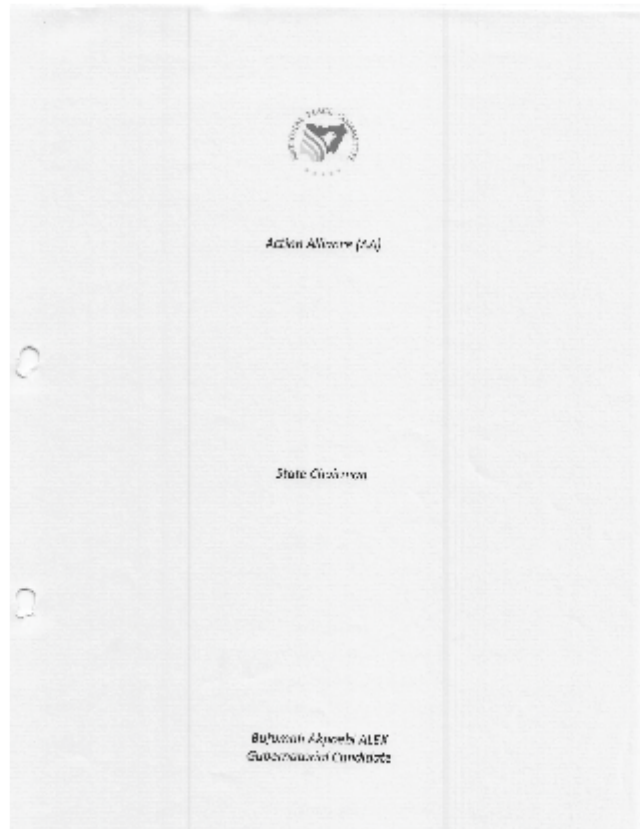
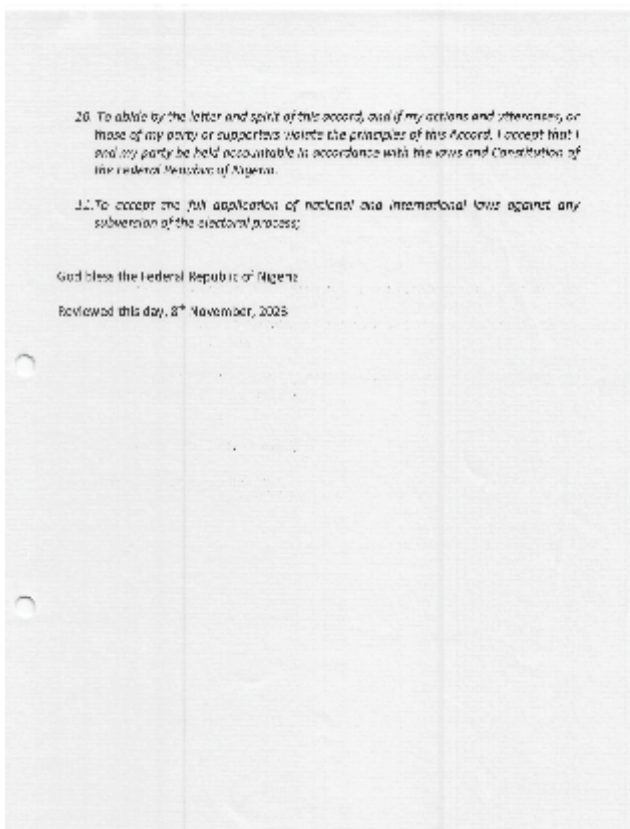
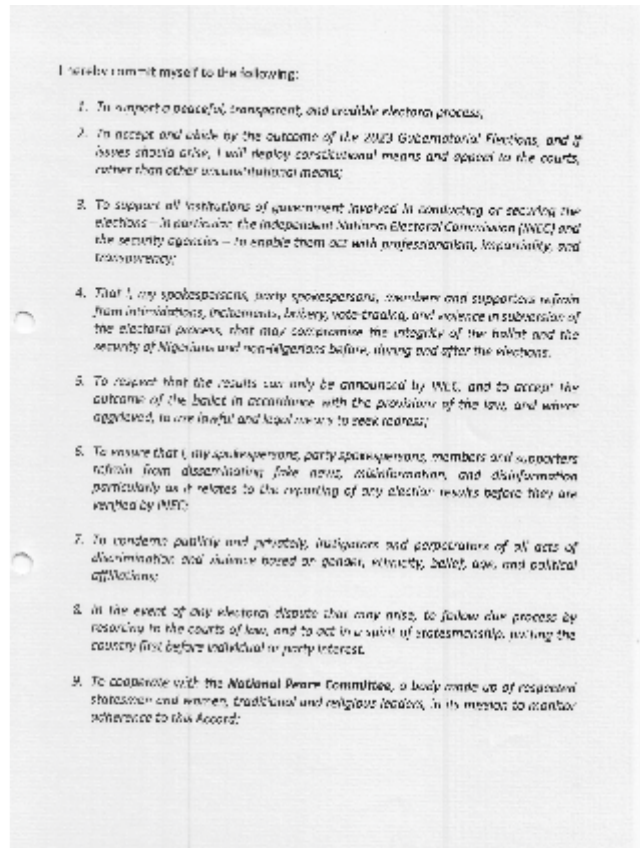
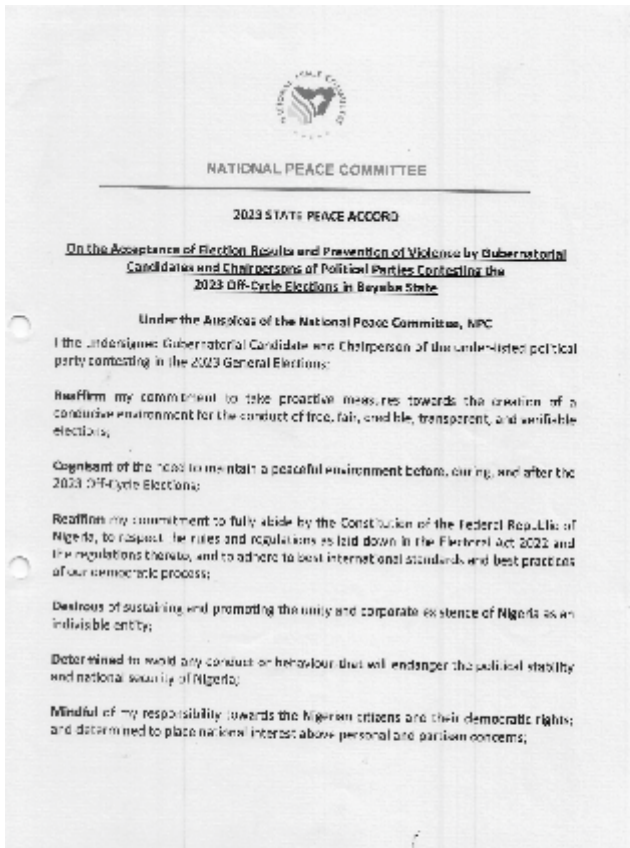
And witnessed by:


Professor Mahmood Yakubu 22/02/2023
Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission


Usman Alkali Baba, psc, frc
Inspector General, Nigeria Police Force


His Excellency, General Abdulsalam A. Abubakar, GCFR
Chairman, National Peace Committee

State Peace Accords: Bayelsa State





Young Progressive Party (YPP)

[Handwritten signature]

State Chairman

Gubernatorial Candidate



Zenith Labour Party (ZLP)

[Handwritten signature]

Daniel Osherechuku NWANWU
National Chairman

[Handwritten signature]

Simon Imamotoke KIKIDRU
Gubernatorial Candidate



Labour Party (LP)

State Chairman

Eniola ODEGBE/OBOPA
Gubernatorial Candidate



People's Renaissance Party (PRP)

[Handwritten signature]

State Chairman

Uwota Enagodo EREACEFI
Gubernatorial Candidate



New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP)

State Chairman

Asabi Bashir AYABEE
Governatorial Candidate



Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)

State Chairman

DINI ODUYE
Governatorial Candidate



African Action Congress (AAC)

State Chairman

Governatorial Candidate



National Rescue Movement (NRM)

State Chairman

MIRZA ALICUS
Governatorial Candidate



All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA)

[Signature]
State Chairman

[Signature]
Sulaimon Babalola JOSEPH
Governatorial Candidate



Action Peoples Party (APP)

[Signature]
State Chairman

[Signature]
Dagun Remilepe MERCY
Governatorial Candidate



Action Democratic Party (ADP)

[Signature]
State Chairman

[Signature]
Ogundimu MENGIMAWO
Governatorial Candidate



Signature

Accord (A)

[Signature]
State Chairman

[Signature]
Hanna Wazeeq JONES
Governatorial Candidate



Allied Peoples Movement (APM)

State Chairman

Prof. Mrs. Peace Oluwalana
P.H.A.

Odunwami SATURDAY
Governatorial Candidate



Ecct. Party (EP)

OJURU NABDO
State Chairman

Victor Magesodo
Governatorial Candidate



All Progressives Congress (APC)

State Chairman

John Sanya
Spillo Tereke MURUM
Governatorial Candidate



African Democratic Congress (ADC)

State Chairman

58/1/2023

Kolomo Stanley DANES
Governatorial Candidate



Social Democratic Party (SDP)

Allen Danofemi Amodein
State Chairman

Osuluku BIRALAYEFA
Gubernatorial Candidate

God Bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria

Adopted in Yenagoa, Bayelsa, on this day, Wednesday, 8th November 2023

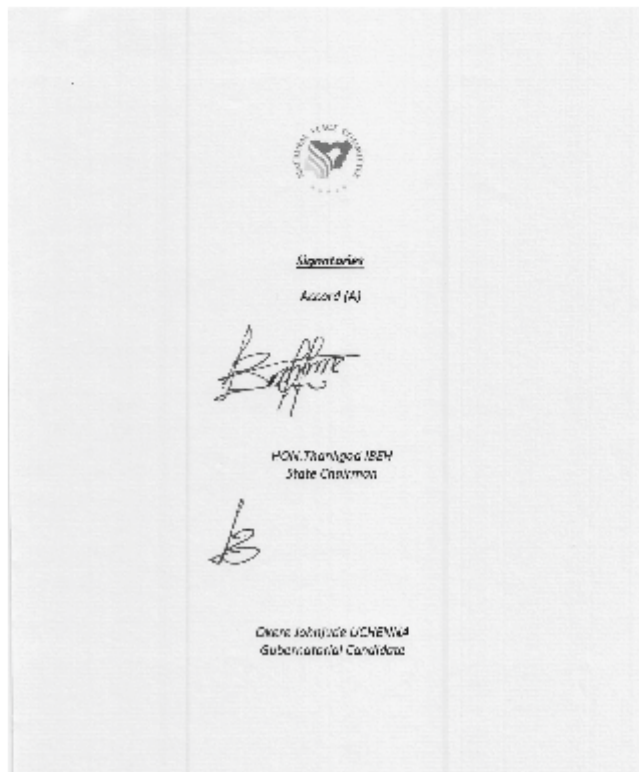
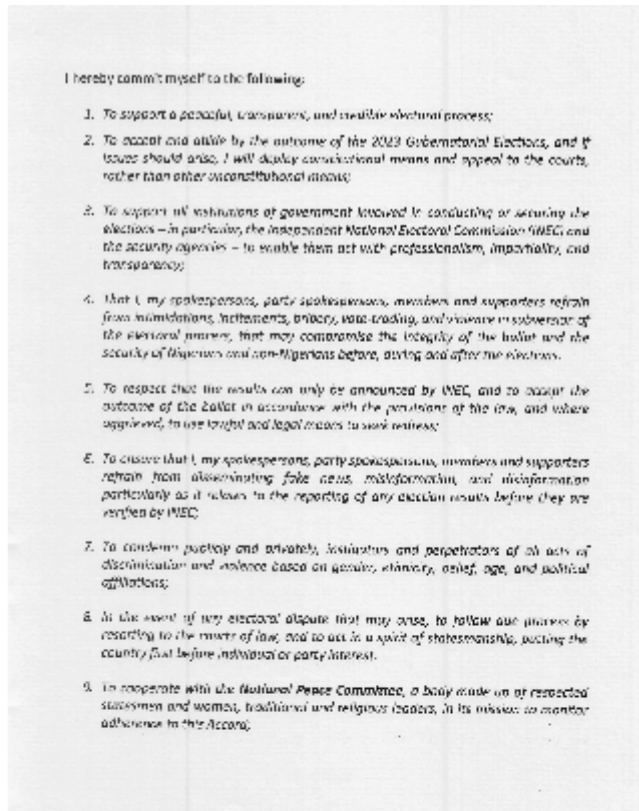
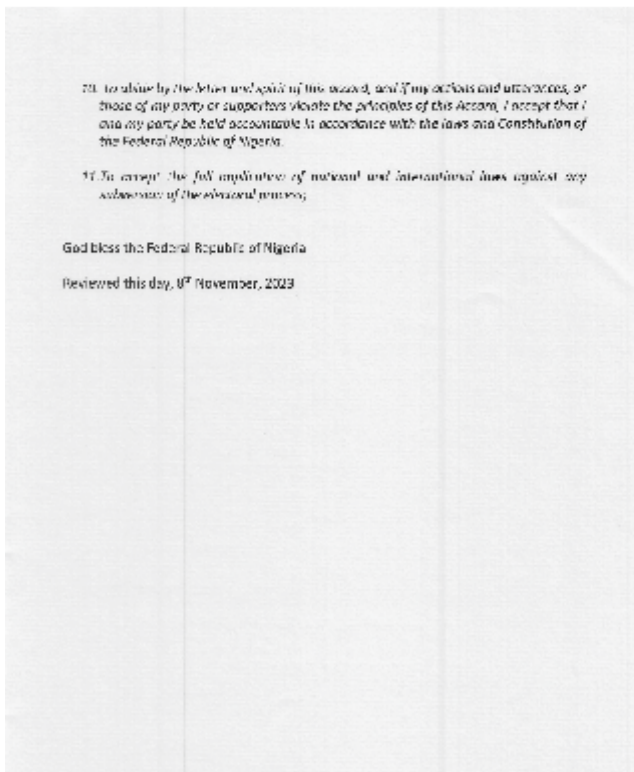
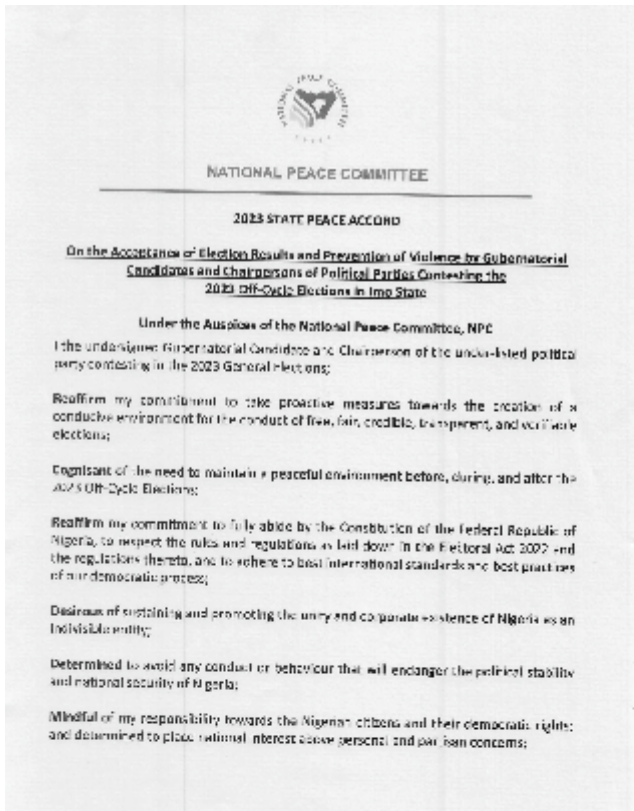
And witnessed by

Professor Mahmood Yakubu
Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission

Koyode Eybetakun
Inspector-General, Nigeria Police Force

His Excellency, General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar, GCFR
Chairman, National Peace Committee

State Peace Accords: Imo State





All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA)

Hon. John NWALIA
State Chairman

Fylogu AKEHDNY
Gubernatorial Candidate



Action Alliance (AA)

Hon. Olyponwa EZE
State Chairman

Ogunwole Gideon Kemiwere JACK
Gubernatorial Candidate



African Democratic Congress (ADC)

Barr. J. U. K. NLEEM
State Chairman

Okaroma James UYUNGBADI
Gubernatorial Candidate



All Progressives Congress (APC)

Mardanata EBERE PUD
State Chairman

Uzodinma Okafor GOODHOPE
Gubernatorial Candidate



New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP)

Chief Manda DURUIMO
State Chairman

Gwanzuluhe BEN
Governatorial Candidate



Allied Peoples Movement (APM)

Hon. Labiem Clinton CHIBUKE
State Chairman

Edozien Clinton CHIBUKE
Governatorial Candidate



Action Peoples Party (APP)

Hon. Ernest EZIRIM
State Chairman

Achille Anderson OBIYE
Governatorial Candidate



Labour Party (LP)

Barr. Oluks INLLAGBWA
State Chairman

Achonu NNEJI
Governatorial Candidate



Young Progressive Party (YPP)

Hon. Kingsley NWAHIRA
State Chairman

Opara Kemi CHIWO
Gubernatorial Candidate



National Rescue Movement (NRM)

Hon. Nwachiaku CHIRWE
State Chairman

Okwara Lawrence OYI F
Gubernatorial Candidate



Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)

Engr. Charles UGWU
State Chairman

Anyanwu Samuel NNAEMENA
Gubernatorial Candidate



Peoples Redemption Party (PRP)

Hon. Uchechukwu ISHIODU
State Chairman

Uchechukwu Ishiodu
Gubernatorial Candidate



Action Democratic Party (ADP)

[Signature]
Dr. ~~Ugo~~ NMEZI
State Chairman

[Signature]
Nwagwu Oryelochi STEVE
Gubernatorial Candidate



Boat Party (BP)

[Signature]
Dr. Iwuanyanwu ISAAC
State Chairman

[Signature]
Iwuanyanwu ISAAC
Gubernatorial Candidate



Zenith Labour Party (ZLP)

[Signature]
Kike. LAW EKEHI
State Chairman

Andy CHIBUIRE
Gubernatorial Candidate



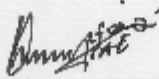
African Action Congress (AAC)

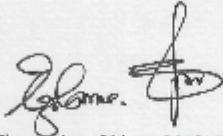
Hon. Uzoigwe FERDINAND
State Chairman *[Signature]*

[Signature]
Awolalu Emmanuel IFEANYI
Gubernatorial Candidate



Social Democratic Party (SDP)

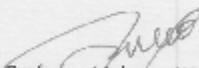

Amb. Eluwa HENRY
State Chairman

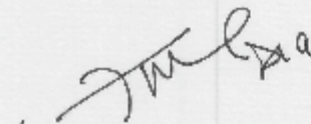

Ekwuelem Obinna BRIGHT
Gubernatorial Candidate

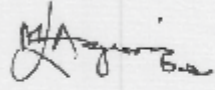
God Bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria

Adopted in Owerri, Imo State, on this day, Wednesday, 8th November 2023

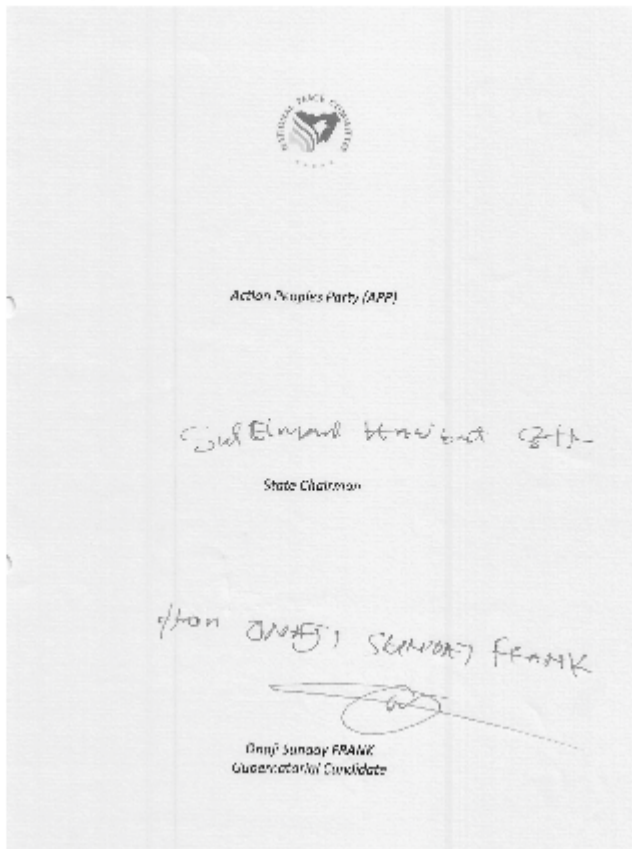
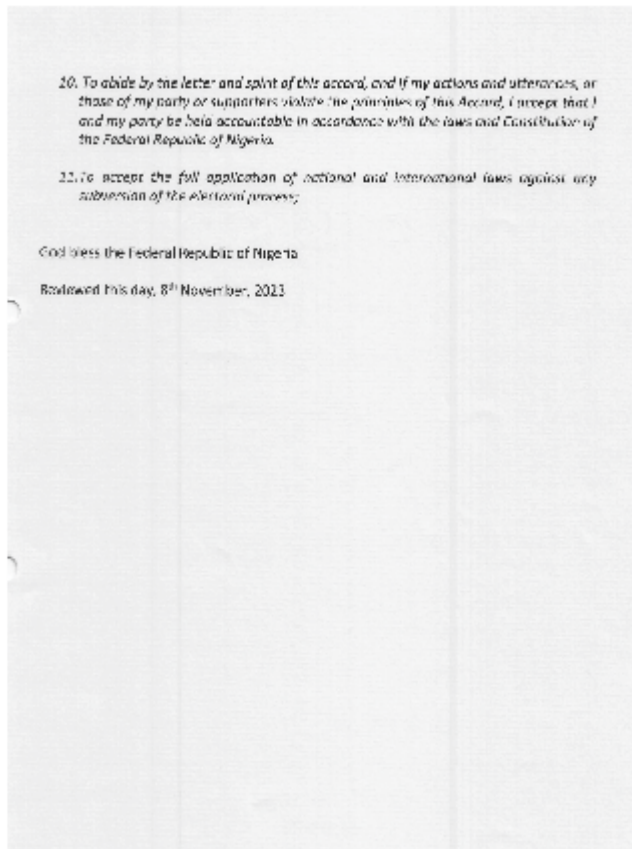
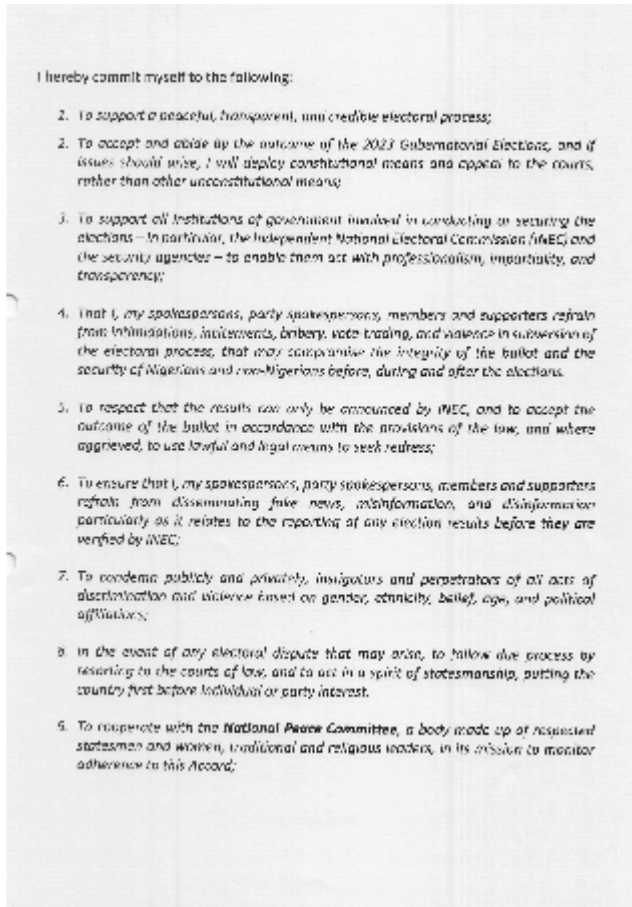
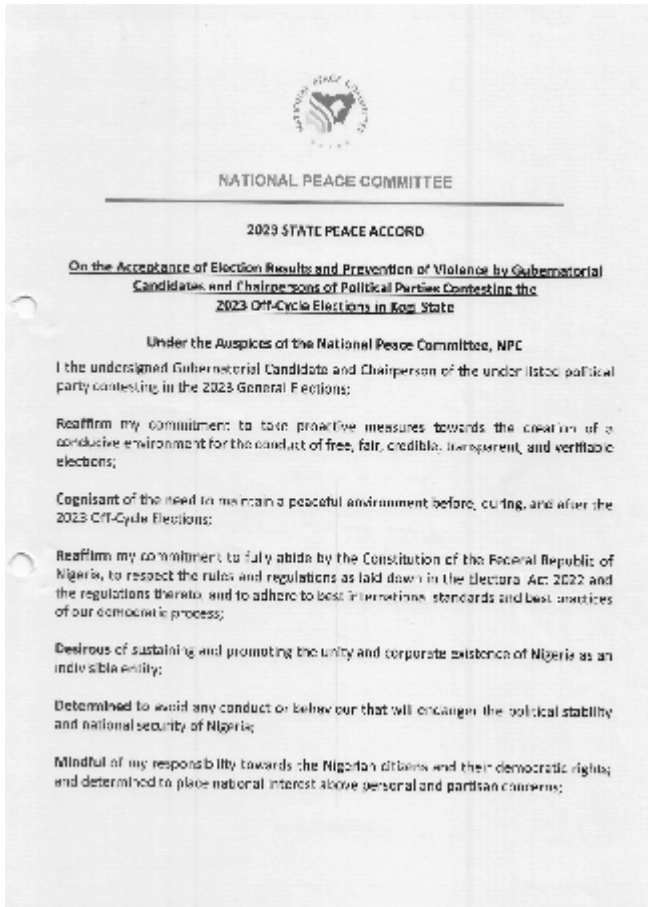
And witnessed by


Professor Mahmood Yakubu
Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission


✓ Kayode Egbetokun
Inspector-General, Nigeria Police Force


✓ His Excellency, General Abdulsalam A. Abubakar, GCFR
Chairman, National Peace Committee

State Peace Accords: Kogi State





National Rescue Movement (NRM)

Hon. Agayé Aguda
State Chairman

Dirisu Bala ABULGHAFAR
Gubernatorial Candidate



African Democratic Congress (ADC)

[Signature]

State Chairman

[Signature]
Abejide Lekan JOSEPH
Gubernatorial Candidate



Action Alliance (AA)

[Signature]

State Chairman

Orinmat Oluyinka ADEYEMO
Gubernatorial Candidate



African Action Congress (AAC)

[Signature]

State Chairman

[Signature]
Achimugu Augustine ABU
Gubernatorial Candidate



Labour Party (LP)

Saleman Mustaf Abdul
State Chairman

Okema ADEJOH
Gubernatorial Candidate



Signataries

Accara (A)

State Chairman

Hamif
Jibrin Usman OYIJE
Gubernatorial Candidate



All Progressives Congress (APC)

State Chairman

Ahmed Usman ODOO
Gubernatorial Candidate



Boat Party (BP)

IGRATIM DANGLAMA
State Chairman

State Chairman

Comrade Sulsonan Tanimi

Muhammad Kabir USMAN
Gubernatorial Candidate



New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP)

State Chairman

Musa Salisu MUBARAK
Governatorial Candidate



Allied Peoples Movement (APM)

State Chairman

Isa David UTEH/AGBO
Governatorial Candidate



All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA)

Hon. Kingsley Moses Ugboke
[Signature]

State Chairman

[Signature]
Hon. Ibaka KINGSLEY
Governatorial Candidate



Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)

State Chairman

Mekayi Daniel DIMO
Governatorial Candidate



Social Democratic Party (SDP)

State Chairman

Hon. Moses Jeter
State Chairman SDP

[Signature]
Yakubu MURTALA
Gubernatorial Candidate



Young Progressive Party (YPP)

State Chairman

[Signature] 8/11/23
Omale Benson AGADI
Gubernatorial Candidate



Peoples Redemption Party (PRP)

State Chairman

[Signature]
State Chairman

Dr. Abdullahi BAYAWO
Gubernatorial Candidate

[Signature]
8/11/23



Action Democratic Party (ADP)

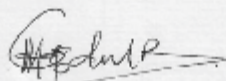
State Chairman

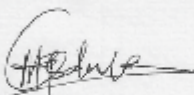
[Signature] 8-11-2023
State Chairman

[Signature] 8.8/11/2023
Eliukwu WILLIAMS
Gubernatorial Candidate



Zenith Labour Party (ZLP)


State Chairman


Suleiman Taiye Fatima
Gubernatorial Candidate

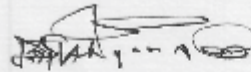


God Bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria

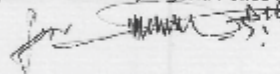
Adopted in Lokaja, Kogi State, on this day, Wednesday, 8th November 2023

And witnessed by

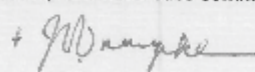
Professor Mahmood Yakubu
Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission



Kayode Egbetokun
Inspector-General, Nigeria Police Force



His Excellency, General Abdulsolami A. Abubakar, GCFR
Chairman, National Peace Committee

for 



Vision

The National Peace Committee envisages a Nigeria that is built on Peace, Justice and Equality, where every citizen has the right to democratic participation and can live freely in any part of the country, contributing to its growth, development and stability.

Mission

Conducting free, fair and credible elections is the bedrock for Peace and Development in every nation. The National Peace Committee seeks to identify and articulate all the challenges that derail credible elections and peaceful transfer of power in Nigeria. It aspires to design strategies and set up proactive mechanisms for engaging stakeholders irrespective of region, religion and political affiliation for the attainment of peaceful elections in Nigeria.

SECRETARIAT

Flat C3, American Specialist Hospital Complex, (Opposite Rockview Royale Hotel), 1, Luanda Crescent, Wuse 2, Abuja - Nigeria.



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Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra

Federal Department of Foreign Affairs FDFA

