

Election Security Threat Assessment Towards 2015 Elections

Fifth Edition

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ELECTION SECURITY THREAT ASSESSMENT: TOWARDS 2015 ELECTIONS

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July – September 2014



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Executive Summary
Fifth Security Threat Assessment: Towards 2015 Elections
(July-September 2014)

Political Context

Nigeria's seventh republic is in its final stages as the build up to the 2015 General Elections have gone into full gear. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) on the 24 of January 2014¹ released a time table for the 2015 General Elections Activities. The time table fixes the 14th February 2015 as the date for the Presidential and National Assembly elections and 28th February 2015 for the Gubernatorial and State Assembly Elections.

Preparation for the February 2015 General Elections is amidst increasing concern of high levels of insecurity and violence in the election days and the days immediately after. The concerns are that the current security situation such as continued insurgents attacks in the North East, increased activities of militants and/or cult groups in the South South, incursion by Cattle Herdsmen openly armed with AK47 rifles in the South East, political killings and proliferation of Small Arms & Light Weapons (SALWs), would fuel an outbreak of violence.

The Government recently scaled-up its on-going intervention of providing heavy military presence across Nigeria to curb insecurity. Over 30,000 and 73,000 military and security agents were deployed to the Ekiti State and Osun State Governorship Elections respectively. The elections were conducted in June and August 2014 and were incident-free. The Independent National Election Commission (INEC) has been lauded by some Stakeholders for this feat and also for suspending two Electoral Officers over administrative lapses during the Osun State Elections. Some see these events as a foreshadowing of free and fair, violence-free General Elections in February 2015.

These successes however is yet to win the confidence of the general public to INEC's preparedness nor the Government's ability to provide adequate security during the elections in 2015. The notion prevails because INEC is yet to complete voter registration/distribution of Permanent Voters Cards (PVC) and the Government will not be able to replicate similar security strength in each state during the general elections.

Preparations for the Elections

¹ <http://www.inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/General-Elections.pdf>

On May 16, INEC inaugurated the National Inter-Agency Advisory Committee on Voter Education and Publicity (NICVEP). The Commission is expected to issue Notice of Election on 1 October, 2014 in accordance with Section 30 (1) of Electoral Act 2010 as amended. INEC distributed PVCs and continued with Continuous Voters Registration (CVR) across the country from August 15 – 17 and 20 – 25, and has also procured 150,000 Card Readers to fast-track the accreditation process of voters during the February 2015 General Elections.

Information released by INEC shows that collection / distribution of the PVCs so far across the geo political zones is as follows:

- S/W 63.68%
- S/S 63.9%
- S/E 49%
- N/E 78%
- N/W 77%
- N/C 52%

INEC has also established citizens' contact centres as well as online voter verification platform. It plans to use electronic transmission of results during the next general elections and is in the process of implementing a redelineation (delimitation) of electoral constituencies aimed at creating an additional 30,027 Polling Units (PUs) ahead of the 2015 elections (21,615 PUs allocated to the North; 8,412 PUs to the South).

On the part of the Nigerian Police, the immediate past Force Public Relations Officer, ACP Frank Mba reported that the Police had commenced training of its officers and men on election policing ahead of the 2015 polls.

Following the impeachment of the Adamawa State Governor, the state's by-election is scheduled for 11 October 2014.

In Kaduna, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto states, inter party and intra-party tension and contentions are deepening, cases of defection and counter defections are increasing between the two major political parties. In Kaduna, there is disagreement within PDP as to the adoption of President Goodluck Johnathan as their candidate for the 2015 Presidential Elections. APC on the other hand has reconstituted its regional leadership and held a mobilization rally in Sokoto in September 2014.

In Akwa Ibom there have been questions about the security implications of the recent seemingly politically motivated killings in the state. PDP top politician Engineer Akaninyene Ukpah was killed while some other politicians escaped assassination attempts.

Gender Dimension

The low number of women vying for elected political offices remains unchanged even as the General Elections draw nearer. A combination of cultural practices, religion and a long history of political exclusion has continued to keep women out of active political participation. Women with ambition for prominent political positions have had to endure the usual electioneering process as well as the patrilineal nature ideology prevalent in parts of Nigeria.

In the North West, although women candidates have increased in the last 10 years, most of them never got nominated and even when they did, they never got to win the election. In the preparation for the 2015 elections, women are not currently featuring prominently in most of the permutations, neither are they strategically involved in any of the political parties.

In the South East, Enugu State Chief of Staff, Mrs. Ifeoma Nwobodo's aspiration for the Enugu East Senatorial District seat is opposed by her constituents who uphold the patrilineal ideology. A stakeholder in the district is quoted to have said 'a woman can never be allowed to represent' the people.

In the South West, of the twenty candidates in the just concluded Osun State gubernatorial elections, none were women.

Although women usually are more of victims than perpetrators of electoral violence, recent suicide bombings by women in Kano and Lagos States by a person (gender undetermined) dressed in hijab has placed a different perspective on this opinion. In July alone, five synchronized teenage female suicide bombers killed scores of people in different locations, in Kano State.

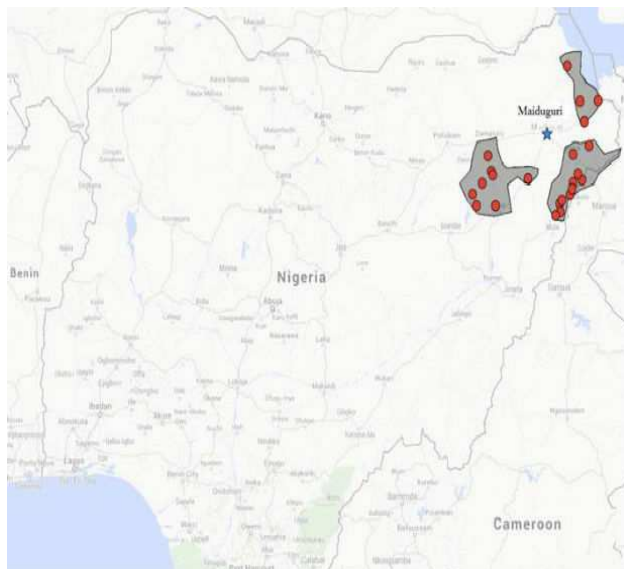
Presence and Activities of Non-State Actors

Understanding the recruitment, operations, financing and accountability processes of non-state actors, which can be grouped under 2 broad headings namely Violent Non State Actors and Non Violent Non State Actors) is crucial even as the election date draws closer. Majority of the violent non state actors are linked to conflicts, while very few, for example those that work at

the community level are linked to crime prevention and provisioning of security². Several community vigilante groups have been established in Zamfara, Kaduna and Sokoto states in response to the increasing cases of cattle rustling and cases of community raids and mass killings.

Aside from the Hisbah in Kano, the government recruited and trained 395 security guards to curb the menace of insecurity and unemployment. There are fears that some of these people could be used as political thugs during the forthcoming elections. For example, militant youths called 'Area boys' are major players in electoral politics and security in Sokoto state. Kaduna and Katsina States also have a history of youth militancy, particularly the yan'daba. Electoral politics provides these groups of militant youths opportunity to perpetrate violence on behalf of their principals.

The activities of the Boko Haram insurgents in the north eastern part of the country has been seen in view of continued territorial seizures.



Source: Council on Foreign Relations

Migration and Internal Displacement

There is evidence of humanitarian crisis facing the country, there are people sleeping on the streets in Maiduguri, despite the seven or more camps within the city for the internally

² These are the non violent ones.

displaced persons³. The Council on Foreign Relations has recorded 250, 000 internally displaced and 16, 092 persons killed respectively, in the region⁴. The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) documented 61, 000 refugees who migrated the country as a result of the violence in the North East⁵.

In September 2014, rural bandits and cattle rustlers allegedly stormed Zamfara State villages in Gusau LGA killing over 35 people displacing hundreds of people. Many villagers fled after a coordinated attack on their respective communities and camped at Damba Model Primary School. Hundreds of refugees including children besieged classroom blocks where they spent days in suspense, receiving emergency assistance from the state and local authorities. Others took refuge in Yandoto, Mada, Marke, Kwatarkwashi, Faskari, Gusau, the capital city and the neighbouring Katsina state.

The Nigeria Refugee Response Plan presented to donors most recently, covers the most immediate protection and assistance needs of up to **95,000 people fleeing Nigeria until the end of the year**. Given the upsurge in violence, these numbers will probably need to be revised upwards.

Internal migration is facing challenges based on profiling of the migrants or persons displaced due to the insecurity in the north east. This notion began in June 2014 when 486 suspected Boko Haram members on their way to Port Harcourt were arrested in Aba by the Army. However this has not stopped movements from the North East to other parts of the country for example Lagos and Kano States.

In the South South and South West there are suspected refugees and illegal migrants from Mali, Chad, Republic of Benin, Togo and Ghana.

Recent Developments within the State Houses of Assembly

Troubled Adamawa State House of Assembly succeeded in impeaching Governor Nyako while the Borno State House of Assembly removed its majority leader. Reports stated that the majority leader's strong alliance with members of the opposition party was the reason for his removal.

³ News Express, Sept, 2014

⁴ <http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/nigeria-security-tracker/p29483>

⁵ <http://nemanigeria.com/>

In the North Central region, there have been failed attempts by the Nasarawa State PDP dominated House of Assembly to impeach Governor Tanko Almakura thereby deepening inter-party rivalry between PDP and APC in the State.

In the South East, Abia State has had a seeming unity and calmness in its House of Assembly, however, the Executive Governor is said to have effectively commandeered all apparatuses of the state such that there is no opposition from the law makers.

In Edo state, there is discord in the House of Assembly resulting from the perceived plot by PDP lawmakers to impeach the Governor, the Deputy Governor and the Speaker of the House of Assembly. The notion that the Presidency sponsored three APC members to defect to PDP and belief amongst former APC members that Governor Adams Oshiomohole was responsible for the impeachment of the former Deputy Speaker of the house, who is a PDP member, has fueled this disunity.

The frosty relationship between the Ogun State Governor Ibikunle Amosun and his political godfather, Chief Segun Osoba, might affect the State Assembly if the situation is not well managed.

Presence and impact of the activities of the military, police and other security agencies

The insurgency in the North East persists in spite of the state of emergency and heavy military deployment to the region. The presence of the military in the South East states have restored some sense of public safety and security among the populace.

Due to the interest of the ruling party to capture the South West in the forthcoming 2015 general elections, there are insinuations that the appointments of the Minister of State for Defence and the Minister of Police Affairs were aimed at getting the cooperation of the region and it is perceived to have been a key determinant of the security and military deployment in the Ekiti and Osun Elections.

Violent Hot Spots

We categorized the states according to the perceived level of threat using traffic light signals (green, amber and red); green indicating stability or lowest threat states and red indicating the highest threat level or most volatile states.

Criteria for traffic lights:

Red: Insurgency, Intensity of politics, violence that can or has led to loss of lives (even 1 life) and property;

Amber: Tensions

Green: Anything not red or amber

Most states fit into various categories based on comparison within their region and not on the scale of risks nationally.

- **RED:** NC – Benue, Plateau, Nasarawa; NE – Borno, Yobe, Adamawa and Taraba; NW – Kaduna, Kano, Zamfara; SS – Rivers, Akwa Ibom, Edo, SE – Enugu and Imo; SW – Lagos
- **AMBER:** NE – Bauchi and Gombe; NW – Jigawa, Katsina; SE – Abia, Anambra, and Ebonyi; SW – Ondo, Oyo, Ogun; NC – Kogi; Niger NW – Sokoto
- **GREEN:** NC – Kwara; NW – Kebbi, SS – Cross River and Bayelsa; SW: Osun and Ekiti

Regional Analysis

North Central: The region is plagued by agitations for leadership and related actions which pose increased threats to its security during the General Elections. There are protests from Christians in Nasarawa and the Idoma people in Benue to produce the next State Governor; disagreement over the implementation of zoning policy in Plateau; conflict over which Senatorial Zone in Plateau is to provide the next gubernatorial candidate; a rise in spate of communal conflicts; proliferation of arms in alarming proportions; cattle rustling as well as rural banditry.

The fact that two former presidents hail from Niger State raises the stakes associated with the strength of PDP and APC in the state. It is notable that the region had the highest magnitude of post election violence based on the aftermath of the 2011 elections.

North East: Former Adamawa State Governor, Murtala Nyako and his Deputy, Bala James Ngilari were impeached by the PDP controlled House of Assembly in July and INEC has set October 11, 2014 for By-Election in the state. It is believed the outcome of the polls will set the tone for other political happenings in the state and might dictate who emerges governor in 2015.

Former Borno State Governor, Senator Ali Modu Sheriff's defection from the APC to the PDP along with his supporters was seen as a scuttled attempt by the PDP to cause acrimony in the

party from within. This development seems to have deepened the rift between Sheriff and Borno's incumbent governor, Kashim Shettima. The recent dissolution of the State Executive Council and the Local Government Councils by Governor Shettima is therefore seen in this light.

In Taraba State where the zoning principle is more problematic, there is uneasy calm as 2015 elections draw closer. The next governorship candidate from the ruling PDP was zoned to Taraba South at the inception of Governor Suntai's administration, but the acting governor's likelihood to use his incumbency to contest is being challenged by PDP stalwarts like Senator Emmanuel Bwacha from the Taraba South (the most likely contestant). There is also the recent pronouncement by the Acting Governor, Alhaji Garba Umar that some politicians are trying to divide Taraba politics along a religious path. This statement calls for concern as it is indicative of danger looming ahead.

North West: As a major political hotbed in Nigeria, the region can be very combusive and requires better understanding to manage the increasing tension. As candidates indicate interest for different positions in the parties there is palpable tension everywhere.

South East: The general belief in Abia State is that it is the turn of the Ukwa-Ngwa zone to produce the next governor of the State and the people of old Aba Division have started mobilizing support for power-shift to the area. Moreover, Governor Theodore Orji, has on a number of occasions expressed support for the Aba Division to produce his successor. Governor T.A. Orji is gearing up to represent Abia South in the Senate, thereby possibly unseating the Senator presently representing the Zone at the National Assembly.

South South: Four of the six South South states are high-flyers regarding oil and gas endowment on which government mainly depends for revenues and foreign exchange. Ahead of the 2015 elections, many from the region are showing support for President Goodluck Jonathan's re-election bid in 2015 even though he is yet to make this formally known to the public. (The president is from this region.)

Having had a history of political violence, the potential for election violence in the South-South ahead of 2015 cannot be discountenanced. In the months of July to August, there was crisis in Edo State House of Assembly; violent confrontation between APC and PDP members in Rivers State; internal wrangling within the PDP in Akwa Ibom State; and efforts by governors to install their anointed candidates as succeeding governors. All of this, and more, have raised

tension and increased the predisposition to violence or threat to security before, during, and after the 2015 elections.

South West: In Osun State, though APC won the August gubernatorial elections, the battle ground has shifted to the election petition tribunal. PDP has also challenged the re-instatement of Ambassador Rufus Akeju as Osun Resident Electoral Commissioner accusing him of being sympathetic to APC.

In Ekiti state, even as APC have accused PDP and INEC of rigging the June elections, there are concerns the Governor-Elect could face impeachment threats early in his administration from the APC dominated House of Assembly.

In Ogun State, the division between the Governor and his godfather (Aremo Segun Osoba) has caused two parallel APC executives to exist in the state. The Ogun state PDP is not faring any better, being locked in a supremacy battle between former president Olusegun Obasanjo and a major PDP financier Chief Buruji Kashamu.

Synthesis of Key Risk Factors

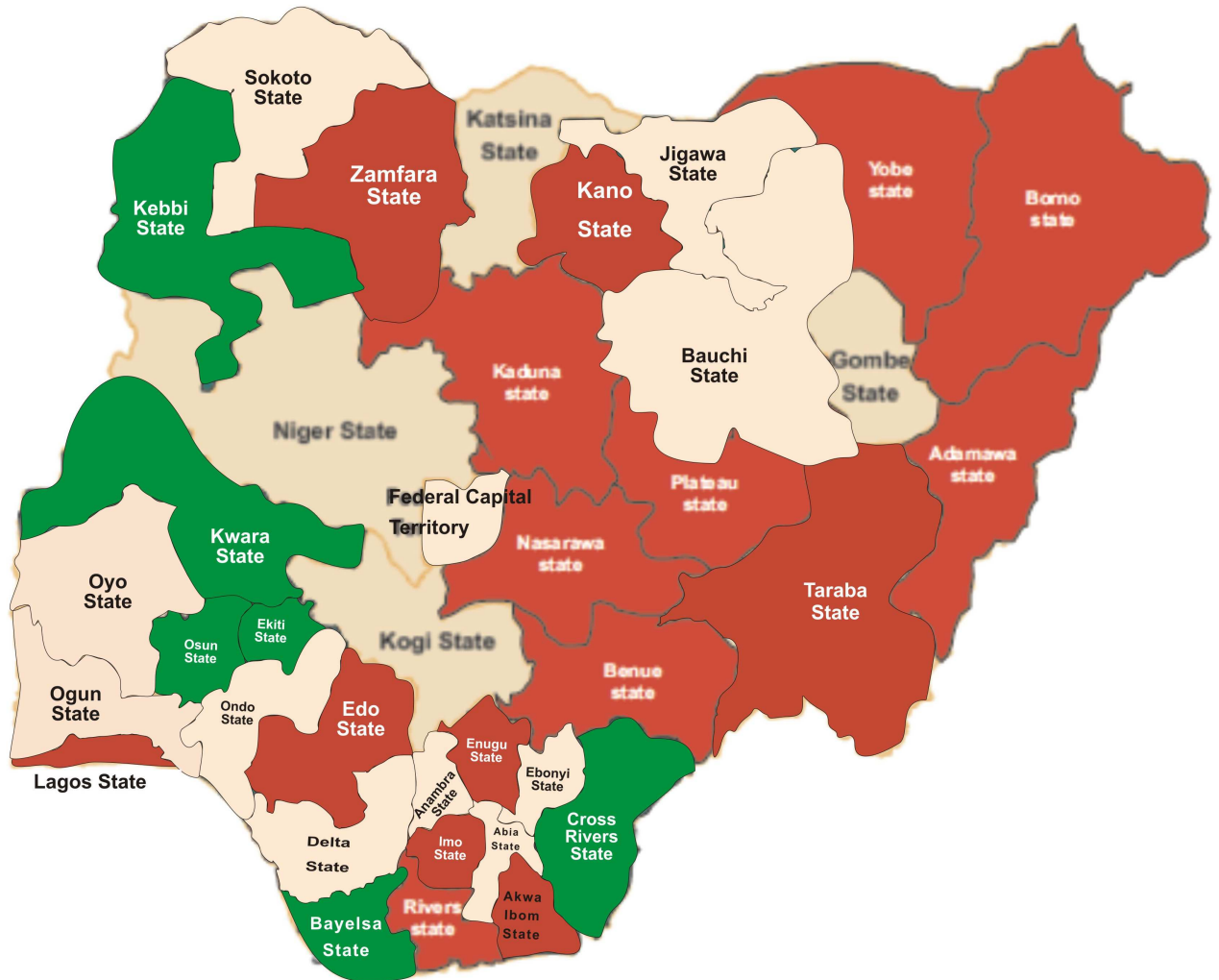
- a. Inability of electorates to obtain their Permanent Voters Card and register during PVC/CVR exercises.
- b. The issue of zoning and religious balancing is a major risk factor if not well handled.
- c. Political assassinations, kidnapping, armed robbery and bombings may escalate as we approach 2015. The nexus between drugs, arms and crimes that has not been effectively contained.
- d. The creation of additional 30,027 Polling Units with a distribution formula of the North having more than half of the new PU allocations. Southern political leaders are openly canvassing for the resignation or removal of INEC chairman on this basis.
- e. The recent order by President Goodluck Jonathan that INEC should print sensitive electoral materials at the Nigeria Printing and Minting Company, a subsidiary of the Central Bank of Nigeria.
- f. The continued attacks by Boko Haram, its advancement and the establishment of a Caliphate in the North East provide a threat to conduct of 2015 elections in the region.
- g. None completing of constitutional and electoral act amendment by the National Assembly barely five months to the next general elections. It may affect INEC's already laid down strategic plan for the polls.

- h. The rise and dominance of militia groups that operate outside of the control of the state poses a threat to the secure conduct of elections.
- i. Increased insurgency attacks have led to an increase in IDPs particularly in the North. There is the high risk of the IDPs being disenfranchised during the 2015 elections.

Mitigating Factors and Recommendations

- a. INEC should ensure the proper capturing of voter details; ensure it uses the card reader for voter verification during the 2015 polls and commence early preparation to ensure electoral materials reach the rural and coastal communities timely.
- b. INEC should activate and institutionalise its Inter-agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES), ensuring that the committee plans for the three phases of the elections - Pre-Election, Election Day and Post-Election Day.
- c. INEC, National Orientation Agency, media and Civil Society Organisations need to embark on massive and sustained voter education, peace education and general civic education aimed at ensuring that there is violence free election in Adamawa and during the February 2015 General Elections.
- d. INEC should shelve the creation of the proposed 30,027 additional PUs till after the next general elections. This may calm frayed nerves and make the commission to focus on preparations for 2015 polls.
- e. The Government should properly fund security agents deployed to election duties so they will not be beholden to politicians for their comfort and survival while on official election duty.
- f. The Government should rapidly arrest the deplorable humanitarian situation in regions with IDPs so it does not pose additional threat to 2015 election. Concrete arrangements should be put in place to address specific concerns of displaced persons starting from the distribution of PVC, continue registration and voting during elections.
- g. Settlement of inter-ethnic disputes between warring groups is also vital for peaceful conduct of 2015 elections.
 - h. As campaigns begin, political parties must adhere strictly to their code of conduct and engage in issue based politics. They should eschew hate speeches and inflammatory statements during their campaigns.
 - i. The judiciary should ensure that pre and post elections petitions brought before it is treated such that justice is not only done but is seen by all to be done.

Map of Threats Assessment by States



SECURITY THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR THE NORTH CENTRAL

Background:

This pre-election security assessment tracks and examines the prevailing security situation in the North Central zone in the run up to the 2015 elections. Key issues here has to do with the state of preparedness of all actors in the political process, state specific under-currents that are shaping and re-shaping the political process, as well as the extent to which all these will impact on the success or otherwise of the 2015 elections.

Population Dynamics, Violence and Insecurity:

The North Central zone is second to the North East zone in terms of the number of displaced persons in the country. This is attributed to the rising spate of communal conflicts in Nasarawa State, as well as conflicts between the farmers and herdsmen in Benue and Plateau respectively. In fact, the threat posed by criminality among youths, which highlights the link between drugs, arms and crimes is a worrisome phenomenon in the zone. The remoteness of the communities where criminality are perpetrated is evidenced by the weakness associated with policing in the country, which has made the proliferations of arms wither for self defense or for crimes to be rising in an alarming proportion in the zone⁶.

The centrality of identity in determining electoral outcome will play a critical role in the politics of Nasarawa State in 2015. There are strong agitations from the Christians that since the advent of democratic rule in 1999, they have not been given the opportunity to produce a Governor in the State. 'In the interest of fairness, equity and justice, we the Christians should be give such opportunity in 2015'⁷.

Political and Social Contexts:

In Plateau State, the question of which senatorial zone is to produce the governorship candidate has remain a major source of concern. One group has argued that since the advent of electoral democracy in 1999, there has been a zoning arrangement that produced governors from the southern, central and northern zone as evidenced in the regimes of Chief Solomon Lar, Sir Fidelis Tapgun and Dr. Jonah Jang from the southern, central and northern zone respectively. Such arguments have been punctured on the premise that there was no time that zoning was practiced as part of a grand consensus among the people of the State. For instance, between 1979 and 1983, Chief Solomon Lar who became governor from the southern zone, contested with Mr. John Jatau Kadiya from the northern zone. In 1992, Sir Fidelis Tapgun became governor after defeating Bagudu Hirse, Davou DB Zang and Miskom Puppet from the central, northern and southern zones respectively.

⁶ This point was raised by a respondent in Nasarawa State. He drew attention to the fact that the rise and activities of militia groups such as Ombatse in Nasarawa State has remained an unresolved issue in the state, which poses serious security threats in the state and beyond.

⁷ Statement by a respondent in Lafia, Nasarawa State, 20th August, 2014.

In 1999 and 2003, Chief Joshua Dariye from the central zone contested for, and defeated Jonah Jang and Yohanna Dalyop from the northern zone. In 2007, Jonah Jang from the northern zone contested for, and defeated Arch John Alkali and Jimmy Cheto from the southern zone. In 2011, when Jonah Jang sought for reelection, his major opponent, Mrs. Pauline Tallen was from the southern zone. Evidenced by this fact of history, zoning has never been introduced, retained and institutionalized in the political history of the state. Hence, the 2015 election should be open for candidates from all the zones to contest.

The Niger East Senatorial District election in Niger state will redefine the dynamics of power politics in terms of either its consolidation by the PDP led by Shem Nuhu Zabgayi or the APC led by David Umaru. The fact that two Former Presidents – Ibrahim Babangida and Abdulsalami Abubakar, as well as Governor Babangida Aliyu all hail from this zone raises the stakes. The inconclusive Saturday, 30th August, 2014 senatorial elections was a reflection of the high stakes associated with the strengths of the PDP and APC in the zone. The fact that the election was conducted without violence of any form has been attributed largely to the synergy among key actors such as INEC, security agencies, political parties and the electorate. Though, attention need to be placed on the post-election environment so as not to have a repeat of the 2011 post-election violence whereby Niger State was among the states that witnessed violence of high magnitude.

The failed attempt by the PDP dominated House of Assembly in Nasarawa State to impeach Governor Tanko Almakura of the APC has further deepened the inter-party rivalry between the PDP and the APC in the state. There are fears that in the run up to the 2015 elections, the resort to violence will play a central role in the polity if not addressed. As pointed out by a respondent:

We are constantly living in fear because of the way both our youths and the politicians behave. So far, we know that all the political parties are working hard to arm their political thugs with the intention of instilling fear in the minds of the people, so that they will be afraid of coming out and casting their votes.

The agitation by the Idoma to be allowed to rule Benue state in 2015 is part of a deeper struggle for inclusion in a state that is dominated by the Tivs. Absent consensus by the Tivs on the need to liberalise the political space to enable the Idomas, political rivalry between the Tivs and the Idomas will be deepened.

Threat Levels:

Benue, Nasarawa States: Red

Plateau: Amber⁸

Kogi⁹ and Kwara States: Green

Gender and Political Representation:

The issue of gender remains a major challenge in the zone in view of the fact that there is no state that has achieved the 35% affirmative action as provided for in the National Gender Policy at both elective and appointive positions.

Risks Factors:

- i. Dominance of cattle rustling and other forms of rural banditry is holding the North Central zone siege;
- ii. The rise and dominance of militia and vigilante groups that operate outside of the control of the state;
- iii. The nexus between drugs, arms and crimes that has not been effectively contained; and
- iv. Heightened communal conflicts in Nasarawa State, as well as conflicts between farmers and herdsman in Benue and Plateau states.

Suggested Measures for Mitigation:

- i. Effective policing in both urban and rural areas as a way of addressing impunity arising from criminality and banditry;
- ii. Proactive measure by the security agencies both the level of synergy and rapid response to violence and insecurity.
- iii. INEC should strengthen its inter-party committee on security as a basis for information sharing and action.
- iv. Concrete arrangements should be put to address specific concerns of displaced persons starting from the distribution of permanent voters' card, continues registration and voting during elections.

⁸ Plateau was moved to red by the time of the presentation of the report based on contextual analysis of the threat level, history of conflicts in the state.

⁹ Kogi State was moved to Amber by the time of the presentation of the report based on the incidence of attack on a police formation in Ajaokuta, this was localised within the context of history of violence in the state.

SECURITY THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR THE NORTH EAST

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), political parties and their candidates have all intensified preparations towards the general elections in 2015. INEC in particular has completed the distribution of permanent voter cards (PVCs) in four states namely, Bauchi, Gombe, Yobe and Taraba while this feat has not been achieved in Adamawa and Borno States due to mounting insurgency in these states.

Perhaps the most remarkable political development was the impeachment of Adamawa State governor, Murtala Nyako and his deputy, Bala James Ngilari by the People's Democratic Party controlled house of assembly in July. Governor Nyako who had earlier defected to the opposition All Progressives Congress (APC) was generally seen as APC's *enfant terrible* for his provocative statements accusing President Jonathan of complicity in the current insurgency ravaging the northern part of the country. Apprehensions greeted the political climate of Adamawa State as to the possible breach of security in the aftermath of the impeachment but the proceedings were peacefully concluded. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen how peaceful the conduct of by-election will be in the light of the Acting Governor's overt intention to contest and the plethora of candidates within the PDP also vying for governorship. While INEC has set October 11, 2014 as the date for by election in the state, it is believed the outcome of the polls will not only set the tone for other political happenings in the state but as well dictate who emerges governor in 2015.

Another remarkable current was the defection of former Borno State Governor, Senator Ali Modu Sheriff from the APC to the PDP in July. Sheriff's defection to the PDP was seen by supporters of APC as the effect of a scuttled attempt by the PDP to cause acrimony in their party from within. But this development seems to have deepened the rift between Sheriff and Borno's incumbent governor, Kashim Shettima. Sheriff, no doubt an astute politician with grass root support has already drawn the battle line by wooing supporters from the ruling APC into PDP. The recent dissolution of the state executive council and local government councils by Shettima is therefore seen in this light.

Elsewhere in Taraba State there is uneasy calm as 2015 elections draw closer. Nowhere in the northeast is the zoning principle more problematic than in Taraba. The next governorship candidate from the ruling PDP was zoned for Taraba South at the inception of Governor Suntai's administration but political events that changed thereafter are likely to mar the workability of this arrangement and thus a potential source of conflict. The acting governor's political dance steps are seen by many as one that likely to use his incumbency to contest which is being challenged by PDP stalwarts like Senator Emmanuel Bwacha from the Taraba South

(the most likely contestant). This is likely to conflate the situation as party affiliations are feared to be tending towards religious lines which is becoming more apparent. The recent pronouncement by the Acting Governor, Alhaji Garba Umar that some politicians are trying to divide Taraba politics along a religious path calls for concern and a danger sign looming ahead. This is especially so when other common security threats as the Tiv/Jukun/Hausa conflicts in the state are factored.

Impact of Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons

Throughout the region there has been a steady increase in the number of persons displaced. Displacement is in two fronts – that arising from the insurgency of Boko Haram and another resulting from communal violence prominent in Taraba State. The number of communities displaced by the insurgency and counter insurgency operations by the military has steadily increased. At least five Local Government Areas (LGAs) in the three states under emergency rule are under the control of insurgents. These are Gwoza (Yobe State), Gwoza, and Bama (Borno State), and Madagali, and Michika (Adamawa). Boko Haram has been reported to have hoisted its flag and hold courts in many of the large towns within these LGAs. Thousands of people from the hundreds of communities in these LGAs have in effect relocated to safer areas in Gombe and Bauchi states and some LGAs within their states. There are already increased stresses on the infrastructure of the IDP receiving states. The implication of this displacement for our purpose is twofold: that of disenfranchisement of a large chunk of displaced persons and the near impossibility of the conduct of elections in these states. There is the likelihood of intense pressure mounted on INEC to conduct elections in the three states where insurgency is currently intense from the political class but it remains to be seen how events will unfold between now and January 2015.

Developments in State Houses of Assembly

Perhaps the most important development took place in Adamawa State House of Assembly where the law makers impeached governor Nyako (discussed above). But there was also disquiet in the Borno State House of Assembly when the majority leader Idrisa Jidda was removed from office. The latter was alleged to be in strong alliance with Senator Ali Sheriff who recently defected to the PDP. Jidda, a brother-in-law to Sheriff was perceived to be used by the PDP to destabilize the APC controlled legislature alongside Alhaji Ayemu Lawan from Damboa who is also facing recall from his constituency for similar a reason.

Activities of State and Non-State Actors

The ravaging insurgency by Boko Haram in the region and counter insurgency measures by the military continues to top the security concern in the region. The continued encroachment by Boko Haram through its 'capture' of major towns and the establishment of 'caliphate' within the region appears to be a sign of military fatigue and this has cast serious doubts on the proposed election in 2015.

Violent Hotspots

Based on the above discussions the following violent Hotspots in the region are classified based on the traffic light signal below:

Red: Borno, Adamawa, Taraba and Yobe

Amber: Bauchi and Gombe

Green: None

Synopsis of Risk Factors

- i. Insurgency: Boko Haram's presence in the region is on the increase
- ii. Communal Violence: There is growing inter-ethnic violence that may constitute threat to election
- iii. Increasing IDP presence: The burgeoning IDP population is likely to pose hindrance to the elections in 2015

Suggested Mitigation Measures

- i. Immediate dislodgement of new and previously existing terrorist camps and recapture of communities under Boko Haram Control
- ii. Settlement of inter-ethnic disputes between warring groups is vital for peaceful conduct of 2015 elections.
- iii. There is need to rapidly arrest the deplorable humanitarian situation in the zone so as not to pose additional threat to 2015 election

SECURITY THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR THE NORTH WEST

Context

Political activities are heightening in the region. The two major political parties have increased the tempo of their activities. A section of PDP leadership met in Kaduna and adopted President Jonathan as their candidate for the 2015 Presidential elections. Expectedly, it was rejected by another section of the party. APC on the other hand has reconstituted its regional leadership and held in mobilisation rally in Sokoto all in September 2014.

As a major political hotbed in Nigeria, the region can be very combusive and required better understanding to manage the increasing tension. The Security situation is still dominated by cases of cattle rustling, banditry, assassinations, political skirmishes, insurgency and rape. There are cases of skirmishes between pastoral communities and rural sedentary farmers in some parts of southern Kaduna. This is happening amidst ethno-religious tension in the state. In Kaduna, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto inter party and intra-party tension and contentions are deepening, cases of defection and counter defections are increasing between the two major political parties.

The insurgency in the north east remains a formidable threat to the North West. Communities in the east of Jigawa state are under threat; there have been cases of Boko Haram attacks and military activities in Gwaram. As candidates indicate interest for different positions in the parties there is palpable tension everywhere. Like the last quarter, the region has continued to witness defection and counter defection from the two major parties. With this escalation in insecurity, as we move closer to 2015 elections the situation in the region will be more about drawing a line between insurgency, criminality and politics.

Preparation for the Election

With series of regional meetings in Kaduna, Sokoto and Kano, it is easy to conclude that the political activities are gradually heightening. The next few months will be very interesting. Historically, Presidential and Gubernatorial elections attract more popular attention, but there are profound indications that Senatorial election will also become a major issue, particularly that most Governors whose tenure are ending are likely to run for senatorial seat. The political environment is therefore being defined by contentions over presidential election, gubernatorial candidates and senatorial candidates across the major political parties. Only two of the seven state governors are eligible for re-election in 2015 – Muktar Ramalan Yero of Kaduna state and Abdul'Aziz Abubakar Yari of Zamfara state. The other five are completing their second and final term. In the main time, it appears the contest is between PDP and APC. Almost all the states are open for grab by either of the parties, although each of the parties is struggling to retain its turf. Only two of the states in the region (Kaduna and Katsina) have since 1999 been

led by only PDP. Kano, Jigawa, Sokoto, Kebbi and Zamfara have alternated between PDP, ANPP and now APC.

INEC has concluded the second phase of distribution of Permanent Voters' Card and Continuous Voters' registration in Jigawa and Sokoto. Dates are still being awaited for Kaduna, Kano and Katsina state. There is however apprehensions that many people may be disenfranchised for either failure to collect their PVCs or inability to get registered during the August registration exercise.

Political Parties and Likely Candidates

With just about six months to the general elections, there are growing interest and permutations across all the major political parties. Because the zone has a strong presence of the two major parties, APC and PDP they are both positioning themselves for victory at the polls. The tension between the two parties is at combustive level, in most of the states is growing in especially in Kano, Sokoto, Katsina and Kaduna state. In Sokoto, after a relative lull period of a few months, there are increasing press war and reported street skirmishes between the two parties. In Kano, there are growing contention between and within the two parties, while the ever increasing ethno-religious tension in Kaduna state is continuing to impact on inter party and intra party relations. The violence in southern Kaduna is increasingly impacting on citizens' relationship with their elected representatives, including the state government. The situation has appreciable influence on the on-going permutations around candidates and political party affiliation of the zone that used to almost exclusively PDP.

Although none have openly declared his candidacy for the Presidential election, the zone is likely to produce an interesting array of candidates including General Mohammadu Buhari, Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso and Aminu Tambuwal for APC. Sule Lamido's readiness to challenge President Goodluck Jonathan for the PDP ticket is increasingly incoming obvious. The recent reported endorsement of President Jonathan by a section of the leadership of the PDP in zone was vehemently rejected by Sule Lamido and his supporters.

At the state level, it has been chains of possible candidates across the political parties. Most of these candidates are yet to commence open campaigns. Nevertheless, interesting underground campaigns are going on. Kaduna State remains one of the most volatile ahead of 2015. The ethno-religious dynamics and conflicts have continued to shape politics in the state. Apart from the ranging contention over where the Governor should come from in 2015, the environment is providing a strong ground for huge contest between the major political parties. It is believed Governor Ramalan Yero will pick the PDP ticket amidst ranging agitations by the Southern Kaduna people for the governor to come from their zone. The internal wrangling in APC is not

only undermining the cohesion of the party in the state, if unmanaged it could degenerate to violence.

In Jigawa state, there are still no major political activities taking place. Most politicians have continued to keep their ambition close to their chest. Ambassador Abdulhamid Ahmed Malam-Madori, the current Nigerian Ambassador to Turkey is believed to be a major contender for the governorship. Others in PDP are Engineer Baba Suntali, Bashir Dalhatu, Hon Adamu Ahmed Sarawa, the Speaker of the Jigawa State House of Assembly. Hon Farouk Adamu Aliyu, Alhaji Abubakar Badaru and Barrister Ibrahim Hassan Hadejia are the likely contestant for the APC ticket in the state.

There are still growing contention over whose turn is it to produce the Governor of Katsina state. The Daura and Funtua senatorial zones are all laying claim to their turn to produce the next governor since all previous governors including incumbent Shema, are from Katsina central zone. There are at least, no fewer than ten major gubernatorial candidates of PDP. Among the most consistent names include the state deputy Governor, Abdullahi Garba Faskari, speaker of the state house of assembly, Yau Umar Gwajo-Gwajo, Senator Ibrahim Ida and commissioner for agriculture, Alhaji Musa Adamu Funtua. Others, aspirants included minister of mines and steel, Musa Sada, Controllor General of Customs, Dikko Inde, former executive secretary of Petroleum Technology Development Fund, Muntaqa Rabe Darma, former boss of Nigerian Inland Water Ways, Aminu Yaradua, Engr Nura Khalil, Executive secretary of Universal Basic Education Board, Dikko Suleiman and Alhaji Umaru Abdullahi Tsauri.

Similarly, APC also has close to ten gubernatorial contenders. Among them include former speaker, House of Representatives, Aminu Masari, the current senator representing Katsina Central, Sadiq Yar'Adua, his counterpart for Funtua zone, Abu Ibrahim and former senate minority whip, Senator Kanti Bello. Others include younger brother of late President Musa Yaradua, retired Col. Abdulaziz Yar'Adua, Mannir Yakubu, Abubakar Ismaila Funtua, Dr. Usman Bugaje and Sada Ilu.

The spate of defection is still going in Kaduna state. Two former Chairmen of PDP, Alhaji Audi Yaro Makama Rigachukun and Alhaji Zubairu Sirajo have recently led a number of PDP members to APC. There are also indications of further defections across the two parties.

The race for the number one seat in Kano is going to be keenly contested. More and more candidates are emerging every day. Among them include the Secretary to the state Government, Malam Rabiul Sulaiman Bichi. There is also the state commissioner of works, Kabiru Yusif. He was the private/personal assistant to Kwankwaso. Honorable Kawu Sumaila

has been on for a long while. The Deputy Governor, Dr. Abdullahi Umar Ganduje is known never to hide his feeling and intention to contest for the seat. Another emerging candidate is Eng., Muazu Magaji a former aide to President Jonathan on SURE-P and currently an aide to adviser to Kwankwaso. In PDP, possible candidate include Malam Salihu Sagir Takai and Mohammed Sani Abacha, who seem to be enjoying a good romance with the Presidency. Former governor Shekarau who has recently been nominated a Minister is expected to play a significant role in determining who picks the ticket.

Youth Gender Dimension of the election

A combination of cultural practices, religion and long history of political exclusion have continued to keep women out of active political participation. Until 1979, northern Nigeria generally operated a universal male suffrage: Women secured their voting right only in 1979. Although women candidates have increased in the last 10 years, most of them never get nominated and even when they did, they never got to win the election.

The indication that more women will run for the next election is fast faltering. Only a few women are holding leadership positions at the state and national level. Women are not currently featuring prominently in most of the permutations, neither are they strategically involved in any of the political parties. It seems the historical exclusion and failure of women to win previous elections is beginning to affect them. Nevertheless, as we run towards the third quarter of the year, more of these candidates could emerge.

Although youth identity is not that prominent in the politics of the zone, young people have always played a very important role, particularly as canvassers for the party candidates. They are also major players in most of the violence associated with the elections in the zone. The escalating level of youth unemployment in the zone is likely going to be a major threat to security in the zone. Different youth groups have continued to emerge in the zone, most of them canvassing for one candidates or the other.

Presence and Activities of Non state actors

Kaduna has continued to experience increasing cases of violence especially in southern Kaduna and Birnin Gwari axis of the state. The zone has also been affected by Boko Haram insurgency, especially in Kaduna, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto. Zamfara and Katsina have also been experiencing increasing cases of cattle rustling and rural banditry resulting in wanton destruction of lives and property. With the increasing cases of cattle rustling, especially in Zamfara, Kaduna and Sokoto states, several community vigilante groups have been established. In Kano, Kaduna, Katsina with the history of youth militancy, particularly the *yan'daba*,

electoral politics is always an opportunity to perpetrate violence on behalf of their principals. The cases of raids and mass killings by bandits in southern Kaduna are also attracting non state security response from the communities. Militant youths called Area boys are major players in electoral politics and security in Sokoto state.

Some of these non-state outfits are supported and funded by some states and local governments. In some cases parallel or complementary security outfits are established by state governments. For instance, aside the *Hisbah* in Kano, the government recruited and trained 395 security guards to “curb the menace of insecurity and unemployment. There are fears that some of these people could be used for election.

Violent hotspots

In situations like this period, Kano and Kaduna should be carefully watched. It appears southern Kaduna, Kaduna city and Kano city will be major flashpoints. The nature of violence may not necessarily be partisan; it could take different dimension including ethnic or religion. Southern Kaduna has been experiencing ranging spate of banditry and violence with strong possibility of escalating reprisals attacks in other parts of the state.

As the country moves closer to the 2015 election the internal contradictions of the two major parties have begun to manifest in Kano and Kaduna state. These contradictions have strong potential for violence. The political contentions coupled with identity based historical grievances could degenerate into violence.

The two major parties in region still harbour disgruntle members. As we move close to 2015 elections a lot of them will begin to express their grievances this could impact on security and even the conduct of election in most of the state.

Violence and Displacement

The annual march of a Shiite Muslim group in Zaria, Kaduna State turned bloody in July 2014 when troops from the Nigeria army reportedly opened fire on the protesters killing at least 30 people including three sons of the leader of the group, Sheik Ibraheem Zakzaky.

Known as ‘Quds Day’, the procession is an annual ritual held on the last Friday of every Ramadan, during which thousands of faithful embark on procession in solidarity with Palestinians. Although the situation is currently being investigated by the Nigerian Army, the response of the Military and government is not demonstrative of a state or institution committed to accountability. This could have a long term implication for religious harmony in state and has damaged the relationship between security institutions and Shia community in

Nigeria. Although the leadership of the group has ruled out the possibility of reprisal, failure to manage the situation could open up a new frontier of violence.

There are still wave of killings in southern Kaduna. Since the last major incidence in June, there are reported skirmishes in some parts of southern Kaduna resulting in killings and wanton destruction of property. This has continued to breed anxiety and possibility of reprisal killing in other parts of the state.

Zamfara state has continued to experience cases of rural banditry and cattle rustling. After two months of relative calm in Zamfara State, in September 2014, rural bandits and cattle rustlers allegedly stormed villages in Gusau local government, killing over 35 people displacing hundreds of people. Communities that were attacked on the same day included Kofa, Kundubau, Wonaka, Fura Girke, Fegin Mahe, Gangara, Kukar Gandu, Kanawa, Lafiya, Gora and many others.

Many villagers fled after a coordinated attack on their respective communities and camped at Damba Model Primary School. Hundreds of dejected refugees including children besieged classroom blocks where they spent days in suspense, receiving emergency assistance from the state and local authorities. Others have taken refuge in Yandoto, Mada, Marke, Kwatarkwashi, Faskari, Gusau, the capital city and the neighbouring Katsina state. There are currently no sign that these banditry will abate in the state. If not properly managed it could be a major threat for elections in 2015.

Kano has continued to be at the receiving end of Boko Haram Insurgency. In July, five synchronized teenage female suicide bombers killed scores of people in different locations, including Kano State Polytechnics on BUK Road, North West University, a shopping mall around trade fair centre and NNPC filling station in Hotoro along Maiduguri road. Although Kano state is not one of the cores Boko Haram state, it is the most affected outside the north east. As a commercial nerve centre of the north, it is expected that Boko Haram will continue to attempt such attacks.

Although there is relative calm in Jigawa, the eastern parts of state, particularly areas bordering Yobe state are still very vulnerable to Boko Haram attack. Earlier in May 2014, Boko Haram insurgents numbering about 200 attacked a police station, a bank, and a Sharia Court and killed eight people, including police officers, in Gwaram in Gwaram Local Government Area of Jigawa. Four mobile policemen, three conventional policemen and one civilian guard were killed in the attack.

Colour Code

State	Colour
Jigawa	Amber
Kaduna	Red
Kano	Red
Katsina	Amber
Kebbi	Green
Sokoto	Green
Zamfara	Red

Key Risk Factors

Because the region is prone to violence, it takes a small trigger for violence to erupt, especially in Kaduna and Kano state. Some of the causes may be historical others are largely generated by prevailing political situation. Some of the risk factors may include:

- i. **Rural banditry and cattle rustling:** Increasing activities of armed groups. Since the beginning of the year rural, bandits and cattle rustlers have continue to make life miserable for poor rural communities in Kaduna, Katsina and Zamfara state. Violent attacks have continued to kill and displace people in these states. In every quarter there is always one or two incidence to report. In September scores of people were killed in Zamfara and hundreds displaced. In southern Kaduna, the almost regular skirmishes are major threat to security in the state. There are two dimensions of risks in this regard – first is the risk of ethnicisation - some of killings can easily be manipulatively attributed to some historical conflicts and therefore justify reprisal from the other side. Second, the engagement of vigilante groups to combat this banditry could be a preparatory process of recruiting election and ethnic militia.

- ii. **Inter and intra party conflicts:** The defection and counter defection between the two major parties have generated a huge political tension. As the country advances toward the 2015 elections, some of these cases of defection could begin to generate violence in Sokoto, Kaduna and Kano state. Poor of internal party democracy remains a formidable threat to security and credible elections.
- iii. **Electoral manipulation:** – Vote rigging or perceived rigging will be the major trigger of violence in the region especially the gubernatorial and Presidential elections. It was perceived vote rigging that triggered the 2011 post-election violence. The region, Kano in particular has a history of mandate protection; manipulation of election result could result into violence.
- iv. **Politics of power rotation or power shift:** Contention over candidates including zoning of presidential or gubernatorial candidates. There are emerging contentions over where the President of the country should come from. This is a continuation of the controversy that preceded the 2011 election and has continued to shape the national politics since then. Like what happened in 2011, if the ruling elite fail to manage the situation properly, it could escalate into a huge national crisis. Similar situation are also emerging at the state level – senatorial districts within states are demanding for a fair share or taste of the governorship in Katsina, Kaduna, Sokoto and Kebbi state are states to watch in this regard. In Kebbi state for instance the tension between the southern and northern Senatorial district over the governorship seat is almost palpable. Similar situation can be observed in Katsina between Daura and Funtua zones.

Recommendation

To mitigate possible violence will require a nuanced understanding of the politics of the region and respond to some of the key concerns of the people.

- i. The increasing cases of rural banditry and cattle rusting are not getting the required attention. It is very important to understand and deal with this new security challenge before it builds a life of its own. Allowing it to fester could be major risk for national security.
- ii. The cases of violence in the region are partly reflection of the level of small arms. Efforts should be made to reduce the level of small arms in the zone. It may be important to revisit the report of Presidential Committee on Small arms and the Presidential committee on Post Elections violence. These committees have made useful recommendations on how to deal with these issues.
- iii. The electoral commission should ensure free, fair and credible election. This can be achieved only if INEC commences early preparation for the elections. Some of these preparatory issues should include update of electoral laws, effective distribution of permanent voters' cards, establishment of new polling units, and update of voters' register.

- iv. Election related stakeholders – including security agencies, INEC, political parties and civil society groups must work together in preparation for the 2015 election and mainstream conflict management in their plans. A quarterly security situation review can be very helpful for INEC, law enforcement agencies and CSOs.
- v. The electoral commission and relevant agencies should engage different stakeholders including youth groups, political parties, security agencies, religious leaders, traditional rulers and women on the need for violence free election.
- vi. The federal government need to invest in training security agencies on election related security issues.
- vii. The federal and state governments should intensify effort in addressing the Boko Haram insurgences to avoid disruption of election activities.
- viii. The government and political parties should also encourage issues based politics and avoid religion and ethnic identity based mobilisation.
- ix. Inter party dialogue should be encouraged. Sokoto state government is a good example demonstrating remarkable political will to prevent violence. They have taken a number of steps to remove potential triggers and force candidates to adhere to agreed-upon norms. For example, state officials banned the large campaign posters that have previously instigated fights between opposing supporters. Roundabouts were rented to banks for advertising space instead. Sustaining this initiative will require support from relevant quarters and replication in other states.

SECURITY THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR THE SOUTH EAST

ABIA STATE: Potentials for Violence Exists

It is generally believed that it is the turn of the Ukwa-Ngwa zone to produce the next governor of the State and the people of old Aba Division have started mobilizing support for power-shift to the area. The advocacy is based on a supposed Abia Charter of Equity signed by the founding fathers of the state for power sharing being the main constituent units of the proposed state. The people of Aba Division claim it is only fair that they should be allowed to produce the governor in 2015 since all indigenous governors from 1991 when the state was created come from Bende Division. Moreover, Governor Theodore Orji, has on a number of occasions expressed support for the Aba Division to produce his successor.

The major contenders from the Ukwa-Ngwa stock are Senators Enyinnaya Abaribe, Adolphus Wabara, Nkechi Nwaogu, and Minister of Labour, Chief Emeka Wogu, even though only Senator Nwaogu has publicly indicated her interest. Governor T.A. Orji is gearing up to represent Abia South in the Senate, and is not ready to hand over to Senator Nwaogu, and this has already started the fireworks, which may not necessarily be threatening to security in the state since the realization of her senatorial ambition was made possible by the support of Governor Theodore Orji.

Presence and Impact of Activities of the Military, Police and other Security Agencies in the State: The presence of the military in the state has helped to restore some sense of public safety among the populace. The noticeable impact of the huge presence of the military is felt in the area of significant reduction in the incidences of kidnapping. What is needed is for the military and security forces in the region to continue to discharge their responsibility in professional manner. This will nurture a culture of healthy civil-military relation, critical for ensuring the preservation of security before, during and after the 2015 elections.

Developments in Abia State House of Assembly and what they portend for elections in 2015: Abia State is a major PDP state; and the Governor has been at pains to ensure and publicly declare loyalty to the major stakeholders of the ruling party. The seeming unity and calmness in the state is because Governor Orji has effectively commandeered all apparatuses of the state and the ruling party such that nobody dares go against him. As such, the House of Assembly is widely seen by many observers as a rubber-stamp legislature, given that the House have not gone against the Governor for the past four years.

Categorisation: Amber

Justification: This is essentially due to the risks of violence within the ruling PDP and the possibility of not adhering to the unwritten zoning agreement.

ANAMBRA STATE: *Legislative Elections may be the Battle Front*

As Anambra State does not have gubernatorial elections in 2015, and given that APGA has adopted President Jonathan as their candidate for the 2015 general elections, the National Assembly election promises to be a clash of the titans given the political heavyweights and money bags that are involved. None of the serving senators, Andy Uba (PDP), Chris Ngige (APC), or Margery Okadigbo (PDP) is ready to step down. Moreover, the recent defection of some APGA legislators to the PDP portends to make it a serious fight to the National Assembly. However, the elections are not expected to be volatile as other states in the region.

Presence and Impact of Activities of the Military, Police and other Security Agencies in the State: Governor Willie Obiano has made it very clear that he would not condone criminality and insecurity by knocking down houses of suspected kidnappers. He has followed this up with logistic support extended to police and other security agencies in the form of donations of equipment and vehicles, including the vigilante.

Developments in the State House of Assembly and what they portend for elections in 2015:

There seems to be not much happening in the Anambra State House of Assembly, apart from the fact that PDP is making efforts to get a majority in the House during the 2015 general elections. Although next year's legislative elections will be seriously contested in the state, the pact between the PDP and the ruling APGA in the state minimizes the risk of violence during the polls.

Categorisation: Amber

Justification: This is essentially due to the risks of violence during the legislative elections. The stakes in the National Assembly elections are higher now with the emergence of other contenders like Hon. Uche Ekwunife, ready to do battle with others in the PDP, and, moreover, the serving senators, Andy Uba (PDP) and Chris Ngige (APC) are not ready to vacate their seats.

EBONYI STATE: *Reduced Risk of Violence amid Power Shift Calculations*

“The political climate in Ebonyi is very much unpredictable” claims a stakeholder. Thus, it is a state to watch prior to 2015, owing to calculations and manoeuvres for power shift. Governor Martin Elechi wields a lot of power in the state and his power shift calculations will affect the state in 2015. He has zoned the governorship to Ebonyi South Senatorial zone, parading political heavyweights interested in the governorship position such as Anyim Pius Anyim, Prof. Onyebuchi Chukwu, former Deputy Governor Chigozie Ogbu and current Deputy Governor, Dave Umahi. Engr. Paul Okoli, former commissioner, is from the same place as the current Deputy Governor Umahi, and is said to be more popular. However, despite the famed zoning by the PDP, Senator Igwe Nwagu from Ebonyi Central insists he is coming out, claiming that the “so-called zoning” is weakness on the part of any candidate.

Presence and Impact of Activities of the Military, Police and other Security Agencies in the State: Ebonyi State, like others in the South-East, enjoys a heavy military presence which has become accepted given the potent threats of Boko Haram insurgency in the South-East. Also, the lingering Ezza-Ezillo communal clashes has equally accentuated the need for strong presence of security and military forces to diminish the possibility of relapse to conflicts.

Developments in the State House of Assembly and what they portend for Elections in 2015: There is tension in the State House of Assembly as the recent impeachment saga is yet to be resolved. Hon. Chukwuma Nwazunku is still Speaker but not yet in full control, despite the Governor’s support.

Categorisation: Amber

Justification: Apart from the governorship, a likely source of high risk of violence will be the Senatorial elections as it has the capacity to inflame violent communal conflicts that have rocked state in recent times.

ENUGU STATE: *Very High Risk of Violence*

The tempo of political activity in Enugu State is already at fever pitch. The battle to replace Governor Chime has become intense since he insisted on handing over to a credible person from Enugu North Senatorial District (Nsukka zone) which rightly claims that it is their turn to produce the next governor given the zoning formula. Being a very important and election-winning population for any candidate, the likelihood of them conceding to any other zone is out of the question and will definitely breed violence if it happens. Presently, all eyes are on the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Hon. Eugene Odo, as a major contender, and may be

declaring his ambition anytime soon. Since Senator Ayogu Eze and the Governor are not friends, it is expected that the Nwodo-Nnamani group would support the former.

The National Assembly elections will also be more problematic than the Governorship. The Senatorial ambition of Governor Chime is heating up the polity. While the Deputy Senate President, Ike Ekweremadu, has not made it clear that he is going to run for the governorship, even though his body language points in that direction, the Governor has declared his intention to replace him in the Senate, and is also positioning his Chief of Staff, Mrs. Ifeoma Nwobodo, to replace Senator Gil Nnaji for the Enugu-East seat. This is causing very serious problems as even the people of Nkanu, where Nwobodo comes from, are not supporting her ambition, as “it is against the culture of Nkanu people that are patrilineal in nature”. An interview with a stakeholder close to a traditional ruler indicated that “a woman can never be allowed to represent” the people. But her ambition is widely believed to be at the root of the recent impeachment of the deputy governor of Enugu State, Mr. Sunday Onyebuchi. Some political observers believe that the impeachment of the deputy governor is a product of the feud between the Deputy Senate President, Ike Ekweremadu, and his camp on the one hand; and Governor Chime and his camp on the other. This has made the stakes very high, underpinning a high risk of violence in the State during February 2015 elections.

Presence and Impact of Activities of the Military, Police and other Security Agencies in the State: The security situation in Enugu is gradually deteriorating as it seems Governor Chime is more occupied with his ambition and ensuring that his Chief of Staff also realises hers and has begun wavering. Most areas in Enugu like Ezeagu, Opi-Agu, Nsukka and other areas have started feeling threatened with the incursion of Fulani herdsmen who are openly armed with AK47. This has engendered fears that they are being used for reconnaissance by Boko Haram members who are intent on infiltrating the zone. There have been several cases of rapes by these herdsmen and armed robbery by people of northern origin along the many roads that Governor Chime built to ease transportation problem in the state.

Developments in the State House of Assembly and what they portend for elections in 2015: The recent ignominious impeachment of the Deputy Governor, Sunday Onyebuchi, by the House of Assembly has not thrown the State into crisis as expected, as the PDP is fully on ground in Enugu. However, the various cliques in the PDP are hinging on it to show the outgoing Governor Chime “a thing or two about Enugu politics” in the words of one of the major stakeholders. So the coming weeks and months will determine the situation for 2015.

Categorisation: Red

Justification: The governorship election is likely source of high risk of violence given the weight of political contenders and the staunch desire of Enugu North to produce the next governor. Already, Enugu North has started showing ominous signs of likely violent reactions that may result from any election that produces a non-Nsukka governor.

IMO STATE: *Very High Stakes Raise Threat to Election Security*

Imo State is definitely going to be very violent in the months leading to 2015. Major contenders from the PDP are Deputy Speaker, House of Representatives, Emeka Ihedioha, who has publicly claimed to be governor-in-waiting, immediate past Governor Ikedi Ohakim, Senators Ifeanyi Araraume and Chris Anyanwu. APGA has a formidable kingmaker, Chief Martin Agbaso as well as Col. Emmanuel Iheanacho. Both PDP and APGA have formidable structures in the state and are investing heavily to recapture the state, while Okorocha's APC wants to retain the state and show that it is a force to be reckoned with. Given PDP's reconciliation of all the factions with the President's visit earlier in the year, it is expected that the contest will be fierce.

Electoral contest in Imo State would likely be *very violent*. Already, Ohakim's residence in Owerri was bombed on 16th May 2014, and some observers believe it has political undertone, as it could have been masterminded by any of the candidates from any of the parties including the PDP. After all, he scuttled Araraume's chances the last time out, had been at loggerheads with Rochas, and had not been forgiven by APGA for decamping after giving him the governorship ticket on a platter of gold. As it is, the tide is swaying against the Rochas' APC government as people openly call him a fraud, as they claim there is nothing to show for the support he was given to come from nowhere and take over in 2011. There is a lot of disenchantment with Rochas' governance style especially since he joined the APC and has failed to address some developmental challenges.

Presence and Impact of Activities of the Military, Police and other Security Agencies in the State: Imo State is as security conscious as all other states in the South-East and has heavy presence of the military. Though there are still cases of kidnapping and other criminal activities, the presence of the military has helped in no small measure to provide a sense of security. With the potent threat of Boko Haram insurgency in the South-East, the presence of the military and other security agencies is a welcome development in the State.

Developments in the State House of Assembly and what they portend for elections in 2015:

The Imo State House of Assembly which was predominantly and originally PDP moved almost en masse with Okorocha when he became governor under APGA. Thus the general elections will be as hard-fought at the legislative level as it would be at the gubernatorial. The three major parties in the state – APC, APGA and PDP – would want a majority in the State House of Assembly as such would resort to all manner of tricks to get the upper hand in the coming elections.

Categorisation: Red

Justification: This is because the general elections will be as hard-fought at both the gubernatorial and legislative contests, especially with three major parties in the state – APC, APGA and PDP – keen on getting majority in the State House of Assembly

Recommendations

Threats to electoral violence stem largely from the high stakes of elections as a result of the high level dependence on government for sustenance. The state has become the major source of wealth creation in Nigeria and so everyone wants to be in one top government position or the other. In the South-East, money politics has become the norm so much so that it is only those who have access to ‘government money’ that dictate how the state is run. The grievance of alienation of the Igbo from the presidency and certain politico-linguistic groups in different states from the governorship is an underlying source of violence. Against this background, the key recommendations to secure elections include the following:

- i. *Improved Preparation by INEC:* The INEC needs to ensure that the continuous voter registration is completed on time. A lot of people in the South East are apprehensive they would be disenfranchised as they are yet to get registered either because of ‘loss of data’ or simply incompetence on the part of INEC. It is also important to commence early preparation to ensure that materials reach the rural and coastal communities on time and there is enough security to allow citizens vote freely. To ensure increased participation during the forthcoming elections, INEC should engage in continuous voters’ registration until a few weeks to the elections.
- ii. *Public Enlightenment on Electoral Process:* Such enlightenment should educate the public on the difference between constitutional provisions of universal franchise and internal power sharing arrangements of parties. The risk of violence by aggrieved communities who feel cheated as result of outcomes that do not respect zoning arrangements of

parties will be mitigated if citizens are informed that constitutional provisions override party arrangements.

- iii. *Support for Robust Security Initiatives:* The state governments and security agencies should work to handle security at all the nooks and crannies of the state to forestall intimidation of voters and opposing party supporters. Working with various stakeholders such as community leaders, youth groups, civil society, businesses and media, state and local governments in the zone need to evolve and support robust initiatives that will improve the level of security consciousness amongst the people of the zone.
- iv. *Elite Crisis Mitigating Interventions:* A key driver of violence is the zero-sum politics that have been linked to unsettled disagreement between political elites. Many of these conflicts are already brewing across states in the zone. It is necessary for some eminent persons with leverage to intervene to mediate in these conflicts as intra-party mediation mechanisms have been weakened by impunity.
- v. *Training of Journalists on Conflict Sensitive Reporting:* The manner the media has been reporting and is likely to report political conflicts has implications for violence. A cursory examination of newspapers reveals high levels of sensationalism which if left un-moderated will contribute to violence. Media practitioners should be exposed to training on reporting of political conflicts to mitigate risk of their reports becoming triggers for violence.

SECURITY THREAT ASSESSMENT OF SOUTH-SOUTH

Introduction

The South-South refers to six states in Nigeria: Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Delta, Edo, Cross River, and Rivers State. Four of these states are high-flyers when it comes to states with huge oil and gas endowment on which government mainly depends for revenues and foreign exchange. Since oil became a major foreign exchange earner and national revenue yielding commodity for the country decades ago, it has assumed a decisive influence on politics in Nigeria. There is no question that the majority of the South-South have consistently articulated their political positions on the basis of perceived injustices around the oil, especially in the context of political, social, economic, and environmental cost of exploring and producing the oil.

Ahead of the 2015 elections, it is not surprising that many from the region are showing support for President Goodluck Jonathan, who is from this region. The handwriting is clear-- President Jonathan is seeking a re-election in 2015 even though he is yet to make this formally known to the public.

Having had a history of political violence and seen enormous activities of armed groups and criminal flow of illegal weapons, the potential for election violence in the South-South ahead of 2015 cannot be discounted. The region is one to watch for outbreak of major violence. In the months under review—July to August—a lot has happened in the political scenery of the region, including the crisis in Edo State House of Assembly; violent confrontation between APC and PDP members in Rivers State; internal wrangling within the PDP in Akwa Ibom State; and efforts by governors to install their anointed candidates as succeeding governors. All of this, and more, have raised tension and increased the predisposition to violence or threat to security before, during, and after the 2015 elections.

Akwa Ibom

Political Context

Security implications of Governor Godswill Akpabio's seeming determination to secure the Ikot Ekpene Senatorial seat, and contending forces from the side of Senator Aloysius Etok, ahead of the 2015 elections warrants worry. Both have large followers who can derail from effective control. A recent statement credited to the Governor and interpreted as death threat by some governorship aspirants in the PDP, clearly shows the extent of division within the PDP. The Governor had cursed those nursing governorship ambitions without his permission. He described them as wayward. He was quoted as saying those seeking the office without his blessing are doing so through the back door.

Member of the Board of Trustees of PDP, Mr Don Etiebet; PDP governorship aspirants Okon Umana and Bassey Albert, among others, have all condemned the Governor's comments. Such comments from a serving Governor can be a source of conflict within the party. As well, it can be a threat to internal democracy of the party as it prepares to elect a flag bearer ahead of the governorship elections. The lesson is, violent political communication can raise tension and amplify the risk of violent response by opponents and their supporters. Many of the PDP governorship aspirants believe Governor Akpobio's preference and struggle for Mr Emmanuel Udom, as his successor is superfluous in a democracy. In the days ahead, the struggle for governorship will be more intra than intra-party. In addition ethnic framing of the struggle for governorship and Senatorial seats is capable of pitting one ethnic group against another. Key ethnic contenders for the office of governor are Oron, Annang and Ibibio.

Preparations for the elections

The Independent Electoral Commission's performance in Osun State, where PDP lost to the APC governorship candidate has been lauded. It gives a good impression of an improving election management body ahead of 2015. Two staff of the body were recently sanctioned for electoral offences during the Osun elections, suggesting that efforts are being made by INEC to sanitise the organisation and increase its image and credibility.

Fresh questions are being asked about the security implications of recent seemingly politically motivated murder cases in the state. The question of level of preparation of security agencies to protect innocent citizens against 2015 is equally being asked. The plan of deploying the military by the federal government for the purpose of the elections has been a major issue of controversy with the main opposition party, APC. Its leadership has continued to denounce what it calls militarisation of elections. PDP top politician, Engineer Akaninyene Ukanah was murdered coldblooded. In the same vein, an assassination attempt was made on Okon Umana's governorship campaign manager Mr Sunny. Meanwhile, as with the rest of the country, reconciling the need for security and de-militarisation of the election process remains a difficult matter both for INEC and the federal government.

Gender Dimension

The political atmosphere remains more of a man's world with women political aspirants within political parties nearly too small to see. However, there is growing interest of women generally in the political process.

Presence and activities of non-state actors

Ex-Militants are mostly in support of President Goodluck Jonathan for a second term. This is likely to result in the emergence of counter armed groups, not specifically for the presidential

elections but for opposition parties vying for positions at gubernatorial, Senatorial District, State House of Assembly, and Local Government levels.

Violent Hotspots

Based on the foregoing, Akwa Ibom State is posted as Amber. Areas deserving close watch for violence include Eket, Ikot Ekpene and Uyo Senatorial Districts.

Recommendations

There is need for politicians to be moderate and civil in their utterances against perceived opponents. They must try to consider one another's human rights when it comes to verbal exchanges intended to win political points ahead of the 2015 elections.

In the same vein, INEC must intensify its collaboration with political parties, civil society and security agencies on security ahead of the 2015 elections. Continuous political and election security education can help curtail the risk of verbal-political-communication induced election crisis.

Bayelsa State

Political Context

Being the home state of President Goodluck Jonathan is crucial for one reason: it is expected of him, within the PDP, to be able to deliver the state in the 2015 elections without tough opposition. That should not be very difficult to achieve as the state is traditionally PDP. Already have started seeing the elections as a walk-over for party. All the same, the state is easily prone to violence. It was the epic centre of the violent campaigns for development against oil companies and government before the introduction of Amnesty Programme by the federal government. Activities of ex-Militants since the implementation of the programme started have continued to create paint the state as highly vulnerable. They are implicated in the chain of people involved in oil theft in the region. In addition, since the emergence of APC as a potential counterweight against PDP, members of the party have proved to be a factor in preventing the PDP from having an easy ride especially at the state level.

Preparations for the elections

Within the PDP, contention for Senatorial and State House of Assembly constituency tickets and the failure of the party to internally and democratically handle it is capable of raising tension. Having had a terrible history of violence as well as proliferation of small and light weapons, Bayelsa is a state to watch.

The fight against oil theft in Bayelsa State seems to be recording some success. This may speak to security matters, giving the violent nature of the business and how that can fuel conflict with security agencies.

Notwithstanding, the state falls under Green. The President Goodluck Jonathan factor is crucial: He is perceived as deserving a second term and support by the people of the state for being an indigene.

Gender Dimension

Although women are increasingly playing active roles in the political process, vying for political positions at the local, state and national levels has remained mainly men's affair. .

Presence and activities of non-state actors

Ex-Militants and a number of potential dangerous groups, including cult groups, stand capable of being used before, during and after the elections. Their presence and support for PDP in the state seems to have given the APC basis for criticism of the PDP and President Goodluck Jonathan's likely candidacy. The defection of Timipre Sylver has fed APC's creative criticism of PDP.

Violent hotspots

Despite the challenges and risk factors, Bayelsa State is posted as Green. It is a state to watch ahead of 2015, particularly Yenagoa and Southern Ijaw communities.

Recommendation

INEC must make its inter-agency security forum more responsive to security needs of the state. The war on oil theft should be intensified to deny those who utilise the oil money for purchase of dangerous weapons such opportunities.

Cross Rivers State

Political context

The success of Ekiti and Osun states governorship elections during the period under review added value to the ability of INEC to conduct free, fair, and credible elections ahead of 2015. Even so, there are fears. Dealing with elections that cut across the 36 states and the federal capital Abuja will be more demanding in terms of preparation. As part of this preparation, INEC needs to be intensely studying why the Ekiti and Osun elections were so positively different.

Preparations for the elections

In the immediate past three months, a number of political activities have taken place in Akwa Ibom State politics, ahead of the 2015 elections, when, precisely May 29, Senator Liyel Imoke's tenure as governor, is expected to draw to a close. Notably, the number of politicians within the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) eying the office of governor is currently about 22. This number alone signals a tough fight for the ticket within the party. The party's leadership caucus worry about this number. And has taken steps to resolve it by engaging a zoning formula. Governor Imoke however, unlike his Akwa Ibom State counterpart has been less open and reserved about public endorsement of any of these candidates for governor in 2015. Zoning is rather seen as an internal device by the PDP both for avoiding likely destructive internal party wrangling, as can now be seen in the state, and for the determining the governorship flag bearer for winning the presidential elections.

Violent hotspots

Central Senatorial District is an area to watch. Struggle between Senator Ndoma-Egba and current serving Federal House of Representative member John Owan Enor may be fiercer as the Senator will be seeking the position for the fourth term. Coupled with the rumour that Governor Imoke is also interested in the position, tension has been raised among key political elites. The state can be categorised as Green.

Recommendations

Governors must watch for the security implications of their political communication and insistence on their preferred candidates for political positions even though it is often said that every ruler determines his successor. Politicians are becoming more audacious in the struggle for power.

Edo State

Political Context and Issues

Among key indicators of security threats, ahead of the 2015 elections is the increasing animosity of politicians seeking top political positions. Current crisis in the ruling APC is raising tension with a potential for increased risk of election insecurity. In the past two months or so, the PDP seems to have become a key beneficiary of this crisis, as clearly seen in its hosting of three defecting members of the APC. The State House of Assembly is not impervious, looking more like a key theatre for the inter-party squabble. Following the defection, the numerical strength of PDP has improved even though it has to remain subordinate to the APC.

The state has a history of killing associated with struggle for political power. For example, the killing of Olaitan Oyerinde and recent reports in the dailies of threat to David Ugolor's life --an environmental activist--over comments on current crisis in the state House of Assembly is unhealthy.

Recent developments within the State House of Assembly

The crisis which has lasted more than two months results from internal crisis of the APC. It is also about perceived plot by PDP lawmakers in the state to impeach Governor Adams Oshiomohole, Deputy Governor Pius Odubu and the Speaker, Uyi Igbe. The perception that the Presidency is responsible for the crisis by sponsoring three APC members who defected to the PDP is raising tension. The former APC members themselves believe Governor Oshiomohole was equally responsible for the impeachment of former Deputy Speaker Festus Ebea, who is a PDP member. They claim that his impeachment did not follow constitutional requirement of a 2/3 majority.

Hotspots of violence

Places to watch ahead of the 2015 elections include Edo South Senatorial District, which gave Governor Oshiomohole significant votes in the last election. The Senatorial District is the largest of the three in the state of which aspirants seek support.

Categorisation: Amber

Key risk factors/Recommendations

Involvement of both the governor and presidency in political schemes intended to impeach members of the State House of Assembly should be discouraged in the interest of peace ahead of 2015.

Internal party democracy remains a vital component of credibility and election security. INEC must intensify its role towards making political parties more democratic especially in the choice of candidates for tickets ahead of the elections.

Collaboration of key security agents as well as education of party leaders and political aspirants remains crucial for tackling election security threats ahead of 2015.

Rivers State

Political context

The road to the 2015 elections in Rivers State is lined with multiple security threats. If truth be told, the state continues to bear the identity of being the most potentially violent in the South-South ahead of the elections. With about six million people, which is the highest in the region, and contributing about 40 percent of volume of oil production, it is a state to watch. Security threats emanating from conflictive and bitter relationship between Governor Chubuikwe Rotimi Amaechi and President Goodluck Jonathan has remained a crucial factor in the politics of the state. The Governor will complete his second term in office next year. His defection from the PDP to APC and contention with President Jonathan, his wife and Minister of State for Education, Barrister Nyesom Wike has impacted couched security threats ahead of 2015. "Rivers State is almost in a state of paralysis," was how a public servant serving in the State House of Assembly described the condition of politics in that state. With the judiciary not functioning, lawmakers mainly on the side of the Governor, leadership of the PDP and APC and their followers intensely involved in violent communications against one another, it is easy to see why. But it speaks volume about a bigger problem of threat to security ahead of 2015.

Migration and internal displacement

There are suspected refugees from Mali, North-East and South-East of Nigeria who some opposition party members believe constitute potential threat to election security ahead of 2015. This suspicion rose in June when 486 suspected Boko Haram members were arrested in Aba by the Army. They were on their way to Port Harcourt. The PDP leadership supposed the suspects were being brought in by the APC led government to increase their chances of winning the Presidential elections ahead of 2015. Whether this is true or not, it sends a message of threat to the security of the elections.

Presence and activities of non-state actors

The presence and activities of ex-Militants have continued to create security concern. They are vocal in their support of President Jonathan's second term bid. And are interested in who succeeds Governor Amaechi. In addition, recently, gunmen attacked 7 communities in Ogbia, Egbema and Ndoni Local Government Area of the state, killing 15 persons. News reporters fingered Boko Haram, but the attack was not unconnected with the fact that the state PDP Chairman, who hails from one of these communities, has been in political fight with the APC in the state. Ahead of the 2015 elections, this type of attack poses serious security threat. Locals believe the attack was politically motivated. In a similar vein, a traditional ruler in Rumuopirikom attacked his son with a gun over political disagreement as he belongs to the

APC in opposition to the son's ardent membership of the PDP. We later learnt Governor Amechi was on that fateful day scheduled to visit the community (Barrister Nyesom Wikes home village) for a ceremony. But there was fierce resistance by the opposition.

Categorisation: Rivers State clearly falls within *Red*.

Violent hotspots/Recommendations

There is need to resolve current crisis in relationship between Governor Amechi and the President, at least in the interest of peace.

The risk factors associated with violent political communication, use of violent approaches to resolve political differences require cooperation of APC and PDP to resolve. INEC should therefore strengthen its stakeholder forum to be able to bring interested parties to discuss and address their differences for the sake of peaceful elections in 2015.

The Joint Military Task Force should intensify its work to fish out those in possession of illegal weapons and deal with them accordingly ahead of 2015. Inter-security agent consultation by INEC should be maintained and invigorated to become more responsive to the security needs of the state. In addition, the civil society should be more actively involved in mediating conflict between the PDP and APC.

SECURITY THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR THE SOUTH-WEST

Introduction

It's barely three weeks before the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) will publish Notice of Election in accordance with section 30 (1) of Electoral Act 2010, as amended which stipulates the issuance of the notice not later than 90 days to the election. Thus, on October 1, 2014 INEC will issue Notice of Election. A day after, that is on October 2, conduct of party primaries towards nomination of candidates for the 2015 general elections will commence and end by December 11, 2014. All these are in accordance with INEC timetable for the 2015 polls released on Friday, January 24, 2014.

Just last month INEC conducted its 10th gubernatorial elections since 2011. The Osun gubernatorial poll held on August 9 was won by the ruling party in the state, the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the incumbent governor, Ogbeni Rauf Adesoji Aregbesola. Earlier on, INEC had conducted successful gubernatorial elections in Kogi, Adamawa, Cross-River, Bayelsa, Sokoto, Edo, Ondo, Anambra and Ekiti. INEC would have loved to focus on preparations for the 2015 general elections after the Osun poll and the recently conducted by-election into the Niger East senatorial seat won by PDP's Dr. Nuhu Shem Zagbayi, however, the impeachment of Governor Murtala Nyako of Adamawa State on July 15 has necessitated a governorship by-election in the North-East state. Thus, in fulfilment of section 191 (2) of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria, INEC has scheduled another gubernatorial election in Adamawa State for October 11, 2014.

Methodology

This security threat assessment is on South-West states of Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Ekiti, Ondo and Osun. It will draw a lot of inference on the April – June 2014 STA earlier conducted by CLEEN Foundation. The assessment will still be done by viewing threats through the lens of three types of conflict; namely, Structural, Psychological and Physical violence. It will draw information mainly from desk researches as well as informal interviews with select stakeholders.

Level of preparations by key role players and likely impact on peaceful conduct of elections

It is noteworthy that on the part of INEC, the commission is at present carrying out distribution of Permanent Voters Card and Continuous Voters Registration across the country. This is being done in phases. From August 15 – 17 and 20 - 25, INEC carried out the second phase of PVC distribution and CVR in two South West states of Oyo and Ondo. Other states where same exercises were carried out simultaneously include: Yobe, Bauchi, Jigawa, Sokoto, Kwara, Anambra, Ebonyi, Delta, Cross-Rivers and FCT. These exercises were not without hitches and hiccups as many registered voters could not collect their PVCs while many who also want to

register for the first time were not able to do so due to inadequate officials and equipment to cater for the huge turnout.

Likewise, the commission is carrying out redelineation (delimitation) of electoral constituencies and has also promised to create additional 30,027 Polling Units ahead of the 2015 elections. If done, this will bring the number of Polling Units in Nigeria to 150,000. However, the planned creation of additional PUs had pitched INEC Chairman against the southern politicians who see the distribution of the PUs as inequitable. At a press conference addressed by the leadership of the Southern Nigeria Peoples Assembly on Wednesday, September 10, 2014 they asked the Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission, Prof. Attahiru Jega, to resign from office with immediate effect. They accused INEC chairman of planning to marginalise the entire southern Nigeria by arbitrarily and capriciously allocating 21,615 polling units to the North as against 8,412 polling units to southern Nigeria. Not even a stout defence by INEC chairman through a 12 page rebuttal will assuage the feelings of bias and ethnic agenda of the southern political leaders against the INEC boss.¹⁰

The commission has also issued contract for the procurement of 150,000 Card Readers in order to authenticate the identity of voters and fastrack the accreditation process during the February 2015 general elections. This researcher heard it on good authority that the commission has started taking delivery of the card readers. INEC has also established citizens' contact centres as well as online voter verification platform. It also planned to use electronic transmission of results during the next general elections. On May 16, the commission inaugurated National Inter-Agency Advisory Committee on Voter Education and Publicity (NICVEP).

On the part of the Nigerian Police, the immediate past Force Public Relations Officer, ACP Frank Mba during the discussion on Osun election on Saturday, August 9 on Nigerian Television Authority informed Nigerians that the Police had already commenced training of its officers and men on election policing ahead of the 2015 polls. Also, CLEEN Foundation had on July 31 trained the Divisional Police Officers and other security agencies in Osun State ahead of the recently conducted gubernatorial election. In the reporting period, political aspirants to different offices have started to declare their intentions to run.

Political parties and candidates to pay attention to in the elections

Though there are 26 political parties duly registered by INEC and operational across the country, however, in the six states making up the south west, the political parties to watch are All Progressives Congress (APC); Peoples Democratic Party (PDP); Labour Party (LP) and

¹⁰ <http://www.punchng.com/news/resign-now-southern-leaders-group-tells-jega/>

Accord Party (AP). APC and PDP are most prominent in Lagos; APC, PDP and AP in Oyo State; APC, PDP and LP in Ogun; LP, PDP and APC in Ondo; APC, LP and PDP in Ekiti State and APC and PDP in Osun. However, there is a widespread rumour of a possible defection of the only Labour Party governor in Nigeria, that is, Dr. Olusegun Abdulrahman Mimiko to the Peoples Democratic Party. Should that happen, Labour Party may go into extinction not only in Ondo State or South West but in Nigeria.

Prominent politicians to keep eye on in the geo-political zone: **Ekiti State:** Governor-elect, Peter Ayodele Fayose, Dr. Kayode Fayemi, incumbent and outgoing governor of the state, Barrister Opeyemi Bamidele the LP candidate in the June 21 governorship poll and Prince Dayo Adeyeye, Minister of State for Works. **Osun State:** the incumbent governor, Ogbeni Rauf Adesoji Aregbesola of the APC, PDP flag bearer in the August 9 gubernatorial election, Senator Iyiola Omisore, ex-Governor Adebisi Akande, the immediate past interim National Chairman of APC, ex-Governor Isiaka Adeleke, and ex-Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola. **Oyo State:** Incumbent governor, Senator Abiola Isiaka Ajimobi of APC, former governor, Senator Rashidi Adewolu Ladoja of Accord Party and ex-Governor Christopher Adebayo Alao-Akala are the major political heavyweights. **Ogun State:** Governor Ibikunle Amosun of APC, ex-Governor Gbenga Daniel of Labour Party, ex-Speaker Sabur Oladimeji Bankole of PDP, Buruji Kashamu, a PDP financier and former President Olusegun Obasanjo. **Ondo State:** The incumbent governor, Dr. Olusegun Mimiko, Senator Ajayi Borroface of APC and Bar. Rotimi Akeredolu who contested with Mimiko in the October 20, 2012 governorship election as well as PDP candidate in the last gubernatorial election, Bar. Oluwole Oke. **Lagos State:** kingmaker and APC National Leader, Senator Bola Ahmed Tinubu, Minister of State for Defence, Senator Musiliu Obanikoro, a former Commissioner in the state Dr Leke Pitan, newly elected APC National Legal Adviser Dr. Muiz Banire, Senator Ganiyu Olanrewaju Solomon, Senator Gbenga Asafa, Speaker Adeyemi Ikuforiji and a strong contender for the APC governorship seat in the state, Akinwumi Ambode.

An assessment on the gender and youth dimension to elections within the region

The gender dimension to Nigerian politics leaves a sour taste in the mouth. Women are more of cheerleaders and mobilisers than actors in the electoral process. The party hierarchy is dominated by men likewise the elective and appointive positions in government. In the region there had not been any conscious effort to mainstream gender and youth into the activities of the political parties. Out of the 20 candidates that vied for the August 9 gubernatorial election in Osun State, none of them is a female. However, eight of the political parties fielded women as their running mates. It is also worth mentioning that Lagos, Osun and Ekiti State have female

deputy governors, the Majority Leader of the House of Representatives, Mrs. Mulikat Adeola Akande is a PDP member from Oyo State. Rt. Hon. Monsurat Sunmonu (Ms) is the Speaker of the Oyo State House of Assembly. She became the first female Speaker in the history of the House on June 10, 2011 while Hon. Abike Dabiri Erewa is a third term member of House of Reps representing Ikorodu Federal Constituency of Lagos State.

Women are generally at the margins of election related violence and are more of victims than villains or perpetrators. As for the youths, they are more of purveyor of conflict and in the South West, various on and off campus cult groups, members of the road transport unions, street urchins (popularly known as Area Boys) and vigilante groups operating in the region provide chains of supply of political thugs used by party leaders and contestants to perpetrate election related violence. Many of these thugs masquerade as members of the youth wings of political parties or aides to politicians while some, who are apolitical, are just recruited to perform specific illegal functions during the electioneering process.

Possible impact of presence of migrants/IDPs, if any, on the elections

The resurging acts of terrorism in the northern Nigeria particularly North Eastern states of Adamawa, Yobe and Borno have made a lot of people to flee to safe haven like the South West particularly Lagos where some alleged members of Boko Haram members had been previously arrested. In fact, on August 18, 2014 an attempt by a member of the dreaded Boko Haram sect in Lagos was foiled by vigilant security operatives around the airport. The suspected Boko Haram suicide bomber was arrested at the entrance of Centrex, a facility belonging to the Nigerian Airspace Management Agency (NAMA). It was learnt that the physically-challenged suspect was halted and searched by private security personnel manning the entrance while he (suspect) was making for the gate. It was further learnt that when he was searched, a cylinder connected to wires was found on him.¹¹

Earlier, Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau in July claimed responsibility for the June 25 blasts near Folawiyo Energy fuel depot in Apapa, Lagos. The mystery blasts killed five persons and the suicide bomber was said to be someone in hijab — which could be a man or a woman.¹²

Due to Nigeria's porous borders, some illegal aliens from West Africa such as Benin Republic, Togo, and Ghana have been reported to move en-masse into Nigeria territory illegally. These immigrants are sometimes involved in trans-border crimes such as smuggling of food items,

¹¹ <http://newsdiaryonline.com/boko-haram-security-beefed-lagos-airport/>

¹² <http://www.thecable.ng/bharam-claims-responsibility-for-apapa-blasts>

vehicles and even small arms. These smuggled arms and ammunitions are sometimes bought by politicians to arm their thugs. Lagos, Ogun and Oyo State share border with Benin Republic.

Activities and presence of non-state actors

As reported in the April - June SW STA, there are a number of non- state security outfits operating in the South West. The most pronounced among them is the Oodua Peoples Congress (OPC) members who work as private security guards in many communities in the region. A state like Ogun also has a Vigilante Security outfit funded by the state government to complement the Police and other federal security agencies. Members of the vigilante outfits and Neighbourhood Watch most times carry weapons that are unlicensed and operate illegal detention facilities as well as being allegedly involved in extra judicial killings. They are also part of the supply chain for politicians in need of thugs for electoral violence. In Osun State, the opposition PDP had alleged that the 'State Boys' are the armed thugs of Governor Rauf Aregbesola and by extension, APC in the state.¹³ This allegation has been strongly denied by APC in Osun State.

Presence and impact of the activities of the military, police and other security agencies in the region

The South West presents a frightening scenario in this respect. Though CLEEN Foundation reported that there are military deployment in about 34 out of the 36 States and Federal Capital Territory at present in Nigeria; however, due to the interest of the President Goodluck Jonathan to capture the region in order to bolster his second term ambition, the president made two key appointments from the South West. First was the choice of Senator Musiliu Obanikoro as Minister of State for Defence and more recently the appointment of Alhaji Jelili Adesiyun who is a close ally of the PDP gubernatorial candidate in Osun State, Senator Iyiola Omisore as the Minister of Police Affairs. These two appointments are perceived to be strategic and this seemingly played out in Ekiti and Osun States.

Though it is desirable that there be adequate policing of the election, it amounts to double standard if security agents are perceived to be biased in favour of one party against the other. There were reports that the deployment of military personnel and over 30,000 other security agencies for the Ekiti and 73,000 for Osun governorship election does not augur well for Nigerian democracy.

¹³ <http://tribune.com.ng/news/news-headlines/item/10417-osun-pdp-petitions-ig-presidential-task-force-over-state-boys-activities/10417-osun-pdp-petitions-ig-presidential-task-force-over-state-boys-activities>

In fact, the patently perceived partisanship of some of the Directorate of State Security personnel in the lead up to the August 9 gubernatorial election was a cause for concern. The clamp down, show of force, wearing of face masks by security personnel, indiscriminate shooting in the air and arrest of opposition party chieftains are trends that are of concern to people in the south west. APC has rightfully challenged the deployment of military personnel for election duty in court and we await judicial decision on that.

Developments in the various State Houses of Assembly in the region and what they portend for elections in 2015

Unlike what obtains in Edo, Rivers, Taraba, Adamawa and Nassarawa States where there is disquiet in their respective State Houses of Assembly either over defection of members or attempt to impeach the governors, the South West region is not experiencing similar turmoil yet. It is however noteworthy that the Lagos State speaker, Adeyemi Ikuforiji is at present being prosecuted for alleged N600 million financial crimes by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission. There was also said to be decampment of a member of PDP from Ekiti State to the ruling APC ahead of the June 21 governorship election. However, with the pendulum of the gubernatorial election having swung in favour of PDP, some defections may happen ahead of the 2015 elections in Ekiti State in particular and in the South West in general. Also, given the frosty relationship between Governor Ibikunle Amosun and his political godfather, Segun Osoba, crisis might soon engulf the State assembly if the present situation is not well managed. This is because the federal lawmakers from Ogun State are said to be in Osoba camp. Should Governor Olusegun Mimiko of Ondo State make good his rumoured plan to defect to PDP, most members of the state house of assembly may follow suit. Also, with the defection of the two APC Senators in Oyo State to Accord Party and PDP respectively, it may not be long before similar decampment or cross-carpeting will be witnessed in the state assembly of the Pacesetter state. It will be recalled that Senator Femi Lanlehin recently defected to Accord Party¹⁴ to realise his gubernatorial ambition while Senator Ayo Adeseun had decamped to PDP.¹⁵ On the whole, as the realignment of forces takes place ahead of the next general elections, states in the south west may start experiencing crisis.

Violent Hotspots

States to watch closely for violence in the South West ahead of the 2015 general elections are Oyo, Ogun, Osun and Ekiti States. In Oyo, the potential for conflict is high because of the

¹⁴ <http://www.punchng.com/politics/accord-partyll-win-oyo-in-2015-ladoja/>

¹⁵ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/ssouth-west/166029-decampee-senator-adeseun-to-contest-oyo-governorship-election.html#sthash.8B3BMSDZ.dpbs>

present strength of three political parties' viz. APC, Accord and PDP. Oyo traditionally has history of electoral violence and with the determination of the opposition parties to wrestle power from incumbent Governor Abiola Ajimobi an epic battle of intrigues and political tension is unraveling. Towns and cities to closely monitor for violence in Oyo State include Ibadan, Ogbomoso, Oyo and Saki. The signal here is Red.

In Ogun, the cold war between godson Governor Ibikunle Amosun and godfather, Aremo Segun Osoba is snowballing by the day. APC currently has two parallel executives while some of the federal lawmakers in the state who are in former governor Osoba's camp are threatening to decamp to opposition parties. Even, PDP is in crisis in the state as former President Olusegun Obasanjo is locked in supremacy battle with Chief Buruji Kashamu who is a major financier of the party in the state and even the South West region. Ex-president had accused Kashamu of being a fugitive from law and a drug baron and had said he cannot be his political leader. The Yewa people in Ogun West are also unhappy for not having produced governor of the state since its creation in 1976. Some of the towns to watch out for violence are Abeokuta, Ijebu-Igbo, Sagamu, Ilaro and other part of Yewa-land. The signal here is also Red.

In Osun, though APC won the August 9 gubernatorial election, the battle has shifted to the election petition tribunal where legal fireworks have begun. Already, there was fracas between the counsels and supporters of PDP and APC at the premises of the INEC where they have gone for inspection of election materials. Apart from this, PDP has also cried foul over the reinstatement of Ambassador Rufus Akeju as the Resident Electoral Commissioner in the state. They alleged that he is a sympathiser of APC and that he would tamper with election materials. The recent suspension of two Electoral Officers in Osun State over administrative lapses during the August 9 governorship poll has been lashed on by PDP as a vindication that the poll was rigged. There was also the unceremonious removal of the chairman of the Osun State Election Petition Tribunal Justice I. M. Bako by the President of the Court of Appeal, Justice Zainab Bulkachuwa barely two weeks after the panel started sitting;¹⁶ he was replaced with Justice Suleiman Ambrusa. Should PDP win at the tribunal, APC supporters may take laws into their hands as the victory may be perceived to have been induced by the PDP. Towns to watch for violence include Ile-Ife, Ilesa, Ede and Iwo. The signal here is Red.

The scenario in Ekiti is not much different from the other states above. APC has alleged scientific rigging of the June 21 gubernatorial election by PDP in cahoots with INEC. The party had filed petition at the election tribunal. Also, as the date for the October 16 swearing-in of

¹⁶ <http://thenationonline.net/new/osun-election-tribunal-chair-removed-2/>

governor-elect Ayodele Fayose draws near, there are allegations of shady deals, mass employment and creation of Local Council Development Areas against the outgoing governor, Dr. Kayode Fayemi by the PDP. They alleged that these are booby traps or landmines being laid for the incoming administration by the outgoing government. The governor elect has been alleged to have said that he will not recognise the new LCDA nor fund them. This may pitch him against the communities that have benefited from the new creation. More so, with a state assembly which is entirely APC and a PDP governor, the incoming governor will have to play smart if he does not want to face impeachment threat early in his administration. Towns to watch are Ado, Emure, Afao, Ikere and Ikole-Ekiti. The signal here too is Red.

For Lagos and Ondo States, the signal is Amber. There will be no governorship election in Ondo State until 2016 and should Governor Mimiko defects to PDP, observers believe APC is too factionalised in the state to pose any major threat. For Lagos, the major challenge is the APC governorship ticket. The party needs to ensure that it does not impose any candidate on the people. PDP is however ready to give the party a run for its money.

Synopsis of key risk factors that could cause violence within the region

- i. Inability of electorates to obtain their Permanent Voters Card and register during the continuous voters registration exercise is tinder box that could cause violence during the forthcoming general election in the entire South West. INEC has repeatedly announced that only those who have PVC will be allowed to vote. In the last PVC/CVR exercise in Oyo State, many potential voters could not get their cards while those who wanted to register could not do so. INEC will need to fix this problem ahead of the February 2015 general election.
- ii. The issue of zoning and religious balancing within the SW states is a major risk factor if not well handled. In Oyo State the people of Oke-Ogun in Oyo North want power to shift to them while in Ogun the Yewa people of Ogun West who had never been governor of the state are mounting pressure for power to shift to them as well. In Lagos, the Christians are angling to have a Christian governor after a succession of Muslim governors who though are married to Christian wives e.g. Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu and Babatunde Raji Fashola.
- iii. Political assassination, kidnapping, armed robbery and bombings may escalate as we approach 2015. The South West had previously recorded a number of politically motivated assassinations such as that of former attorney general, Chief Bola Ige and Arc. Layi Balogun in Oyo State, Engineer Funsho Williams in Lagos, and Dr Ayodeji Daramola and Kehinde Fasuba in Ekiti State.
- iv. Inadequate logistics and welfare for security agents on election duties pose a serious danger to the electoral process as this will make them susceptible to political influence. CLEEN Foundation in its preliminary reports on Ekiti and Osun governorship elections noted this.

- v. The corruptive use of money during the electioneering period is worrisome. In the just concluded elections, observers reported widespread vote-buying through distribution of raw cash, food items popularly referred to as ‘stomach infrastructure’ and other items like Kerosene, Recharge Cards, and clothing materials to prospective voters.
- vi. Most weighty risk factor now is the creation of additional 30,027 Polling Units which is causing ruckus within and outside INEC. About five out of the 12 national commissioners in INEC were reportedly against the distribution formula which saw the North having more than half of the new PU allocations. As said earlier, southern political leaders including Chief Edwin Clerk and Senator Femi Okunroumu an Afenifere Chieftain from the SW are openly canvassing for the resignation or removal of INEC chairman on this basis. This happening barely five months to the next general elections is ominous, an ill wind.
- vii. The recent order by President Goodluck Jonathan that INEC should print sensitive electoral materials like result sheets and ballot papers at the Nigeria Printing and Minting Company which is a subsidiary of the Central Bank of Nigeria has come under heavy criticism by the APC as well as a section of Nigerian media. It is seen as a ploy to rig the next election by PDP as well as undermine the independence and integrity of INEC.¹⁷
- viii. Non completing of constitutional and electoral act amendment by the National Assembly barely five months to the next general elections is also a danger signal as the electoral commission’s already laid down strategic plan for the polls may be grossly affected.

Suggested measures that could be implemented to mitigate the risks of violence.

- i. INEC must be properly funded and should ensure proper distribution of PVCs to all the old and new registrants ahead of the next general elections. The Commission should also ensure the proper capturing of those who could not be registered during the recently held CVR. The Commission must do all it could to ensure that it use the card reader for voter verification during the 2015 polls. It would be recalled that INEC reneged on using the card reader during the Ekiti and Osun gubernatorial elections. In spite of the perceived success in Ekiti and Osun, the commission must improve on its Election Day logistics and create a level playing field for all political parties and electoral contestants.
- ii. Actors and stakeholders must work positively with INEC to ensure credible elections in the forthcoming October 11 Adamawa gubernatorial election and the next general elections.
- iii. CLEEN Foundation needs to assist to train security agencies that will be deployed for the forthcoming gubernatorial election in Adamawa and the 2015 elections so that they can be very professional when on duty during the polls.

¹⁷ <http://www.punchng.com/editorial/dangers-of-printing-2015-ballot-papers-here/>

- iv. The federal government and its allies need to properly fund security agents that will be deployed on election duties so that they will not be beholden to politicians for their comfort and survival while on official election duty.
- v. INEC needs to activate and institutionalise its inter-agency consultative committee on election security (ICCES) and ensure that the committee plan for the three phases of the elections viz. pre-election, Election Day and post-Election Day more so as the insurgency in North East Nigeria becomes more lethal.
- vi. INEC, National Orientation Agency, media and Civil Society Organisations need to embark on massive and sustained voter education, peace education and general civic education aimed at ensuring that there is violence free election in Adamawa and during the February 2015 General Elections. The May 16 launch of National Inter-Agency Advisory Committee on Voter Education and Publicity (NICVEP) and subsequent launches of same in the states is commendable.
- vii. As campaigns begin, political parties must adhere strictly to their code of conduct and engage in issue based politics. They should eschew hate speeches and inflammatory statements during their campaigns.
- viii. The police and other security agencies in the south west need to dismantle all the cult groups and monitor closely the activities of the members of the National Union of Road Transport Workers and the Oodua People's Congress.
- ix. The judiciary should ensure that pre and post elections petitions brought before it are treated on merit rather than on technicalities and that justice is not only done but is seen by all to be done. If people cannot get justice in the courts or election tribunals they will resort to self-help.
- x. National Assembly should fasttrack the amendment of the constitution and the Electoral Act so that INEC and other actors and stakeholders will know for certain the legal framework for the 2015 elections.
- xi. INEC needs to prosecute electoral offenders.
- xii. INEC should shelve the creation of the proposed 30,027 additional PUs till after the next general elections. This will calm frayed nerves and make the commission to focus on preparations for 2015 polls.
- xiii. INEC should ignore the presidential directive asking it to print sensitive electoral materials at the Nigerian Printing and Minting Company. The Mint has not demonstrated capacity to undertake this sensitive task as there was a reported case of stolen money there sometime ago. If monies could be stolen, who says ballot papers and result sheets could also not find its way into wrong hands at the Mint? More so, board members of the Mint are politicians.