

Zamfara State Elections Scenarios and Recommendations

Draft Produced 17 December 2014

Disclaimer: The following analysis is based on discussions with State-level actors and so reflects their perceptions, not the view of the Peace and Security Working Group. These scenarios were produced prior to the 2014 primary elections and are thus subject to change. Where relevant, updates have been made to reflect evolving dynamics.

Zamfara At-a-Glance

Current Governor	Abdul'aziz Abubakar Yarif
Current Ruling Party	All Progressives Congress (APC); formerly ANPP
Key February 2015 Elections	Presidential, Gubernatorial, National Assembly elections, and State House of Assembly
Prognosis	Zamfara State is identified as a medium level risk (amber category) in CLEEN's latest report.

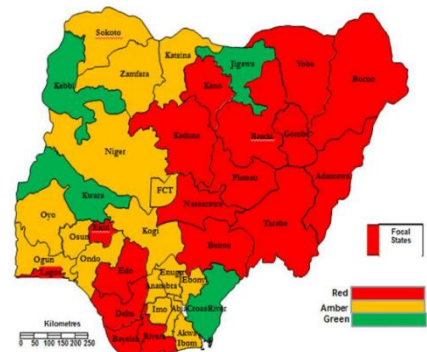


Figure 1: CLEEN Map of Hot Spots for Election Violence

Zamfara Violence Data

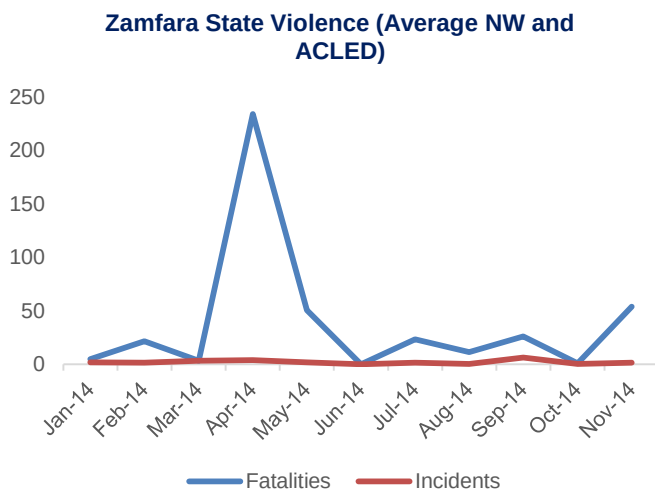


Figure 2: Peace Map (www.p4p-nigerdelta.org)

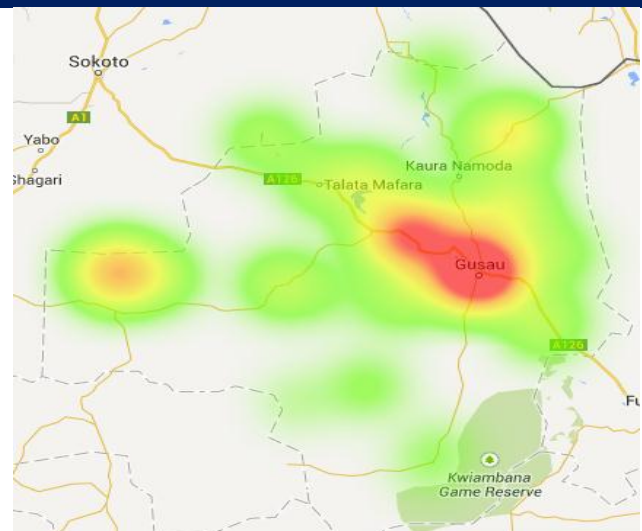


Figure 3: Violence Heat Map Jan 2009-Dec 2014



Political Developments in Zamfara

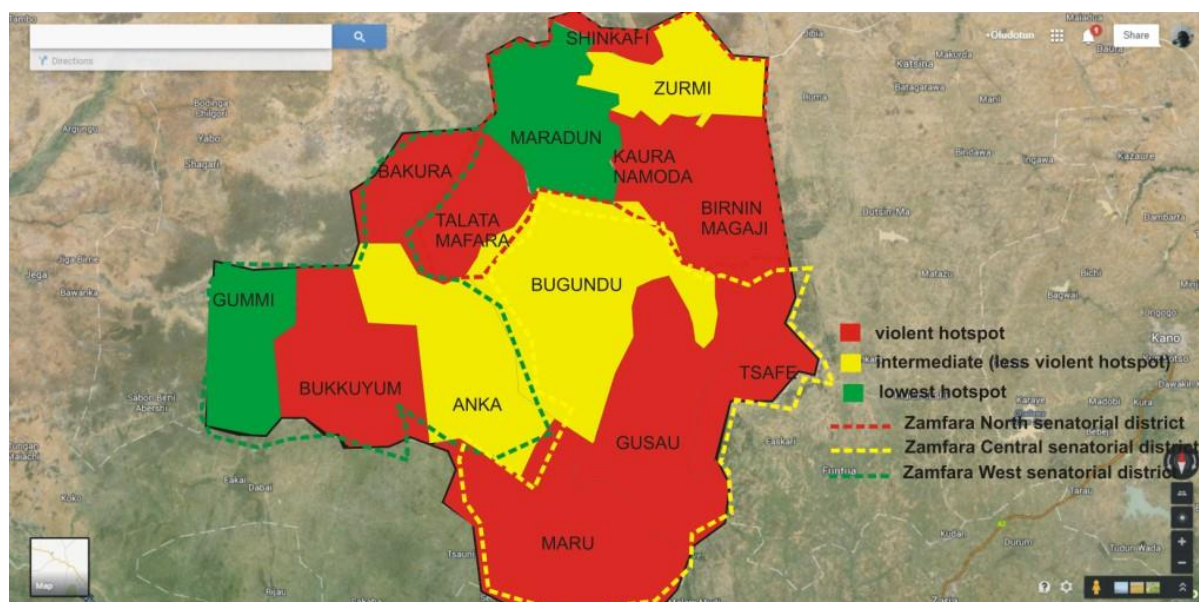
The Major political parties in Zamfara were ANPP, now turned APC, and PDP. The state has 14 Local governments and this election scenario was based on the local governments. Since 1999, ANPP has held governorship position in the state. ANPP holds two out of the three senatorial district in the state, while PDP holds one which is the Zamfara North. Senator Yerima is said to still have a stronghold in the control of the state. The present Minister of Defence, Mohammed Gusau is from the state. ANPP also holds chairmanship position in 13 LGAs except Birnin Magaji, which is a strong hold for the PDP.

Elections in 2011

In 2011 it was agreed that there was election violence in Tsafe, Gusau, and Bakura LGAs. Violence was targeted towards religious houses (Church) and shops, especially in Tsafe and Gusau. Perpetrators were angry youths. In Bakura, there was fierce fighting between supporters of PDP and ANPP. Security needs of people with disabilities were not addressed at all and no special provision was made for them to fit into the electoral process.

Response was from the government in terms of compensating the victims, while Civil Society helped in dialogues with warring parties. The security agencies, especially the police, helped in responding by arresting suspects, while soldiers were deployed to calm situation. There were no early warning systems, and BBC Hausa and Zamfara Radio were the sources of information.

Key Political Developments Since 2011



Map showing LGAs and election violence risk classification in Zamfara prepared by the team at [Connected Development](#)



There are 9 hotspots identified, including Gusau, Tsafe, Bakura, Bukkuyum, and Talata Marafa because of their past history in electoral violence and recent cattle rustling violence in this LGA. Electoral violence led to the death of an APC (formerly ANPP) woman leader in Talata Marafa, the local government where the present governor hails from. The other 4 local governments include Birnin Magaji (the location of the only PDP local government chairman), Kaura Namoda, Shinkafi and Maru (which recently experienced cattle rustling violence and kidnapping of women). The first three LGAs (Birnin Magaji, Kaura Namoda, and Shinkafi) are in the north senatorial district where PDP seems to have a stronghold, recently the official PDP campaign office was moved to Kaura Namoda.

Zamfara has been known for illegal and artisanal mining, especially in Bukkuyum, Anka, and Maru (which has a state polytechnic) and government officials have been developing policies that will stop this illegal act. Furthermore, these miners come from different parts of northern Nigeria and neighbouring countries. As such, election violence that might ensue from these LGAs will be environmental or social.

There are no detailed reports on an increase or change in patterns of gender and sexual-based violence or harassment in Nasarawa surrounding the elections. However, given under-reporting of this and the fact that this is traditionally not examined in detail, this does not mean this did not take place.

Major Political Players in Zamfara State

Name	Position	Elected / Appointed	Party	Additional Information
Abdul-Aziz Yari Abubakar	State Governor	2011	APC	Running in 2015 for Governor.
Mallam Ibrahim Wakkala	Deputy Governor	2011	APC	-
Ahmad Rufai Sani	Senator	2007	APC	-
Sahabi Alhaji Yau	Senator	2007	PDP	-
Kabir Garba M.	Senator	2011	ANPP	-

In the Zamfara north senatorial district, political thuggery, intimidation, and assassinations are foreseen, due to contestation between PDP and APC supporters and given that this district is the stronghold of the PDP. The presence of the federal polytechnic in Kaura Namoda as well increases the potential of youth restiveness in this district.

In Zamfara Central, where Gusau, the state capital (with tertiary institutions), and Tsafe are located, ballot box snatching, voter intimidation, protest, political violence that can degenerate into sexual violence, and burning of properties may occur. A key member of the APC and chairman of the State Councillors' Forum, Alhaji Nasir Ibrahim Dagaji from Mayana Ward recently defected to the PDP, taking with him 7 other councillors as well.

Political actors that will be relevant to the upcoming elections will include former PDP Governorship aspirants Senator Bello Matawalle, the PDP state chairman and Alhaji Sagir Gusau, former director at FCTA, Senator Hassan Mohammad Nasiha, General Alhaji Mohammed Gusau, former National Security Advisor, now Minister of Defence, Kabir Danbaba the Emir of Gusau and of the Zamfara state Emirate Council and Lawal Abdullahi of the Zamfara State police. NGOs like Doctors without



Borders, Save the Children, Society for Family Health and the State Accountability and Voice Initiative are also key in the state. Media institutions include People's Daily Newspaper, Daily Trust, Zamfara Radio and BBC Hausa.

Elections in 2015: Scenario 1

Before Elections:

- Intra party violence and political thuggery is experienced within the APC especially at the Zamfara Central Senatorial district.
- PDP gains more strength in the central senatorial district, leading to clashes at campaign rallies, political thuggery and intimidation between the two parties
- Thuggery and intimidation during registration

During Elections:

- Violence during the presidential and national assembly elections
- As a result, heavy and increased security presence in the whole of Zamfara state during the governorship election
- People come out in mass for elections due to less violence from presidential elections
- Ballot box snatching and voter intimidation in all parts of Zamfara North and Zamfara Central

After Elections:

- Buhari of the APC announced as winner of the presidential elections
- APC candidate Adul Aziz Yari wins Governorship election by a close margin, Alhaji Mamuda Shinkafi , the PDP governorship candidate contests the result.
- Political violence erupt in the Zamfara North Central District and Gusau where there are supporters of the PDP
- Security men presence from the concluded presidential election prevents violence from escalating to other LGAs or senatorial district.
- Zamfara radio used by the Governor to reduce tension amongst unsatisfied citizens and supporters of PDP



Elections in 2015: Scenario 2

Before Elections:

- Keen contest between APC and PDP especially in the seat to the national house of representative and senate.
- Intra party violence in the PDP, with political thuggery and intimidation between aspirants immediately stopped due to intervention from state actors occupying positions in federal government
- Large intra party violence erupts from political thuggery and intimidations during election primaries in the APC, especially in Zamfara Central
- Inter-party assassination and adoption of aspirants or family members
- Massive disruption and clashes at campaign rallies in Zamfara North and Zamfara Central Senatorial District

During Elections:

- Heavy security presence in Zamfara state leading to intimidation of voters, and voter's apathy
- Bomb scare in the Zamfara North Senatorial District
- Ballot box snatching and voter intimidation in all parts of Zamfara North and Zamfara Central
- Burning of property and bomb scare reported in Gusau, Tsafe, Kaura Namoda, and Bakura, which leads to postponement of Governorship elections.
- The Emirate Council calls for calm amongst supporters of political parties as the Governorship elections approach

After Elections:

- Goodluck Jonathan declared winner of the overall presidential election winner, but Buhari (the APC) wins in the state
- APC wins the entire House of Representatives seat, except the Kaura Namoda/Birnin Magaji which is won by the PDP
- APC wins the Central and West Zamfara senatorial district, while PDP retains the Zamfara North senatorial district
- Clashes and violence in all LGAs in Zamfara except Gummi and Maradaun, due to the House of Representatives result
- Zamfara radio used by the (PDP) Governor to reduce tension amongst unsatisfied citizens and supporters of APC