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Democratic Governance for Development (DGD) Project II, Election Contextual Analysis (ECA) Project, Nigeria

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15 December 2014

DGD II: ELECTION CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS PROJECT

NIGERIA STATE PROFILE REPORT: PRELIMINARY ELECTORAL RISK REVIEW

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the dynamic political environment leading to the Nigerian general elections in February 2015, the Democratic Governance for Development (DGD) Project II recognizes the benefit of providing national and international policy makers with Election Contextual Analysis (ECA). Initiated in mid-November 2014, the first DGD-ECA project report is a State Profile Report (SPR) capturing the political, economic, and social risk factors that may impact the conduct and outcome of the 2015 elections.

DGD thematic analysts received state-based reports from field researchers deployed by the National Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER), Ibadan to selected states across Nigeria's six geopolitical zones. The data was reviewed and synthesized to produce a preliminary report analysing the political dynamics in 19 selected states. The SPR introduces each geopolitical zone and summarizes key findings. The contextualized reports from each state are based on five thematic areas: 1) political landscape, 2) security setting, 3) constitutional and legal framework, 4) electoral management and administration, and 5) social actors and human rights. The NISER reports are provided in the SPR annex for supplemental reference to the summaries.

The executive summary was updated following the initial SPR prepared on 1 December 2014 with additional information following the political party primaries. The SPR state summaries were updated to reflect the post-primary updates. The specific state profiles retain the first issue date, while the executive summary and state summaries are current as of 15 December 2014.

A. NORTH-WEST ZONE

1. JIGAWA

The political atmosphere in Jigawa is reportedly calm and there are currently no indications for possible political violence. The electoral competition will focus on the gubernatorial race for replacing incumbent Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) Governor Sule Lamido who is completing his second and final term in office, but remains a major *power broker* in the state. The distribution of the Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) and conduct of the Continuous Voter Registration (CVR) were completed by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) without major incidents. Some political parties

and certain civil society groups in the state expressed their unease about the neutrality of INEC at the national and state levels.¹

2. KADUNA

Alluding to the 2011 post-election violence in the state, some stakeholders remain worried about the potential for electoral conflict in 2015. Potential triggers for violence range from confrontations between supporters of the two main political parties to divisions along community lines and possible clashes incited by political actors among the youth. Although the PDP incumbent governor who took office following the death of the previous governor enjoys the support of Vice-President Mohammed Namadi Sambo, the gubernatorial elections are expected to be highly competitive with former Minister of the Abuja Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Nasir el-Rufai as APC candidate. El-Rufai is known for his rather strong views on national issues. Although he is reported to have the capacity to mobilize the masses, political and business interests are allegedly not enthused to support him. Varying perceptions of INEC independence remain a potential cause of tension during the elections.

3. KANO

Recent attacks by Boko Haram have heightened fear and insecurity in Kano, contributing to a reduction in commercial and political activities in the state. With Governor Rabi'u Kwankwaso's defection from PDP to APC, Kano has become a major APC stronghold. If this is taken with the fact that Kwankwaso came second in the APC presidential primaries, he is emerging as a major *power broker* in the North-West zone. This can be seen in the nomination of his deputy governor as the APC gubernatorial candidate. The PDP gubernatorial candidate is supposedly supported by the former governor and current Minister of Education Ibrahim Shekarau. Kano was well-known in 2011 for "mandate protection" with the slogan "A kada, A tsare, A kirga, A raka", meaning "cast your vote, protect it, watch the counting, and accompany it". However, the fear of further Boko Haram attacks might reduce community mobilization to observe and prevent electoral malpractice.

4. KATSINA

Katsina is generally peaceful and does not have a significant history of political violence. However, clashes between political party supporters during the upcoming electoral campaign and further use of hate speech by politicians could trigger electoral violence. In November 2014, the governor was reported as calling for the "elimination of cockroaches", referring to his opponents. PDP gubernatorial primaries were marred by irregularities and the results might be contested in court. The APC gubernatorial primary was won by a former-Speaker of the House of Representatives, Aminu Bello Masari. The APC presidential candidate, Retired Major General Muhamadu Buhari hails from the state. Worries exist among certain political stakeholders about the neutrality of security agencies and INEC.

B. SOUTH-WEST ZONE

5. LAGOS

Lagos is considered an APC stronghold. With the incumbent APC Governor Babatunde Raji Fashola serving out his second and final term, the power of incumbency will not be a significant factor in the gubernatorial election. The potential conflict drivers that could increase electoral tensions or even trigger election-related violence in Lagos ahead of the 2015 polls include intra- and inter-party competition within and between APC and PDP to secure nomination tickets and stoking of long-

¹ Please note that INEC transferred all Resident Electoral Commissioners (RECs) from each state to other states after the mid-December 2014 date of this report.

standing ethno-religious differences by both parties. In addition, the distribution of PVCs and conduct of CVR were mired by logistical challenges, leading to electoral controversies.

6. OSUN

There will be no gubernatorial election in Osun following the August 2014 election and the return of incumbent APC Governor Rauf Aregbesala. Osun is generally peaceful, with no reported cases of serious election-related violence. The state political landscape is contested by APC and PDP. The defeated PDP gubernatorial candidate, Otunba Iyiola Omosire, is currently challenging the August 2014 election results at the Election Petitions Tribunal and the legal procedure is ongoing.

7. OYO

The Oyo political landscape is contested by four main political parties: the ruling APC, PDP, Labour Party (LP), and Accord Party (AP). The incumbent APC Governor, Abiola Ajimobi, faces strong competition for a second term in office from within the ranks of his own party and from opposition parties. The intra- and inter-party contestations and competition for nominations are resulting in decamping of aggrieved and unsuccessful candidates to the opposing parties, fuelling election-related tension and violence in the state.

C. NORTH-EAST ZONE

8. ADAMAWA

As the 2015 elections approach, Adamawa is predominantly characterized by the Boko Haram insurgency currently affecting the Northeast geopolitical zone. The violence has resulted in population displacement in Local Government Areas (LGAs) under the control of Boko Haram. Reportedly, a significant number of voters in the affected LGAs are yet to collect their PVCs. Unless INEC makes provisions for IDPs to obtain voter cards and exercise their franchise, this will impact on the outcome of the elections. The ruling PDP is reportedly experiencing factional divisions characterised by intense intra-party competition for all elective positions. The imposition of candidates, especially the gubernatorial candidate from PDP Headquarters in Abuja, is causing acrimony and disaffection among party members at the state level. Numerous defections from PDP to other parties are anticipated and the strong challenges from APC are factors anticipated to influence the outcome of the elections.

9. BAUCHI

The political landscape in Bauchi represents dynamic party engagement, with PDP and APC contesting seats at the national and state levels. The issues of intra-party and inter-zonal rivalries may result in more competitive inter-party contests if popular aspirants decamp for opposing tickets. The decision by PDP to promote the zoning tradition and field a gubernatorial candidate from Bauchi North, instead of the more populous Bauchi South, may lead to a more competitive gubernatorial election. The security setting is unstable with Boko Haram recently attacking several communities. Electoral security is also a concern due to the possible use of disaffected and impoverished youth to intimidate voters and disrupt polling; however, the recent primaries were violence free. INEC's distribution of PVCs was considered a successful exercise by stakeholders.

10. TARABA

Taraba has endured significant political turmoil with impeachment of the deputy governor, a near-fatal air crash of the governor who was compelled to step aside due to medical reasons, and several court cases over who should be the acting governor, which was eventually resolved in favour of the impeached deputy governor. PDP has a well-developed party structure in Taraba, which provides

advantages over other parties. APC is the most significant opposition party. Reportedly, Taraba has a history of electoral malpractice and political violence, particularly in the Southern Senatorial District. These conflicts, which are typically along community lines, have resulted in significant numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs) that may impact the conduct of elections in that senatorial district.

D. SOUTH-EAST ZONE

11. ABIA

The political landscape in Abia has implications for the security setting and electoral administration. Gubernatorial and senatorial contests are based on zonal dynamics that may lead to attempts at intimidating voters or manipulating the electoral process. The inter-zonal and intra-party contests may result in further disunity within PDP. The primaries for the nomination to the State House of Assembly reportedly displayed the power of Governor T.A. Orji to influence the selection of candidates, as none of the incumbent PDP members were re-nominated. The governor will be completing his second term and has been nominated for the Abia Central Senate seat. The imposition of State Assembly candidates may encourage aggrieved aspirants to decamp for other parties. Stakeholders noted that even though physical violence is uncommon, intimidation of voters by candidate supporters or 'thugs' through harassment and threats seems imminent. The challenges witnessed during the distribution of PVCs are impacting the confidence of stakeholders in INEC's preparations for elections. The combined risks of voter intimidation and logistical difficulties could undermine stakeholder perception of the credibility of the electoral process in Abia.

12. ANAMBRA

Anambra is a dynamic political landscape with three political parties—PDP, APC, and All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA)—competing within the state. The intra-party contests are currently focused on selecting legislative candidates, as the governor was elected in March 2014. The PDP and APGA primaries were characterised by intra-party disputes reflected in parallel primaries for nomination of candidates, preparing the grounds for possible court cases capable of affecting the electoral process. Intra- and inter-party rivalries may lead to defection of candidates across opposing parties. The security setting is perceived to be generally peaceful, provided the consequences of divided party leadership and intra- and inter-party conflicts do not spark conflict. Although there were logistical challenges during the PVC distribution and CVR exercises and criticism during the 2014 gubernatorial election, INEC is generally perceived as non-partisan and capable of conducting the general elections.

13. ENUGU

The political landscape in Enugu is currently characterised by intra-party and inter-communal contests for gubernatorial and senatorial seats within PDP among the zones in the state. The struggle within PDP is between Governor Sullivan Chime and Deputy Senate President Ike Ekweremadu for the Enugu West senatorial seat. The crisis generated by the contest has splintered PDP into two opposing factions, which was demonstrated by the conduct of parallel primaries for nominating candidates for gubernatorial and National Assembly positions. Nevertheless, there are no recorded party defections as of yet; the aggrieved aspirants appear to be relying on internal party dispute mechanisms to resolve the issues. APC and APGA conducted their primaries peacefully and without any incidence of dissension. The current security setting is reportedly peaceful with no incidence of serious violence. However, there are fears that violence may erupt if the rivalry between the contending parties within PDP is not resolved amicably. The PVC distribution and CVR exercises by INEC experienced some logistical and operational challenges that raised stakeholder concerns.

E. NORTH-CENTRAL ZONE

14. KWARA

The politics of Kwara have been under the influence of the Saraki political family for more than three decades. The peaceful political situation in the state became somewhat uncertain following the decamping of former Governor and now Senator Bukola Saraki and some of his political associates from PDP to APC. Recent intra- and inter-party contestations have resulted in shootings, deaths, and arrests. In November 2014, aggrieved PDP members who did not decamp to APC were suspected of attacking the convoy of APC Governor Abdulfatah Ahmed, damaging at least two vehicles, raising APC suspicion on the neutrality security forces. INEC is generally perceived as capable of organizing elections; however, there were issues of poor preparation and inadequate logistics during the PVC distribution exercise. The key risk factors involve the potential for conflict provoked by party primaries, campaigns, and tensions related to the collection of voter cards by impoverished communities who might be induced by vote buying.

15. NASARAWA

Periodic communal and ethnic clashes are endemic in Nasarawa. These include occasional clashes between the Eggon and the Gwandaras, Migilis, and Alagos and between the Fulani and Kanuri. These clashes could intensify towards the 2015 elections, as ethnic groups compete for elected positions. Nasarawa is an APC-governed state, but given the determination of PDP to win the elections, campaigns are expected to be tense and could easily lead to violence among already tense communities. Other potential drivers and triggers of electoral violence include imposition of party candidates by political party officials and incitement and sponsorship of youth to perpetrate violence by politicians, as well as ethnic and religious leaders.

16. NIGER

Niger experienced wide-scale violence during and after the 2011 elections, including a deadly attack by gunmen on the INEC office at Suleja. Political tension appears to be on the increase as the 2015 elections approach. The convoy of the former Speaker of the House of Assembly, Honourable Mohammed Alkali, was reportedly attacked by unidentified PDP members on 16 November 2014. Governor Babangida Aliu's endorsement of the candidacy of Alhaji Umaru Nasko as PDP gubernatorial candidate has also generated tensions. The governor is accused of disallowing Senator Nuhu Zargbaya to re-contest for the Senate seat by zoning the seat from Suleja Emirate to Minna Emirate. There are fears over the coming elections because the language of key actors suggests the potential for electoral violence and worries exist over the capacity and willingness of the security forces to forestall any breakdown of law and order due to insufficient personnel. Intra-party contestations, imposition of candidates, and the use of money to buy votes or influence election results are potentially key risk factors that may lead to electoral violence or electoral malpractice during the 2015 elections.

F. SOUTH-SOUTH ZONE

17. CROSS RIVER

In Cross River, PDP is the strongest party, with APC as the primary opposition party. The risk of electoral violence in Cross River is relatively low, as zoning of the governorship helps reduce potential conflicts. Governor Liyel Imoke (PDP) is completing his second term and does not appear ready to contest for any position. There has also been significant focus within political parties to increase women's participation. The INEC Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) has extensive electoral experience and is well-regarded among stakeholders as highly skilled and neutral. There have been

relatively few complaints about the PVC distribution and CVR exercises, though some logistical challenges were noted. Significant civic and voter education is being undertaken by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), religious organizations, trade and professional associations, and the media.

18. DELTA

PDP is the strongest political party in Delta, with APC as the primary opposition party. The incumbent PDP Governor Emmanuel Uduaghan is completing his second term in office and was rumoured to be interested in contesting for Senate, which proved to be unfounded. Presently, there have been no significant defections between the parties. Potential risks for electoral violence centre on intra-party dissatisfaction over nomination processes and inter-party perceptions of electoral malpractice. Stakeholders raised questions concerning the neutrality of security forces and their ability to ensure security during elections. Besides the risk of electoral violence, Delta has in recent years experienced substantial insecurity due to kidnappings and armed robbery. These criminal activities had their origins in political and electoral violence, and politicians can still enlist those actors as political muscle to capture political support. INEC is generally well-regarded, and there have been no significant complaints about the PVC distribution and CVR exercises, despite the logistical challenge posed by accessing the riverine areas and the limited timeframe for the exercise.

19. RIVERS

In Rivers, the decamping of Governor Rotimi Amaechi and some of his political associates from PDP to APC, coupled with his poor relations with President Goodluck Jonathan and his wife, with the latter of the two hailing from the state, have created significant political tensions. Governor Amaechi is completing his second term in office and had been mentioned as a potential APC vice-presidential candidate. The tensions between APC and PDP are especially heightened due to disputes between Governor Amaechi and Nyeson Wike, the frontrunner PDP aspirant for governor. Wike was the former top aide to Governor Amaechi but is now receiving strong support from President Jonathan. Another significant source for political tension is the perceived breach of intra-state zoning arrangements within PDP regarding the governorship position. Stakeholder perceptions that the formal and informal (ex-militants) security forces favour PDP has led to concerns that the current governor will seek to establish and arm a separate “private security” force, which could lead to potential conflicts. The REC in the state is highly-experienced and generally held in high regard among stakeholders; however, logistical delays during the PVC/CVR exercises raised concerns about INEC’s electoral preparations. Religious organizations and CSOs are actively engaged in civic and voter education.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Democratic Governance for Development (DGD) II project recognizes the need to provide national and international policy makers with contextual analysis in the dynamic political environment leading to the Nigerian general elections in February 2015. Election Contextual Analysis (ECA) is intended as an innovative approach to monitoring electoral activities through a conceptual framework for identifying institutional and political issues that may impact the conduct of genuine national and state elections.

In the Nigerian electoral context, the ECA will identify risk factors associated with the political interests that are both influenced and constrained by public and private incentives for seeking elected office. The ECA outputs will cover the entire electoral period. Pre-election risk reviews are anticipated to serve as early-warning mechanisms for issues that could trigger outbreaks of electoral violence or attempts at electoral manipulation. The post-election assessment of the process will include policy recommendations for improving the institutionalization of democratic governance structures in Nigeria.

The State Profile Report (SPR) provides an overview of each geopolitical zone, followed by preliminary analysis and a political profile of each of the 19 states selected for ECA project monitoring. Detailed state profiles prepared by local state researchers and based on five thematic areas are included in the annex to this report and provide further information and insight into the 19 selected states.

II. METHODOLOGY

The ECA project combines national and international expertise to review institutional and political issues that may impact elections at the federal and state levels. A preliminary SPR and the first National Political Development Report (NPDR) will be issued in December 2014 to identify key issues influencing the electoral context. The SPR and first NPDR will serve as the basis for two updated NPDRs to be issued in January and March 2015. Periodic situation reports may be produced as electoral events develop. The NPDRs will highlight and update on the identified risk factors to the electoral process and offer policy recommendations as appropriate.

State Researchers from the National Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER), Ibadan provided state profile data to DGD II thematic analysts who reviewed and synthesized the information to produce a preliminary risk review at the state level. Additional input will be received from NISER Thematic Consultants for the NPDRs to ensure a comprehensive overview of the key national electoral issues that may lead to conflict or other challenges to the process. The individual NISER state researcher reports in the annex are considered the viewpoints of the respective researchers and were used as additional reference material.

The ECA reports will be based on current information covering five thematic areas designed to capture key political, economic, and social risk factors:

- ◆ Political Landscape (i.e., party dynamics, elite associations, campaigning, etc.)
- ◆ Security Setting (i.e., security issues, conflict triggers, military/police actors, etc.)
- ◆ Constitutional and Legal Frameworks (i.e., implementation, electoral petitions, etc.)
- ◆ Electoral Management and Administration (i.e., preparations, performance, issues, etc.)
- ◆ Social Actors and Human Rights (i.e., civil society actors, activities, dynamics, etc.)

The SPR provides contextualized analysis on 19 states from the six geopolitical zones as selected by DGD II. The selection of states was conducted through a collaborative process based on extensive consultation with a working group of academics, civil society representatives, and political experts that were convened to provide a methodology for state selection. The 19 states were selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- ◆ Representative sample of Nigeria
- ◆ Key swing states in the presidential elections
- ◆ Highly contested National Assembly races
- ◆ Areas with divided political loyalties at presidential, legislative, and gubernatorial levels
- ◆ Geostrategic and economic significance regarding peace and stability
- ◆ History of electoral success/malpractice and/or violence

STATE GEOPOLITICAL ZONE DISTRIBUTION					
North-West	South-West	North-East	South-East	North-Central	South-South
Jigawa	Lagos	Adamawa	Abia	Kwara	Cross River
Kaduna	Osun	Bauchi	Anambra	Nasarawa	Delta
Kano	Oyo	Taraba	Enugu	Niger	Rivers
Katsina					

III. GEOPOLITICAL ZONES CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 1:

NORTH-WEST GEOPOLITICAL ZONE:

Focus States: Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, and Katsina

The North-West is home to the Hausa/Fulani, the largest ethnic group in Nigeria, and includes seven states: Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, and Zamfara. The centre of the zone is Kano, the second biggest city in Nigeria. Presently, the security and political environments form a mixed picture. While states such as Jigawa, Kebbi, Sokoto, and Zamfara enjoy peace, community confrontations feed a history of violence in the south of Kaduna, but also in Kano and Katsina. The North-West witnessed a wave of electoral violence after the 2011 elections, especially in Kaduna and Kano. Boko Haram has attacked the zone repeatedly, especially with recent suicide bomb attacks in Kaduna and Kano.

Mohammed Buhari, the runner up in the 2011 elections and candidate of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) party, obtained more than half of his 12 million votes from this zone. Presently, the opposition parties that merged into APC in 2013 have a strong presence in the zone, holding the governorship of Kano and numerous seats in the National Assembly.

1. JIGAWA STATE PROFILE REPORT

Jigawa Preliminary Analysis

The political atmosphere in Jigawa is reportedly calm and there are currently no indications for possible political violence. The electoral competition will focus on the gubernatorial race for replacing incumbent Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) Governor Sule Lamido who is completing his second and final term in office, but remains a major *power broker* in the state.

The distribution of the Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) and conduct of the Continuous Voter Registration (CVR) were completed by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) without major incidents. Some political parties and certain civil society groups in the state expressed their unease about the neutrality of INEC at the national and state levels.²

JIGAWA POLITICAL BACKGROUND

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** North-West
- ◆ **Capital:** Dutse
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 4,361,002
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 1,852,698
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 27
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 27 August 1991
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 3,527

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **CPC:** 60%
- ◆ **PDP:** 38%
- ◆ **ACN:** 1%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 1%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **PDP:** Sule Lamido

Senators:

- ◆ **PDP:** Abdulmumini Muhammad Hassan
- ◆ **PDP:** Danladi Abdullahi Sankara
- ◆ **PDP:** Abdulaziz Usman

National Assembly:

- ◆ **PDP:** 11 members

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

- ◆ **PDP:** Aminu Ibrahim Ringim
- ◆ **APC:** Badaru Abubakar
- ◆ **APC:** Faruk Adamu Aliyu
- ◆ **APC:** Hashim Ubale Yusuf

² Please note that INEC transferred all Resident Electoral Commissioners (RECs) from each state to other states after the mid-December 2014 date of this report.

2. KADUNA STATE PROFILE REPORT

Kaduna Preliminary Analysis

Alluding to the 2011 post-election violence in the state, some stakeholders remain worried about the potential for electoral conflict in 2015. Potential triggers for violence range from confrontations between supporters of the two main political parties to divisions along community lines and possible clashes incited by political actors among the youth. Varying perceptions of INEC independence remain a potential cause of tension during the elections.

The political scene is primarily contested by PDP and APC, but the Labour Party is also a strong player in the south of the state. Stakeholders consider that a tight gubernatorial race will be held between two main contenders for the Governor position, which have support of national leaders. Although the PDP incumbent governor who took office following the death of the previous governor enjoys the support of Vice-President Mohammed Namadi Sambo, the gubernatorial elections are expected to be highly competitive with former Minister of the Abuja Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Nasir el-Rufai as APC candidate. El-Rufai is known for his rather strong views on national issues. Although he is reported to have the capacity to mobilize the masses, political and business interests are allegedly not enthused to support him.

KADUNA POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** North-West
- ◆ **Capital:** Kaduna
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 6,113,503
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 3,565,762
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 23
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 27 May 1967
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 4,607

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **CPC:** 52%
- ◆ **PDP:** 47%
- ◆ **ACN:** 1%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 1%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **PDP:** Mukhtar Ramalan Yero (former deputy governor)

Senators:

- ◆ **PDP:** Nenadi Esther Usman
- ◆ **PDP:** Ahmed M. Makarfi
- ◆ **APC:** Mohammed Sani Saleh

National Assembly:

- ◆ **PDP:** 9 members
- ◆ **APC:** 7 members

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

- ◆ **PDP:** Mukhtar Ramalan Yero
- ◆ **PDP:** John Bako Ajeye
- ◆ **APC:** Nasir Ahmed El-Rufai
- ◆ **APC:** Isah Ashiru Mohammed Kudan
- ◆ **LP:** James Bawa Magaji

3. KANO STATE PROFILE REPORT

Kano Preliminary Analysis

Kano City is the political, economic, and religious centre of Northern Nigeria. Politically, Kano has been a traditional opposition stronghold and is now governed by APC. Recent attacks by Boko Haram have heightened fear and insecurity in Kano, contributing to a reduction in commercial and political activities in the state. With Governor Rabiu Kwankwaso's defection from PDP to APC, Kano has become a major APC stronghold. If this is taken with the fact that Kwankwaso came second in the APC presidential primaries, he is emerging as a major *power broker* in the North-West zone. This can be seen in the nomination of his deputy governor as the APC gubernatorial candidate. The PDP gubernatorial candidate is supposedly supported by the former governor and current Minister of Education Ibrahim Shekarau.

Kano was well-known in 2011 for "mandate protection" with the slogan "A kada, A tsare, A kirga, A raka", meaning "cast your vote, protect it, watch the counting, and accompany it". However, the fear of further Boko Haram attacks might reduce community mobilization to observe and prevent electoral malpractice.

KANO POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** North-West
- ◆ **Capital:** Kano
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 9,401,288
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 4,864,395
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 44
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 27 May 1967
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 8,074

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **CPC:** 62%
- ◆ **PDP:** 17%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 20%
- ◆ **ACN:** 1%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **APC:** Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso

Senators:

- ◆ **APC:** Ibrahim Gaya
- ◆ **PDP:** Bashir Garba Mohammed
- ◆ **PDP:** Bello Hayatu Gwarzo

National Assembly:

- ◆ **APC:** 20 members
- ◆ **PDP:** 4 members

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

APC Aspirants:

- ◆ Abdullahi Umar Ganduje
- ◆ Abdullahi Tijjani Muhammad Gwarzo
- ◆ Kawu Sumaila Suleiman
- ◆ Muazu Magaji Dawakin Tofa

PDP Aspirants:

- ◆ Salihu Sagir Takai
- ◆ Mohammed Abacha

4. KATSINA STATE PROFILE REPORT

Katsina Preliminary Analysis

Katsina is generally peaceful and does not have a significant history of political violence. However, clashes between political party supporters during the upcoming electoral campaign and further use of hate speech by politicians could trigger electoral violence. In November 2014, the governor was reported as calling for the “elimination of cockroaches”, referring to his opponents. PDP gubernatorial primaries were marred by irregularities and the results might be contested in court. The APC gubernatorial primary was won by a former-Speaker of the House of Representatives, Aminu Bello Masari. The APC presidential candidate, Retired Major General Muhamadu Buhari hails from the state. Worries exist among certain political stakeholders about the neutrality of security agencies and INEC.

KATSINA POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** North-West
- ◆ **Capital:** Katsina
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 5,801,584
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 2,931,668
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 34
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 23 September 1987
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 4,901

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **CPC:** 72%
- ◆ **PDP:** 27%
- ◆ **ACN:** 1%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 1%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **PDP:** Ibrahim Shehu Shema (PDP)

Senators:

- ◆ **APC:** Hadi A. Sirika
- ◆ **APC:** Abubakar Sadik Yar'Adua
- ◆ **APC:** Abu Ibrahim

National Assembly:

- ◆ **PDP:** 2 members
- ◆ **APC:** 2 members

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

PDP Aspirants:

- ◆ Mahmud Kanti Bello
- ◆ Aminu Bello Masari
- ◆ Abdullahi Tsauri Tata

APC Aspirants:

- ◆ Sadik Yar'Adua
- ◆ Abdul'aziz Musa Yar'Adua

CHAPTER 2:

SOUTH-WEST GEOPOLITICAL ZONE:

Focus States: Lagos, Osun, and Oyo

The South-West geopolitical zone is a predominantly Yoruba area and includes the following six states: Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, and Oyo. The South-West is an important commercial, industrial, and cultural centre in Nigeria and home to approximately 14 million voters. Compared to other zones in the country, the South-West has historically enjoyed relatively peaceful and violence-free elections.

For the state elected positions, the South-West is traditionally the stronghold of the opposition parties. While gubernatorial elections were conducted in Osun in August 2014, the political temperature in Lagos and Oyo has started to increase, particularly ahead of the intense intra-party competition to secure a party ticket. The primaries are often followed by decamping of disappointed aspirants to secure top positions in other parties. Following the example of Osun, APC in Lagos and Oyo will want to defend their incumbency.

Further developments that raised concerns with respect to the upcoming 2015 elections are the deep inter-party rivalries between the two main parties. Additional concerns include the risk unemployed youth being used for purposes of manipulation and the unsatisfactory voter registration conducted by INEC. The shortcomings experienced during the distribution of PVCs raised stakeholder concerns with respect to INEC's preparedness to conduct the 2015 elections.

1. LAGOS STATE PROFILE REPORT

Lagos Preliminary Analysis

Lagos is considered an APC stronghold. With the incumbent APC Governor Babatunde Raji Fashola serving out his second and final term, the power of incumbency will not be a significant factor in the gubernatorial election. The potential conflict drivers that could increase electoral tensions or even trigger election-related violence in Lagos ahead of the 2015 polls include intra- and inter-party competition within and between APC and PDP to secure nomination tickets and stoking of long-standing ethno-religious differences by both parties. In addition, the distribution of PVCs and conduct of CVR were mired by logistical challenges, leading to electoral controversies.

Potential conflict drivers that could increase electoral tensions or even trigger election-related violence in Lagos ahead of 2015 polls are:

- ◆ Fierce inter-party competition to secure party nomination ticket especially in the two main parties APC and PDP and subsequent decamping of disappointed aspirants.
- ◆ Intra-party animosities between APC and PDP that escalated on 22 November 2014 when operatives of DSS raided APC data centre in Lagos and arrested 25 data agents allegedly cloning permanent voter cards (PVC).
- ◆ Long-standing ethno-religious differences with members of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) calling for a Christian gubernatorial candidate in order to sustain their support to APC.
- ◆ General fears over security of life and property and the 'Area Boys' syndrome combined with insurgency in the North-East that provoked influx of refugees seeking safe haven in Lagos, as well as proliferation of small arms across the borders.

In addition, the voter registration process, the omission of almost 1.4 million voters and the distribution of PVCs marred by logistical challenges and inadequacies have become so far, one of the most controversial issues with respect to the upcoming elections.

LAGOS POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** South-West
- ◆ **Capital:** Lagos
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 9,113,605
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 5,980,006
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Agencies (LGAs):** 20
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 27 May 1967
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 8,462

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 86.7%
- ◆ **CPC:** 10%
- ◆ **ACN:** 22%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 1%

Results of the 2011 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **ACN:** 81%

- ◆ **PDP:** 16%
- ◆ **LP:** 2%

Current Elected Positions

Governor:

- ◆ **APC:** Babatunde Raji Fashola (2007-2015)

Senators:

- ◆ **APC:** Oluremi Tinubu (female)
- ◆ **APC:** Gbenga Bareehu Ashafa
- ◆ **APC:** Ganiyu O. Solomon

National Assembly:

- ◆ **APC:** 24 members (3 females)

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

APC Aspirants:

- ◆ Ganiyu Solomon
- ◆ Adeyemi Ikuforiji
- ◆ Dr. Obafemi Hamzat
- ◆ Akin Ambode
- ◆ Dr. Leke Pitan
- ◆ Femi Gbajabiamila
- ◆ Gbenga Ashafa

PDP Aspirants:

- ◆ Jimi Agbaje
- ◆ Adedeji Doherty
- ◆ Owolabi Salis
- ◆ Babatunde Olalere Gbadamosi
- ◆ Dominic Adegbola
- ◆ Ade Dosunmu
- ◆ Musiliu Obanikoro

2. OSUN STATE PROFILE REPORT

Osun Preliminary Analysis

There will be no gubernatorial election in Osun following the August 2014 election and the return of incumbent APC Governor Rauf Aregbesala. Osun is generally peaceful, with no reported cases of serious election-related violence. Security is deemed to be adequate within the state. Nevertheless, members of the ruling APC generally question the impartiality of the police and DSS as favouring the interests of the ruling PDP.

The state political landscape is contested by APC and PDP. The defeated PDP gubernatorial candidate, Otunba Iyiola Omosire, is currently challenging the August 2014 election results at the Election Petitions Tribunal and the legal procedure is ongoing. The outcome of the case before the election tribunal could spark violence and insecurity, since the two gubernatorial contestants represent distinct sub-ethnic divisions within the same Senatorial District, and each recorded substantial electoral victory in his locality.

OSUN STATE PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** South-West
- ◆ **Capital:** Osogbo
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 3,416,959
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 1,355,393
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 30
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 27 August 1991
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 3,010

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **ACN:** 60%
- ◆ **PDP:** 38%
- ◆ **CPC:** 1%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 0%

Results of the 2014 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **APC:** 55%
- ◆ **PDP:** 41%
- ◆ **Others:** 3%
- ◆ **LP:** 1%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **APC:** Rauf Aregbesola (2007-2015)

Senators:

- ◆ **APC:** Olusola Adeyeye
- ◆ **APC:** Mudarisu Oyetunde Hussaini
- ◆ **APC:** Omoworare Babjide Christopher

National Assembly:

- ◆ **APC:** 9 members (1 female)

3. OYO STATE PROFILE REPORT

Oyo Preliminary Analysis

The Oyo political landscape is contested by four main political parties: the ruling APC, PDP, Labour Party (LP), and Accord Party (AP). The incumbent APC Governor, Abiola Ajimobi, faces strong competition for a second term in office from within the ranks of his own party and from opposition parties. The intra- and inter-party contestations and competition for nominations are resulting in decamping of aggrieved and unsuccessful candidates to the opposing parties, fuelling election-related tension and violence in the state.

Owing to the far-reaching presence of media and civil society in Yoruba states, there is generally a high level of public awareness among electorate concerning electoral matters and procedures. The aggrieved inter-party contestations and competition for internal party positions, often resulting in decamping of unsuccessful candidates to opposing parties, has been one of the main drivers of election-related violence in Oyo. The rivalry between the major political parties and their previous practice of using political 'thugs' is another potential trigger of electoral violence.

Stakeholders report that there is a general feeling of dissatisfaction among the electorate, as many voters in the state were unable to register because of insufficient time for the exercise, the initial poor performance of INEC officials, and the insufficient number of data capturing machines. The inability of some registered voters to collect their PVCs also raised concerns, but may have been attributable to logistical challenges faced by INEC.

OYO POLITICAL PROFILE

Geopolitical Zone: South-West

- ◆ **Capital:** Ibadan
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 5,580,890
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 2,725,365
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 33
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 3 February 1976
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 4,783

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 58%
- ◆ **ACN:** 30%
- ◆ **CPC:** 11%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 1%

Results of the 2011 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **ACN:** 38%
- ◆ **PDP:** 35%
- ◆ **ACCORD:** 25%
- ◆ **CPC:** 2%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **APC:** Abiola Ajimobi (2007-2015)

Senators:

- ◆ **APC:** Oluremi Akinola Lanlehin
- ◆ **APC:** Ayoade Ademola Adeseun
- ◆ **PDP:** Ayoola Hosea Agboola

National Assembly:

- ◆ **PDP:** 6 members (1 female)
- ◆ **ACCORD:** 4 members (1 female)
- ◆ **APC:** 4 members

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

- ◆ Abiola Ajimobi
- ◆ Christopher Alao Akala
- ◆ Femi Lanlehin
- ◆ Seyi Makinde
- ◆ Adewolu Ladoja

CHAPTER 3:

NORTH-EAST GEOPOLITICAL ZONE

Focus States: Adamawa, Bauchi, and Taraba

The North-East geopolitical zone comprises the six states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe. Stakeholders generally consider both main parties to be relatively strong and have expressed some concern that competitive elections may increase the risk of electoral violence. The region has been characterized by the Boko Haram insurgency taking control of northern parts of the zone, resulting in over one million internally displaced persons (IDPs). A state of emergency was declared on 14 May 2013 in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe states, which recently expired. The unstable security situation poses the biggest challenge for the upcoming 2015 elections. Stakeholder questions concerning the feasibility of the exercise, as well as INECs capacity to conduct the polls given the security setting, remain unanswered. The insurgency, combined with widespread poverty, poor governance, inter- and intra-party political disputes, and increased prevalence of light arms are additional triggers for election-related violence.

1. ADAMAWA STATE PROFILE REPORT

Adamawa Preliminary Analysis

As the 2015 elections approach, Adamawa is predominantly characterized by the Boko Haram insurgency currently affecting the Northeast geopolitical zone. The violence has resulted in population displacement in Local Government Areas (LGAs) under the control of Boko Haram. Reportedly, a significant number of voters in the affected LGAs are yet to collect their PVCs. Unless INEC makes provisions for IDPs to obtain voter cards and exercise their franchise, this will impact on the outcome of the elections. The ruling PDP is reportedly experiencing factional divisions characterised by intense intra-party competition for all elective positions. The imposition of candidates, especially the gubernatorial candidate from PDP Headquarters in Abuja, is causing acrimony and disaffection among party members at the state level. Numerous defections from PDP to other parties are anticipated and the strong challenges from APC are factors anticipated to influence the outcome of the elections.

Although the state was relatively violence free in previous elections, in 2015, there are a number of triggers that could potentially set off a wave of violence throughout both the pre- and post-election periods. The main triggers include widespread poverty and elite manipulation, poor governance at the local and state levels, the status of internally displaced persons (IDPs), behaviour of security forces, inter- and intra-party political disputes, inability of many voters to collect their permanent voter cards (PVC), and increased prevalence of light arms among the population. The economic conditions of the people, combined with the situation of the IDPs, may be exploited for electoral advantages by both state and national politicians.

ADAMAWA POLITICAL PROFILE

Geopolitical Zone: North-East

- ◆ **Capital:** Yola
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 3,178,950, over 80 ethnic groups
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 1,841,320
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 21
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 27 August 1991
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 2,608

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 57%
- ◆ **CPC:** 39%
- ◆ **ACN:** 4%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 0%

Results of the 2012 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 46%
- ◆ **CPC:** 16%
- ◆ **ACN:** 37%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 1%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **PDP:** Bala James Ngilari

Senators:

- ◆ **PDP:** Ahmed Hassan Barata
- ◆ **PDP:** Bello Mohammed Tukur
- ◆ **APC:** Bindawa Muhammed Jibrilla

National Assembly:

- ◆ **PDP:** 6
- ◆ **APC:** 2

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

APC Aspirants:

- ◆ Bindo Jibrilla
- ◆ Nuhu Ribadu

PDP Aspirants:

- ◆ Umar Ardo
- ◆ Buba Marwa

2. BAUCHI STATE PROFILE REPORT

Bauchi Preliminary Analysis

The political landscape in Bauchi represents dynamic party engagement, with PDP and APC contesting seats at the national and state levels. The issues of intra-party and inter-zonal rivalries may result in more competitive inter-party contests if popular aspirants decamp for opposing tickets. The decision by PDP to promote the zoning tradition and field a gubernatorial candidate from Bauchi North, instead of the more populous Bauchi South, may lead to a more competitive gubernatorial election. The security setting is unstable with Boko Haram recently attacking several communities. Electoral security is also a concern due to the possible use of disaffected and impoverished youth to intimidate voters and disrupt polling; however, the recent primaries were violence free.

Public confidence in the electoral administration was strengthened by a successful PVC distribution exercise. The INEC distributed approximately 1.5 of 1.8 million cards, despite logistical and procedural difficulties. Stakeholders report that civic and voter education is generally insufficient and inadequate to inform the diverse voting public. There are no active court cases involving the electoral legal frameworks. Civil society is active with participation from professional associations and religious groups.

The key risk factors involve the potential for conflict between inter-party and inter-zonal contests for gubernatorial, senatorial, and legislative seats:

- ◆ Intra-party rivalries that lead to decamping and encourage more intense inter-party contests among the three political zones and constituencies.
- ◆ Inter-zonal contests between PDP candidates for governor from Bauchi North or Bauchi Central versus the potential for APC candidate from Bauchi South, where each governor has originated from since 1999.
- ◆ Large impoverished communities provide for voter dissatisfaction towards incumbent leaders as well as a source for idle youth who are vulnerable to recruitment by candidates to intimidate voters or interfere with electoral processes.
- ◆ Religious leaders who preach partisan politics for parties and candidates on denominational lines using fiery and divisive sermons.

BAUCHI POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geo-political Zone:** North-East
- ◆ **Capital:** Bauchi
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 4,653,066 with the Hausa/Fulani and Muslims groups in majority but with at least 55 ethnic and language groups and a sizable Christian minority
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 2,551,430
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 20
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 3 February 1976
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 4,074

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **CPC:** 1,315,209 (82%)
- ◆ **PDP:** 258,404 (16%)
- ◆ **ACN:** 16,674 (1%)
- ◆ **ANPP:** 8,777 (1%)

Results of the 2011 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 771,503 (61%)
- ◆ **CPC:** 238,426 (19%)
- ◆ **ACN:** 157,237 (12%)
- ◆ **ANPP:** 102,093 (8%)

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **PDP:** Dr. Isa Yuguda (2007-2015)

Senators:

- ◆ **PDP:** Adamu Ibrahim Gumba (Bauchi North)
- ◆ **PDP:** Ahmed Abdul Ningi (Bauchi Central)
- ◆ **PDP:** Babayo Gamara Garba (Bauchi South)

National Assembly Members:

- ◆ **PDP:** 7 members
- ◆ **APC:** 5 members

Potential Governorship Contenders:

PDP Aspirants:

- ◆ Yayale Ahmed (former Secretary to Government of the Federation)
- ◆ Mohammed Pate (former Minister of Health)
- ◆ Senator Ahmed Abdul Ningi (Bauchi North)
- ◆ Aminu Hammayo

APC Aspirants:

- ◆ Dr. Ibrahim Yakubu Lame
- ◆ Engineer Sadiq Mahmud
- ◆ Mohammed Abubakar (former INEC Commissioner)
- ◆ Yusuf Maitama Tuggar

3. TARABA STATE PROFILE REPORT

Taraba Preliminary Analysis

Taraba has endured significant political turmoil. In October 2012, Deputy Governor Sani Abubakar Danladi was impeached by the State House of Assembly, and Garba Umar was named his replacement. In late 2012, the governor, Danbaba Suntai, was involved in an air accident and was unable to continue his duties due to medical reasons, and Umar was appointed as Acting Governor. After the lower courts ruled against Danladi in his efforts to regain his office, the Supreme Court of Nigeria reinstated Danladi as Acting Governor in November 2014. The Speaker of the State House of Assembly, Josiah Sabo Kente then resigned his position.

Even though the ruling PDP has well-developed party structures in Taraba, providing advantages over other parties, APC is challenging as the most significant opposition party. In the 2011 elections, Taraba experienced political conflict and violence, particularly in the Southern Senatorial District. Reportedly, the conflict was along ethnic and religious lines and may have been motivated by competition over political power and access to state resources. The conflict cost several hundred lives, resulting in significant numbers of IDPs. This history may impact the conduct of new elections in that senatorial district.

TARABA POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ Geopolitical Zone: North-East
- ◆ Capital: Jalingo
- ◆ 2006 Population: 2,294,800
- ◆ 2011 Registered Voters: 2,151,727
- ◆ Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs): 16
- ◆ Date of Creation: 27 August 1991
- ◆ Number of Polling Units (PUs): 1,912

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ CPC 62%
- ◆ PDP 35%
- ◆ ACN 3%
- ◆ ANPP <1%

Results of the 2011 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ PDP 51%
- ◆ CPC 25%
- ◆ ACN 22%
- ◆ ANPP 2%

Current Elected Positions:

Acting Governor:

- ◆ PDP: Sani Abubakar Danladi

Senators:

- ◆ PDP: Abubakar Umar Tutare
- ◆ PDP: Emmanuel Bwacha
- ◆ APC: Aisha Jummai Al-hassan

National Assembly:

- ◆ PDP: 4 members

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

PDP Aspirants:

- ◆ Garba Umar (former Acting Governor)
- ◆ Darius Isiaku
- ◆ David Kente
- ◆ Musa John

APC Aspirants:

- ◆ Senator Aisha Al-Hassan
- ◆ Acting Governor Sani Abubakar Danladi (rumoured but denied)

CHAPTER 4:

SOUTH-EAST GEOPOLITICAL ZONE

Focus States: Abia, Anambra, and Enugu

The South-East geopolitical zone is home to the Igbo people and is traditionally a PDP stronghold; however, the potential for decamping creates the possibility of inter-party conflict if popular candidates compete for gubernatorial, senatorial, and national and state legislative seats. The five states in the zone—Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi, and Imo—represent a more cohesive electoral context than the other more ethnically and religiously diverse zones. Regardless, the political competition for elective position will generate intense competition among the political elite.

The ECA selected states—Abia, Anambra, and Enugu—encapsulate two prevailing political trends. The first is the history of intra-party contests that lead to conflicts within an electoral system that places a premium on seats within the three senatorial zones. The second is the tradition that has developed for alternating power between the zones at the gubernatorial and senatorial levels. Despite public preference for each state zone to take turns at the power positions, the growing internal party competition and tendency for aggrieved aspirants to decamp to other parties for an electoral ticket encourage the breakdown of this informal allocation of power.

1. ABIA STATE PROFILE REPORT

Abia Preliminary Analysis

The political landscape in Abia has implications for the security setting and electoral administration. Gubernatorial and senatorial contests are based on zonal dynamics that may lead to attempts at intimidating voters or manipulating the electoral process. The inter-zonal and intra-party contests may result in further disunity within PDP. The primaries for the nomination to the State House of Assembly reportedly displayed the power of Governor T.A. Orji to influence the selection of candidates, as none of the incumbent PDP members were re-nominated. The governor will be completing his second term and has been nominated for the Abia Central Senate seat. The imposition of State Assembly candidates may encourage aggrieved aspirants to decamp for other parties.

Stakeholders noted that even though physical violence is uncommon, intimidation of voters by candidate supporters or 'thugs' through harassment and threats seems evident. The common mechanisms for mitigating intra-party conflicts are 'peace and reconciliation committees' and/or political appointments to national ministries or state commissions. Regardless, losing candidates may complain with legal challenges that may delay final results and fuel further conflict depending on the verdicts. Civil society is reportedly lacks strength and credibility, as existing groups often rely on government patronage for support.

The challenges witnessed during the distribution of PVCs are impacting the confidence of stakeholders in INEC's preparations for elections. The combined risks of voter intimidation and logistical difficulties could undermine stakeholder perception of the credibility of the electoral process in Abia.

The key risk factors derive from two key political issues that have the potential to impact 2015 electoral processes: 1) zonal power sharing and 2) intra-party candidacy contests:

- ◆ **Zonal Power Sharing:** Abia has a tradition of alternating power between the three senatorial zones and LGAs for governor and senators known as the 'Charter of Equity'. The tradition calls for each zone to take a turn at providing a governor and for different areas to alternate candidates for state senator seats. The next governor is anticipated to be from Abia South. However, debate among political elite argues that this zonal alternation is incorrect and that two historical blocs known as 'old Aba and old Bende' are more relevant. This difference in interpretation has created a more diverse contest among aspirants for a gubernatorial party ticket.
- ◆ **Intra-party Candidacy Contests:** There are numerous major gubernatorial and senatorial aspirants within the PDP. For governor, three originate from Abia South while the other two come from Abia North and Abia Central. All are influential members of the PDP and Abia community. The intra-party candidacy issue may spill over into inter-party contest because several aspirants are reportedly prepared to decamp for another party if not nominated under the PDP ticket.

ABIA POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** South-East
- ◆ **Capital:** Umuahia
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 2,845,380 with the Igbo as the main ethnic group but with several linguistic sub-groups: Ngwa, Umuahia, Ohafia, and Abiriba commonly spoken
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 1,536,264

- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 17
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 27 August 1991
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 2,675

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 99%
- ◆ **CPC:** 1%
- ◆ **ACN:** 0%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 0%

Results of the 2011 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 82%
- ◆ **APGA:** 6%
- ◆ **PPA:** 6%
- ◆ **ACN:** 2%
- ◆ **LP:** 2%
- ◆ **Others:** 2%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **PDP:** Chief Theodore A. Orji (2003-2015)

Senators:

- ◆ **PDP:** Nkechi Justina Nwaogu (female)
- ◆ **PDP:** Enyinnaya Harcourt Abaribe
- ◆ **PDP:** Uche Chukwumerije

National Assembly Members:

- ◆ **PDP:** 7 members (2 females)
- ◆ **PPA:** 1 member

Potential Governorship Contenders:

PDP Aspirants:

- ◆ Chief Okezie Ikpeazu (Abia South)
- ◆ Chief Uche Ogah (Abia North)
- ◆ Mrs. Nkechi Nwaogu (Abia Central)
- ◆ Chief Marcus Wabara (Abia South)
- ◆ Senator Enyinnaya Abaribe (Abia South)

APGA Aspirant:

- ◆ Chief Alex Otti (Abia North and South)

2. ANAMBRA STATE PROFILE REPORT

Anambra Preliminary Analysis

Anambra is a dynamic political landscape with three political parties—PDP, APC, and All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA)—competing within the state. The intra-party contests are currently focused on selecting legislative candidates, as the governor was elected in March 2014. The PDP and APGA primaries were characterised by intra-party disputes reflected in parallel primaries for nomination of candidates, preparing the grounds for possible court cases capable of affecting the electoral process. Intra- and inter-party rivalries may lead to defection of candidates across opposing parties.

Anambra is an economically viable state with large commodity markets and boasts the lowest poverty rate in Nigeria. The three leading parties and their candidates reportedly have the ‘money and personalities’ to make the political contest a fierce fight for access to state resources. The security setting is perceived to be generally peaceful, provided the consequences of divided party leadership and intra- and inter-party conflicts do not spark conflict. Complaints following the primaries and elections can be expected to test legal frameworks as the aggrieved are prone to litigation. Given the stakes at risk, intra- and inter-party conflict mitigation mechanisms may be necessary to maintain a peaceful and genuine electoral process.

Although there were logistical challenges during the PVC distribution and CVR exercises and criticism during the 2014 gubernatorial election, INEC is generally perceived as non-partisan and capable of conducting the general elections. State and national civil society groups are typically active during elections in voter education and electoral observation.

The key risk factors during the run-up to elections may result from contests between serving senators and legislators and those challenging their positions. The potential violence drivers include the following triggers:

- ◆ Party member defections and counter-defections can generate conflict between parties and encourage aggrieved aspirants to undermine former parties.
- ◆ Voter confusion over which candidates are running for which zone or constituency can result in polling day protests and post-election court cases.
- ◆ Voter perception that there is no genuine competition due to undue influence of political powerbrokers who impose preferred candidates can result in protests or apathy or both
- ◆ Presence of militia or vigilante and student or disaffected youth groups can be used to intimidate voters, conduct electoral malpractice, and interfere with election processes.

ANAMBRA POLITICAL PROFILE

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Geo-political Zone: South-East ◆ Capital: Awka ◆ 2006 Population: 4,055,048 with the Igbo (98%) and Igala (2%) ethnic groups ◆ 2013 Registered Voters: 1,784,536 ◆ Number of LGAs: 21 ◆ Date of Creation: 27 August 1991 ◆ Number of Polling Units (PUs): 4,608 | <p>Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ PDP: 99% ◆ CPC: 1% ◆ ACN: >0% ◆ ANPP: >0% <p>Results of the 2014 Gubernatorial Election:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ APGA: 44% ◆ PDP: 24% |
|--|---|

- ◆ **APC:** 23%
- ◆ **LP:** 37%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **APGA:** Dr. Willie Obiano (Elected: 17 March 2014)

Senators:

- ◆ **PDP:** Margery Chibogu Chuba-Okadigbo
- ◆ **PDP:** Andy Emmanuel Nnamdi Uba
- ◆ **APC:** Chris Nwabueze Ngige

National Assembly Members:

- ◆ **PDP:** 5 members (1 female)
- ◆ **APGA:** 5 members (1 female)
- ◆ **APC:** 1 member

3. ENUGU STATE PROFILE REPORT

Enugu Preliminary Analysis

The political landscape in Enugu is currently characterised by intra-party and inter-communal contests for gubernatorial and senatorial seats within PDP among the zones in the state. The struggle within PDP is between Governor Sullivan Chime and Deputy Senate President Ike Ekweremadu for the Enugu West senatorial seat. The crisis generated by the contest has divided PDP into two opposing factions, which was demonstrated by the conduct of parallel primaries for nominating candidates for gubernatorial and National Assembly positions. Nevertheless, there are no recorded party defections as of yet; the aggrieved aspirants appear to be relying on internal party dispute mechanisms to resolve the issues. APC and APGA conducted their primaries peacefully and without any incidence of dissension. The current security setting is reportedly peaceful with no incidence of serious violence. However, there are fears that violence may erupt if the rivalry between the contending parties within PDP is not resolved amicably.

The PVC distribution and CVR exercises by INEC experienced some logistical and operational challenges that raised stakeholder concerns. According to INEC in early December 2014, approximately 54% of PVCs were collected and NOA reports that as many as 40% of voters may have been de-registered. Aggrieved politicians often seek redress from national legal frameworks with court cases against party policies. The Catholic Church is an influential actor within civil society by seeking to hold politicians accountable to their campaign promises.

The key risk factors derive from intra-party and inter-zonal contests that may fracture the ruling PDP and bolster the tickets of opposition parties:

- ◆ Intra-party contests encourage decamping to other parties that manifest into bitter inter-party contests with the potential for electoral violence.
- ◆ Attempts by APC to take advantage of disaffected politicians and voters to challenge PDP dominance in all elected constituencies.
- ◆ Inaccurate voter registration can result in disenfranchised or misallocated voters, which in turn, can generate public protest or violence against electoral personnel and polling units if people feel disempowered by a process not understood.

ENUGU POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** South-East
- ◆ **Capital:** Enugu
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 3,267,837 with the Igbo as the main ethnic group and only small non-Igbo and Muslim minority groups
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 1,374,583
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 17
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 27 August 1991
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 2,958

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 98%
- ◆ **CPC:** >0%

- ◆ **PDC:** >0%
- ◆ **Others:** >0%

Results of the 2011 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 87%
- ◆ **LP:** 6%
- ◆ **PDC:** 6%
- ◆ **ACN:** 1%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **PDP:** Barrister Sullivan I. Chime (2003-2015)

Senators:

- ◆ **PDP:** Ayogu Eze (Enugu North)
- ◆ **PDP:** Ike Ekweremadu (Enugu West)
- ◆ **PDP:** Gilbert Emeka Nnaji (Enugu East)

National Assembly Members:

- ◆ **PDP:** 8 members (2 females)

Potential Governorship Contenders:

- ◆ **PDP:** Senator Ayogu Eze (Enugu North)
- ◆ **PDP:** Senator Ike Ekweremadu (Enugu West)
- ◆ **PDP:** Honourable Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi (Enugu North)
- ◆ **PDP:** Chief Eugene Odoh

CHAPTER 5:

NORTH-CENTRAL GEOPOLITICAL ZONE:

Focus States: Kwara, Nasarawa, and Niger

The North-Central geopolitical zone is predominantly Muslim, with other religious groups including Christians and traditional African religions. All three states are predominantly agrarian, and the most popular livelihood of the inhabitants is subsistence farming. The majority of the population is poor. The three states, like all others in the Federation, are multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-religious. Overall, the three states have a record of peaceful co-existence among the different ethnic and religious groups. However, post-election violence affected Niger in 2011, and Nasarawa's peace was shattered in 2013 with the killing of 100 security operatives by people suspected to be members of the Ombatse socio-cultural group. So far, Kwara has remained true to its name, 'Harmony State'. The electoral preparations in the states are proceeding, though at different paces.

1. KWARA STATE PROFILE REPORT

Kwara Preliminary Analysis

Kwara is the oldest of the three focus states from the North-Central zone, dating back to 1967, and is highly dependent on monthly budget allocations from the Federation Account.

The politics of Kwara have been under the influence of the Saraki political family for more than three decades. The personality politics has created its own political disputes and security challenges, pitching pro-Saraki against anti-Saraki elements. The peaceful political situation in the state became somewhat uncertain following the decamping of former Governor and now Senator Bukola Saraki and some of his political associates from PDP to APC. Recent intra- and inter-party contestations have resulted in shootings, deaths, and arrests. In November 2014, aggrieved PDP members who did not decamp to APC were suspected of attacking the convoy of APC Governor Abdulfatah Ahmed, damaging at least two vehicles, raising APC suspicion on the neutrality security forces.

INEC is generally perceived as capable of organizing elections; however, there were issues of poor preparation and inadequate logistics during the PVC distribution exercise. The key risk factors involve the potential for conflict provoked by party primaries, campaigns, and tensions related to the collection of voter cards by impoverished communities who might be induced by vote buying.

KWARA POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** North-Central
- ◆ **Capital:** Ilorin
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 2,365,353
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 1,167,850
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 16
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 27 May 1967
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 1,872

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 66%
- ◆ **CPC:** 21%
- ◆ **ACN:** 13%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 0%

Results of the 2011 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 52%
- ◆ **ACN:** 31%
- ◆ **ACPN:** 15%
- ◆ **CPC:** 2%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **APC:** Abdulfatah Ahmed

Senators:

- ◆ **APC:** Abubakar Bukola Saraki
- ◆ **APC:** Mohammed Shaba Lafiagi
- ◆ **PDP:** Ajibola Simon Simeon

National Assembly:

- ◆ **APC:** 6 members

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

- ◆ Alhaji Abdulfatah Ahmed
- ◆ Makanjuola Suleiman Ajadi
- ◆ Gbemisola Saraki
- ◆ Simeon Ajibola
- ◆ Dele Mohammed Belgore

2. NASARAWA STATE PROFILE REPORT

Nasarawa Preliminary Analysis

Prior to 2003, Nasarawa enjoyed relatively peaceful politics; however, periodic communal and ethnic clashes are now considered endemic in Nasarawa. These include occasional clashes between the Eggon and the Gwandaras, Migilis, and Alagos and between the Fulani and Kanuri. These clashes could intensify towards the 2015 elections, as ethnic groups compete for elected positions. Nasarawa is an APC-governed state, but given the determination of PDP to win the elections, campaigns are expected to be tense and could easily lead to violence among already tense communities. Other potential drivers and triggers of electoral violence include imposition of party candidates by political party officials and incitement and sponsorship of youth to perpetrate violence by politicians, as well as ethnic and religious leaders. Other drivers and triggers of electoral violence include:

- ◆ Imposition of party candidates by political party officials.
- ◆ Massive youth unemployment; sponsorship to perpetrate violence by some politicians.
- ◆ PDP suggestion and support for the imposition of a State of Emergency and opposition to the suggestion by the ruling APC.
- ◆ Frequent communal clashes and unresolved issues.
- ◆ Use of monetary inducement during campaigns by politicians.
- ◆ Incitement to violence by ethnic and religious groups or preachers.
- ◆ Voter intimidation by security agents.
- ◆ Late or non-arrival of election materials to the polling stations.
- ◆ Self-help and non-resort to legal redress by aggrieved political contestants/losers after party primary elections.

NASARAWA POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** North-Central
- ◆ **Capital:** Lafia
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 1,869,377
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 1,380,542
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 13
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 1 October 1996
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 1,495

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 59%
- ◆ **CPC:** 41%

Results of the 2011 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **CPC:** 50%
- ◆ **PDP:** 47%
- ◆ **LP:** 3%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 0%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **APC:** Umaru Tanko Al-Makura

Senators:

- ◆ **APC:** Solomon Sunday Akuku Ewuga
- ◆ **APC:** Abdullahi Adamu
- ◆ **PDP:** Suleiman Asonya Adokwe

National Assembly:

- ◆ **PDP:** 3 members
- ◆ **APC:** 2 members

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

- ◆ Aliyu Akwe Doma
 - ◆ Labaran Maku
 - ◆ John Usman Danboyi
3. Umaru Tanko Al-Makura

4. NIGER STATE PROFILE REPORT

Niger Preliminary Analysis

Niger experienced wide-scale violence during and after the 2011 elections, including a deadly attack by gunmen on the INEC office at Suleja. Political tension appears to be on the increase as the 2015 elections approach. The convoy of the former Speaker of the House of Assembly, Honourable Mohammed Alkali, was reportedly attacked by unidentified PDP members on 16 November 2014. Governor Babangida Aliu's endorsement of the candidacy of Alhaji Umaru Nasko as PDP gubernatorial candidate has also generated tensions. The governor is accused of disallowing Senator Nuhu Zagbayi to re-contest for the Senate seat by zoning the seat from Suleja Emirate to Minna Emirate.

There are fears among stakeholders over the coming elections because the language of key actors suggests the potential for electoral violence and worries exist over the capacity and willingness of the security forces to forestall any breakdown of law and order due to insufficient personnel. Intra-party contestations, imposition of candidates, and the use of money to buy votes or influence election results are potentially key risk factors that may lead to electoral violence or electoral malpractice during the 2015 elections.

Drivers and triggers of violence before, during, and after the elections include:

- ◆ Determination on the part of the ruling PDP and key political stakeholders to retain power; and the determination of APC to contest for power from PDP.
- ◆ Lack of confidence in the Police to prevent a breakdown of law and order before, during and after the elections.
- ◆ Allegations of malpractice during voter registration and PVC distribution.
- ◆ Intra-party violence within PDP, which marred the November 2014 ward congresses.

NIGER POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** North-Central
- ◆ **Capital:** Mina
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 3,954,772
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 2,433,665
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 27
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 3 February 1976
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 3,185

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **CPC:** 66%
- ◆ **PDP:** 32%
- ◆ **ACN:** 1%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 1%

Results of the 2011 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 60%
- ◆ **CPC:** 27%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 8%
- ◆ **ACN:** 5%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **PDP:** Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu

Senators:

- ◆ **APC:** Ibrahim Musa
- ◆ **PDP:** Zaynab Abdulkadir Kure
- ◆ **PDP:** Kahiru Awaisu Kuta

National Assembly:

- ◆ **PDP:** 7 members
- ◆ **APC:** 3 members

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

- ◆ Ahmed Musa Ibeto
- ◆ Nuhu Aliyu
- ◆ Mustapha Bello
- ◆ Mohammed Bawa Rijau
- ◆ Alhaji Mohammed Babangida
- ◆ David Umaru

CHAPTER 6:

SOUTH-SOUTH GEOPOLITICAL ZONE:

Focus States: Cross River, Delta, and Rivers

The states within the South-South Geopolitical Zone of Nigeria include Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, and Rivers. While not precisely synonymous with the “Niger Delta,” many of the states within the South-South zone fall within the Delta area. Consequently, much of the economic activity involves the oil and gas industries, which are both a boon and a bane to the region. While a significant majority of the federal budget of Nigeria derives from oil produced in the South-South, the oil industry has also created substantial environmental damages that have polluted the streams and coastal ways of the region.

As a result of the environmental degradation and the perceived inequitable allocation of the oil revenues, indigenes of the Niger Delta initiated campaigns against the oil industry. These campaigns included kidnappings for ransom of oil company employees, both expatriate and national. Over the years, the kidnapping schemes have become more a criminal activity targeting Nigerians. Consequently, the political environment within much of the South-South focuses on these two issues: oil revenue allocation and insecurity.

President Goodluck Jonathan hails from Bayelsa and has enjoyed support across the zone. There are, however, opposition parties that have achieved some success (i.e., the Edo State Governor), and recent defections from PDP to APC may initiate changing dynamics within the zone (i.e., Rivers Governor was elected under PDP but decamped to APC).

1. CROSS RIVER STATE PROFILE REPORT

Cross River Preliminary Analysis

In Cross River, PDP is the strongest party, with APC as the primary opposition party. The risk of electoral violence in Cross River is relatively low, as zoning of the governorship helps reduce potential conflicts. Governor Liyel Imoke (PDP) is completing his second term and does not appear ready to contest for any position. There has also been significant focus within political parties to increase women's participation.

The INEC Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) has extensive electoral experience and is well-regarded among stakeholders as highly skilled and neutral. There have been relatively few complaints about the PVC distribution and CVR exercises, though some logistical challenges were noted. Significant civic and voter education is being undertaken by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), religious organizations, trade and professional associations, and the media. There has also been significant focus within political parties to increase women's participation within the state.

CROSS RIVER POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** South-South
- ◆ **Capital:** Calabar
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 2,892,988
(1,471,967 male; 1,421,021 female)
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 1,018,950
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 18
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 27 May 1967
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 2,283

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 98%
- ◆ **CPC:** 1%
- ◆ **ACN:** 1%
- ◆ **ANPP:** <1%

Results of the 2011 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 92%
- ◆ **ACN:** 8%
- ◆ **LP:** <1%
- ◆ **ANPP:** <1%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **PDP:** Liyel Imoke

Senators:

- ◆ **PDP:** Victor Ndoma Egba
- ◆ **PDP:** Edet Bassey Otu
- ◆ **PDP:** Benedict Bengiushuye Ayade

National Assembly:

- ◆ **PDP:** 8 members (2 females)

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

PDP Aspirants:

- ◆ Mike Aniah
- ◆ Legor Idagbor
- ◆ Larry Odey
- ◆ Ben Ayade
- ◆ Fidelis Ugbo

APC Aspirants:

- ◆ Odey Ochicha
- ◆ David Asare

2. DELTA STATE PROFILE REPORT

Delta Preliminary Analysis

PDP is the strongest political party in Delta, with APC as the primary opposition party. The incumbent PDP Governor Emmanuel Uduaghan is completing his second term in office and was rumoured to be interested in contesting for Senate, which proved to be unfounded. Presently, there have been no significant defections between the parties. Potential risks for electoral violence centre on intra-party dissatisfaction over nomination processes and inter-party perceptions of electoral malpractice. Stakeholders raised questions concerning the neutrality of security forces and their ability to ensure security during elections.

Besides the risk of electoral violence, Delta has in recent years experienced substantial insecurity due to kidnappings and armed robbery. These criminal activities had their origins in political and electoral violence, and politicians can still enlist those actors as political muscle to capture political support.

INEC is generally well-regarded, and there have been no significant complaints about the PVC distribution and CVR exercises, despite the logistical challenge posed by accessing the riverine areas and the limited timeframe for the exercise.

DELTA POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** South-South
- ◆ **Capital:** Asaba
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 4,112,445 with over 40 ethnic groups;
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 2,151,727
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 25
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 27 August 1991
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 3,624

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 98.6%
- ◆ **CPC:** 0.6%
- ◆ **ACN:** <0.01%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 0.2%

Results of the 2012 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 53%
- ◆ **DPP:** 44%
- ◆ **ACN:** 2%
- ◆ **ANPP:** 1%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **PDP:** Dr. Emmanuel Uduaghan

Senators:

- ◆ **PDP:** James Ebiowou Manager
- ◆ **PDP:** Okowa Ifanyi Arthur
- ◆ **PDP:** Emmanuel Aguariavwodo

National Assembly:

- ◆ **PDP:** 9 members (1 female)
- ◆ **DPP:** 1 member

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

PDP Aspirants:

- ◆ Chief Kenneth Gbagi
- ◆ Reps Ndudi Elumelu
- ◆ Chief Godswill Obielum
- ◆ Senator Arthur Okowa Ifeanyi
- ◆ Dr. (Mrs.) Ngozi Olejeme
- ◆ Chief David Edevbie
- ◆ Chief Omo-Agege
- ◆ Eng. Victor Ochei
- ◆ Mr. Tony Obuh
- ◆ Elder Godsdan Orubebe

APC Aspirants:

- ◆ Chief Otega Emerhor
- ◆ Chief Fidelis Tilije

LP Aspirant:

- ◆ Chief Great Ogboru

3. RIVERS STATE PROFILE REPORT

Rivers Preliminary Analysis

In Rivers, the decamping of Governor Rotimi Amaechi and some of his political associates from PDP to APC, coupled with his poor relations with President Goodluck Jonathan and his wife, with the latter of the two hailing from the state, have created significant political tensions. Governor Amaechi is completing his second term in office and had been mentioned as a potential APC vice-presidential candidate. The tensions between APC and PDP are especially heightened due to disputes between Governor Amaechi and Nyeson Wike, the frontrunner PDP aspirant for governor. Wike was the former top aide to Governor Amaechi but is now receiving strong support from President Jonathan.

Another significant source for political tension is the perceived breach of intra-state zoning arrangements within PDP regarding the governorship position. Stakeholder perceptions that the formal and informal (ex-militants) security forces favour PDP has led to concerns that the current governor will seek to establish and arm a separate “private security” force, which could lead to potential conflicts.

The REC in the state is highly-experienced and generally held in high regard among stakeholders; however, logistical delays during the PVC/CVR exercises raised concerns about INEC’s electoral preparations. Religious organizations and CSOs are actively engaged in civic and voter education.

RIVERS POLITICAL PROFILE

- ◆ **Geopolitical Zone:** South-South
- ◆ **Capital:** Port Harcourt
- ◆ **2006 Population:** 5,198,716 (male 2,673,026; female 2,525,690)
- ◆ **2011 Registered Voters:** 2,419,057
- ◆ **Number of Local Government Areas (LGAs):** 23
- ◆ **Date of Creation:** 3 February 1976
- ◆ **Number of Polling Units (PUs):** 4,442
- ◆ **ACN:** 4%
- ◆ **Others:** 2%

Current Elected Positions:

Governor:

- ◆ **APC:** Rotimi Amaechi (elected as PDP)

Senators:

- ◆ APC Magnus Ngeri,
- ◆ PDP George Thompson,
- ◆ APC Wilson Asinobi Ake

National Assembly:

- ◆ **APC:** 6 members
- ◆ **PDP:** 5 members (2 females)

Results of the 2011 Presidential Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 98%
- ◆ **CPC:** <1%
- ◆ **ACN:** 1%
- ◆ **ANPP:** <1%

Results of the 2011 Gubernatorial Election:

- ◆ **PDP:** 86%
- ◆ **APGA:** 8%

Potential Gubernatorial Contenders:

- ◆ **PDP:** Chief Nyesom Wike
- ◆ **APC:** Dakuku Peterside

IV. ANNEX OF STATE RESEARCHER REPORTS

The annex contains the individual State Profile Reports prepared by the 19 NISER state researchers. These NISER reports are provided for additional reference to the points informing the preliminary analysis provided above and in the executive summary. The viewpoints expressed in the NISER state reports are those of the respective state researchers.

CHAPTER 1: North-West Geopolitical Zone

1. JIGAWA STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Jigawa State is mostly inhabited by Hausa and Fulani, with a significant population of Manga, Badawa and Ngizimawa. Islam is the predominant religion of the inhabitants of Jigawa, with over 99 percent of the population being Muslims. Settlers from other parts of the country practice the Christian religion.

Agriculture is the core economic activity in the State. Over 80 percent of the people are engaged in various forms of agricultural activities, mainly subsistence farming and animal husbandry. The economy of Jigawa state is predominantly informal. Modern industrial sector is yet to gain a strong footing in the state. In 2007, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Poverty Index Report indicated that Jigawa is the state most severely hit by poverty. Recent (2013) World Bank assessment put the percentage of the poor people in Jigawa at 77.5 percent, the highest in Nigeria.

The political atmosphere in Jigawa is relatively calm presently. The state is peaceful and one cannot foresee any security threats in 2015, unless the dynamics of the political process turn against the ruling party. Jigawa was one of the few states in the North that was not affected by the 2011 post-election violence. Political consciousness is low, except in areas of Hadejia, Kiri Kasamma, and Sankara ward of Ringim, where opposition to the ruling party is very strong. The political power relations gravitate along five state emirates which play a key role to a peaceful electoral process: Dutse, Ringim, Hadejia, Gumel, and Kazaure.

Over the years, there have been parochial sentiments among these emirates, which also smeared into politics and the issue of resource allocation. Thus, the struggle for power and the determination of who should be the next governor in Jigawa is generating fresh attention as the state approaches the 2015 gubernatorial election. The political contestation emanates from the competition for power between the five emirates. Kazaure emirate has produced a governor, Ibrahim Saminu Turaki (1999-2007), the incumbent governor, Sule Lamido of the PDP hails from Dutse emirate. The three other emirates, namely Hadejia, Ringim and Gumel are trying to ensure that one of them produces the next governor. An imposed candidate from outside these three emirates could provoke inter-party tensions in 2015.

B. Political Parties, Candidates and Elite Alliances

Political elites and their parties essentially influence power relations in Jigawa. Educated elites from the state play minimal or no role at all, and they do not usually reside in Jigawa state, but

mainly in Kano. The traditional leaders and *Ulamas* (clerics) hold little influence in the power relations in the state.

C. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

Aminu Ibrahim Ringim (PDP) has the support of the incumbent governor, having been close to him as a Chief of Staff. However, despite being the possible anointed aspirant for the position of the state governor, Ringim does not have the support of the grassroots nor of his party. His prospect to win the support of the people lies in his relationship with the governor and the fact that he hails from Ringim emirate, one of three emirates canvassing for governorship in 2015.

Badaru Abubakar (APC) is a strong contender because his popularity cuts across a broad spectrum of people in Jigawa State. Abubakar contested for the gubernatorial election under the platform of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) in 2011.

Faruk Adamu Aliyu (APC) is APC Chieftain in the state and a close political ally of the presidential aspirant of the APC, General Muhammadu Buhari. His major constraint is that he hails from the same emirate as the incumbent governor, Alhaji Lamido.

Hashim Ubale Yusuf (APC) is a wealthy politician, but does not enjoy a good relationship with the leadership of his party and has no strong political structure on ground.

D. Power Brokers

Saminu Turaki (PDP), a former governor and senator, enjoys the support of some members of the party and this has made him a strong power broker and opponent of the incumbent Governor within the PDP.

Sule Lamido (PDP), the current governor of the state on his last mandate, has on his side the incumbency factor and resources to mobilize mass support, in addition to controlling the party machinery in the state.

The nature of political alignment and competition for power between the two power brokers could easily create tension in Jigawa, particularly if a gubernatorial candidate is imposed by the national party structures.

Other power brokers in the state are Muhammadu Daguro (PDP), Aminu Ringim (PDP), Magaji Da'u Aliyu (PDP), Danladi Sankara (PDP), Prof. Ruqayya Ahmed Rufa'i (PDP), Ibrahim Baba Chai-Chai of the All Peoples Congress (APC), Faruk Adamu Aliyu (APC), and Ibrahim Hassan (APC). Most visible parties are PDP and APC. There is also the presence of the People Democratic Movement (PDM) in Jigawa state, but the party is yet to establish its structures and has not been very assertive in its competition for power.

E. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

There are not many campaign activities in Jigawa state for the 2015 election because at the moment the most popular parties in the state are yet to decide their candidates. However, campaign activities started before the official launch of campaign activities on November 16, 2014. The most visible political parties are the APC and PDP, with a small number of posters present in local governments and the capital city, Dutse. At present aspirants are trying to establish campaign structures and strategize for party primaries. It is in this regard that the APC

governorship aspirant, Alhaji Badaru Abubakar distributed 27 cars and 287 motorcycles worth over N60 million to the state chapter of the party ahead of the 2015 governorship election.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

The general security situation in Jigawa state ahead of the 2015 election is peaceful. Since the return to democracy in 1999, the state has not witnessed major political violence. However, ahead of the by-election for the Jigawa State House of Assembly election held on 21 September 2013 there was an incidence of violence when the APC Chairman of the party and former member of the House of Representative, Alhaji Adamu Aliyu was attacked in Ringim LGA by supporters of Senator Danladi Sankara of the PDP in company of over 100 thugs.

At present, the security entities present in Jigawa state are mainly the police whose constitutional duty is to maintain law and order. Others are the vigilante groups and Civil Defence Corps; their major role is to assist the police in carrying out their constitutional roles.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

There is a high level of political, religious and ethnic tolerance in the state. Religious or ethnic contestations are not likely to generate political violence or conflict largely because of the homogeneous nature of intergroup social relations in the state. However, political parties are more likely to spark off tension that could lead to electoral violence if they do not handle the issue of governorship of the state from the power relations among the three competing emirates. Although there are some contestations over the recent voter registration and Permanent Voters Card (PVC) distribution, however these are secondary and are regarded as a common logistic problem of the INEC exercise nationwide. But imposition of candidates and threats from political parties may result in hostilities.

C. Perceptions on Security Forces

The general perception on the police and other security agency is negative, as they are seen as a contributory factor to voter apathy during election. Their presence during the election has been regarded as a threat, regardless of the peaceful atmosphere normally experienced in the conduct of election in the state.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

A. Electoral Dispute Resolution

One electoral petition is on roll in the present, a petition by the APC Chieftain, Farouk Adamu Aliyu, against Senator Danladi Abdullahi Sankara (PDP), over the alleged use of thugs during the September 2013 by-election in Ringim LGA.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

The INEC Resident Electoral Commissioner in the state is Ibrahim Bagobiri Mafara, from Zamfara State. The state INEC (SIEC) is not perceived as a neutral umpire. There have been various allegations of partisanship with the ruling party PDP. This results in low level of public confidence in the work of the commission.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

People from Jigawa state are not satisfied with the limited time got PVC distribution and continuous voter registration. Although the exercise was smooth and violence-free, there are outcries over the missing voter cards in Malam Madori LGA and other wards in the state.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

The main institutions involved in civic and voter education are INEC, the media and some civil society organizations. With the support of the State Inter-Agency Advisory Committee on Voter Education and Publicity (SCVEP), INEC was able to reach out to the prospective voters through media outfits. Community-based CSOs were also involved in civic and voter education in the state capital. In some areas town hall meetings were conducted by such community organizations in Sundimina ward of Birnin Kudu, Farin Dutse town of Gwaram and Gagarawa in Dutse emirate.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

The activities of CSOs in Jigawa have been limited. CSOs in the state lack the organizational and technical resources to impact positively through the mechanism of advocacy. They are not independent of the state and are often inactive, but resurrect when there is an issue to confront, primarily with the support of the state. The mandates of the most visible CSOs are not directly related to elections but they still serve as stakeholders in the electoral process because of their engagement in voter education programs. These organizations include the Jigawa State Forum, the Jigawa State Coalition of NGOs, Village Initiatives, Gadawur Development Initiatives, and the Community Intervention and Relief Initiatives. Others are the Network for Justice, Human Rights Coalition, and Project Monitoring Partners.

B. Media Outlets

Radio is the major outlet for public enlightenment and political education in Jigawa. The overall picture of the situation of media in the state suggests that apart from Jigawa State Television and Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), there are five Radio Stations in the state - Freedom Radio, Radio Horizon, New World FM, FM Andaza, and Radio Jigawa AM. The government owns all the stations except the Freedom Radio. Of all these stations, Freedom Radio is viewed as the most liberal and impartial. It is becoming clear that opposition politicians are not allowed to use the state owned media outfit for political campaign or airing their views on public policy. Hence, the ruling party, PDP has the monopoly of airtime in all the government owned media houses.

C. Gender Relations

In Jigawa women are among the most marginalized social groups in all aspects of governance. Other than the traditional role of women leadership of a party, otherwise called 'women leader', hardly does one come across a woman of substance aspiring for any public office. The only woman who has shown interest to context for a Senatorial seat at present is the former Minister of Education Minister, Professor Ruqayya Ahmed Rufa'i of the PDP.

2. KADUNA STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Kaduna was originally the seat of government of the Northern Region in the three-regional structure that existed in Nigeria from 1954-1967. The main cities and towns include Kaduna, Zaria, Kagoro, Kafanchan, Kachia, Saminaka and Zonkwa. The State is divided into twenty-three Local Government Areas.

According to the 2006 census figures, Kaduna had a population of 6,113,503. It accounts for 4.3 percent of Nigeria's total population. According to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), Kaduna had a population projection of 8,068,761 for 2015. The majority of the inhabitants of Kaduna lives and depends on the rural areas, with about a third of the State's population located in the two major urban centres of Kaduna and Zaria. There is a sizeable seasonal labour force migration in the state.

Kaduna is a metropolitan as well as a cosmopolitan industrialized state with over 80 commercial and manufacturing industries. However, industrial growth had declined since mid-1980s as a result of structural adjustment and recently due to new security challenges. Agriculture is the main stay of the economy of Kaduna with over 50 percent of the people actively engaged in farming cash and food crops, and animal husbandry.

Kaduna is mostly populated by Hausa, but there are many other ethnic groups and as many as fifty-seven languages are spoken in the State. Kaduna is divided into a predominantly Muslim northern part, and a predominantly Christian southern part. A small number of traditional religions are also present in the state.

B. Electoral and Political Background

From 1999 when the Fourth Republic commenced till date, Kaduna has been a stronghold of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) at the gubernatorial level. The current Vice President of Nigeria is from Kaduna and was a governor of the state from May 2007 to May 2010. The incumbent governor Mukhtar Ramalan Yero (PDP) was sworn in in 2012 after his predecessor, Patrick Ibrahim Yakowa died in a helicopter crash.

C. Political Parties, Candidates, and Elite Alliances

The prominent political parties in Kaduna are the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC). Though other political parties such as the Labour Party (LP) are present, they are not strong contenders in the politics of the State. The PDP has a majority in the State House of Assembly. At the federal level, two of the three Senators - representing Kaduna North Senatorial District and Kaduna South Senatorial District are from the PDP, while the third - representing Kaduna Central Senatorial District is from the APC. Of the 16 members of the House of Representatives from Kaduna, eight belong to PDP, and eight to APC.

The incumbent Governor **Mukhtar Ramalan Yero (PDP)** has indicated his interest in contesting for the position of Governor in the 2015 elections. He is relying on incumbency and the political influence of the Vice President of Nigeria, Namadi Sambo, who is currently supporting him.

The main gubernatorial contender from the **APC** is **Nasir El-Rufai**. Nasir Ahmad el-Rufai was a former Director General of the Bureau of Public Enterprises and Minister of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja from 2003 till 2007. Nasir el-Rufai, who hails from Zaria, is said to be the favoured candidate of General Muhammdu Buhari. However, El-Rufai is believed to have more influence in national politics than at the State and grassroots levels. He is said to have the support of the Christian populations of the southern part of Kaduna.

The other strong contender under the **APC** is **Hon. Ashiru Isa Mohammed Kudan**, present Vice-Chairman of the Appropriation Committee of the House of Representatives. Mr. Kudan, who recently decamped from the PDP to the APC, has the support of Senator Ahmed Makarfi. Mr. Kudan is believed to be a popular grassroots politician.

The **Labour Party's** gubernatorial candidate appears to be the Former Deputy Governor of the State, **James Bawa Magaji**, a Christian from the southern part of the State. Mr. Magaji has recently decamped from APC to the Labour party. Interlocutors have suggested that if the two main parties (PDP and APC) will not agree on a candidature from southern Kaduna, Mr. Magaji will get the support of voters from that area. At present, the Southern Kaduna People's Union (SOKAPU), an umbrella body of the entire southern Kaduna people campaign for a southern Kaduna person to emerge as the governor in 2015.

D. Power Brokers

Namadi Sambo (PDP), Vice President of Nigeria, Governor of Kaduna from 2007 to 2010. He is believed to be a major power broker in PDP structures. However his influence has decreased after the ward and local government from where he originates came under the control of the opposition APC.

Ahmed Makarfi (PDP) is the former governor of Kaduna from 1999 till 2007, and was a member of the Nigerian Senate from 2007 to present, representing Kaduna North Senatorial District. Makarfi has loyalists at the PDP state level, and is also popular in the grassroots. Presently there is significant animosity between Namadi Sambo and Ahmed Makarfi, which could affect PDP's bid for the governorship position and create tensions. Numerous loyalists of Mr. Makarfi have recently decamped to APC.

Muhammadu Buhari (APC) former military Head of State in the 1980s, national leader of the APC. General Buhari was one of the presidential aspirants under the platform of the CPC, having contested in the presidential elections in 2003 and 2007 under the defunct All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), and in 2011 under the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). Although from Katsina State, Buhari resides in Kaduna and is influential in APC politics in Kaduna.

Shehu Idris, Emir of Zazzau, is one of the key traditional rulers with influence in the politics of Kaduna. He is the traditional ruler of Zaria, from where the two major contenders for the governor position come from: Ramalan Yero (PDP) and Nasir el-Rufai (APC). In April 2014 the Emir turbaned Governor Ramalan Yaro as the Dallatun Zazzau, a title which amongst other things, makes the Governor part of the Emir's cabinet. It is widely understood that the Governor's chieftaincy title will boost his political fortunes in the 2015 gubernatorial elections.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

Kaduna has witnessed about four major ethno-religious crises since 1999 and 2014 with that of 2011 being the most devastating due to the high number of casualties recorded. Allegedly more than 4,000 people were reportedly killed and 50,000 were displaced following the riots that ensued from the perceived manoeuvring of the results of the 2011 general elections by the PDP. These incidences have led to the exodus of people along ethno-religious lines from the northern to southern axes of the city thus dividing the city, with the northern axis being predominantly Muslim, and the southern axis being predominantly Christian. This situation has further exacerbated existent suspicion between Christians and Muslims in the State. Between 2013 and the 2014, there have been several clashes between locals, mostly in the southern part of the State, with Fulani herdsmen and unidentified attackers that usually left scores dead, properties destroyed, and cattle rustled.

In July 2014, there were two bomb blasts in Kaduna targeting Muhammadu Buhari and an Islamic cleric, Sheikh Dahiru Bauchi. The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) in December 2013 concluded that Kaduna would witness election violence in 2015, which would be worse than the 2011 post-election crisis if preventive measures are not taken. A cross-section of Kaduna residents (indigenes and non-indigenes) when spoken to, gave a general impression of expecting violence free general elections in 2015. A businessman resident of Kaduna from the South-East for example, stated that he did not perceive the need to move his family out of the State ahead of the 2015 elections.

Presently, security measures are being put in place to prevent violence. There is enhanced security awareness raising campaigns by the government and security agencies, calling for peaceful conduct of voters and supporters during the 2015 elections.

B. Perceptions on Security Forces

There are conflicting perceptions on the role of security forces in the upcoming elections. A cross-section of the public is of the view that there should be increased presence of security personnel during the elections to ensure the security of their lives and properties. The PDP led government in Kaduna is also canvassing for increased military and security to ensure elections free of violence. The APC on the contrary, citing Ekiti as a reference, alleges that the PDP plans to use the security agencies to intimidate the electorates, suppress the opposition, and rig the elections.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Based on our checks and interaction with stakeholders, there is currently existing complaint or petition in court or before any political institution or organ as pertaining to voter registration, campaign, and media coverage in the state.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

In 2011 INEC figures indicated that there were 3,565,762 registered voters in Kaduna. According to the 2014 figures, Kaduna has 3,743,815 spread across 4607 polling units. INEC had

proposed to create 2,878 new polling units in Kaduna, increasing its total number of units to 7,485, but the INEC shelved the proposal.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

The APC is accusing the PDP of systematically trying to use the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to disenfranchise people via the non-issuance of permanent voter registration cards and poor continuous voter registration. The issuance of permanent voter registration cards, which had been scheduled to commence in Kaduna on 7 November 2014, was postponed to 28-30 November 2014, while the Continuous Voter Registration was also shifted from 13 November 2014 to 3-8 December 2014. The APC argues that these postponements are calculated to favour the PDP.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

The activities of CSOs in Kaduna have been characterized by a mixture of vibrancy and dependency. On the one hand, there are groups that are independent, vibrant and highly professional—for instance, the *Human Rights Monitor*, *Civil Rights Congress* and *Network for Justice*. These organizations have established precedence of “talking truth to power”. They operate independently of government bureaucracy, stay clear of power politics and draw funding from international donors and local sources (such as membership dues). They will be a force to reckon with in terms of independent election monitoring and conformity with electoral rules. On the other hand, there are groups that are subservient to the government, such as *Yero for Change* and *Yero Youth Forum*. These organizations are known to be on the payroll of the government to better the chances of the incumbent Governor in the 2015 elections.

Aside, there are sectarian organizations whose postures are well known but their eventual political leaning may become more apparent as the election process progresses. Ethnic/communal organizations such as—*Northern Elders Forum* and *Arewa Consultative Forum* will support northern candidates and northern interests. SOKAPU will support the interest of Southern Kaduna people. Similarly, *Jamatul Nasril Islam* (JNI the Umbrella Muslim Union in Nigeria) and the *Christian Association of Nigeria* (CAN) may likely follow religious causes. But these later organisations (JNI, CAN) are likely to demonstrate their political leanings clandestinely, so as not to diminish their pan-national and universal credentials.

B. Media Outlets

Kaduna has the highest concentration of media houses in northern Nigeria. Most national print and electronic media have established their regional offices in Kaduna city, while others are original to the State. Amongst the print media with regional offices in Kaduna include *Daily/Weekly Trust* (and its Hausa subsidiary *Aminiya*), *Leadership*, *Independent*, *Punch* and *The Nation*. On the other hand, electronic media such as *AIT*, *Silverbird*, and *Channels* have offices in the State Capital. Among the print media that are local to the state are *Desert Herald* and *Power Steering*—these two newspapers are known for being anti-government, and for their ability to consistently publish controversial stories and host angry columns.

Radio is a major medium for public enlightenment and political education in Kaduna, especially amongst the masses. Amongst the elites, television remains the key source of news. Apart from the *Kaduna Television* and *Nigerian Television Authority* (NTA), there are a number of Radio

Stations in the state - *Freedom Radio, Amana Radio, Alheri Radio, Liberty Radio* and *Radio NTI* (National Teachers Institute) among others. Though the government owns most TV houses, a number of radio stations (such as *Alheri Radio*) are privately owned and have proved to be independent.

C. Gender Relations

In Kaduna, women are among the most marginalized social groups in all aspects of governance. Women are active as party supporters and presidents of the “Women Wing” or “Gender Division” of the active political parties. However such roles are usually symbolic, and are aimed at political correctness and fulfilling the all-righteousness of “affirmative action”. In reality, women are denied the right to contest key elective positions, and even where they express interest they are often scared away or out-maneuvered. In spite of this, several women have broken from the iron ceiling and established their own niche in the state. A key example is Senator Nenadi Esther Usman, representing Southern Kaduna Senatorial District under the platform of PDP.

3. KANO THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Kano is the most populous state of Nigeria, and according to the 2006 census it has a population of 9,383,682 inhabitants. Kano is largely Muslim, and the majority of Kano Muslims are Sunni.

Kano city is the country’s second most populous and a centre of commerce in Northern Nigeria. It has been a trading and commercial centre from the days of the Trans Saharan Route across the desert linking it with North Africa. It is an industrial centre with factories around Sharada and Bompai areas. Most of these factories have closed down due to the escalating cost of production amid unhealthy competition with the influx of cheap imported goods. The current violence associated with the Boko Haram insurgency has also had adverse effect on commercial activities. Kwari market, the textile trade centre for Northern Nigeria which used to have traders from Niger and Cameroun has lost half of its trading activities due to fear of sporadic violence.

B. Power Brokers

The power brokers are drawn from the two dominant political parties. They are quite influential and often decide those who contest for which positions in the parties. Among them are:

Rabi'u Kwankwaso (APC), the current governor of Kano is currently seeking nomination to become the presidential or vice-presidential candidate of APC. If Mr. Kwankwaso does not succeed with his nomination, he will become a major power broker in Kano and Northern Nigeria the way Bola Ahmed Tinubu (former Governor of Lagos) is for Lagos and the South West region.

Ibrahim Shekarau (PDP) is a former Governor and current Minister of Education. Mr. Shekarau was the presidential candidate of All Nigeria People’s Party (ANPP) in the 2011 election. He was for a short while member of All Progress Congress (APC) after the ANPP merged with other parties to form APC. However when the current governor Rabi'u Kwankwaso joined APC, Mr. Shekarau decamped to PDP.

Other power brokers are: **Sule Hamma** (APC) former Secretary to the Government and the Director General of The Buhari Campaign Organisation TBO, **Aminu Wali** (PDP) former Ambassador and current Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Musa Gwadabe** (APC) former Minister of Labour and Productivity and said to be the main supporter of Governor Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso.

C. Traditional and Religious Institutions

The **Emir of Kano** occupies a powerful position that commands respect within the hierarchy of traditional institutions. The current Emir of Kano Malam Sanusi Lamido Sanusi was appointed in June 2014. He was the immediate past Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Lamido Sanusi, and was appointed the 57th Emir of Kano amidst controversy and allegation of manipulation of the rules of traditional succession by the Kingmakers. Riots and protests followed his appointment. Allegedly, Emir Sanusi is not on good terms with President Jonathan following his removal as the Central Bank Governor after he disclosed that some \$20 billion dollars was missing from the government account.³

The religious institution in Kano is also an influential political actor. The ancient city of Kano is the seat of leadership of the two powerful Islamic Sufi brotherhoods (*tariqa*). Sheikh Isiyaka Rabi'u, a wealthy merchant, leads the *Tijaniyyah*, while Sheikh Karibullah Nasiru Kabara is the religious leader of the *Kadiryyah*. The two are important community leaders and their sermons often touch on issues of national importance. There are also others like Sheikh Dahiru Usman Bauchi a *tijaniyyah* and Dr. Ahmed Mahmud Gummi, leader of Jammaa Izalatul Bidia Wa Ikamatus Sunnah (JIBWIS). Their influence pervades all of Northern Nigeria. Two separate but unsuccessful attempts to assassinate the two religious leaders were made at different times in Kaduna.⁴

D. Candidates and Elite Alliances

At present all stakeholders are waiting impatiently to find out who will have Rabi'u Kwankwaso's support to contest for Governor. A close aide to Mr. Kwankwaso claims that the incumbent governor feels compelled to support his Deputy **Abdullahi Umar Ganduje**, who has been with him for his two terms as Governor, and when Kwankwaso served as Minister of Defence. On the other hand, Mr. Kwankwaso would have liked to nominate a visionary young leader in office to continue his Kwankwasiyya⁵ political movement for the accelerated development of Kano.

In order to please the members of All Progressive Congress (APC), Governor Kwankwaso is said to have zoned key elective positions in Kano for each of the parties that came together to establish the APC.

³ *Vanguard*. "Sanusi Lamido is sacrificed but \$20bn is still missing" (27 Feb 2014). Online. <<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/02/sanusi-lamido-sacrificed-20bn-still-missing/#sthash.cbxHLugm.dpuf>>.

⁴ *Daily Trust*. "How Dahiru Bauchi narrowly escaped death twice in Kaduna" (27 Jul 2014). Online. <<http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/sunday/index.php/top-stories/17672-how-dahiru-bauchi-narrowly-escaped-death-twice-in-kaduna>>.

⁵ Members of the Kwankwasiyya group are reformists led by Rabi'u Kwankwaso and his think tank, and are distinguished by the red caps men wear and red veils for women.

Other major candidates for the governorship and other positions are:

Abdullahi Tijjani Muhammad Gwarzo (APC), known as Ruwa Baba, former Deputy Governor, three times Local Government Chairman. He is a grass roots mobiliser and current Interim Party Chairman of the APC

Kawu Sumaila (APC), a member of the House of Representative under APC. He is perceived as a staunch opponent and critic of Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso. He is believed to have his eye on being the Deputy Governor to Current Deputy Governor Ganduje if he wins the party primary.

Muazu Magaji Dawakin Tofa (APC) is a former Coordinator of Subsidy Re-investment and Empowerment Programme (SURE-P) and a youth mobiliser. Mr. Muazu is at the head of the movement known as Friends of Kano Development Initiative (FOKADI). The movement currently has 1.2 million young persons registered under it. The members are linked to all polling units across the State, Local Governments, and wards.

Sagir Takai (PDP) was a Commissioner under Governor Ibrahim Shekarau and governorship candidate in the 2011 election where he contested governorship position under ANPP against Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso and lost by a narrow margin. He has decamped with Governor Shekarau from ANPP to PDP.

Mohammed Abacha (PDP) has decamped from PDP to CPC to contest governorship election in 2011. He has recently again moved back to PDP and plans to contest for Governorship election again. He is the son of the late military Head of State General Sani Abacha.

E. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

There is very little political campaign in Kano, as candidates will be decided through primaries held in December. However, compared to campaigns witnessed in the past, this campaign is less colourful. That is mainly because the governor prohibited the use of political posters (cheaper and more accessible) and encourages the use of billboards (more expensive and found in a smaller number).

It is expected that there will not be many campaign rallies for security reasons. The electoral campaign is expected to move to the media, especially to local radio stations, which have a huge listening audience and are a cheaper means of campaign.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

The security agencies present on ground are the Police, State Security operatives, DSS, Military, National Security, and Civil Defence Corps. The general perception of the police and other security agencies is negative; they are seen as a contributory factor to a lower participation during election. Their presence during elections has been seen as a threat, regardless of the peaceful atmosphere normally experienced in the conduct of election in the state.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

The key conflict issues identified by stakeholders interviewed are:

- ◆ Disagreements among politicians over outcome of primaries

- ◆ Inability to arrive at consensus candidates, which may lead to last minute carpet crossing
- ◆ Threats of election rigging
- ◆ Double registration and under aged voters
- ◆ Electoral fraud
- ◆ Inadequate preparations by the electoral commission
- ◆ Apparent bias by security agencies for the ruling party
- ◆ Inappropriate actions of security agents.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

A. Electoral Dispute Resolution

Based on our checks and interaction with stakeholders, there is no any subsisting complaint or petition in court or before any political institution or organ as pertained to voters registration, campaign and media coverage in the state. Party nomination is a process that is on-going.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

The Kano Resident Electoral Commissioner is Alhaji Abdullahi Nayaya. He is a native of Niger State and is newly posted to Kano.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

Civil Society Organizations from Kano had the following criticism regarding the distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVC) and the Continuous Voter Registration (CVR) operations:

- ◆ During the 2010 exercise 4,864,395 voters were registered. However, INEC sent only 2,755,952 PVCs for distribution in Kano. NGOs stated that they were still waiting for INEC to account for the remaining 2,108,443 PVC not yet distributed.
- ◆ The period allocated for both PVC distribution and CVR was insufficient.
- ◆ There were numerous cases of absenteeism and late arrival of INEC officials at many of the PVC distribution Centres throughout the state.
- ◆ According to the civil society, CVR in Kano was characterized by lack of coordination, insecurity, chaos brought about by avoidable congestion and overcrowding. This resulted in harassment of INEC personnel and disruptions of the operations.
- ◆ CVR staff and logistics were insufficient and inadequate for the operation, CVR teams lacking extra generators to guarantee constant computer battery charge.
- ◆ The insufficient number of security personnel caused disruptions and theft of material.

Kano Civil Society Forum sent a petition to INEC, which captured these complaints.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

Human Rights and Civil society organizations are organizing Voter education and mandate protection activities. The Nigeria Union of Journalists NUJ, Nigeria Association of Women Journalists NAWOJ WRAPA, Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria FOMWAN, Network for Justice, FOMWAN, International Federation of Women Lawyers FIDA and other CSOs have already commenced voter education training through town hall meetings on nonviolent participation in elections. Other activities include campaigns such as "Reclaim Naija", "Enough is enough", "Vote no be Fight", and many more are underway as elections draw nearer. Other CSOs such as BBC media action, Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) are planning activities.

B. Media Outlets

The radio is the most popular form of media in Kano and it reaches millions of people in both urban and rural areas. Most politicians target radio for their campaign. The major media outlets in Kano are government owned Radio Kano, FM express, Freedom Radio owned by Former Minister of Interior Alhaji Bashir Dalhatu (PDP), Pyramid Radio (privately owned).

The television stations include NTA (owned by the Federal Government) and CTV Africa Independent Television AIT. The newspapers and magazines published and circulated nationwide have considerable number of readers in Kano Among them are *Guardian*, *Punch*, *Vanguard* and *The Nation*. The most widely read newspaper is *Daily Trust*.

C. Gender Relations

The administration of Governor Kwankwaso has appointed women as Commissioners. Kano, like many states in the Northwest has no female representatives at the federal and state legislative houses. Currently, there are only four women who have been recorded as APC aspirants No visible effort is recorded at gender mainstreaming. Most of the political parties (the APC in particular) made a commitment to promote affirmative action of getting 30 percent of women into party structure and elective positions in line with the country's Gender Policy. However none of them have a policy in place to implement this objective. The only position reserved for women is the position of Woman Leader in all the parties. Forms for candidacy in elective offices are free of charge for women. Civil Society Organizations active on the ground are: Women Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative WRAPA, Voices for Change, States Accountability Voices Initiative, SAVI, CITAD, and GSI.

4. KATSINA STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

The state is composed of two emirates, Katsina and Daura, and comprises three senatorial zones, namely Katsina, Daura and Funtua. Over 60 percent of the population lives in the rural areas where their main occupation is farming and animal husbandry. The main ethnic groups are Hausa and Fulani, with pockets of other Nigerian ethnic groups living in the state. The major

religion of the people is Islam, though there are few indigenous people of the state that are Christians.

Since the return to democratic regime in 1999 until 2013, the parties holding power in Katsina state have been People's Democratic Party (PDP), former All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). In 2011 the CPC swept all the three senatorial seats and 13 out of the 15 seats in the lower house in 2011 but ironically lost that year's governorship race. Many attributed this defeat to the internal disputes in the CPC and defections from CPC to PDP.

Since 1999, Katsina Zone has been the dominant zone in state politics, producing the two civilian governors. However the other zones are not actively asking for a power shift, as the political competition is focused on personalities rather than the zone they come from.

B. Political Parties, Candidates, and Elite Alliances

The most visible political parties in the state are as follows:

- ◆ **People's Democratic Party (PDP):** The chairperson of the PDP in Katsina is Rabi'u Gambo Bakori. He was the Director National Orientation Agency in the state before his emergence as the chairperson.
- ◆ **All Progressive Congress (APC):** The chairperson of the APC in Katsina is Dr Mustapha Inuwa. He was formerly with the PDP and was the state Commissioner of education and later Secretary to the state government during the tenure of late Umaru Musa Yar'adua as the state governor.
- ◆ **People's Democratic Movement (PDM):** Members are a CPC constituted faction that felt betrayed by the national leadership of the CPC when they were denied the party's governorship ticket in 2011. The chairman of the party in Katsina is Dr. Yusha'u Armaya'u, a medical doctor. He is a former chair of the CPC.

The emirs of Katsina and Daura Alhaji Abdulmumini Kabir Usman and Alhaji Umar Farouk Umar respectively command respect among the people and the political leadership. The two major religious sects, the Izala Movement and the Dharika Group also enjoy a lot of followership and therefore exercise an important influence on the voting behaviour of the people.

C. Party Candidates

Within the PDP and the APC there are fears that some aspirants are more favoured than others. In the ruling party (PDP) there are aspirants that the state governor anointed and are expected become the party's nominees. This is due to the control the governor is said to have on the delegates of the party that will vote during the state party primaries. Within the APC there is also the general belief that certain aspirants enjoy the support of the party leadership in the state. If these allegations are true, the imposed nominations may aggravate the already tensed political atmosphere.

D. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

The most visible and active parties in the state are PDP, APC and PDM. The campaigns for the primaries are more pronounced among the opposition. The campaigns take the form of car tours, the use of out of the outdoor media such as billboards and posters and mass-media

campaign with jingles, spot announcements, discussions and phone-in programs on radio and TV, sponsored articles and advertorials in the widely read dailies. Financing of these campaign largely come from the aspirant themselves. The funds usually come from friends, colleagues, political associates, etc.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

The state is relatively a peaceful state and has enjoyed long years of peaceful coexistence among its people. However lately there are reported cases of cattle rustlers and attacks in Faskari LGA and more recently in Jibiya and Batsari LGAs of the state. In what concerns the elections, the major source of concern is the use of thugs in the campaign activities and the use of hate speeches. Recently there was a clash between a PDP adherent and a member of the opposition during a campaign tour, which led to the death of the PDP adherent.

The speech that the Governor of Katsina made at the beginning of November, during which he referred to the opposition as cockroaches to be crushed, has added to tensions in the political campaign.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

The sources of security risks in the state largely will emanate from the political parties, inter-party political contestations, aggrieved contestants and negative reactions to the permanent voter cards distribution operations.

C. Perceptions of Security Forces

The leaderships of the opposition parties and sections of the civil society organizations in the state interviewed share the view that the police is only an agent of the ruling party PDP. They do not have confidence that the police and other security operatives in the state will be fair and just in accomplishing their role.

The parties' leadership provided specific instances of bias and breach of human rights by the police. The PDM chair for example complained that he asked to meet the Commissioner of Police twice in his capacity as an opposition leader in the state but was denied access to him. The APC chair also complained that the police did not permit the organization of a rally to raise awareness on the distribution of PVC cards.

Umar Abdullahi Tsauri (PDP) complained that police denied him the authorization to organize a rally announcing his candidacy for the governorship position. When he organized the event without official authorization, his followers were denied entry to the venue and were tear gassed by the police. The aspirant petitioned the national headquarters of the party in Abuja and President Jonathan over the matter.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Umar Abdullahi Tsauri (Tata) a PDP gubernatorial aspirant filed a case against the state police for the infringement of his rights. This issue will be followed in next reports.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

The current Resident Electoral Commissioner in the state is Alhaji Abubakar Umar Wara from Kebbi State.

The opposition parties and most of the civil society organizations perceive INEC as an organ of the ruling party, PDP. Stakeholders doubt the neutrality of INEC in the conduct of the election. The Local Government Electoral Officers are also believed to be partial and to work with PDP Local Government Chairmen to defraud the opposition parties.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

The PVC exercise has not started in Katsina State and is scheduled for 28-30 November 2014. There are stakeholders who feel that the three days allocated for the PVC distribution will not be enough for the operations. There are already calls for the extension of the period for PVC distribution. Others consider that the short period allocated to this operation is an expression of the intention to disenfranchise the electorate especially in the North of Nigeria.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

All the stakeholders have embarked into a strong civic voter education campaign in Katsina state. The various media outlets in the states provide free airtime to civil society organizations for various awareness programmes on the importance of PVC. In addition, the CSOs organised town hall meetings and produced leaflets in order to sensitize the electorate. Other stakeholders such as NOA, INEC, and the political parties also engaged in campaigns to educate the electorate.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

The civil society organisation of Katsina state is organized in a civil society coalition organisation. This coalition is working on voter education programmes in the states. Other important stakeholders in Katsina state are the mosques and the churches.

B. Media Outlets

There is presence of both print and broadcast media in the state. The most widely read dailies are the Trust Newspapers, the People's Daily and the Leadership Newspapers.

The main stations present in Katsina are NTA Katsina NTA Channel 7&8 in Daura and Katsina, and Companion FM Radio (owned by the Federal Government), Katsina State Television and the Katsina State Radio (owned the State Government) and Ray Power Radio and AIT television (privately owned).

The government owned media there do not insure a balance of representation of all the political parties in the state. The opposition is complaining that they are denied access especially to state government owned media stations, and that the federal government stations are favourable to the PDP. The only outlets available for the opposition for campaigning are the private media.

C. Gender Relations

Most stakeholders consider the representation of women in state politics as inadequate. Women leaders of all the parties which were interviewed, arrived at three key factors that hinder women participation in politics in the state: cultural/religious factors; economic factors; the dominance of the political space by men. In order to facilitate women participation all the political parties in the state made all nomination forms free of charge to women.

CHAPTER 2: South-West Geopolitical Zone

1. LAGOS STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Lagos was created on 27 May 1967. Though the smallest state by territory, 20-25 percent of the country's GDP is generated. The actual population total is disputed between the official Nigerian Census of 2006, and a much higher figure claimed by the Lagos Government⁶. The significant economic, commercial and political developments led to phenomenal population explosion and made Lagos the fastest growing city in Nigeria. The explosion brought along a number of challenges such as urban crime control, the Area Boys syndrome or poverty levels for lower classes. In an effort to reduce massive urbanization in the metropolitan area, the Federal Government officially moved the political capital of Nigeria to Abuja in 1991. Lagos is made of five administrative divisions, namely: Ikeja, Badagry, Ikorodu, Lagos (Eko) and Epe, collectively referred to as IBILE. The divisions, created in 1968, are further divided into 20 Local Government Areas and 37 Local Council Development Areas.

Lagos is essentially a Yoruba environment inhabited by its sub-groups of Aworis and Eguns in Ikeja and Badagry Divisions respectively. There is also other pioneer immigrant settlers Edos, Saros, Brazilians, Kannike/Tapa collectively called 'Lagosians' but more appropriately referred to as the Ekos. For Ikorodu and Epe Divisions, the local populations are mainly the Remos and Ijebus with pockets of Ek-o-Awori settlers along the entire state coastland and riverine areas. However, despite its Yoruba identity, the state is a global socio-cultural melting pot attracting both Nigerians and foreigners alike.

B. Political Parties, Candidates and Elite Alliances

The main parties in contention for gubernatorial and House of Assembly elections in Lagos are the ruling APC and the opposition PDP. An interesting dimension to the 2015 election in the state is that the incumbent governor, Babatunde Raji Fashola (BRF as he is popularly known) is serving his second and last constitutional term. This suggests that if any, the influence of incumbency factor will be at best minimal in the election.

In Lagos, kingmaker and APC National Leader, Senator Bola Ahmed Tinubu, and Senator Musiliu Obanikoro, who was recently appointed as Minister of State for Defence, are among those who will determine the way the pendulum will swing in the 'Centre of Excellence' as Lagos is called. For the APC, gubernatorial aspirants for the 2015 elections include Senator Ganiyu Solomon who presently represents Lagos West District in the Senate. He declared his ambition to vie for the 2015 governorship election almost a year ago. In 2007, former Lagos Governor, Bola Tinubu, opted out of the senatorial race and the ticket landed in Solomon's hands. Other aspirants who have not come out openly may have been relating to him as the number one rival. Solomon will be challenged by the House of Assembly Speaker, Adeyemi Ikuforiji, Dr. Obafemi Hamzat; Akin Ambode, Dr. Leke Pitan; Femi Gbajabiamila, and Senator Gbenga Ashafa, if they join the race.

⁶ Lagos maintains that its population is not less than 17, 553,924 (see The Guardian, 22/7/2009)

For the PDP, the new *decampee* from APC, Jimi Agbaje is one the main contenders for the race. Others are Adedeji Doherty, a former South-West PDP organizing Secretary; Owolabi Salis, a lawyer and accountant; Babatunde Olalere Gbadamosi, an entrepreneur, tax and property consultant; Dominic Adegbola, a medical practitioner; and Ade Dosunmu; and Musiliu Obanikoro, former Minister of State for Defence.

In terms of pressure groups and political alignments towards the 2015 gubernatorial polls in the state, a new twist was recently introduced when politicians of Igbo extraction in the state started to lobby for the deputy governorship slot in exchange for their support for any of the major political parties in the 2015 governorship election in the state. This development is likely to be factored in by political parties in their choice of flag bearers.

C. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

APC, PDP and to a lesser extent the Labour Party (LP) and the Accord Party (AP) are the most visible and active political parties during the campaign period.

For the ruling APC, the main campaign messages concentrate around APC's achievements in security, health sector, education, human development, urban renewal and infrastructural development as well as governance issues. APC urges voters to keep the party in Lagos in power, despite Fashola's end of term to be able to sustain the level of performance he pioneered. APC prides with a record 125 percent budget performance in the state in 2013; and how 70 percent of its budget is being funded with taxes.

As for PDP, the strategy is to disqualify and criticize all the above mentioned achievements of the Fashola government. PDP claims, the APC rule has been masses and poor unfriendly, it has failed to provide for lower classes and their policies have been corrupt, aggressive and inhumane. Chairman, Lagos chapter of the PDP, Chief Tunji Shelle recently said that the party is ready to take over the state from the APC in the 2015 election.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

As the 2015 general elections approach there are palpable fears over the security of life and property all over the state. The large population in the state has earned Lagos the status of volatility and though Fashola's administration has attempted to minimize the 'Area Boys' syndrome and made the urban life relatively safe, election campaigns and crowds may constitute security threats.

The every-day animosities between the two main parties APC and PDP escalated on 22 November 2014 when operatives of the Department of State Service (DSS) and soldiers attached to the security unit code-named operation MESA stormed APC data centre in Lagos and arrested 25 data agents and three security guards. The DSS acted on a tip-off that the centre was allegedly being used as a warehouse by a former governor of Lagos, Bola Tinubu, to produce and issue fake permanent voters cards. Another version had it that weapons were being kept at the centre. APC national publicity secretary Lai Mohammed declared that the act was part of a ploy by the PDP-led federal government to intimidate the APC ahead of the 2015 elections and described it as the worst political scandal in Nigeria comparing it to the Watergate scandal in the USA.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

Long-standing ethno-religious sentiments are likely to characterise the 2015 polls in Lagos. Members of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) were reported to be angling for a Christian candidate to succeed the outgoing governor of the state Babatunde Raji Fashola, claiming there has been more Muslims governing the state than Christians. If a Muslim should become a flag bearer for the governorship position, they would mobilise their members not to vote for APC.

Another issue likely to raise the political temperature in the state are the parties' state congresses. The party primaries and nomination process are expected any moment from now and the political scenario is more and more unpredictable. The pre-nomination period is characterized by massive floor-crossing in between the two main contending parties, depending on the promised benefits and availability of positions.

The issue of voter registration and distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) by INEC has constituted a source of concern for the citizens of the state.

The insurgency in the North-East of Nigeria has provoked an influx of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) to safe havens like the South-West and Lagos in particular. Due to Nigeria's porous borders, some illegal aliens from West Africa such as Benin Republic, Togo, and Ghana have been known to enter Nigeria illegally. These immigrants are sometimes involved in trans-border crimes such as smuggling of food items, vehicles and even small arms. The smuggled arms and ammunitions are sometimes bought by politicians to arm their thugs. Lagos, Ogun and Oyo share border with Benin Republic. Within the country, the act of bussing supporters from one state to another to shore up their support base during elections can cause violence.

Activities of a number of non-state security outfits operating in the South-West, particularly Lagos, such as the Oodua People's Congress (OPC), which also provides private security guards in many communities in the state also needs special attention.

3) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

The Lagos INEC Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) is Dr. Adekunle Ogunmola. Though the independence and neutrality of Lagos REC has never been put in doubt till now, the seemingly poor handling of the PVC distribution by INEC has elicited reactions from various stakeholders and the public claiming the exercise disenfranchises eligible voters. The former Governor of the state, Senator Bola Tinubu has alleged that the PDP and the INEC have "merged" to ensure that his party, the APC, does not retain power in Lagos in 2015. The PVC distribution added another dimension to the ongoing APC-PDP rivalry in the state.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

The CVR process and the distribution of PVCs in Lagos have become so far, the most controversial issue with respect to the upcoming elections. The main contention is the likelihood of disenfranchising a large number of eligible voters in the state. For example, incumbent Governor Raji Fashola was unable to collect his PVC due to delays in distribution. If the PVC distribution process is not improved, the risk of disenfranchisement could have serious implications for genuine and credible elections in 2015.

The PVC distribution for Lagos was scheduled to take place between 7 and 9 November 2014, with the subsequent CVR process intended for the period from 12 to 17 November. However, the PVC distribution took place only in 11⁷ out of the total number of 20 LGAs; while voters in the remaining 9⁸ LGAs can collect their cards from 28 to 30 November, with the CVR exercise conducted from 3 to 8 December. The exercise in the 11 LGAs failed to commence as planned due to, on the one hand late arrival of necessary materials from INEC at the national level, on the other hand due to numerous irregularities identified in the voter register such as duplication of names, missing names, wrongly spelt names and others. The logistical challenges led the Lagos Governor to extend by one day the issuance of PVC and to declare it a work-free day to enable public servants to collect their voter cards. Governor Fashola, together with the INEC REC, both expressed their disappointment with the postponement of distribution of PVC in the most populous state.

An additional concern is the drop in the number of registered voters from around 6 million to 4.6 million in Lagos. The difference of 1.4 million voters from the 2011 register not able to find their names in the voter register has not been adequately and satisfactorily explained by INEC.

The events raised waves of protest in Lagos and initiated nationwide discussions concerning the capacity of INEC to conduct the 2015 elections. APC skilfully used the events to accuse INEC of being pro-government, trying to disenfranchise voters in Lagos, the APC main stronghold.

4) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

There are no court cases related to elections at this time.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

A number of civil society organizations, such as Vote for Service Initiative or Movement for Democratic Change have monitored the PVC distribution in Lagos, and criticized INEC for not being adequately prepared to conduct the exercise.

On the other hand, INEC both at state and national levels received support from the traditional state institutions when Oba Rilwan Akiolu ensured INEC of the support of the traditional Lagos leaders. The traditional leader commended the INEC leadership for recognizing the important role of traditional rulers for effective sensitisation of the people on election matters. The Oba tasked residents of the state to ensure that they participate fully in the PVC exercise.

Activities of some non-state actors in Lagos, such the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) need special attention as they could be easily used by the government of the day as an instrument for electoral manipulation during the polls.

B. Media Outlets

While newspapers may have a rather restricted coverage, being accessible mostly to the elites, radio and television are considered crucial means of information dissemination. Social media is

⁷ Agege, Ajeromi-Ifelodun, Ibeju-Lekki, Ifako-Ijaiye, Ikeja, Ikorodu, Kosofe, Lagos Island, Lagos Mainland, Mushin, and Ojo

⁸ Alimosho, Amuwo-Odofin, Apapa, Badagry, Epe, Oshodi0-Isolo, Shomolu, Surulere and Eti-Osa

gaining more popularity, especially with young elites.

All the national dailies, including *Nigerian Tribune*, *The Guardian*, *The Punch*, *The Nation*, *The Sun*, *The Vanguard*, *This Day*, *The Pilot*, and *Daily Trust* are easily accessible in Lagos. In addition, Lagos is home to numerous newspapers published in local languages. These are owned mostly by private individuals of diverse geopolitical and ethnic backgrounds.

C. Gender Relations

Ahead of the 2015 elections, the major political parties, PDP and APC have fixed the cost of both Expression of Interest and Nomination forms for those aspiring to political office of between N800,000 and N27 million. The parties are however said to have waived the fees for female aspirants.

2. OSUN STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Osun state, with its political and administrative capital at Osogbo, came into existence on August 27, 1991. The state is made up of only one ethnic group, Yoruba, with sub-ethnic divisions such as the Ife, Ijesha, Osun and Igbomina. The 2006 National Population Census puts the population at 3,416,959. For political and administrative purposes, the state is divided into 30 local governments, three Senatorial Districts (Osun Central, Osun East and Osun West) and six Federal Constituencies.

Osun is largely urban, with several major cities, each one surrounded by a string of villages inhabited mostly by farmers and other rural dwellers. In terms of religious composition, Osun has large adherents of Islam, Christianity and traditional religions. Although the 2006 census data deliberately omitted religion, it is clear that there are more Muslims than Christians and practitioners of other local religions.

Osun State is generally peaceful and almost violence free. However, it also faces a problem that is common to virtually all the states in the federation: youth under-employment. This is a sure trigger for electoral as well as communal violence and insecurity. Osun is host to a number of tertiary institutions (universities, polytechnics and colleges of education) with a large pool of politically conscious and radicalized youths who can be expected to vent their anger and disgust, especially if there are suspicions of any sort of electoral malfeasance.

B. Political Parties, Candidates and Elite Alliances

The state will not hold governorship election in 2015 since one was held recently in August 2014. As of the moment, the political parties have yet to come up with their nominees to contest for the three Senatorial seats, six Federal Constituencies, and 26 State House of Assembly seats.

Of all the registered political parties, only the APC and PDP are dominant, while most others barely register their presence in the state. The results of the August 2014 governorship election demonstrate this very clearly. For example, while the incumbent Rauf Aregbesola from the APC won 394,684 votes vying for his second term, the PDP came second with 292,747 votes and the Labour Party (LP) was a distant third with only 8,898 votes. The PDP candidate, Otunba Iyiola Omosire, has challenged the election results in the Election Petitions Tribunal. The pending case

and the contest between these two are likely to impact upon the fate of the 2015 general elections in the state.

Key power brokers in the state include, from the APC: the incumbent Governor Rauf Aregbesola, former governor Isaak Adel eke, APC State Chairman Prince Bodega Famous, former Chief of Staff, Dr. Peter Badalona, former governor Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola, as well as incumbent Senators Hussein, Adeyeye and Omoworare. From the PDP it is its gubernatorial flag-bearer Senator Iyiola Omisore, PDP State Chairman Alhaji Ganiyu Olaoluwa, and former Speaker of the House of Assembly Hon. Adejare Bello. Aside from politicians, prominent and influential traditional rulers include the Oni of Ife, the Ataoja of Osogbo, Timi of Ede, Orangun of Ila, and the Ogiyan of Ejigbo.

Since the return of civilian rule in 1999, three elected civilian governors have ruled the state, namely: Chief Bisi Akande (AD) from Osun Central Senatorial District from 1999 to 2003; Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola (PDP) also from Osun Central Senatorial District from 2003 to 2011; and the incumbent Ogbeni Rauf Aregbesola (originally ACN but now APC) from Osun East Senatorial District from November 26, 2011 till date. The three Senatorial seats were held by the AD from 1999 to 2003, by the PDP for two terms from 2003 to 2011, and now by the APC from 2011 till date. Historically, large portions of the state have always been known to identify with left-leaning populist parties. Although the Osun West Senatorial District has not held the governorship since 1999, other appointive political offices such Chief of Staff, Secretary to Government, Commissioners and Advisers, are usually equitably shared among the three areas.

C. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

Campaigns for the coming 2015 general elections have not yet fully commenced in the state. Generally, the APC and PDP remain the two most visible, resourced and electorally formidable parties in the state. The outcome of the August governorship election has shown the virtual electoral irrelevance of the other registered parties.

The mode of election campaigns typically consists of public rallies addressed by candidates and top party members, newspaper advertisements, television commercials, and radio jingles. These are now being complemented by the use of social media outlets, text messages, Facebook and Twitter, etc. to reach wider audiences.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

Security is deemed to be adequate within the state. There is also the general feeling among the populace that security has improved considerably since the present state government has been assisting the police with equipment and logistics for rapid response. All the security outfits in the state that are involved in election protection duties are federally owned and controlled.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

If anything, it is the outcome of the case before the election tribunal that has a capacity to spark violence and insecurity, more so since the two gubernatorial contestants represent distinct sub-ethnic divisions within the same Senatorial District, and each recorded substantial electoral victory in his locality.

C. Perceptions on Security Forces

Views concerning the performance of the police during elections are mixed. Generally, members of the ruling APC at the state level perceive the police and the DSS as partisan and serving the dictates of the ruling PDP. For example, there are complaints of physical harassment and intimidation of their leading members such as the APC National Publicity Secretary, Lai Mohammed and others who were arrested and detained briefly the night before the gubernatorial election. PDP on the other hand, claim that election-rigging, violence, intimidation and other electoral malpractices which they believe the ruling APC in the state is perpetrating, require the presence of security forces, especially the police and DSS personnel.

Other non-party members of the public are also divided in their perceptions. Though they regard provision of adequate security as instrumental to the conduct of free and fair elections, many complained that the deployment of all the security and intelligence services in such large numbers was rather intimidating and served as a disincentive for some to venture out to cast their votes.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Electoral Disputes: The only official complaint about election in the state was brought before the state election petition tribunal by Senator Iyiola Omisore, candidate of the PDP in the 9 August governorship election, challenging the election results. There were unsubstantiated complaints of unfair practices and violence during the voting exercise.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

Ambassador (Dr.) Rufus Akeju is the Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) for Osun state. Although no political affiliation has been concretely established against him, he was as far back as September 2013 accused of partisanship by the candidate of the PDP in the August 9, 2014 governorship election, Senator Iyiola Omisore, who also called for his removal on allegations he was personally close to APC national leader, Bola Ahmed Tinubu. The PDP State Chairman, Alhaji Ganiyu Olaoluwa even threatened a court action to force INEC Chairman to remove him. The APC, on the other hand observed that the allegations were baseless. The REC was subsequently in July 2014 asked by INEC to proceed on leave of absence before the gubernatorial election for the sake of his own security. He however remains the substantive REC although another REC was brought in temporarily for conducting the August governorship poll.

INEC's credibility has never been doubted by the generality of the populace, once the political controversy surrounding the REC had been resolved. The INEC distributed Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) in March 2014, well ahead of the August 9 governorship election, and the exercise was given wide publicity in the media. In all, stakeholders expressed satisfaction with INEC's preparations to conduct credible election.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

The state-wide distribution of PVCs was advertised well ahead of the commencement of the exercise. It took place across the state from 7 to 9 March 2014. Also, continuous voter registration for all those who attained the voting age of 18 years since the last general election in 2011 was conducted from Wednesday 12 to 17 March 2014. Both exercises went relatively freely and peacefully without incident.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

Apart from INEC, and the political parties themselves, other agencies and civil society organizations that took part in political education and voter sensitization activities for the 2014 governorship elections include the NLC, NBA, NUJ, CAN, and League of Imams. The residents of the state generally agreed that these organizations played active roles in political education.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

Most of the civil society and advocacy or pressure groups in the state are branches of such national groups. Professional bodies such as the NBA, NUJ, NUT, students unions, religious associations such as CAN, League of Imams, are usually overtly non-partisan in that they never openly endorse any political party. Apart from these, there are usually local partisan pressure and advocacy groups that are sponsored by political parties or party bigwigs but whose actual membership and funding sources remain shrouded in secrecy.

B. Media Outlets

The newspapers with wide circulation in the state are national dailies, with identifiable editorial policies dictated by ownership; the only newspaper published in the state is the *Osun Defender*, which is highly partisan in its support of the ruling APC government. The most popular media are radio and television. There are several federal and state-owned television stations across the state, and homes with digital satellite connections also receive other national television stations not located in the state as well. A number of federal, state and privately owned radio stations operate in Osun. These reach a much wider audience, although they tend to serve the dictates of their owners and are thus not impartial or neutral in political matters.

C. Gender Relations

Females are generally under-represented in the top hierarchy of most political parties in the state. Apart from the incumbent deputy governor who is female, the only other significant female in elective office in the state is the member of the House of Representatives representing Osun West Federal Constituency II (comprising Ayedaade/Isokan/Irewole Local Government Areas), Hon. Ayo Omidiran.

Female representation is low. Even though twenty political parties fielded candidates for the August 2014 governorship election, none of them had a female gubernatorial candidate, while only eight had females as deputy governorship candidates.

3. OYO THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Oyo was created in 1976 from the former Western State, and originally included Osun State, which was split off in 1991. Oyo is ethnically homogenous, mainly inhabited by the Yoruba ethnic group who are primarily agrarian but have a predilection for living in high density urban centres. Oyo has one of the largest numbers of urban centres with population of 50,000 or more.

The indigenes mainly comprise the Oyos, the Oke-Oguns, the Ibadans and the Ibarapas, all belonging to the Yoruba family. In terms of religion, Christianity and Islam are dominant.

Ibadan, the state capital has been the centre of administration of the old Western Region, since the days of the British colonial rule. The first university to be set up in Nigeria was the University of Ibadan. Economically, Ibadan with its strategic location on the railway line connecting Lagos to Kano, the city is a major centre of commerce and industries.

In the South-West generally and the Oyo in particular, politics had always followed the opposition line. The state ruling party thus always differed from the ruling party at the national level. Since 1999 the ruling party in the state dominates also the elections to the National Assembly. In 2011, APC won the majority to the National Assembly and the three senatorial seats. Ibadan and Ogbomosho senatorial zones traditionally dominated the politics in Oyo. The past three governors belong to these two zones, though the Ibadan zone is more dominant out of the two, thanks to the prominence of the late Chief Lamidi Adedebu.

B. Political Parties, Candidates and Elite Alliances

The Oyo political landscape is traditionally dominated by four political parties: the ruling APC, PDP, the Labour Party and Accord Party. The main power brokers in Oyo are its past and present political leaders, traditional rulers (Obas) and big business men.

Although the incumbent Governor Ajimobi of APC has the factor of incumbency in his favour, his securing the seat for the second term is uncertain as he will face strong candidates from the three other opposition parties. The electorate seems to be divided as far as his governance performance is concerned. Ajimobi's popularity among the masses, especially market women—displaced from their stalls—decreased rapidly after the introduction of the Urban Renewal Scheme. On the other hand, his transformation projects in terms of road infrastructure transport sector, (such as Ajumose Transport Scheme guaranteeing free transport to workers and half-price to students), waste management, and keeping the cities clean made him popular with elites. The traditional ruler Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Lamidi Adeyemi III is a first class Oba who wields significant power in determining the choice of governor is on good terms with Ajimobi.

Nevertheless, to secure the party ticket, Ajimobi faces internal party competition from the two APC senators, Femi Lanlehin and Ayoade Adeseun. If Ajimobi comes out as the winner, the two senators are allegedly ready to decamp. While Lanlehin has strong links to Accord Party, Adeseun could become the flag bearer of the Labour Party.

The PDP, the biggest opposition group in the state, is deeply divided along several factions and has the largest number of aspirants for the gubernatorial seat of all parties - a factor that is likely to cause a high number of candidate defections who did not succeed in gaining the party ticket. Their top gubernatorial aspirants include Hakeem Gbolanmi, Alao Akala, Teslim Folarin, Professor Soji Adejumo, Seyi Makinde, and Femi Babalola.

C. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

The four main political parties in Oyo, the ruling APC, PDP, Accord and Labour Party have launched their electoral campaigns. The party in power is said to profit from the government machinery at its disposal to finance its campaign activities.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

The present Ajimobi administration inherited an instable security situation from his predecessors. Ajimobi banned the criminal activities of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) and established a joint task force of all the security forces comprising the army, police, air force and civil defence called Operation Burst to restore security in the state.

NURTW theoretically represents the collective interests of commercial drivers and other workers tied to the industry but some of its chapters have been largely converted into reservoirs of thugs for local politicians. In Oyo, NURTW members have been at the forefront of a protracted period of election-related violence, and their presence has remained a major cause of potential electoral violence.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

One of the main drivers of election-related violence in Oyo has been aggrieved intra-party contestations and fierce competition for internal party positions, often resulting to decamping of unsuccessful candidates to the opposing block.

The rivalry between the major political parties and their practice to hire and use political thugs to disrupt each other's activities is another potential driver of electoral violence.

Another potential trigger of election-related violence might be the fear (and subsequent anger) of voters who were not able to collect their cards during the PVCs that they will remain disenfranchised for the upcoming elections. The poor management skills and incapacity of INEC so far to address the shortcomings increases the risk even further.

C. Perceptions on Security Forces

In the past, there were reported cases of security agents being utilized and bribed by politicians to engage in electoral malpractices. Currently, no concrete accusations or allegations are pending against security agents by the general public.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

There is no court cases related to elections at this time.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

INEC Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) in Oyo is Nasir Olanrewaju Ayilara. There is no evidence of political affiliation to the party in power. Major stakeholders as well as the electorate appear to have confidence in INEC impartiality at the state level.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

There is a general feeling of dissatisfaction among the electorate as many voters in the state were not able to register because of the insufficient time for the exercise, the initial poor performance of INEC officials and data capturing machines that were insufficient in number. More worrisome is the inability of those that registered to collect their PVCs from INEC.

Nevertheless, the shortcomings seem to be linked to the logistical challenges INEC faces than to any deliberate attempt to disenfranchise voters.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

Owing to far-reaching historical presence of media and civil society in Yoruba states, there is generally a high level of public awareness concerning electoral matters and procedures. The main actors conducting civic and voter education activities are National Orientation Agency (NOA), churches, and the political parties and candidates themselves.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

In Oyo, NADECO, and 'Afenifere' (Yoruba ethnic Group), Ibadan Market Women Association, and students of tertiary institutions, Teachers Association are the main actors that are directly or indirectly involved in electoral issues clandestinely putting pressures on members to vote for the party in favour.

B. Media Outlets

The first television network in Africa as well as the oldest private newspaper, *The Nigerian Tribune*, started in Oyo under the leadership of the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo. *The Nigerian Tribune* has remained the mouth-piece of the entire South-West until today. *The Nation* newspaper, owned by the former governor of Lagos, is also popular in the state and has a critical tone against the national government. The state radio and television networks also devote greater coverage to the ruling APC.

C. Gender Relations

Female representation in politics has been very low. The majority leader in the House of Representatives (Hon. Mulikat Akande Adeola) is from Oyo. The speaker of the Oyo House of Assembly (APC) is a woman, Monsurat Sunmonu. No female aspirant has expressed intention to contest the gubernatorial elections so far.

CHAPTER 3: North-East Geopolitical Zone

1. ADAMAWA THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Adamawa state with its capital in Yola was created on August 27, 1991 from former Gongola state. Administratively, the state has 21 Local Governments, 50 Development areas and a population of 3,168,101. The state has over 70 ethnic groups scattered in segmented communities speaking different languages and dialects. Some of the major ones are: Fulfulde, Hausa, Marghi, Chamba, Higgi, Njanyi, Kilba, Bachama, Yungur, Batta, Kanakuru, Bura, Verre and Yandang. English is the official language, with Fulfulde and Hausa widely spoken. There are three dominant religions in the state: Islam, Christianity and traditional religion.

The economy of Adamawa is based on agricultural production (rice, maize, guinea corn, groundnuts, beans, millet, yams, sweet potatoes and cocoa yam); the business environment is weak because of the absence of industries, lack of infrastructure, distance from the main centres of industrial production, low purchasing power of the people, and the culture of public corruption in the political system and government institutions. Adamawa depends heavily on the national treasury through the monthly statutory allocations while generating little income locally.

The current deteriorating economic situation has deep political and security implications on the whole electoral process. The high poverty level fuelled by large scale unemployment, insurgency, low business opportunities, failing infrastructure and absence of basic services like electricity will likely increase the desperation of political office seekers to want to maximize material gains from political offices.

B. Political Parties, Candidates and Elite Alliances

The PDP has consistently and controversially won all gubernatorial elections in the state since 1999. Equally, it has won the majority of senatorial positions and seats for the House of Representatives and State House of Assembly. For the 2015 elections, the main political contest in Adamawa for all elected positions is between the ruling PDP and the main opposition party, the APC. There are a high number of contenders for all positions, in particular for the gubernatorial seat, from both parties.

Intra-party disputes and party primaries in PDP, and to a lesser extent in APC, have generated controversies and tension within both party camps. The politically sensitive issue of which of the three zones is going to produce the gubernatorial candidate for the PDP has not yet been resolved. The first governor of the state, Boni Haruna, a Christian from the Northern zone, served two terms, from 1999 to 2007. The second governor, Admiral Murtala Nyako, was a Muslim from the Southern zone and his deputy, Bala Ngilari, is a Christian from the Northern zone. So far, it is only the Central zone that has not produced a governor. An additional layer intensifying the fierce ongoing intra-party competition is the alleged attempts of the PDP HQ at the national level to impose candidates of their preference. The PDP party state chairman has been suspended until after the party primaries for resisting the plan of the national leadership of the party.

The only exception to the PDP's unchallenged domination over the gubernatorial seat is the immediate past governor, Admiral Murtala Nyako, who decamped from the PDP to the opposition APC, along with a few members in the State Assembly and two of the three Senators (one returned to the PDP). On July 15, 2014, the governor, along with his deputy, Bala Ngilari, was impeached as the State House of Assembly deliberated on the report of an investigative panel that probed allegations of financial misconduct against him. Ngilari, who purportedly addressed his resignation letter to the Speaker of the State House of Assembly, later filed a suit before the Federal High Court in Abuja, seeking an order compelling his swearing in as the governor of the state. On October 8, Ngilari was sworn in as the new governor of the state and INEC was ordered to stop the state governorship by-election scheduled for October 11.

C. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

The most visible political parties conducting campaign activities remain PDP and APC. The ruling PDP is perceived by the majority of stakeholders to enjoy advantages of incumbency, public funds and state structures to support its campaign. While PDP is seen as being associated with the state elites, the APC enjoys the support of ordinary people disenchanted with the status quo. Some of the main power brokers in Adamawa state include Turaki Atiku Abubakar, Bamanga Tukur, Murtala Nyako, Joel Madaki, Senator Jibril Aminu, Boni Haruna, Wilberforce Juta, Barr. Bala Nggilari, Engr. B.D Lawal, Barr. Boss Mustapha, Senator J.S. Zwingina, Senator Bindo Jibrilla and Hon. Binta Massi Garba. The parties do not have any specific campaign messages. Their strategy is based on the personalities of the main candidates.

The main campaign activities are public rallies, putting up billboards and posters of the main candidates (especially in the urban areas of the state), radio jingles, and public information vans with loudspeakers. The social media is also gaining acceptance and wider use among contestants. Television and newspapers play minimal role in campaigns and promoting the visibility of candidates. Elections in Adamawa are not necessarily about issues or debates on some principled position. Radio is the dominant medium for campaigns. The new media occasioned by the Internet and GSM technology provide another campaign tool especially for the youth.

Apart from open rallies, candidates organize closed meetings with interest groups in each LGA composed of members of the party executive, delegates, women groups, youth and elders. Cash inducements and the so-called stomach infrastructure made up of such commodities as rice, soap, maggi etc. are essential campaign requirements during both public rallies and closed meetings. Television and print media play a minimal role in campaigns and promoting the visibility of candidates.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

The raging insurgency across the north-east states remains by far the most threatening security challenge with respect to the upcoming elections. Adamawa is under a state of emergency declared on 14 May 2013 by President Goodluck Jonathan, and five LGAs in northern Adamawa are under the control of insurgents. Restriction of movement between 9pm and 5am, and regular attacks by insurgents on the population are casting serious doubts on the possibility of holding elections in Adamawa. INEC stated that it will rely on the heavy presence of military, navy, air force and the police in the 2015 elections. The insecurity and heavy presence of

security forces might potentially lead to voter apathy and lower turn-out than in previous elections.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

In addition to the state of emergency and the presence of insurgents in the northern part of the state, other potential triggers of political and electoral violence throughout the electoral cycle could be identified. These include: absence of internal party democracy; dubious party primaries and imposition of candidates; involvement of godfathers in selection and support of the candidates; intra-elite disputes and sponsoring of thugs by power brokers to utilize the religious and ethnic heterogeneity of the state; incomplete and inadequate voter registration exercise, including distribution of voter cards; INEC's unwillingness to respond to the situation; and last but not least, the illegal proliferation of light arms occasioned by the rise in insurgency in the northern part of the state as well as an observed increase in the intake of drugs and dangerous substances among unemployed youth.

C. Perception on Security Forces

Generally, people in Adamawa perceive the security forces as instruments for vote rigging and electoral manipulation. The level of trust in the security forces by the electorate when it comes to protecting their vote is very low. The military and other security forces have lost credibility and respect and are perceived as partisan and cowardly. The fact that both the night time curfews and military check points do not deter insurgents from openly operating in affected areas raises a lot of suspicion among the people. The police have scaled down their presence in the rural areas by closing down all police out-posts.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Electoral Disputes: Pre-electoral disputes are mostly generated by intra-political party tensions ahead of the party primaries. Due to a high level of interest in occupying political offices, a high numbers of aspirants turn out to vie for posts. The competitiveness plus quest for power control by elites often result in imposition. This development compels parties to go into dispute resolution by persuading some of the aspirants to step down for others. Money politics plays a key role here in addition to influence of traditional and community leaders, who try to make contending persons reach a deal.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

The Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) in Adamawa since 2007 is Kassim Gana Gaidam. He is from a trained lawyer and comes from Yobe state. Gaidam has been a politician and a local council Chairman before taking up his new role.

Whether or not the INEC and its officials have been professional in the conduct of their duties has been arguable. Elections conducted by INEC have been challenged in the court of law and in some cases the courts upturned the results of the elections. In 2007, the courts voided the election of Murtala Nyako as governor of Adamawa state and ordered for re-run elections after 8 months. The election was conducted by INEC under the leadership of Suleiman Bello from Zamfara state, the state REC. Bello was then replaced by the current REC Gaidam. Some people believe Gaidam has conducted some of the most controversial elections in the history of the state since 1999.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

The Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) were distributed in Adamawa from 7 to 9 November 2014 and the subsequent continuous voter registration (CVR) was conducted from 12 to 17 November; the exercise left many unanswered questions and grey areas especially with respect to the declared state of emergency and right of IDPs to vote.

A large number of people were unable to collect their PVCs as their names were either omitted from the register or because of the insurgency in the state. No figures are known for the moment as to the number of distributed/collected PVCs, total registered voters or voters omitted from the register.

Hundreds of thousands of voters in the LGAs under control of insurgents are yet to secure their PVCs and unless INEC hurriedly makes provision for the IDPs to obtain voter cards, this may significantly affect the outcome of the polls. IDPs have sought government assistance for the replacement of their lost voter cards to enable them to participate in the 2015 general elections. This is because most of the displaced persons, particularly from the northern and central part of the state, said they left their temporary voter cards at home in the wake of the insurgent attacks.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

The main actors in conducting civic and voter education in Adamawa have been the National Orientation Agency (NOA) and the media. INEC appears not to have sufficient budget to engage the media to educate the electorate. The poor media-INEC relations are affecting the effectiveness and efficiency of the commission in CVE process. However, the NOA, which enjoys free coverage in the media, appears to be more active. Ahead of the 2015 elections, NOA in Adamawa had embarked on state-wide sensitization campaign on a wide range of issues including the ongoing insurgency and threat to the elections, PVC distribution etc. The agency organizes workshops, seminars and meetings to sensitize people on the voting processes. It also pays advocacy visits to traditional and religious leaders, interest groups and other stakeholders to create awareness on voting. INEC in the state has on its list, thirty registered civil society organizations participating in election monitoring.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

Civil society and advocacy groups are yet to be firmly established in Adamawa. More typical for Adamawa are rather political groups funded by local politicians in Yola. Such groups include e.g. Turaki Vanguard, Atiku Support Groups, All Progressives Youth Forum, Atiku Women Action Group and Gotel Social Club. All of these are for former Vice President Atiku Abubakar who funds them. Pressure groups like the NLC, TUC and others always appear to be aligned with the government of the day.

B. Media Outlets

The media, especially radio and television play vital role in civic voter education in Adamawa. Adequate news coverage has also been organized to educate people on political activities. The radio is the most preferred and widely accessed means of public communication among the people in the state. There are three functional radio stations and three active television stations in the state. In terms of ownership, all the broadcast media stations, except one are owned by

the state and federal governments. Their policies and orientations are clearly reflective and supportive of the federal and state governments on most issues including elections.

C. Gender Relations

The decision by some of the political parties to offer free nomination forms to women has encouraged increased women participation in the 2015 elections. This has also raised the number of political office seekers compared to previous elections. For the first time in the political history of the state, a woman, Binta Masi Garba, is the chair of the APC. Nevertheless, women remain underrepresented. Currently, the state has three female legislators, one in the House of Representatives and two at the State House of Assembly. Some of the barriers to the active participation of female aspirants in the electoral process can be related to weak finances and overbearing influence of godfathers.

2. BAUCHI STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Bauchi State was created by the military regime of General Murtala Mohammed in 1976. Its land area covers 49,259 square kilometres and a population of 4,653,066 (2006 Census). The state is predominantly Hausa/Fulani and Muslim. There are up to 55 ethnic and language groups and a significant Christian population. Bauchi comprises three senatorial districts (Central, North and South), 20 local government areas, 212 electoral wards and 4074 polling units. Most of the people live in villages and towns, and agriculture is the economic mainstay and source of employment and income. The Southern Zone accounts for about 40 percent of the population and boasts of the state capital, Bauchi. Based on most official estimates and forecasts, Bauchi suffers from high rate of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, among other indices of underdevelopment.

The poor showing of the state on the HDI often impacts on political participation of the people. Only the well-to-do can afford meaningful participation in a highly monetized polity. The rest suffer from exclusion and unfair disadvantage, resulting in apathy, disaffection, dissatisfaction and conflict. The army of illiterate and unemployed poor is recruited and unleashed on society as thugs and political hooligans. Government in its choice and actual delivery of services seems to favour the elite class to the detriment of the mass of the people. However, there is no evidence of one zone being favoured over others by successive governments.

B. Key Political Dynamics

Bauchi State presents an intriguing case in 2015. Since 2007, when the Bauchi electorate inflicted a shocking and crushing defeat on the ruling PDP, the state shed the toga of pro-establishment conservatism it used to be identified with and transformed into an open political field where about anything is possible. At the same time the electorate have become more aware and vigilant, elections are now fiercely contested and their outcomes quite unpredictable.

Since 1999 the Southern Zone has been on the gubernatorial saddle. The PDP has won except in 2007 when it was defeated by the ANPP. The then out-going governor (who happens to be the current National Chairman of the PDP lost a bid to go to the senate). It is interesting to note that PDP's dominance in Bauchi has been at best shaky. The opposition has always got something,

including senate, House of Representatives and state assembly seats. At present, five out of the 12 House of Representatives members are APC. As a matter of fact, some of the biggest local government areas (Bauchi, Katagum and Toro) have almost always voted for the opposition. It is equally important to note that the dynamics are completely different for presidential elections where Bauchi State has since 2003 given at least a million votes to Candidate Muhammadu Buhari. In 2011 the PDP could garner only 17 percent of the votes cast in the state.

There is massive dissatisfaction for Jonathan among the populace. The Boko Haram insurgency is making things worse. In Bauchi, people vote for personalities not parties. It is still possible for the PDP to do well in other elections but lose woefully in the presidential election, particularly if the APC fails to put up popular candidates. However, the fact that presidential and National Assembly elections take place on the same day and time is bad news for PDP, because many voters may decide to vote for the opposition candidates only that day!

C. Political Parties, Candidates, and Elite Alliances:

There are two major political parties in the state: PDP and APC. The others are non-existent or exist only in name. In the PDP the key power brokers are Ahmadu Mu'azu (former governor and PDP National Chairman), Isa Yuguda (incumbent governor), Yaro-Yaro (State party chairman) and Senators Babayo Gamawa, Abdul Ningi and Adamu Gumba. Others are octogenarian godfather Bello Kirfi, Abdulmalik Mahmud and state assembly speaker Yahaya Miya.

In the APC, they include Uba Nana (party chairman), Garba Gadi (ex-deputy governor), Dr. Ibrahim Lame (former police affairs minister), and the five federal legislators. Others whose influence can impact on elections include the six emirs (of Bauchi, Katagum, Misau, Jama'are, Ningi and Dass), prominent clerics such as Sheikh Dahiru Bauchi, Mall. Idris Maisalula, Sheikh Zubairu Madaki, Isa Ali Pantami, the CAN leadership and the Pentecostal pastors.

The parties appear to be evenly matched. Each considers itself capable enough to win elections, hence the stage is set for a titanic clash, where every arsenal will be deployed, including threat and actual use of violence. A spectre of zero-sum game looms large, with all its frightening prospects.

In the PDP those vying for governor in 2015 include Yayale Ahmed (former Secretary to the Government of the Federation), Mohammed Pâté (former health minister), Senator Ningi and Aminu Hammayo. The aspirants under the APC include Dr. Ibrahim Lame, Eng. Sadiq Mahmud, ex-INEC Commissioner Mohammed Abubakar and Yusuf Tuggar.

In the APC, Dr. Lame and Mohammed Abubakar are from the South, while Sadiq Mahmud and Yusuf Tuggar are from the North. It is difficult to say who is the most popular. But in the PDP Ahmed and Hammayo are the front liners, while Dr. Lame is the strongest in APC.

In 2007, Obasanjo won in Bauchi. But since 2003 Buhari has consistently won, with at least a million votes (in 2003, 2007 and 2011). Except in 2011, all previous polls PDP had secured the 25 percent. But many pundits are of the view that things could even get worse for the PDP in Bauchi in 2015 presidential polls, notwithstanding that Mu'azu is the PDP national chairman.

Party organs (leadership, appeal panels, etc.) and the courts are the available channels for resolving conflicts. However, the issues are hardly ever resolved in the end, leading to those dissatisfied resorting to self-help.

D. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

As stated earlier on, PDP and APC are the only visible parties in the state. Streets and lanes all over the state are littered with billboards and posters of aspirants announcing and selling their ambitions. Also, the airwaves - public and private radio stations - are full of jingles and announcements on political aspirants, messages and activities. Every now and again, one of the parties organizes rally to "welcome defecting members" of their rival.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

In spite of the existence of issues and threats that should constitute security concerns for the elections, all the stakeholders spoken with expressed optimism that the polls could hold successfully and smoothly. In a nutshell, the major security concerns border on the attitudes and conduct of politicians (the growing desperation and resort to do-or-die politics), the nature of the race (given that the two major parties appear to match each other in terms of strength and resources), as well as the prevailing insecurity in the North-East zone.

The major security entities on the ground include the police, Department of State Services, Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps and national army. Ordinarily, the latter should come in as a last resort. Involvement of soldiers in routine security matters has now become the norm rather than the exception. It is quite normal in Bauchi State to see soldiers providing security at political functions and gatherings, notwithstanding that it is not part of their constitutional roles.

Bauchi State has over the years had more than its fair share of electoral violence. There are several issues that may lead to electoral violence and electoral malpractice in 2015. Key among them include the activities of godfathers and gladiators (particularly within the PDP) who appear bent on foisting their preferred choice as candidates, the seemingly irreconcilable groupings and tendencies within the opposition APC, and the agitation for power shift away from the Southern Senatorial District (which has been holding the post of the state governor since 1999).

Others factors that may lead to electoral violence are negative mobilization (through divisive and hate sermons and preaching) by increasingly partisan clergy, relatively low level of confidence among voters and some stakeholders in the ability of INEC to deliver free and fair polls, as well as the activities of the Boko Haram sect, which carried out three bomb attacks in as many weeks recently in Azare, northern part of the state.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

There are several sources of security concerns and threats with respect to elections. The major ones include the existence of a huge army of idle youth as a result of massive and pervasive poverty and privation (leading to the springing up of the dreaded "sara suka" gangs of political thugs), the bitter rivalry between the state governor and his predecessor over who should fly the PDP governorship flag (already supporters of the two gladiators have clashed during sponsored rallies), and that the APC is an impossible fusion of several feuding groups that are implacably opposed to one another (also leading to violent clashes).

There is loud agitation that power (i.e., position of governor) should shift to the Northern or Central Zones after 16 years in the South. The PDP has decided to zone out the Southern

Senatorial Zone. . None of the PDP aspirants is from South. Yayale Ahmed is from North, while Pâté, Ningi and Hammayo are from Central. The conflict within PDP may arise due to the in-fighting among the party top shots on who should fly the party's flag among the aspirants from North and Central zones. Their supporters are already flexing muscle, carrying out solidarity and protest marches, etc.

Additional sources or security threats are growing discontentment of the people with the Jonathan Administration at the centre, the perception by many that INEC favours the ruling party (hence the people must protect their votes by means of the controversial tactics), and divisive and sometimes reckless sermons and preaching by overly partisan clerics.

The phenomenon of mandate protection is encouraged in Bauchi. People defend their vote by means of "a kasa, a tsare, a raka," which simply means "you vote, you protect, you escort." After casting their votes, most of the voters stay behind to ensure that results are announced publicly. They also accompany electoral officials to the counting centres. Sometimes the whole thing gets rowdy and even violent, as the protectors become a mob and overly suspicious and protective.

There is a history of violent fracas among feuding party members and between supporters of opposing parties. The "sara suka" thugs have often been unleashed to cause mayhem. The elite contest opens door for several possibilities, including implosion of the party and defection of some out of the party (as in 2007 when Yuguda left the PDP), anti-party activities (ganging up with the opposition against the party), escalation of violence, etc. Since 2007, it is really difficult and even dangerous to openly induce voters. Those who resort to bribery are usually challenged, sometimes violently. However, sometimes thugs are used to cause trouble or create confusion at polling and counting centres.

Above all, there is the Boko Haram insurgency which fills the electorate with dread and uncertainty. Interestingly, the PVC distribution exercise in August and September went on smoothly and successfully, hence is not a source of security concern.

C. Perceptions on Security Forces

The public generally view security agents, particularly the police, with suspicion. The dominant opinion is that the police would always toe the line of the power that-be, and support and favour the ruling party. The stakeholders were reluctant to make any categorical statement about the police commissioner. However, there is nothing on ground or that has happened to suggest that the police and other security outfits in the state are partisan or politically non-neutral. In particular, the opposition disclosed that they enjoyed working with soldiers, hence often enlist their services for protection.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Electoral Disputes: Based on our checks and interaction with stakeholders, there is no any subsisting complaint or petition in court or before any political institution or organ as pertained to voters registration, campaign and media coverage in the state. Party nomination is a process that is on-going.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

A journalist and administrator, Dr. Samuel Madaki, is the State Resident Electoral Commissioner. He hails from Taraba, and has been in Bauchi since November, 2011.

It is difficult to conclusively decide on the impartiality, neutrality and independence or otherwise of INEC and its officials in Bauchi, because there has been no major electoral activities since the 2011 polls, apart from the PVC distribution exercise which, however, went fairly successfully. But then, some of the stakeholders, especially the opposition, pointed out and were deeply concerned that all three key INEC officials in the state (REC, Administrative Secretary and Director of Operations) are Christians from minority ethnic groups outside the state.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

The PVC distribution exercise took place between August 20th and 24th, 2014 and was later extended for 7 days beginning from September 28, 2014.

By all accounts, the PVC distribution went well. Turnout was impressive, the exercise was conducted fairly peacefully. The few challenges encountered include inadequate or malfunctioning data capture machines (one per polling unit), delay in arrival of materials, and the tedious nature of the exercise. Some of the stakeholders (security agents and social actors) witnessed widespread under-aged registration across the state. Our checks reveal that INEC provided 1,799,952 PVCs for issuance, out of which 1,509,255 were claimed during the exercise. An additional 238,608 eligible voters were registered through the CVR. On the whole, the mood of the people as per the voters register is favourable, devoid of complaints and contestations.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

Many people, including some stakeholders, were not impressed with the scope and quality of civic and voter education being carried out by official bodies such as INEC, NOA, etc. They felt it was not enough, done only occasionally (mainly prior to a major exercise) and limited to few radio and television jingles or talk shops that are themselves few and far between.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

The main civil society actors with respect to elections include Ash Foundation, Centre for Justice and Empowerment, Gender and Youth Empowerment Initiative, Kiferu Youth and Community Development Initiative, etc. There are also professional associations and unions such as NBA (Nigerian Bar Association), NMA (Nigerian Medical Association), FIDA (is a French acronym that loosely translates into Federation of Women Lawyers), ASUU (Academic Staff Union of Universities), and Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC).

There are equally religious groups such as CAN (Christian Association of Nigeria) and FOMWAN (Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria). Churches and mosques get quite active in politics, particularly presidential elections. They openly campaign for some candidates, and castigate and denigrate other candidates. Clerics often deliver sermons or engage in preaching in support of certain candidates. They also mobilize or urge on their flock to come out en-mass

and vote for some candidates or parties. What makes their intervention dangerous is that they promote candidates solely based on common faith or religious belief. They are often too, divisive, inciting and fanning the embers of disunity. They see nothing good in the other candidate, simply because of their faith or religious belief.

B. Media Outlets

Radio is the most popular form of media among the Bauchi people, many of whom are ardent listeners of particularly Hausa current affairs and political programmes. There are three major FM radio stations in the state capital, with state-wide audience reach. One is privately owned and the other two owned by the state and the federal government respectively. There have been no complaints against any of them—so far.

C. Gender Relations

Women are grossly under-represented in government and within the machineries of the political parties and the EMB. However, there is significant women participation within the civil society.

3. TARABA STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Taraba was created on the 27 of August 1991 by the General Ibrahim Babangida administration. The 2006 population census estimated the population of Taraba to be at about 2,294,800 people, across 3 senatorial districts and 16 LGAs. The ethnic composition in the state reflects the heterogeneity of the country, Nigeria. Islam, Christianity, and traditional African religion are dominating. The economic mainstay of Taraba is farming as the majority of the population are resident in rural areas.

B. Political Parties, Candidates, and Elite Alliances

The political parties, candidates, and elites alliances in Taraba are dynamic and reflect the national character of the political relations in Nigeria. Generally, however, the political interplay in the state depends on the party affiliation. Party leaders and followers belonging to opposition parties are mostly excluded from the political process. Traditional rulers and religious leaders may appear nonpartisan, but their actions and inactions in the public are suggestive of their support for incumbent regimes.

Political parties face a lot of problems and challenges such as the absence of internal democracy and the lack of adherence to the rules and regulations governing respective political parties. Traditionally, party chairpersons are supposed to be the ultimate leaders of the party, given their role as enshrined in the party's constitutions. These chairpersons, however, are at most times undermined by the State Executive office holders, who have the economic resources and control of the state machinery.

The nature of political party configuration in Taraba indicates political dominance by the PDP, which is in control of the state apparatus. Because of the hegemony of the PDP, candidates who may have otherwise contested for political positions under the platform of other political parties will decamp to PDP. Candidates contesting under the platform of other political parties

are likely either those who will not have the opportunity to emerge as flag bearers of the PDP, or those who feel otherwise aggrieved with PDP. There is, however, another category of political candidates who are new comers, and because of the strict procedure within PDP, feel they will not be allowed to contest on the platform of the party.

C. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

Campaign activities in Taraba have also been very dynamic. The most visible and active political parties are PDP and APC. The main campaign activities are rallies, jingles and posting of posters. The majority of the campaign speeches and messages are not presented to the public in a documented form like the party manifesto. Even if manifestos exist, they are not taken seriously as a foundation of a political ideology or as stated objectives intended to be executed when elected.

Because PDP is in control of the state political power, many people believe that the party uses state resources for campaigns at all levels to secure elections at the polls. Other funding for political parties, especially the opposition political parties, comes from party members, mainly those who are buoyant. It is believed that many political office holders make use of wealth they have acquired through state patronage to finance their respective parties. Nevertheless, party dues from members and other private sector donors also constitute substantially sources of party financing.

The pattern of distribution of party resources depends on the sharing formula of each political party. In PDP, distribution of resources trickles down to the party members at the ward level through their representatives. This is where the PDP is ahead of other political parties in the state. Other political parties do not have this structure, and even where they exist, it appears they are not usually followed, which undermines the organizational strength of the party.

The nomination fees for candidates in the various political parties differ depending on the political positions the candidates seek. The fees are determined by the party national headquarters, and the state party chairpersons are given the mandate to sell the forms in the state and then remit the money to the party national headquarters. Political aspirants have the same level playing field. The party primaries are used to determine who will eventually become the party flag bearer. With respect to the freedom to campaign and assembly by all political actors, there is no political party that have been denied the right to campaign, conduct rallies and hold conventions in the state at any chosen venue.

2) SECURITY SETTING

Taraba has suffered insecurity in the last two years, especially in the Southern Senatorial District of the state. The conflicts have been prevalent in Wukari, Ibi and Donga Local Government Areas. In these areas, many people suffered internal displacement, and many were killed in the conflicts.

The nature of the security challenges stem from the use of religious and ethnic symbols to stir up conflicts among ethnic and religious groups. Although many people have viewed these conflicts as being primarily ethnic conflicts, the more recent manifestations of conflicts over the last two years have taken the form of religious conflict, engaging people who have been relating peacefully over the years. There are also perceptions among some people in the state that the conflicts are motivated as a way to disenfranchise the ethnic groups in Southern zone of Taraba.

Others hold the view that the conflict stemmed from internal contest for equality among religious groups in the affairs of the local government areas where these conflicts occurred.

The response of the security agencies in the conflicts were prompt, but some people have felt that because the security agencies, especially the military, failed to keep peace, they were responsible for the death of many people in the conflict zones. There are perceived divisions within the military along religious identities that reflect the national political dynamics, and the presence of the Boko Haram insurgency further crystallizes group consciousness among the people of the state. The inability of the security agencies in Nigeria to deal with challenges of ungoverned spaces in Northeast Nigeria helps to explain the nature and character of the involvement of the military in managing the conflict in Wukari, Ibi, and Donga Local Government Areas.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Electoral Disputes: Taraba has experienced significant political turmoil due to the impeachment of Deputy Governor Sani Abubakar Danladi in 2012. After the impeachment, Garba Umar was appointed Deputy Governor, and when Governor Danbaba Suntai, was involved in an air accident in late 2012 and was unable to continue his duties for medical reasons, Umar was appointed Acting Governor. Subsequent legal proceedings initiated by Danladi to regain his office failed in the lower courts; however, Danladi was the successor at the Supreme Court and was reinstated to his office and appointed Acting Governor in November 2014. Following the reinstatement of Danladi as Acting Governor, the Speaker of the State House of Assembly, Josiah Sabo Kente immediately resigned his position.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Electoral disputes related to voter registration, candidates' nomination, campaigning, media coverage, etc., are minimal. The electoral structure and administration of the INEC in the state reflect the structure and administration at the national level. It is generally believed that INEC in Taraba have the staff capacity and the logistics to execute the forthcoming elections. Voter registration and distribution of permanent voter cards in the state is still on-going; however, there are complaints that the process is slow, and there are doubts whether INEC will be able to conclude registration and distribution of voter cards before the elections early next year.

INEC faces challenges associated with poor terrain of the state, which are usually difficult to access. There is also the potential challenge of insecurity due to the Boko Haram insurgents. The INEC State REC stated to the National Youth Service Corps members that INEC has a modality of ensuring that it conducts elections hitch-free, despite the potential challenges posed by Boko Haram.

In terms of civic and voter education, it is evident that it is inadequate. English language is the only medium that media uses as a major channel of civic and voter education. The majority of the people, who constitute the population in the rural areas, did not receive Western education. Even for those who hear and speak the Hausa language, the media coverage does not reach the majority of the rural areas of the state. The majority of the people living in rural areas of the state require that civic and voter education be carried out in their respective ethnic languages.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

There are many social actors and human rights organizations in Taraba seeking to educate the people about their rights to participate in the political process. Most of the organizations are concentrated in the urban areas of the state, and the majority of the people do not widely feel the impact of these programmes. Unfortunately, the inability of civil society to effectively reach the people affects the political culture of the voting population in the state. Generally, the political culture of the majority of the people is within the range of apathetic and parochial political cultures.

The media in Taraba consist of the National Television Authority (NTA), TV Taraba and the Nigerian Sunrise Newspaper, published by the Taraba Publishing Company. NTA has a wide coverage but it is still inadequate; and TV Taraba operates only when it is time for news. The Nigerian Sunrise Newspaper is a weekly tabloid and has been the major source of news distribution in the state. Unfortunately, the tabloid has not published any edition in the past three months. As a result of media limitations, the rural people do not have the privilege of knowing the continuity and change in the politics in the state.

Gender representation in the political process of the state has remained inadequate, despite the Affirmative Action pact that the federal government agreed to implement. Although several women have contested for various political positions, the majority of women only participate at the level of political mobilization. Regarding appointments to positions as the state level or within the 16 LGAs, women have not received fair representation. For example, there is only one female member in the State House of Assembly, and at the national level, there is also only one female Senator, Aisha Al-Hassan, representing the Northern Senatorial District.

CHAPTER 4: South-East Zone

1. ABIA STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Abia was created out of old Imo State in 1991. It derived its name from the initials of Aba, Bende, Isikwuato and Afikpo, which were the constituent culture areas of the state. In October 1996, the Afikpo culture area was excised to join the Abakaliki culture area to form Ebonyi State. The indigenous population of the state is mostly Igbo and various Igbo dialects of Igbo such as Ngwa, Umuahia, Ohafia, Abiriba are commonly spoken. The culture zones of the state are Ukwu Ngwa in the South, Umuahia in the centre and Bende in the North. Abia occupies a total area of 6,230 Km² and is bounded by Anambra, Ebonyi and Enugu states to the North, Akwa Ibom and Cross River states to the East, Imo State to the West and Rivers State to the South. It has a population of 2,833,999 and a high rural population density at 448.4/km².

Most residents of the state are Christians. Historically, the Catholic Church and protestant denominations of Anglican Communion, Presbyterian, and Methodist divided the different portions of present day Abia among themselves. Pentecostal churches such as Assemblies of God and Apostolic Church attracted followership from the 1950s. Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Jehovah Witnesses have strong membership in the southern sections of the state. However, in the rural areas across the state, African traditional religion is commonly practiced.

Abia is endowed with rich agricultural potentials as the state produces both food and cash crops that will readily provide raw materials for the manufacturing industries. Oil Palm abounds in all the 17 Local Government Areas. Other crops like Cashew, rubber, cocoa, and coconut are produced in large quantities. There are many agro-based industries in the state.

B. Political and Electoral Background

The 1999 and 2003 elections brought Orji Uzor Kalu (OUK) as the third elected executive governor of Abia under party platform of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). His two-terms in office (1999-2007) were by characterized with political discord between him and a couple of his deputy governors' (one of whom is a current serving senator Enyinnaya Abaribe representing Abia South and currently have the ambition to contest for governorship 2015) who were removed/impeached consecutively. The incumbent elected executive governor of the state, Theodore Ahamefula Orji (T.A. Orji) was former Chief of Staff to Orji Uzor Kalu before OUK 'made' him governor under the party platform of Progressive People's Alliance (PPA).

In the heat of preparing for the 2007 election, the 2007 Project Team (mainly Abuja based PDP members from the state with presidential backup) in Abia posed a great challenge to Orji Uzor Kalu (OUK) the then governor. The crisis between this team and OUK could not be resolved, so OUK formed another political party known as Progressive People's Alliance (PPA). PPA became the ruling party in Abia from 2007 until in June 2010 when T.A. Orji fell out with his boss OUK because of state resource control, and finally decamped back to PDP. So the ruling party in the state under T.A. Orji since June 2010 till date has remained PDP, while PPA has remained comatose.

C. Key Political Dynamics

The growing contestation over ‘zoning’ arrangements for the governorship position in Abia makes it a state to watch in 2015 elections. Currently, there is palpable tension in Abia over who succeeds the incumbent Governor Theodore A. Orji, whose tenure ends on May 29, 2015. Interestingly, the founding fathers of Abia envisioned that succession to the governorship position might generate animosity among the cultural groups that make up the state. So, to nip the matter in the bud, they came up with a ‘document’ known as ‘Abia Charter of Equity’, which principally provides for the rotation of the governorship position among the three senatorial zones that make up the state.

It was based on this charter that Dr. Orji Uzor Kalu, ruled the state from 1999 to 2007. He hails from Abia North senatorial zone, while his successor and current governor of the state, Chief Theodore Orji is from Abia Central senatorial zone. By 2015, the two senatorial zones of Abia North and Abia Central would have ruled for eight years apiece. Going by the Abia Charter of Equity, Abia South senatorial zone, which is made up of Ukwa/Ngwa sub-ethnic groups, should produce a successor to Governor Orji. Meanwhile, parts of Ngwa land (Isiala Ngwa South, Isiala Ngwa North, and Osisioma Ngwa LGAs), which constitute part of Abia Central senatorial zone, insist that they must take part in deciding who succeeds Governor Orji.

The danger now is that come 2015, some politicians from these three local government areas (Isiala Ngwa South, Isiala Ngwa North, and Osisioma Ngwa—all in Abia central) have started insisting that the next governor must come from the area. They argued that the Abia Charter of Equity recognizes power rotation among two main blocs—old Bende and old Aba divisions, and NOT senatorial zones as basis for power rotation. As the argument over which zone or division should produce the next governor of the state endures, those against the Abia Charter of Equity say the Charter of Equity should be consigned to the waste bin of history, on the basis that it lacks legal backing. There are proposals that the Abia House of Assembly should act fast and legalize the Abia Charter of Equity, but this is met with frustration due to varying interests.

Another danger is the ongoing agitation by segments of Ngwa people who are lumped into Abia Central senatorial zone. This ethnic group insists that one of their own should succeed Governor Orji, and they could undermine the aspiration of the people of Abia South senatorial zone to govern the state. It is therefore the inability of the political actors in Abia particularly among the ruling party, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to resolve this power sharing model amicably will likely escalate to violence and breach of peaceful co-existence across the state by 2015.

D. Political Parties, Candidates, and Elite Alliances

Currently in Abia, PDP remains dominant, but Abians are keenly watching as events unfold particularly the outcome of PDP primaries on 29 November 2014. There is high expectation of movement of politicians from PDP to other parties and also formidable alliances. The issue of zoning in terms of governorship seat at the centre and senatorial seat particularly at Abia North appears to be neglected by the elite.

From the gubernatorial race, an important factor is that Abia North will be the deciding vote. However, the northerner vote will likely be largely divided between one of their own in the person of Uche Ogah and other candidates. The Abia Central zone will vote in sympathy with the incumbent governor, while Abia South voters will definitely vote for their own people since they believe it is their turn to govern the state.

E. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

The most visible and active political party is PDP, which is the dominant party. However, other parties are seriously waiting to see the outcome of the PDP primary elections so that the aggrieved members will decamp and bring their resources for massive campaign and opposition.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

Abia was at some point between 2009 and 2010 described as a Hobbesian state, where life was short, nasty and brutish. The insecurity in Abia and the armed banditry was brought under control after the president ordered troops into the state. Today, Abia is relatively peaceful, even though there are pockets of crimes just like in many other states. But what is worrisome is the level of underdevelopment in the state in the last 8 years. The security risk here is that if the incumbent governor succeeds in imposing his choice of candidate (Chief Okezie Ikpeazu) in the state, then the tendency of having chaos after the elections is high.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

There are increasing contentions over where the governor of the state should come from. This is a continuation of the controversy that should be from Old Bende Division of Old Aba Division. If the ruling elite do not manage the situation properly, it could escalate into a huge state crisis. Similar situations are also emerging at the senatorial zones where local governments within senatorial districts are demanding for a taste of the senate.

C. Perceptions on Security Forces

The opposition groups are not comfortable with the intimidation by the incumbent and his family. The son of the governor is seen as a 'terror' in the state, as he moves about with heavily armed security guards and intimidates perceived opposition groups.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Electoral Disputes: People are not really satisfied with the manner at which the permanent voter cards (PVCs) were distributed. The campaigns are more favourable to the members of the ruling class who have hijacked the state media. However, we expect litigations as soon as the party primaries start by 29 November 2014.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

Name of INEC Resident Election Commissioner: Professor Jacob Jatau

Date of Appointment: March 2012

Career Background: Professor of Material and Metallurgical Engineering

State of Origin: Nasarawa State

Many of the 'opposition' parties and civil society organizations consider that the Independent Nigerian Electoral Commission (INEC) in Abia lacks credibility and is not prepared to conduct the 2015 elections. INEC is seen as a tool that the ruling party will use to manipulate and rig the

2015 elections. The so-called voters' card distribution exercise exposed the logistics flaws as well as administrative inefficiency which INEC must resolve in order to achieve its mandate of delivering a free and fair election and also avert crisis during the elections. There are complaints and case of peoples' cards missing and no explanation is given.

The confidence of stakeholders and the public in the work of INEC in Abia is little and apprehensive as in most states of the federation. Most people believe that INEC can influence or manipulate the outcome of the election with little difficulties. The source of this perception is sentiments from both the people and the media. It is just the trickle-down effect of what is happening at national level in terms of national civil society not having trust in INEC. The confidence in INEC is dwindling especially because their poor logistical background and people feel the problems are deliberate to create room to frustrate the electorate, while politician receive the opportunity to manipulate the process.

There is a general feeling in Abia that the election process is a mere formality, and that the Commission is in a position to do anything it pleases during all the phases of the electoral cycle. Abians believe that INEC can deliberately disenfranchise voters by providing inadequate materials, such as the direct data capture (DDC) machines at the registration and polling centres, late arrival of electoral officials and materials on election days. In fact, Abians believe that INEC does this in collaboration with politicians, and if this is not checked it may likely result to conflict

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVC)

The PVCs have been distributed in the 17 local government areas, 184 wards and 2,676 polling units in the state. But there are complaints that the three days given for collection were not enough and the process was marred by irregularities—missing names, etc. People are reluctant to go to LGA offices to collect their PVC, as directed by INEC.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

At the time of gathering this preliminary data, no main actor was identified as being responsible for CVE, even though it is the constitutional mandate of INEC and its partners. However, it is clear that there is high voter apathy in Abia. People appear not interested in the electoral process because they believe that the ruling party will always rig and win elections and that there is no contest so far as they are concerned.

There is poor voter education particularly as regards polling units and voting points. Most people do not know the difference between the two. Polling units are not supposed to have more than 500 voters but if that happens then the excesses will be moved to a voting point (not more than 300 voters). Unfortunately, people are not educated about this, and those affected if denied to vote where their name is will be aggrieved and may revolt.

INEC should work with key institutions such as the National Orientation Agency (NOA) and other stakeholders at the local levels to sensitize the electorate on the need to eschew violence that may occur based on their ignorance of electoral processes.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby groups

The civil society in Abia is weak and most times described as non-existent in the state. Most of

the organisations that have resemblance of civil society survive on government patronage and thus have no moral background to criticize or call government to order.

For the churches, most of the leaders shy away from cautioning government for fear of harassment and intimidation. Only a few are bold to call a spade a spade.

So far, we are in the process of identifying the 'existing' civil society organisations in the state.

B. Media Outlets

The most popular media is government owned media outfits—radio and television. Those groups perceived as opposition are not granted access to the government media.

The opposition relies on social media, posters and billboards for their campaigns since private media outfits are really not functioning in the state.

C. Gender Relations

Application of affirmative action in terms of proportional gender representation is seriously lacking in Abia politics. So far, there is only one female governorship candidate of PDP extraction. She is Senator Nkechi Nwaogu, a serving senator, and perhaps this justifies why she has the financial muscle to contest, unlike her fellow women who claim that they are not disposed financially to contest.

2. ANAMBRA STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES:

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Created on 27 August 1991, Anambra covers a total land area of 4,416sq Km and has a total population of 4,055,048. It has an average population density of 840/km² (2,200/sq. mi) and a total GDP of \$6,764 Million, at \$1,615 Per Capita. The Literacy Rate is about 70 percent, while the major commercial cities are Onitsha, Nnewi and Ekwulobia. The capital is Awka.

Anambra is named after the Anambra River. The people are mostly Christians, with the Catholic and Anglican denominations predominating. There is an incipient disposition to perceive electoral contests and support along these dominant denominational lines.

The indigenous ethnic groups in Anambra are the Igbo (98 percent of population) and a small population of Igala (2 percent of the population) who live in the North-western part of the state. The industrious and hospitable people of the state are great industrialists, entrepreneurs, and craftsmen. Currently, Anambra has the lowest poverty rate in Nigeria.

B. Political and Electoral Background

The present governor is APGA, while PDP has two senatorial seats and APC one. These three parties are the ones on ground with capacity to win elections and/or foment trouble. The Central senatorial zone dominates the state politically and controls the bureaucracy. The Central has held the governorship from 2003 till 2014, the office of national chairman of the ruling party and presently has the deputy governor. It boasts many intellectuals like the late Chinua Achebe and the historian Kenneth Dike, Cardinal Francis Arinze, the politically influential Archbishop Valeria Okeke, etc. The North is essentially marginalized. This helped

account for the general acceptance of the candidature and victory of Governor Obiano, who benefited from the clarion call for equity and spread in the distribution of political and social amenities in the state.

C. Political Parties, Candidates, and Elite Alliances

The key power brokers are the State Governor, Chief Obiano (APGA) controlling governmental powers and the numerous “money men” of the PDP, namely Chiefs Arthur Eze, Emeka Offor, Alex Ekwueme, Andy Ubah, Annie Okonkwo, Ifeanyi Ubah, etc. These are believed to possess the capacity to individually match the state government Naira for Naira. Their normal undoing is their apparent incurable penchant for crass individualism (which frontally undermines electoral strength). Chris Ngige leads the APC power brokers. However, they are being depleted constantly by defections to APGA and PDP. The result is that the APC appears alive only in Idemili North and South LGAs—the homestead of Dr Ngige where he initiated enormous infrastructural development interventions when he was Governor of the state.

The other power brokers of note are the traditional rulers and heads of market associations such those in Onitsha (OMATA), Nnewi (NMATA) and Awka (AMATA); MATA (Markets Amalgamated Traders Association). As an entrepreneurial state basically, those associations have deep pockets and large followings. Traditional rulers are constitutionally barred from partisan politics. However, their support, particularly those of Onitsha (Obi Alfred Achebe), Eze Uzu Awka (Gibson Nwosu), Eze Nri, etc. would facilitate victory at the polls. Disrespect for them would be quite detrimental to electoral success as their subjects and the Anambra people will view such as unacceptable, despicable effrontery.

The dominant political parties are APGA, PDP and APC. The APGA projects an unwritten alliance with the PDP - not to field a presidential candidate but rather support that of the PDP, while the PDP leadership is bereft of any virulent antagonism towards APGA. Both parties are united in their opposition to APC. All other parties are insignificant. They are waiting for disaffected aspirants from the main parties to rush to them for tickets, while some will never make it.

The governorship election has been held in Anambra. Candidate of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA), Willie Obiano was declared the winner according to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The Resident Commissioner of INEC in Anambra declared in Awka that Mr. Obiano won the election by polling 180,178 votes in 19 local government areas in the state. The total votes won by the APGA candidate constituted 25 percent of the votes in at least 19 LGAs out of the 21 LGAs in the state.

The three senatorial zones present divergent electoral pictures in the 2015 elections. The Central is expected to be competitive with its big names, intellectuals, and a highly politically aware electorate. It offers the state capital, a vast area with over 109 wards, and the highest number of votes (as a zone) in the state. Idemili North and South LGAs have huge deposit of votes. It is said that the funds required to win the senatorial election in the Central is enough to win a governorship election elsewhere. The contestants for senate include APGA’s national chairman, Chief Victor Umeh; incumbent senator, Dr. Chris Ngige; Dr. Obiora Okonkwo; three-time member of House of Representatives, Mrs. Uche Ekwunife; the Okonkwo brothers - Annie and Sylvester; Chief Victor Ezenwa, Dr. Kodilichukwu Okelekwe, Mrs Christy Okoye, and others. The Central is the only senatorial zone with a “strong” APC presence. After the 2011 elections, the party won a seat each in the House of Assembly, House of Representatives, and Senate.

The North, for the first time, has the benefit of holding the governorship. Governor Obiano will face the challenge of delivering the zone to APGA. But can he deliver where his more astute and politically savvy predecessor, Governor Obi, failed? There are conflicting developments on how he plans to deliver the North. It is speculated that APGA had conceded the senatorial slot to Alphonsus Igbeke Ubanese, who seems to have a lot of influence in the government as Obiano's chief adviser.

This development questioned the initial APGA support for Dubem Obaze, a former Commissioner for Local Government under then Governor Obi. Obaze had got the attention as a reward for his role as Director of Organisation of Willy Obiano Campaign, where he enlivened the campaign and is credited with winning the election for Obiano. Obiano's initial endorsement of Obaze had looked like a good case for equity: with Obiano coming from Omabala area, the senate seat would then be zoned to the (other side of) Onitsha-Ogbaru axis.

The former aviation minister, Stella Oduah looks like the top gun for the PDP in the North. She might inflict the same damage to APGA and Obiano that Ngige inflicted on Obi in the Central in 2011. So far, she is showing a readiness for the challenge; putting together the resources for her campaign, and confirming speculations that she has enormous funds to utilize.

In the South, the incumbent senator, Andy Uba, looks like the man to beat. Sources disclosed that Ifeanyi Uba, who is deploying the Transformation Agenda of Nigeria (TAN) machinery to good use, has been asked to stay away from any ambition that runs contrary to Andy's. Meanwhile, Chief Arthur Eze, who with Ifeanyi is also in the vanguard of the re-election of President Goodluck Jonathan, has reportedly endorsed Andy Ubah. This might be a no go area for APGA from the standpoint of the PDP.

In APGA, Maja Umeh, a former Commissioner of Information and Okey Udeh are the senatorial aspirants. Udeh, a former member of the PDP joined APGA in the last election to run for House of Representatives. He lost, and has upgraded his aspiration to the Senate. The two APGA aspirants are swamped by what Maja called, "migrant politicians." The list of the migrant politicians who joined APGA from PDP but lost their election include, the late Professor Dora Akunyili, Okey Udeh, Chief Chuma Nzeribe, Joy Emordi, Umeh Orji, Nicholas Ukachukwu etc. It was learnt that Nicholas Ukachukwu left PDP to seek APGA's senatorial race in the South. The calculation is to pit Ukachukwu against Ubah. None of them can be underrated and in the end, it will be a test of who has more money. Along with the emergence of Ukachukwu is the appearance of Ernest Ndukwe, former executive head of NCC. In Anambra, politics is money and money is politics.

D. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

The most visible and active political parties are APGA, PDP and APC. They have the money and the personalities to make political contest quite interesting. They will even raise a lot of money from their political aspirants. For instance, the APGA leadership has stated that for the 2015 elections, a senatorial aspirant is expected to pay N20 million, House of Representative aspirant N15 million, while the House of Assembly aspirant should pay N5 million to enable them collect the prescribed political party forms. Those of PDP and APC do not come any cheaper, either. Thus, the 2015 contest will be between the PDP, APC and APGA in the state.

In 2015, APGA and PDP are building on the sentiment that APC is not welcomed in the state. It is said that APC has survived in Anambra because of Ngige and the time might come when Ngige alone cannot carry on that responsibility. Again, Ngige is reputed to have so many enemies, in

spite of his popularity. He is accused of “using and dumping friends” and it was learnt that there is a quiet campaign to undo him.

Each zone and party (PDP, APC, and APGA) can boast of some strong aspirants, so far. Some will rely on the party, others on their names (money), and others yet on reputation, and some on their grassroots appeal. Some are expected to make their entrance before the November primaries and some might drop off.

Perhaps the most defining feature of politics in Anambra is the involvement of significant political heavy weights and *money bags*, with tremendous political leverage at the state and the federal levels. This informs the persisting *political godfather* culture by which individuals, often favourably disposed to the powers at the centre, can influence the outcome of elections or the dynamics of politics. Consequently, party primaries and elections in the state have been mostly so enmeshed in controversies that the judiciary has had to intervene on most occasions to determine the actual winner.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

Anambra is secure. Elections can easily take place there. The Army, Police and the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (who are constitutionally empowered to monitor, protect, arrest and prosecute vandals of government facilities) combine resources through the active support of the state government to make the place uncomfortable for criminals. Specialized formations are even devoted to ensuring this. One of the new security measures that the state has rolled out for a safer Anambra is ‘Operation Sheba,’ a special, combat-ready, anti-crime police squad. In addition, there are communities’ civilian Vigilante Groups for all the towns in the state. Government approved their existence to help secure the communities. They are managed by the various Towns Unions in the state. They have been credited with giving the police necessary insight in tackling criminality in the state.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

Though there is no gubernatorial election in Anambra in 2015, contestation by serving senators and new-comers will make the election one to watch. The key risk factors include:

- ◆ Inter and intra party conflicts: the defection and counter-defection between the two major parties have generated a huge political tension. As political activities pick up within the year, there may be some violent engagements within and between the political parties.
- ◆ Contention over candidates including zoning of political positions. Like what happened in 2011, if the ruling elite do not manage the situation properly, it could escalate into a huge crisis, whereby elections will be held without voters knowing the candidates. Thus, multiplicity of court cases will ensue.
- ◆ Perceptions that there is no level playing ground for people due to the hijack of the electoral process by ‘god fathers’.
- ◆ The presence of militia groups, such as vigilante groups, provokes apprehension as they could be used by powerful politicians that abound in Anambra.

- ◆ Division in the ranks of some of the major contending parties might see those edged out of the primaries trying to get their pound of flesh by undermining their party during the election. Candidates and their supporters do not view this kindly.
- ◆ Tendencies of hijacking INEC staff and materials by *godfathers* and possible resistance by party agents and the electorate, due to increase in political awareness, could lead to political violence.
- ◆ The involvement of student gangster (cult) groups (and other ‘thug’ groups) to commit malpractices during the elections is allegedly likely.
- ◆ The state is known for the presence and activities of informal policing and vigilante groups. It is pertinent to note that members of these groups and private security outfits are providing security presently for most of the candidates vying for the election and their campaign trains. No doubt, if the activities of these groups are not properly checked, they could degenerate and constitute a security threat.

C. Perceptions on Security Forces

The police are seen as corrupt and likely to support the party that controls the federal government—PDP. Thus, there is the feeling that the police will be bought over by the politicians with generous dispositions to do their bidding. The military and other security outfits enjoy better images and acceptability. People appear to have greater confidence that their votes will count when the military are lurking around.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

The statutory framework and judicial approach by the courts and tribunals to this malaise are employed; though these have often left many people disappointed. In Anambra, two issues will be dominant—determination of the TRUE Chairman of PDP in the state and establishment of the actual candidate of the parties (due to contentious nomination processes). Three people, namely Kenneth Emeakayi, *Ejike Oguebego*, and Ifeatu Obiokoye claim to be “state chairman” of PDP in the state, each brandishing one document or the other from either INEC or the courts.

The nominations are on-going and there are (and will be) complaints. For instance, Nicholas Ukachukwu wants to make it to the senate through the platform of APGA. The APGA’s National Working Committee (NWC) nullified the clearance which was earlier given to him by the National Assembly appeals committee in Anambra. Ukachukwu, who was earlier disqualified by the screening committee, went to the appeal panel where his nomination was upheld. Nullifying the clearances, the APGA NWC said that Ukachukwu was cleared in error by the five-man appeal panel, stressing that it did not sit as a full panel to reverse the earlier decision by the screening committee to disqualify him. He went to Abuja High Court which restored his candidature. The matter is yet unresolved.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

Professor Chukwuemeka Onukogo, from Abia, is the REC in the state. A professor of English, he was appointed in June 2010 for five-year tenure. Impartiality, neutrality and independence of INEC in the state are not normally or generally questioned. There is evidence and acceptance that the Commission does “its own thing”; having not been hijacked by the *money bags*, *godfathers* or the state government or any of the political parties.

The normal grudge has been the persistent display of avoidable disorderliness and apparent incompetence of some personnel of the Commission in the processes and actual conduct of elections in the state—distribution of materials, equipment and ad hoc staff; accreditation of voters; management of voting and results; and of course, the issue of voter registration. The stakeholders and the public have appreciable confidence in INEC to successfully conduct the 2015 elections.

However, some people allege that the INEC had conducted elections in a way that favoured the ruling political parties (APGA & PDP) through poor planning, the device of excluding electorates from voting in places considered to be the strongholds of the opposition, inadequate supply of voting materials, and late arrival of Electoral Officers to polling stations. Example of such was the conduct of the 16 November 2013 governorship election in Anambra.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

The PVC distribution and continuous voter registration commenced on August 15 as scheduled and ended on Sunday, August 24. Inefficient machines were used in the exercise. Some residents of Anambra had urged the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to extend the time for the Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) distribution in the state. People asked for extension so that heavily populated areas like Onitsha and Nnewi are properly served. The INEC then extended the exercise for seven days, beginning from 22 to 28 September 2014. INEC said the exercise is still ongoing, but at the LGA levels. However, there is a commendable high level of confidence in the job INEC is doing.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

CVE goes on in the state; but this can be improved upon for enhanced intensity and robustness. CVE is in the form of radio and TV jingles, adverts and discussion programmes; poster and bill board adverts; workshops with target groups; and town hall meetings. All the main actors (INEC, National Orientation Agency, National Election Institute, civil society, and media) engage in these activities; sometimes, in collaboration. For instance, there was in Awka on June 11, 2014, a voter education project organised by NOA in collaboration with Charity Ezeemo Trust Foundation where the NOA Director-General, Mr Mike Omeri, urged Anambra people to take up the challenge and be the drivers for a better electoral participation in the country as it behoves all to collectively make their votes count.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

Below are some local groups. It is still early in the day as the nomination processes are on-going in all the parties. Thus, many more groups will become active when candidates are chosen and serious campaigns commence. In addition, other national groups normally maintain some presence in the state during these periods and this time will not be different.

- ◆ Anambra State Council of Traditional Rulers
- ◆ Onitsha Markets Amalgamated Traders Association
- ◆ National Union of Anambra State Students
- ◆ Justice, Development and Peace Commission
- ◆ Charity Ezeemo Trust Foundation

- ◆ Anambra State Branch of the Civil Liberties Organization
- ◆ The local branch of Ohaneze Ndigbo
- ◆ International Society for Civil Liberties & the Rule of Law

These groups are independent, pursuing their own interests. With the campaigns, more partisan entities will sprout up as civil society organizations. Generally, the groups raise their own funds, but with the elections approaching, surreptitious partisan financing and determination of some of their activities are likely.

B. Media Outlets

There are public and private media that operate in the state. Others outside the state do equally cover the area, such as those located in Enugu and Delta states, particularly. The most popular forms of media in the state are radio and TV. There are newspapers and magazines, but with limited coverage and impact. The Internet—social media—is rudimentary. The key radio stations are Anambra Radio, Radio Nigeria (both public) and Radio Sapientia and Dream FM (both private). The TV stations are mostly Cable. All the national newspapers and magazines are distributed and sold in the state; including the local National Light owned by the state government. Anambra Radio and National Light support APGA, while all the others have more liberal and commercial editorial policies.

C. Gender Relations

Female representation in politics and governance in the state is commendable; though, there is always room for improvement. The state has produced (the first in Nigeria) a female Deputy Governor (Mrs. Virginia Ngozi Etiaba) in 2007; a female Speaker (Mrs. Nwaebili) of the House of Assembly (2011 to date); a female Senator of the three from the state since 2007 (Joy Emordi and Margery Okadigbo); two previous Heads of Service before the current one were women—Elsie Ikemefuna and Ngozi Meliefonwu; numerous female Members of the Houses of Assembly (state) and Representatives (federal); female Federal Ministers (Dora Akunyili—Information and Stella Oduah - Aviation); many female state Commissioners; and top-class female entrepreneurs, bureaucrats and judges. A woman, Uche Ekwunife, contested for the gubernatorial seat with the present state helmsman and lost honourably. The state can be christened a progressive one in gender matters.

3. ENUGU STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Enugu is in the South East Geo-Political Zone of Nigeria. Its capital town is Enugu, from which the state derives its name. It was carved out of the old Anambra State on 27 August 1991. The state is noted for its coal deposit, the largest in Africa. Other mineral resources found in the state include limestone, iron-ore and bauxite. The state is the headquarters of the former Eastern Region of Nigeria. This is the “Coal City State” of Nigeria.

In the 2006 Population and Housing Census, Enugu is made up of 1,596,042 males and 1,671,795 females. The state and zones are ethnically homogenous being the heartland of the Igbo ethnic group. Although there are migrants of diverse ethnic origins, they rarely regard

themselves as long term settlers or “indigenes” in the popular parlance. However, in urban areas such as Enugu, settler ethnic communities have lived with the Igbo for years. In Ibagwa, a rural town near Nsukka, the story is different. About 20 percent of the population of the town is Muslims and about 10 percent are people of non-Igbo extraction such as Igala, Nupe and Yoruba.

B. Key Political Dynamics

The quest for peace and stability has become one of the dominant concerns in the run up to the 2015 elections in Nigeria. The last few months have witnessed increasing tensions and violence in Enugu. The security situation in the state has been dominated by political skirmishes. This remains a worry going into the 2015 elections.

A major issue that is generating tension is the plan by Governor Sullivan Chime who is completing his second term in office to contest the Senatorial election. Another issue is the zoning of the governorship amongst the senatorial districts in the state. Also, as candidates indicate interest for different positions in the parties, there is tension everywhere as the political landscape continues to witness serious political crisis within the ruling party and among other political parties. The other crisis that rocked the state was the impeachment of the Deputy Governor, Sunday Onyebuchi. The manner and process of his impeachment sparked off controversies and deep seated animosity within the ruling party.

C. Political Parties, Candidates, and Elite Alliances

Enugu is a de facto one-party state. Since the inception of the Fourth Republic in May, 1999, the state has been under governorship of People’s Democratic Party (PDP). The party has also controlled both legislative houses since 1999. Other political parties exist, but they have not won any political position ever since 1999. They include All Progressives Congress (APC), All Progressive Grand Alliance (AGPA), and Labour Party (LP).

Potential Contestants for Senatorial Seats:

- ◆ **Enugu North:** Contestants for the senatorial seat are Chukwuka Utazi, PDP, Martin Oke, PDP, William Ezugwu, APGA, General J.O.J Okoloagu, APGA
- ◆ **Enugu East:** Contestants are Ifeoma Nwobodo PDP, Frank Nweke Jr. PDP, Nwabueze Nwobodo PDP, and Gilbert Nnaji, PDP
- ◆ **Enugu West:** Contestants include Senator Ike Ekweremadu PDP and Governor Sullivan Chime, PDP. The chairman of the PDP is the acting chairman, Mr. David Ajah, APC is Bar. Nwoye.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

The general security situation in the state with respect to elections and from the opinion of stakeholders is that it is relatively peaceful. This is because the intra-party conflict in the state is within control and in the realm of the PDP.

The conflicts between the two prominent party members (governor and senator) are a result of a clash of interests that are both political and economic in nature. This is because state power has become means for wealth accumulation in Nigeria due to the fact that the class is not

productive but extractive in nature. To be excluded means ultimate ruin and to be included means everlasting prosperity for those who control state power. That is why there is a fierce competition between the two. Again, it is also a type of elite conflict which occurs within the political leadership. As contending elites mobilizes their supporters to vie with other groups for state scarce resources, factional disputes and conflict emerge. This is to influence the composition of the official power equation and to determine who rules Enugu.

The intra-party conflicts in the state are not new. They started in 1999 when the Fourth Republic was inaugurated. However, there is no established history of physical violence within the party, PDP. What exists is inter-party violence especially in 2003 when Chimaroke Nnamani was the governor. However, there is always a mounting tension during elections in the state.

There is no established open fight between the warring groups of the PDP. But there is always low level fights witnessed within the PDP and between them and other parties during election. This usually leads to deep-seated animosity among members especially those who feel defeated and dejected in the whole scheme of things. There were alleged stories of assassination during the Administration of Chimaroke Nnamani, 1999-2007. However, none has been reported since Chime' regime came into power in 2007. What essentially exists in the state is vote buying during elections. The conflicts manifest as a struggle for state power because state power has become a means of production for those who control it.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

Governor Chime vs. Senator Ike Ekweremadu

The Enugu West Senatorial District is comprised of Aninri, Awgu, Ezeagu, Oji River, and Udi LGAs. This zone is a hotbed of conflicts considering that both Governor Sullivan Chime and Senator Ike Ekweremadu come from this zone. The two are also interested in the senatorial seat. Part of the refusal by the governor to allow the Deputy Chairman of the party to assume office as acting chairman after the resignation of Vita Abba was that the Deputy Chairman is Ekweremadu's kinsman, and he is likely to do his bidding should he be allowed to step in as the acting chairman.

Consequently, the State Executive Committee (SEC) presided over by Governor Chime may have opted for the appointment of a new Chairman relying on Section 47(6). Apparently, the governor preferred a new Chairman rather than allowing Deputy Chairman David Ajah to take over as acting Chairman. He is a kinsman of the Deputy Senate President Ike Ekweremadu, the governor's political rival. Chime and Ekweremadu are currently locked in a battle over the Enugu West Senatorial seat. Both the Governor and the Senator are from Enugu West Senatorial district. But while the Chime wants to retire to the Senate at the end of his tenure in May 2015, Ekweremadu is nursing the ambition of going back to the senate for a fourth term. Thus, the crisis and conflict in Enugu PDP is rooted in the battle of who gets what office in 2015. The Enugu became divided into two factions as a result of this. One group belongs to the Chime and the other to Ekweremadu.

Zoning of the Governorship among the Senatorial Districts

The contestation over zoning the senatorial district and fights as to who succeeds the exiting governor makes Enugu crisis prone. A rundown of the power equation in Enugu indicates that former Gov. Chimaroke Nnamani from Enugu East Senatorial zone served out his eight-year tenure and handed over to the incumbent governor, Sullivan Chime, from Enugu West District.

Enugu North people argue that it is their turn to produce the next governor. This pattern of power sharing is generating a lot of crises within the ruling party especially for those who believe that the process should be transparent and open instead of the consensus candidate presented by the governor in the person of Hon. Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi. However, none of the aspirants in the PDP accepted the consensus. This has factionalized the party, creating crisis.

There is a greater number of PDP members among the gubernatorial hopefuls. They include, Speaker of the State House of Assembly, Eugene Odo, Senator Ayogu Eze, Chinedu Onu, Sam Onyishi and Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi all from the PDP and the Enugu North zone. In a stakeholder's meeting held in September 2014 Ugwuanyi was nominated as the consensus candidate and endorsed as such. Anayo Onwuegbu from Enugu West Senatorial district and a PDP member is also in the race for the governorship seat.

Other party contenders include Ifeanyi Asogwa APC, Cajetan Eze, APGA, and Okey Ezea, APC. Though the duo of APC and APGA form the bulk of opposition in Enugu, their formidable nature and depth in executing the fight against PDP is still arguable and subject to practicable proof. However, Okey Ezea appears to be leading the pack of aspirants in APC as he had contested for the post of governor in the main election twice. Ezea has remained constant in his ambition and he is said to be in firm control of APC structures at the moment.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Electoral Disputes: There are no unresolved court cases related to elections at this time.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

The Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) of Enugu is Dr. Lawrence Azubuikwe from Imo state.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

The registration of voters, which started on 28 May 2014 in Enugu, failed to live up to expectations. The exercise was marred by insufficient registration materials, which affected the pace of the exercise and the number of voters registered in a day. For instance, on the first day of the exercise, at the Okpara Square centre, where 15 polling units were merged because of registration materials, only 35 voters, out of about 1, 000 that turned up, were registered. The exercise became an issue in the state when the National Orientation Agency (NOA) reported that over 40 per cent of voters in Enugu may have been de-registered.

The distribution of PVCs was conducted in phases throughout the country. Enugu was in the first phase. The Continuous Voter Registration (CVR) has ended but PVC collection is still ongoing. During the week of 19 November 2014, the INEC officials met with traditional rulers and party officials to find a solution to people who have not collected their PVCs for 2015 elections. About one million PVCs were set to be distributed.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

The civic voter education comes occasionally through jingles sponsored by the NOA.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

The Catholic Church has been in the forefront of civic advocacy activities. In Enugu North Senatorial District, the church organized a forum where all the contestants presented their programmes and manifestoes. This was a way of assessing and committing them to their promises so that if they are elected, they can be held responsible for promises not fulfilled.

B. Media Outlets

Three major electronic media serve the state in the run up to 2015 elections apart from the print National Dailies. They are the Dream FM owned by Senator Ike Ekweremadu, the Enugu State Broadcasting Service (ESBS) owned by the State Government and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) owned by the Federal Government. The first two serve the interest of their owners in the run up to the 2015 elections.

CHAPTER 5: North-Central Geopolitical Zone

1. KWARA STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

The Gowon Military Administration created Kwara State in 1967 as a West Central State, along with eleven other States. The name Kwara has been traced to the defunct *Kwararafa Empire* and “the local name for River Niger in some parts of the country”. Like in other States, the majority of Kwara’s population of 2,365,353 is made up of youth, according to the 2009 figures, with a gender mix of 1,193,783 males and 1,171,570 females.

There are sixteen Local Government Councils in the State. However the four Local Government Councils (LCGs) in Kwara Central Senatorial District account for almost half of the population. According to the 2009 estimates by the National Population Commission, Ilorin West LGA had a population of 365, 221 compared to 56,970 for Oke-Ero LGA and 110, 852 for Pategi LGA.

Kwara has strong and active Muslim and Christian populations. Northern and Central Kwara is predominantly Muslim while Christians are mainly in the Southern parts. The State has adherents of African Traditional Religion. The population is mixed, the Yoruba are predominantly in the South, and Fulani, Hausas, Barba, Nupe, Batonu, etc., in the Central and Northern parts of the State. The economy of the State exhibits an urban-rural mix.

There is little *federal presence* in the State especially after it lost Kainji Dam and Ajaokuta Rolling Steel Mill to Niger and Kogi States respectively, due to state creation and boundary adjustments. Because of this and the results of the *stomach infrastructure* politics of the Saraki political dynasty, the State has a high poverty level. The State’s share of revenue from the Federation Account now places it 36th from 33rd in October 2014, a development that has led to disquiet at the highest political quarters in the State. Stakeholders have added that the reduced allocations are forcing the State Government to borrow to meet its financial obligations for October 2014.

Because the political elite perennially misapplies the State’s resources, the cumulatively huge federal allocations collected over the years have not reduced the State’s dependence on Federal budgetary allocations. The 2015 elections, like previous ones, will have a negative impact on the poor economic climate in the State, because political aspirants will use their huge financial resources to woo/buy over voters. It is also likely that local and external *money bags* will want to *buy over* INEC and allied personnel on electoral duties to capitalize on the poverty and ignorance of the voters.

Religion, ethnicity, zoning, control of state resources and their deployment, and the response of the federal government in terms of massive financial support for its candidates to *capture* the State in 2015, are likely triggers of conflicts before and during the elections. More security presence is inevitable as both the APC and PDP attach significant strategic importance to the elections in the State, but the experience in Ekiti and Osun in June and August 2014 shows that the opposition would interpret the deployment of forces as *militarization* and *intimidation* of voters to favour PDP candidates.

B. Political and Electoral Background

Since 1999, the parties led by late Dr. Olusola Saraki, the unchallenged godfather of Kwara politics, have won state elections. He was in APP in 1999 but crossed over to PDP in 2003 and helped the party to win elections in the State that year and in 2007. His son, Bukola Saraki won the governorship elections on both occasions. However, in the 2011 gubernatorial elections, Bukola Saraki's nominee, Abdulfatah Ahmed, defeated Saraki father and Gbemisola Saraki.

In 2013, Bukola Saraki and his godson, the present Governor, Abdulfatah Ahmed, defected to the opposition APC from the PDP. In the prevailing situation, the APC wants to retain power in the State, while the PDP would try to retake it. With Saraki's defection, two of the three Senators—Bukola Saraki and Shaaba Lafiagi—now belong to the APC while the Senator representing Kwara South Senatorial District, Simeon Ajibola, remains in the PDP. All the State's six House of Representatives members also defected to the APC in deference to their political godfather, Senator Bukola Saraki. Because the *godfathers of Kwara politics* have since 1999 come from Kwara Central Senatorial District, the district has been accused of domination by the other Senatorial Districts.

C. Political Parties, Candidates, and Elite Alliances

Kwara State has several political parties; PDP, APC, APGA, Labour Party and Accord Party. However, only the APC and PDP have representatives in the National Assembly. Of the 24 members in the State House of Assembly, APC controls 22 and PDP 2. In Senate, APC has 2 members, while PDP has 1. All the six members of the House of Representatives and the 16 Chairmen of Local Government Councils and the Councillors are all from the APC.

The Chairman of the PDP, Iyiola Oyedepo is from Kwara South and an Igbomina (Yoruba) man, while his APC counterpart, B.F. Ishola, is from Kwara Central and a Fulani. Following established tradition, the Governor, a Muslim, is from the South, but his deputy, a Christian, is from the North. The APC and the PDP remain the most important parties in the State.

Jani Ibrahim, Gbemisola Saraki, Hakeem Lawal, Sunday Babalola, Oba Abdulraheem, Dele Belgore, John Dara, Simeon Ajibola, and Suleiman Ajadi, are among the 12 aspirants that have collected nomination forms for the governorship position in the PDP. A different scenario is playing out in the APC because party elders have endorsed the incumbent for another term in office and no one has come out openly to challenge or to condemn his endorsement as the sole gubernatorial candidate.

D. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

No serious campaign is taking place in State at the moment due to the provisions of the Electoral Act, but there is a beehive of discrete political activities, which is suggestive of the level of preparedness of the politicians for the electoral contests ahead. There have been rallies, consultations, display of political posters, banners, fund-raising activities, etc, by the dominant parties. So far only three political parties have been very active in that regard: PDP, APC and Labour Party.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

Kwara prides itself as 'the Harmony State' and has so far lived up to the name. The security situation is generally satisfactory, although contestations within the main political parties have resulted in shootings, deaths and arrests during the elections of party executives and delegates, and may be a foretaste of what to expect during, and perhaps after the elections. There are reports from official sources that some politicians are importing weapons into the State for possible use before, during and after the elections. The PDP and its intractable intra-party crisis is a security concern. Also, the APC has on a number of occasions accused the police of bias in favour of the PDP, especially in relation to political posters and banners. All the key security forces, except the Navy, are present in the State. Sobi Cantonment is just 15 minutes away from the State capital, Ilorin.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

Given the evident desperation of the dominant political parties to win the forthcoming elections, there is the need to take security seriously before, during and after the elections. Across parties, zoning is becoming an important and divisive issue. This is however more pronounced in the PDP. Security agencies need to investigate the unconfirmed reports of threats by some PDP aspirants who claim they will cause havoc if they lose during the party's primaries.

APC office-holders are not too happy that they will not be fielded for certain elective positions in the 2015 elections, and may defect to the PDP, which could 'heat' up the political space. APC defections to the PDP would be good news for the party in Abuja, but the reaction of the APC to such possibility may generate tensions and other security concerns.

Very senior government and APC officials including the Governor and Senator Bukola Saraki have expressed surprise that Kwara is now the state that receives the least funds from the Federation Account. This is bound to cause some worry and tension in the State, especially against the additional background of the unrelenting drop in oil price belt tightening under the austerity measures. Also, the devaluation of the Naira is bound to affect majority of the population in the State. Already, the government had to borrow to pay salaries in October.

There are allegations that some politicians are buying Permanent Voters' Cards ahead of next year's elections. If that is true, individuals may turn up to vote but they will not have PVCs and that could lead to serious breach of the peace during and after the elections.

There is little religious tension in the State for now, but the decision of the State Government to return mission schools to their owners is capable of raising the profile of religion in Kwara politics.

Perhaps the greatest security threat is the high level of poverty among the voters in the State. This will be exacerbated by the sipping austerity measures, which will impact adversely on all the States of the federation. Based on the behaviour of voters in the State in past elections, no one can say for sure if there will not be vote buying with all its negative implications for the peaceful conduct of the elections and the credibility of the result.

C. Perceptions on Security Forces

As typical of politicians, the role of the security agencies in the forthcoming elections in Kwara State is perceived differently. For the APC, the Police and the military will be used to undermine the opposition's activities across the country and not just in Kwara State. Since the defection of the Governor to the APC, the party has been making a series of allegations against the Police. This is likely to increase in tempo as the 2015 elections draw closer. Surprisingly, however, the public has not yet taken any clear-cut position on the likely role of the Police and other security agencies in the forthcoming elections.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

The build-up to the elections presages the inevitability of electoral disputes. So far, it is only the PDP that has shown immense potential to generate electoral disputes and violence because of its intra-party elections. Many complaints have been made, especially by candidates who lost in the party's executive elections and the recently concluded delegate's elections for the national party secretariat and other relevant committees. Whether the matter is laid to rest peacefully or not depends on members' perception of the neutrality of the party and some key stakeholder in resolving the disputes. Although several meetings have been held among party elders, many of the issues involved are far from being satisfactorily resolved.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration:

Timothy Ibitoye is the Resident Electoral Commissioner for Kwara State. He was appointed some five years ago and Kwara was his first posting. He hails from Ikirun in Osun state. Up till now, his political affiliation and those of other INEC staff in the State are yet to be fully established. The general expectation of the politically conscious public is that the Commission will conduct better elections in 2015, although others have some reservations concerning its neutrality in the light of experience in the 2011 elections.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

INEC does have challenges in the continuous registration of voters across the country and Kwara State is not an exception. The process is characterized by poor preparation and inadequate logistics. The Commission has not communicated effectively with Nigerians on this important issue. It has however done comparatively well with the distribution of Permanent Voters' Cards. From the figures used in the 2011 voters' register, the State has just over one million voters.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

One important area of engagement between the relevant government agencies, including INEC and Civil Society Groups in the State is voter education and enlightenment using popular media like Radio and Television. Political parties should educate members on their civic responsibilities, especially during elections. That way, the incidence of invalid ballot papers would be minimized.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

Kwara State does not have active civil society groups that regularly intervene to mediate political disputes. There are faith-based organizations that engage in dispute resolution activities but they are poorly funded and sometimes use funds from either personal savings or from external donors, which can compromise their independence.

B. Media Outlets

Radio is the most popular medium among the people, especially FM stations that broadcast in vernacular. There is a growing number of private radio stations that are challenging the dominance of government, State and Federal owned radio stations and other media. The number of television stations is also increasing in the State. Radio Kwara and the Harmony FM are State and Federal owned. Royal FM, Ray Power FM in Ilorin the State capital and the Offa based Okin FM, are major privately owned radio stations and they are very popular especially among young people. There is also the University of Ilorin owned radio station, UNILORIN FM. Given the character of politics in the State, the media, especially those publicly owned, have tended to take partisan positions. According, the politically active segments of the population have identified the Federal owned Radio station at Idofian and NTA television station in Ilorin, with the PDP and Radio Kwara with the APC.

C. Gender Relations

The issue of women's active participation in politics is a serious one in Kwara State. Both the PDP and APC have women in their executives and there are more than three women in the State House of Assembly. Women are also aspiring to the governorship, Senatorial and House of Assembly positions in the State. All of them are actively campaigning for support among the electorate. In spite of that however, the level of participation by women in politics and Civil Society Groups in the State is very low, and may not be unconnected with religion as Kwara State is predominantly Muslim.

6) CONCLUSION

Kwara, the Harmony State, is presently peaceful and preparations for the 2015 elections are gaining momentum. The governor announced his intention to contest for a second term on the ticket of the APC in November and campaign posters of major aspirants litter the major street of the capital, Ilorin. Nonetheless, there are signs of tensions. The federal allocation to the State in October put it last among the 36 States of the federation, and highly placed political stakeholders in the ruling APC blame the development on the defection of Senator Bukola Saraki and the governor to the opposition APC.

Other worrying signs are possible use of religion, contestations over party zoning formulae in the PDP and APC. Acrimony within political parties has led to political killings and arrests during elections for part executive positions in the State. There is also worry that political campaigns may not be peaceful, especially after the defacement of APC billboards with images of Dr. Bukola Saraki and the governor, some three months ago. The APC is also not sure of the neutrality of security forces, especially the Police, in the forthcoming elections. Finally, as in the past, there may vote buying, which could compromise the results of the elections.

2. NASARAWA STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Created on 1 October 1996 by the Sani Abacha regime, Nasarawa State with headquarters in Lafia is bounded in the north by Kaduna State, in the west by the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, in the south by Kogi and Benue States, and in the east by Taraba and Plateau States. Nasarawa is an agrarian State, although it is potentially rich in solid minerals resources. The State has 13 Local Government Areas (LGAs) spread across its three senatorial districts of Nasarawa West, Nasarawa North and Nasarawa South, with a combined population of slightly above 2 million people.

Since the state returned to civil rule in 1999, three Executive Governors have governed: Abdullahi Adamu (PDP), Aliyu Akwe Doma (PDP), and Umaru Tanko Al-makura (CPC). The latter later defected to APC. Only 4 out of the 24 members of the State House of Assembly are from the ruling party. The rest are all from the opposition PDP, giving the opposition a clear majority in the State Assembly. Also, two out of its three senators are also from the PDP; and only one out of the five members of the House of Representatives is from the APC.

The state can be described as heavily rural as only Lafia, Keffi and Karu LGAs, exhibit urban or semi-urban features. The main ethnic groups are the Alago, Eggon, Mada, Kanuri, Tiv, Gwandara, Migili, Bassa, Egbirra and Gbagyi. There are 29 spoken languages in the State including Hausa, Gwandara, Gade, Agatu, Eggon, Migili, and Basa. The dominant religious are Islam and Christianity, but there are a number of traditional religious practitioners.

In terms of wealth distribution, there is a yawning gap between the rich and the poor. This has impacted negatively on the voting behaviour of the people, most of whom have remained vulnerable to manipulation by political *moneybags* to make electoral choices they would ordinarily not make. The near absence of modern industries and high unemployment rate among the youths make the rising crime rate and violence inevitable. Political thuggery is also a routine in the State. Worse still, the State government is not in a position to provide adequate jobs to the teeming youth, since its average monthly allocation from the Federation Account is just slightly above 2 billion naira, and its internally generated revenue is always below the government's expectations. Since 1999, Nasarawa South zone has held the governorship position twice, while Nasarawa West zone has occupied the seat once. Nasarawa North is the only zone in the State that is yet to occupy the No. 1 seat of power, and there are very high expectations that 2015 presents a good opportunity for the zone to do so.

However, a former governor, Akwe-Doma and the incumbent, Tanko Al-makura, both from Nasarawa South zone, have indicated interest in returning to power. This perhaps explains why the Eggons of Nasarawa North, who are by far the most populous group in the State, feel aggrieved, frustrated and concerned that political power at the State level may elude them once again in 2015. Senator Sodangi Danso (Nasarawa), Ahmed Aboki (Keffi), Abdullahi Adamu (Keffi), Tanko Wambai (Awe), Dalhatu Mohd Azara (Awe), Salihu Hussein Egyegbola (Obi), Suleiman Adokwe (Obi), have all indicated interest in contesting for senatorial seats.

B. Political Parties, Candidates, and Elite Alliances

Although Nasarawa State is relatively new in Nigeria's political landscape, the vibrancy with which politics is played within the State and even outside it is interesting. For instance, since 1999, indigenes of the State have emerged as a strong force that cannot be ignored at the national level and geo-political zones. Apart from the fact that a former governor, Alhaji Abdullahi Adamu was once the Secretary to the PDP Board of Trustees, another indigene, Senator Walid Jibrin, is presently occupies the same position. This is in addition to Hajiya Rakiya Mohammed who held the position of zonal women leader, and Alhaji Yusuf Ayitogo who is the PDP's Deputy National Chairman, North Central Zone. It is also worth noting that the PDP's North Central Zonal headquarters are in Lafia, the State capital.

Nasarawa State has an interesting array of political personalities like former Minister of Information, Labaran Maku, who was once Deputy Governor in the State and who is vying for the governorship ticket along with eight other aspirants: Dameshi Luka, Solomon Ewuga, James Angbazo, Jibrin Bala Yakubu, Chris Mamman (President-General of the Eggon Cultural Development Association), Chief Michael Abdul (a former Deputy Governor), Senator John Danboyi, former Governor Aliyu Akwe Doma, and the incumbent Governor, Umaru Tanko Al-Makura.

There are two dominant political parties in the State namely the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC), with the PDP as the most Predominant, although the APC occupies the governorship seat. Other notable political parties in the State include APGA and the Labour Party (LP). However, there is strong speculation in political circles and the general public that Solomon Ewuga (PDP), might soon decamp to APGA, if he does not secure the PDP Gubernatorial ticket for 2015. When that happens, it is expected that thousands of people, most especially from his Eggon ethnic group, would abandon the PDP and pitch their tents with him in APGA.

Unlike many other parts of the country, there is no clearly identifiable political godfather in Nasarawa State politics. There are, however, a number of political heavy weights that seem to call the shots in the State, and they include the elder brother to the incumbent governor and Sarkin Kwandare, Alhaji Ahmadu Al-Makura; Mr. Philip Adigidzi, Patricia Akwashiki (Akwanga), Solomon Ewuga (Akwanga/N/Eggon), Labaran Maku, General Ahmed Aboki, Dr. Hassan Lawal (Keffi), Zakari Abdullahi Idde, Jibrin Sabo Keana, Suleiman Adokwe, Ahmed Aliyu (Wadada), Michael Abdul, the Osana of Keana, Mr. Elayo, Andoma of Doma, Alhaji Aliyu Ogah, Alhaji Yusuf Agabi, Senator Sodangi Danso (Nasarawa LGA), Dr. Bala Usman (Osu Agiri), Bishop Matthew Ishaya Audu of the Catholic Diocese of Lafia, Alhaji Danladi Envulanza, Alhaji Ishaq Kana, etc. All these personalities are credible powers brokers, in addition to Alhaji Bala Zakari Adamu (Santali), who is vying for the Nasarawa South Senatorial seat in 2015.

C. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

Political campaigns for the 2015 elections in Nasarawa State have begun in earnest. Politicians adopted different strategies in this regard, ranging from pasting campaign posters at different strategic locations, media campaigns (radio jingles and TV messages, etc.). Periodic meetings of youth associations/groups are also held, in addition to some politicians or their agents who take advantage of social occasions like weddings and naming ceremonies to pass their messages across to prospective voters. Consultations with relevant stakeholders and the use of ward representatives to visit traditional rulers, businessmen and religious leaders are also very much evident in the State.

Interviews and debates on radio on sundry political issues are also very common. Speeches are also made at political rallies/receptions organised to receive *decampees* to the various parties in the State, especially the PDP and APC. There are as well, giant banners and posters using flex materials in strategic locations, and on the walls of houses; bridges and even government offices. All these campaign activities, in addition to informal discussions among people, are very much evident in the State. As usual, money and assorted gifts, ranging from salt, detergent, women's wrappers, T-shirts and caps have been printed and distributed by politicians in the major political parties.

Some politicians are also increasingly utilizing the Internet to send their campaign messages across to the electorate. For example, Alhaji Abdul-Azeez Tijjani (APC), who is vying for a State Assembly seat in Lafia and Alhaji Bala Zakari Adamu, a Senate seat aspirant, and the incumbent Governor, Tanko Al-Makura who, in addition to using giant posters, also has an active website that is dedicated to his political campaign. The most visible and active political parties campaigning in the State are the PDP and APC, with APGA and Labour parties trailing far behind. As for campaign financing, no political party is prepared to admit that it is being sponsored one way or the other, from government funds, even though there are indications that Federal and State Governments seem to engage in such sponsorships, albeit in a subtle manner.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

Prior to 2003, Nasarawa State enjoyed relative peace politically. The peace was later shattered by periodic communal clashes that have presently become one of the most visible tags that the State has been identified with. Occasional clashes between the Eggon and the Gwandaras, Migilis, Alagos and, most recently, in 2014, between the Fulani and Kanuri, are good examples of such incidents. The most notable of these violent attacks was the brazen murder of about 100 security personnel comprising the Police and staff of the State Security Service, SSS, at Alakyo on 7 May 2013 by Ombatse, an Eggon socio-cultural group.

All these incidents have been linked to the political ambitions, and in particular, the gubernatorial aspirations of the Eggon people. It is significant and noteworthy that *Ombatse* in the Eggon language means: "our time has come." Indeed, the current Deputy Governor of the State, Mr. Damishi Barau Luka, who decamped to the opposition PDP, alluded to the political undertones of the communal clashes in a recent media interview. The security agencies deployed to the State to oversee the conduct of the elections include the Police, the SSS, the Nigerian Army, and the Nigerian Civil and Defence Corps (NSCDC). Their role from experience, generally, is to ensure fair and peaceful conduct of the elections. Security in the State has deteriorated significantly in the last quarter of 2014 as the 2015 elections draw closer as already indicated.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

The following are the most likely drivers and triggers of violence before, during and after the forthcoming elections:

- ◆ Imposition of party candidates by political party officials;
- ◆ Massive youth unemployment.
- ◆ Sponsorship of youth to perpetrate violence by some politicians.

- ◆ PDP suggestion and support for the imposition of a State of Emergency in the State and opposition to the suggestion by the ruling APC
- ◆ Frequent communal clashes and unresolved issues e.g. accusations that some prominent Eggon politicians sponsor violent attacks on other ethnic groups;
- ◆ Suspected production and display of fake Voters Register. Defacing and tearing of campaign posters by agents of rival political parties;
- ◆ Sagging people's confidence in the impartiality of INEC or its officials;
- ◆ Hate speech during political campaigns;
- ◆ False or untrue media reports;
- ◆ The use of money for and during campaigns by politicians;
- ◆ Incitement to violence by ethnic and religious groups or preachers;
- ◆ Voter intimidation by security agents;
- ◆ Late or non-arrival of election materials to the polling stations;
- ◆ Self-help and non-resort to legal redress by aggrieved political contestants/losers after party primary elections.

C. Perceptions on Security Forces

The security agencies are generally expected to be impartial during the elections in the State, provided they are not given 'orders from above' by the Federal Government, which controls them. The Nasarawa State Commissioner of Police is generally perceived, and expected to be fair. He once served as Deputy Commissioner of Police during the 2011 elections, and he discharged his duties professionally and fairly;

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Electoral Disputes: There are at the moment no pending cases/petitions related to elections in the State, which are capable of marring the forthcoming polls. There are also no pending cases on candidates' nomination or unprofessional media coverage of the elections, but concerning the Voter Registration case involving Hon. Gyunka (Akwanga North), no one is presently sure whether any serious legal action will be taken against him or not.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

The State Resident Electoral Commissioner is Ahmed Makama and was appointed in 2010. Before then, he was Resident Commissioner in Benue State. He conducted the 2011 elections in Nasarawa State and people generally see him as a very hardworking, fair and neutral arbiter, whose wealth of administrative experience will enable him to conduct successful elections in the State in 2015. However, people are apprehensive about the possibility of Federal Government interference in the process. Nonetheless, they have expressed confidence in Nasarawa INEC's ability to discharge its duties efficiently and impartially, like it did in 2011, which made it possible for the opposition CPC to take over the governorship seat despite the PDP's obvious dominance of the State's political space.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

Even though INEC is yet to schedule the PVC distribution exercise in Nasarawa State, there are indications that it will soon commence. People have expressed confidence in INEC's ability to conduct the exercise successfully, but they have resolved to be extra careful, in view of the numerous complaints that followed the production and issuance of Temporary Voter's Cards (TVCs) the last time the exercise was conducted in the State. For instance, many prospective voters who were supposed to be registered immediately they supplied their basic information, were, instead, asked to go home and return at some other appointed date. There is also the possibility that some politicians will attempt to do their own voters registration and issue the Permanent Voters' Cards (PVC) later, as in the following case.

A PDP member of the Nasarawa State House of Assembly, Mr. Philip Gyunka, representing Akwanga South, was recently involved in a case in which a suspect was arrested with Voter Registration materials in September 2014. He had already registered 200 fake voters at the time of his arrest but up till now, no legal action has been instituted against him.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

The National Orientation Agency (NOA) in the State periodically organizes and conducts seminars and workshops on sundry political/electoral issues. The State INEC has however not done so directly. Rather, voter education is usually done by its Headquarters in Abuja.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

In spite of their value and utility in the conduct of political/electoral matters, not many Civil Society Organizations, CSOs, exist in the State. However, religious groups with interests in politics include the Catholic Diocese of Lafia led by Bishop Matthew Ishaya Audu, the Evangelical Reformed Church of Christ, ERCC, the Jama'atul Nasril Islam, the Izala Group, also known as JIBWIS, FOMWAN, the State Chapter of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), and the Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT). FOMWAN is particularly interested in promoting Muslim women not only in politics but also in all other facets of national life and human endeavours.

The Ta'al Volunteer Group, which supports incumbent Governor Tanko Al-Makura, has its headquarters in Keffi, complete with a website called *Ta'al Circle*. A group known as *Madauchi's Friends*, which emerged in 2013 initially claimed that it was only interested in promoting the State's general development. However, it was soon discovered that the group was being sponsored by former Governor, Akwe Doma, whose traditional title in his hometown is *Madauchin Doma*, and has since shown strong interest in returning to the Lafia Government House in 2015.

B. Media Outlets

The most popular forms of media in the State include radio, newspapers and magazines, television and the Internet. Radio and television stations are government-owned and controlled. Nasarawa Solid FM 97.1 and Nasarawa Broadcasting Corporation (NBS,) are controlled by the State government. Precious FM 102.5 is Federal Government-owned. As a result, their loyalty and support are to their owners. There are no private Radio or TV stations in the State. *Nasarawa Newsday* is a State Government-owned newspaper, which has never hidden its

support for whoever is Governor in the State; while *Eggon News* clearly supports Eggon political aspirations.

C. Gender Relations

Female representation in the State's political party structures is insignificant. Political parties in Nasarawa have over the years shown a clear disdain for women's participation in decision-making processes. Apart from a few women aspirants to political positions and the fact that Hajiya Zainab Abdulmumin is presently Secretary to the State Government (SSG), other women have been virtually side-lined by political parties or are political limbo. However, there is at the moment nothing to suggest that this is a deliberate move on the part of any political party or government. Societal factors such as religion, culture and women's economic disempowerment have combined to discourage their participation in local, State and national politics. It is however noteworthy that a woman, Dr. Rebecca Isaac Umaru, now heads the College of Education in Akwanga, while Dr. Sa'adatu Hassan Liman has just been appointed Deputy Vice Chancellor at Nasarawa State University, Keffi.

3. NIGER STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Niger State is inhabited by three main ethnic groups; Nupe, Hausa, and Gbagyi (Gwari). It is the second largest in the North Central geopolitical zone after Benue State. Niger State is divided into eight emirates for the administrative convenience of a long-standing traditional political system. They are Bida, Agaie, Lapai, all predominantly Nupe; Kontagora, Kagara and Borgu, predominantly Hausa; and Minna and Suleja, which are predominantly Gbagyi. The proportion of the dominant ethnic groups of Nupe, Hausa and Gbagyi is approximately in the ratio of 40 percent, 32 percent, respectively 28 percent, which gives some idea of the relative socio-political strength of the three ethnic groups within the State.

The minority indigenous tribes include Dibo, Kakanda, Kupa and Zhitako in the two Nupe Emirates of Agaie and Lapai; Kambari and Dukawa in Kontagora Emirate; Kadara in Minna Emirate; and Fulani Bissan, Laru and Bundawa in Borgu Emirate. Ethnic settler communities are very few in Niger State, and only significant settler group is the Tiv who migrated into the State during the 2002 ethnic and religious conflicts in Taraba, Nasarawa, Benue and Plateau States.

The 1963 national census identified three major religions; Islam, Christianity and "others" in what is now Niger State as 59 percent, 3.6 percent and 37.5 percent respectively. Since 1963, however, adherents of the "other Religions" have become either Muslims or Christians. Since 1963, also, no other census has put together data on the religious composition of the population of the State. However larger proportion of the Nupe and Hausa ethnic groups in Niger State are predominantly Muslim. Members of the small minority of Nupe Christians are to be found in Bida, Agaie and Lapai Emirates. The minority Hausa speaking Christians of Niger State are found in the Kontagora and Kagara Emirates. However, the proportion of Gbagyi Muslims to Gbagyi Christians is approximately 60 percent versus 40 percent, and predominantly in Munya Local Government under the Minna Emirate and in Dikko, in the Suleja Emirate.

Niger State is largely agrarian with peasant farming and fishing as the major occupations of the people. Other economic activities include local arts and crafts, petty trading and employments in

the State and Federal Civil Service. Because of low level of business activities in the State, government remains the only key player in the economy of the State. There is a conspicuous wide gap between the few rich and the majority in the State. The very alarming poverty level is impacting negatively on the politics of the State as many people are ever ready to sell their votes cheaply, most often, to the ruling party, which has unlimited access to State resources; which engenders tension and conflict between the ruling and opposition parties in the State.

The principle of zoning elective and political party offices is a popular and accepted tradition in Niger State. Since the return to civil rule in 1999, PDP has adhered strictly to this principle. While A. A. Kure whose tenure lasted 8 years (1999-2007) is from Zone A (or Niger South Senatorial District), the present Governor, Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu whose 8 years tenure (2007-2015) will elapse in May 2015, is from Zone B (or Niger East Senatorial District). By this arrangement, it is now the turn of Zone C (or Niger North Senatorial District) to produce the next governor in the 2015 general elections. Since 1999, all elective positions have been won by PDP, except for the 2011 elections, when the opposition CPC (now APC) won the Senate Seat in Zone C. No zone, however, seems to have dominated the other in terms of power sharing among party members.

B. Political Parties, Candidates, and Elite Alliances

While power brokers in the ruling PDP in Niger State are the state governor Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu, Mr. A. A. Kure (former governor 1999-2007), the erstwhile State PDP chairman Alhaji Abdulrahman Enagi and the State PDP Secretary, Barrister Tanko Beji; the All Progressives Congress' (APC) power brokers in the State are: Barrister David Umar (three consecutive times governorship contestant in the (ANPP, CPC and APC) opposition parties, Alhaji Abubakar Sani Bello (APC's governorship candidate for the 2015 elections), and Alhaji Bawa Bwari (former Chief Whip of the House of Representatives (1999-2007), who decamped from the PDP to ACN and contested for governorship in the 2011 elections. The dominant political parties in Niger State are PDP and APC. The minor political parties are, Labour Party, Accord Party, APGA, and PDM.

Candidates who have declared their intention to contest for the governorship post under the platform of the PDP are all from Zone C of the State. They are Alhaji Umar Mohammed Nasko (the governor's choice), Alhaji Ahmed Musa Ibeto, the serving deputy governor in the State, Engr. Mustapha Bello and Colonel Aminu Isah Kontagora (rtd). The serving governor, Dr. M.B. Aliyu, has picked a nomination form to contest for the Senate seat of Zone B. The State PDP Chairman has resigned to contest for the Senate seat in zone A and to challenge the incumbent Senator Zainab Kure (wife of former governor Engr. A. A. Kure), who will complete her two terms of 8 years (2007-2015) in May 2015.

C. Political Campaigns

Only the ruling PDP and the opposition APC are active for now in terms of political campaign activities, and mainly posters, billboards and open-air rallies. While none of the aspirants in the two parties has any well-articulated manifesto or vision, they have so far not used hate speeches in their campaigns.

The most popular governorship candidates of the PDP and the APC are from the same senatorial zone (Zone C), from the same town (Kontagora), and they are both children of retired but living military officers. While the PDP candidate, Alhaji Umaru Nasko, the anointed candidate of incumbent governor, is the son of General Muhammadu Gado Nasko (rtd), former Minister of

the FCT; the APC candidate, Alhaji Abubakar Sani Bello, is the son of Colonel Sani Bello (rtd), former Military Governor of Kano State. The similarity in the backgrounds of the two candidates is a plausible risk factor that could make the 2015 gubernatorial election in Niger State a hot political contest.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

Niger is relatively peaceful. Nonetheless, tension appears to be increasing daily in the political space, as the 2015 elections get closer. At the moment, most stakeholders express fear over the 2015 elections because the body language of key actors shows a lot of desperation in the ruling PDP, and the obvious determination of the APC to wrestle power from the PDP. There are concerns over the capacity and the will of the Police to forestall a breakdown of law and order, or to contain pre-or post-election violence, due to the inadequate number of personnel. In Agaie Local Government, for instance, there are only 15 serving policemen at the Divisional Police Headquarters to provide security to the lives and property of about 132,907 people (according to the official 2006 census, in the entire local government area).

This situation is perhaps responsible in the past, for the involvement of the military, the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps, Customs, Immigration, the Federal Road Safety Corps, FRSC; and Vehicle Inspection Officers, VIOs; as security agents in monitoring elections even though they do not have the constitutional right to perform such a duty, which is traditionally the responsibility of the Nigeria Police Force.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

Religion, ethnicity and natural resources have never played a significant role in violent crises in Niger State. The security risk factors in the State are threats of implosion of political parties due to intra-party contests by aggrieved contestants and party members. For instance, page 19 of the November 17, 2014 edition of the *Daily Trust* Newspaper carried a story in which "Niger APC alleges attempts to disenfranchise supporters" by the ruling PDP in the State. A full page advertorial also appeared on page 38 of the October 28, 2014 edition of the same newspaper, in which the Stakeholders' Committee of the PDP in Zone C alleged imposition of candidates by the state governor for the governorship election in 2015.

The PDP ward congresses on Saturday November 1, 2014 were also marred by violence in all the senatorial zones of the State, which left at least one person dead in Gbako local government area. The PDP care-taker chairman of Agaie Local Government also had his gown torn at the venue of the ward congress in Agaie. The party's failure to internalize democracy is at the root of the crisis that rocked the ward congresses. Its leadership is accused of replacing the list of elected bonafide delegates with the names of members who were never elected but who are apologists of the party's culture of impunity. The general fears and apprehensions of prospective voters in Niger State about the 2015 elections are justified by the widespread defection from the ruling PDP to opposition parties.

C. Perceptions on Security Forces

Public perceptions, especially of the Police, is that the Force is an arm of the Executive at the Federal, State and Local Government levels, which can be manipulated to play the script of the President, Governor or local government Chairman as the case may be.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Electoral Disputes: Barrister David Umaru of the APC is in court to challenge the results of the senatorial election that held in September 2014 in which Dr Shem Nuhu Zagbayi was declared the winner. The election followed the death of Senator Dahiru Awaisu Kuta representing Zone B Senatorial District.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

The Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) in Niger State is Dr. Emmanuel Onucheyo. An indigene of Dekina LGA and an Igala by ethnic group, Dr Onucheyo hails from Kogi State, and has a Doctorate degree in Veterinary Medicine (DVM) from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He was posted to Niger State shortly before the September 2014 senatorial election in Zone B, perhaps, in response to extensive allegations that his predecessor was biased, even though INEC may not openly subscribe to this allegation. Interference of INEC officials or intimidation by the ruling PDP while performing their statutory duties at the State level cannot be ruled out completely because of logistic support, which the State Government offers to the Commission and which INEC shrewdly seeks from the State Government during elections.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

The exercise which was rescheduled from an earlier date will now take place from 28-30 November 2014.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

Neither INEC nor the agencies mandated to educate the general public on civic, voting rights and related matters have lived up to expectations. Majority of voters in Niger State, especially those in rural communities, are still ignorant of the worth and significance of their votes. In the 2011 elections, for instances, it was public knowledge that the ruling PDP bought voter cards at two hundred Naira per card. There is nothing new thus far to show that the ruling party will not use the same method in the 2015 elections.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

The main civil society actors in Niger State are the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) and the Gamji Members Association (GAMA). Mosques, Churches, religious organizations, student unions and professional associations do not seem to play any strategic role in the affairs of political parties in Niger State or in election matters.

B. Media Outlets

Daily newspapers and the federal-owned Power FM radio station (100.5) located in Bida are the most popular forms of media in the State. While the state-owned weekly newspaper, *Newslines*, comes out regularly, there has been no functional state-owned radio station in Niger State in the last 13 years.

C. Gender Relations

Some women are actively involved in politics in the State. Hon Jummai Jafaru, Hon. Fati L. Abubakar Kolo, Hon Sa'adatu Kolo, Hajiya Hassana Adamu Kolo, Haiya Fati Kuta and Hajiya Kaka Wabi, are all contesting for State House of Assembly seats on the platform of the PDP, while Hajiya Maryam Kolo is contesting for the State House of Assembly on the ticket of the APC. At the National Assembly level, Senator Zainab Kure, who is in the last year of her second term as senator representing Niger South/Zone A, and Barrister Veronica Ndanusa from Zone B and the only Christian among female aspirants, are respectively contesting for Senatorial and House of Representatives seats in the 2015 elections. Hon. Eunice Daud Afinike, a former member of the Niger State House of Assembly under ANPP 2003-2007, is a strong member of the Central Working Committee (CWC) for the only governorship candidate of the APC in the State, Alhaji Abubakar Sani Bello (Alias *Abu-Lolo*).

CHAPTER 6: South-South Geopolitical Zone

1. CROSS RIVER THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Cross Rivers (originally designated South Eastern State) was created in July 1967 as part of the multi-state federation structure that replaced the regions. The population is predominantly rural (70 percent) and Christian. The state is deeply segmented along ethnic lines, with dominant formations (Efik, Ejagham and Bekwara) and multiple micro-minorities (Biase, Yako, Mambe, Boki, Ejajuk, Nkum, Bete, Yala etc). The most significant economic resources include federal oil revenue allocation, agrarian products (rubber, palm oil, and cocoa), salt, limestone, and timber. Tourism is also a growing economic factor.

B. Political Parties, Candidates, and Elite Alliances

The dominant political party is PDP, with APC as an emerging opposition. The nomination process for PDP has been contentious and competitive. The political process is marked by both a lack of ideology and a lack of transparency. For the PDP the interest of the governor and party stalwarts are decisive in determining outcome of primaries. Potential aspirants for governorship under PDP include Mike Aniah, Legor Idagbor, Larry Odey, Ben Ayade, and Fidelis Ugbo. Potential aspirants under APC include Odey Ochicha, and David Asare.

The elite alliances within PDP include Governor Liyel Imoke; former governor Donald Duke, Sen. Victor Ndoma - Egba, Sen. Bassey Otu, Sen. Benedict Ayade, Party Chairman John Okon, Party Executives, Local Government Chairmen, and traditional rulers. While in the past there were extensive defections from ANPP to PDP, presently party defections from PDP are rare because PDP currently controls state institutions and agencies and patronage network.

C. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

Candidates for gubernatorial, National and State Assemblies often draw on extensive subterranean resource support from business and political elite (especially sponsorship from former office holders). Within PDP, campaign activities have already commenced regarding the highly contested Governorship and Legislative positions, for APC, there have been fewer campaign activities. Typical campaign activities include posters, billboards, rallies, leaflets, jingles, TV & radio appearances, sponsoring community events, and youth and women empowerment rallies. More serious campaigning will occur closer to election—including distribution of cash and food items (the so-called “stomach infrastructure”). Ethnicity is used as sub-current in political bargaining.

Favoured candidates within the ruling party often have at their disposal a network of state structures and resources for political campaign, including funds from official allocations and a wide range of contract beneficiaries (“business interest”). Opposition parties, like APC, lack access to official resources for campaign purposes and must instead rely on contributions from individuals and organizations at the national and the state levels.

2) SECURITY SETTING

Cross River ranks as one of the States with low levels of insecurity; however, communal flash points and fault lines exist (Ebom-Ebijakara, Ikot Ana - Efut, Boki etc) and have in the past constituted a problem (indigene/ settler syndrome) for the process of candidate recruitment. This relatively low potential for ethnic-based conflict has been further mitigated through an informal arrangement for zonal rotation of candidates for elected offices. Even so, there is a currently-emerging crisis that already involves a court process regarding the selection process for candidates within the ruling party (PDP).

Security agents (Police, Civil Defence, Military, SSS) are widely perceived as tools and instruments of the ruling party (PDP) to ensure electoral victory for its candidates. In the past, security agents have been associated with acts related to rigging and hijacking of ballot boxes in favour of official candidates, as well as intimidation of voters—and in some cases outright brutality when such intimidation has been resisted. Despite these concerns among the electorate, people also consider security agents to be a necessary evil to provide and safeguard electoral materials and personnel.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Electoral Disputes: In the past, electoral tribunals have been necessary. An electoral tribunal resolved the contested 2003 gubernatorial election, and election tribunals also resolved a series of disputes between PDP and ANPP in the years between 1999 and 2007. Besides resorting to election tribunals, aggrieved party members have also petitioned the national secretariat of their party or have sought covert court injunction.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

The Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) for Cross Rivers is Mike Igini, who was appointed in 2010. His state of origin is Edo State, and his career background is as a lawyer and civil society advocate. The REC is considered highly knowledgeable and well experienced in the electoral process, and he is known to be neutral and transparent in the conduct of elections in the state. He generally enjoys a highly favourable public perception. INEC also draws heavily from both federal and state resources for conduct of elections. Extensive manpower assistance from the National Youth Service Corps and Lecturers in the Universities are utilized during elections.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

The voter registration process appears to have gone smoothly, with relatively few complaints from the public. Those who did not collect their Permanent Voter Card (PVC) on the “D-Day”, were advised to collect it from the INEC office in their Local Government of origin/registration. Some problems were observed during the registration, including inadequate polling units in some wards and constituencies, omission of voters’ names, limited time for registration, and limited number of data capturing machines, etc.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

Civic and voter education (CVE) has been conducted by INEC, National Orientation Agency (NOA), media, political parties, and Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria (TAN). CVE

activities have included advocacy, jingles, posters, radio and print media, and town hall meetings.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

In Cross River, there are robust electoral-related activities among civil society, religious organizations, professional associations, and the media. Among civil society, the primary actors include P.O.W.E.R, Destiny Group, Supreme Coalition, and National Youth Council. The religious organizations include Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN), Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), and Full Gospel Business Fellowship (FGBMF). The professional associations, unions, student associations, and journalists include Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU-UCB and ASUU-CRUTECH), NACRISS World Wide, Association of Seadogs, Nigerian Union of Journalists, NANS, NIPR, NCWS, and GIS. Private sector actors include SMARTEC (construction company) and Dangote (conglomerate). The general focus of these groups has been on free and fair electoral process and gender balance in electoral offices.

B. Media Outlets

The most popular media are newsprint, online/social media, and cable TVs. The state-owned media houses are generally viewed as favourable toward the ruling party. The main local newsprint agency “CHRONICLE” is owned by the state government and very unpopular with informed public. People mostly patronize a variety of other newspapers (Guardian, Nation, Punch, Vanguard, etc). CRBC (TV Station) has a wide coverage and broadcast in English, Efik, Bekwarra, Ejagham. It accepts political adverts but favours the ruling party (PDP). It is viewed as the de facto organ of the ruling party and elite.

C. Gender Relations

As a consequence of the intervention by governor’s wife, women have benefitted from an increased focus on women’s participation by the ruling party (PDP). As a result of this policy focus, there are about four female LGA chairpersons, many female vice-chairman, and numerous female Councillors. There are also several female members of the State House of Assembly, and two in the National Assembly.

The main barriers for expanding women’s participation have been cultural conditioning, a patrimonial mode of political engagements, and lack of financial resources. The State Ministry of Women Affairs, under the control and direction of the State’s “First Lady,” has organized provision for gender mainstreaming and has established an affirmative action target of 35 percent.

D. Youth Relations

Youth presently occupy a significant number of seats in the State House of Assembly, and as in most states in Nigeria, the youths form the core rallying point and mobilization for the political parties. Unfortunately, youths have also constituted the foot soldiers in several confrontations related to campaigns for Local Government for chairmanships. In the past, 22 youths (students from University of Calabar) perished in such confrontation in Akpabuyo Local Government.

E. Persons with Disability

Uncertainty surrounding the electoral landscape prevents the physically challenged from participation, and no sustained measures have been put in place to promote participation. The disabled do not generally run as candidates, and the political parties have no known policies to include physically challenged persons. Polling units lack infrastructure to assist physically challenged persons, and legal procedures established to assist voting for the disabled are not always followed.

F. Human Rights

Rural voters are often disenfranchised through fraudulent electoral practices, and human rights abuses have occurred in LGAs such as Calabar South, Akamkpa, and Boki.

2. DELTA STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Delta was created on 27 August, 1991 by the General Ibrahim Babangida Military Regime. The state is comprised of diverse people and seven major languages. The people are predominantly Christians, but a few are still adherents of traditional religion. The state population according to the 2006 Census figures was 4,098,291 (2,674,306 males, 2,024,085 females) spread across three (3) Senatorial Zones and 25 Local Government Areas (LGAs).

The state is endowed with abundant crude oil and gas. The people engage in agricultural crop production and fishing. Although the state is rich by virtue of its oil revenue allocation from the federation account, many of the people are poor and lack basic amenities. The struggle to capture these socio-economic resources affects the electoral process, largely along ethno-regional divides, as various groups within the state try to ensure its candidate wins at all cost. This political competition for state resources can lead to electoral violence AND malpractice.

The first elections in the state were held in December 1991, a few months after its creation. Chief Felix Ibru, (Urhobo) of the Social Democratic Party from Delta Central defeated Professor Eric Opia (Ukwani/Ndosimili) of the National Republican Convention from Delta North to become the first Executive Governor. His tenure was terminated by military intervention in 1993. In 1999, Chief James Onanefe Ibori, (paternally Urhobo and maternally Itsekiri) of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) from Delta Central became the second elected governor. He was re-elected for a second term in 2003. In 2007, Dr. Emmanuel Ewetan Uduaghan, (Itsekiri and a cousin of Gov. Ibori) of PDP and from Delta South, defeated Chief Great Ovedje Ogorun (Urhobo) and Peter Okocha (Ibo) to become governor. Six months to the end of Uduaghan's first term, the Courts declared that there were irregularities in the election that brought him to power and ordered a re-run, which he won. He was re-elected for a second term in 2011.

B. Political Parties, Candidates and Elite Alliances

The dominant political party in Delta is the PDP, while secondary parties include Labour Party and APC. Potential aspirants for governorship under PDP include, Chief Kenneth Gbagi, Rep. Ndudi Elumelu, Chief Godswill Obielum, Senator Arthur Okowa Ifeanyi, Dr. (Mrs.) Ngozi Olejeme, Chief David Edevbie, Chief Omo-Agege, Engr. Victor Ochei, Mr. Tony Obuh, and Elder

Godsday Orubebe. There are 22 PDP aspirants in all. Potential aspirants under APC include Chief Otega Emerhor and Chief Fidelis Tilije. Potential aspirants under Labour include Chief Great Ogboru.

The elite alliances within PDP include: Chief E.K. CLARK, Gov. Dr. Emmanuel Uduaghan, Chief James Onanefe Ibori (former Governor currently in jail in the UK on corruption charges), Senator James Manager, Chief Kenneth Gbagi, Dr. Ngozi Olejeme, Chief Obielum, Senator Arthur Ifeanyi Okowa, Engr. Victor Ochei (Speaker, Delta House of Assembly); Also included in the elite political alliances is Chief Great Ogboru of the Labour Party.

C. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

The PDP campaign—though most active—is not yet strong. Most candidates are awaiting the preferred choice of the national body before commencing. Other parties are also watching the PDP to determine their strategies. Unsuccessful PDP aspirants may seek candidacies in other parties.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

There is a general sense of insecurity in Delta presently that is unrelated to current political activities. Kidnapping and armed robbery are two of the most common occurrences that make people live in real fear. Kidnapping was originally directed at expatriates and indigenous workers of Oil Multinational Companies (MNCs) by Niger Delta militant groups like MEND but its extension to the rest of society as well as the increase in armed robberies are traceable to the use of armed thugs by politicians particularly during the 2003 gubernatorial elections.

Another potential for violent conflict that could create additional security challenge has to do with longstanding competing territorial claims among the Ijaws, Itsekiri and some Urhobo kingdoms which sometimes find vent during elections or when major political decisions are perceived to privilege one group.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

The major drivers and triggers of electoral violence in Delta—although ultimately linked to distribution of scarce socio-economic resources—include: 1) intra-party disaffection as a result of imposition of party flag bearers by power brokers within the party; and 2) more importantly, inter-party contestations arising from the perception that winners have fraudulently obtained victory. One current example of a potential trigger for political/electoral conflict over socio-economic resources relates to the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) in Escravos, where the Ijaws and Itsekiri are spoiling for a fight—a situation, which made President Jonathan to put off the earlier scheduled ground-breaking ceremony of the project.

C. Perceptions on Security Forces

The military has for years been the major security apparatus in the state due to previous militant activities and to kidnappings and armed robbery. Although the deployment of the military is not directly related to the elections, there are general perceptions—especially during the last Delta Central Senatorial elections—that the security apparatus within the state are agents of the dominant PDP during elections. Based on past experiences, the police are also perceived as agents of PDP during elections.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Electoral Disputes: Shortly before the conclusion of the first term of Gov. Uduaghan, his election was voided by the courts due to electoral irregularities in the 2007 elections. The court ordered a rerun, which Uduaghan again won. He was re-elected in for a second term in 2011. There are currently no pending challenges to the electoral process.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

Mrs. Geslina Khan assumed duty in Delta as Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) in March, 2012. She had earlier worked with the defunct Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC) and later, at the Bayelsa State office of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC). She is from Bayelsa State.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs)

Despite some concern about the shortness of the registration period, there are no major complaints from groups or political parties. Community groups and civil society groups remain the main agents of civic and voter education in the state.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

There are a number of "Front", "Forum", "Agenda", "Union" etc. that claim to speak on behalf of different ethno-regional groups. For example, the G3 that claim to represent the interests of the Isoko, Ijaw, and Itsekiri—the three "I's"—of the Delta South Senatorial District. Solomon Funkekeme (Ijaw), one time Minority Leader in the State Assembly, now a PDP chieftain and Commissioner for Works leads this group. Other groups include the Isoko Positive Agenda, Itsekiri Leaders of Thought, and the Urhobo Progress Union (UPU)

B. Media Outlets

The print and electronic media are the most popular in Delta, but social media and use of text messages are gaining popularity. For instance, people are daily inundated with text messages from a particular campaign team. The state-owned newspaper, the *Pointer*, is generally perceived to be pro- government and pro-ruling party, the PDP

C. Gender Relations

Dr. Mrs. Ngozi Olejeme and Dr. Mrs. Esther Uduehi are both governorship candidates in the PDP.

3. RIVERS STATE THEMATIC SUMMARIES

1) POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

A. Geopolitical Data and Economic Situation

Rivers was created on 27 May 1967 from the then Eastern region as part of a grand strategy to scuttle the secessionist bid of Biafra. According to the 2006 census, Rivers is the sixth most populous state and is mainly Christian, though there is a sizeable proportion of traditional worshippers, as well as relatively few Muslims, most of whom are non-indigenes.

There are two main topographies in the state, namely upland and riverine—which constitute the unwritten but highly-respected basis for power-sharing and power rotation in the state. The Ikwerre, which is located in the upland, is the majority ethnic group, followed by extractions of the Ijaw ethnic nationality spread in many Riverine LGAs. The third major ethnic nationality is Ogoni. There are three Senatorial Districts, namely: Rivers West, Rivers East and Rivers South East dominated by the Ijaw, Ogoni and Ikwerre ethnic nationalities, respectively. The Rivers South-East Senatorial District, home of the current Governor and the most visible aspirant on the platform of the PDP, Chief Wike, accounts for nearly half of the registered voters in the state.

B. Political Dynamics

Rivers has over the past 15 years consistently voted the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), with vast majority of elected officials being from PDP. The recent massive defection from PDP to APC of Governor Amaechi and many elected and appointed political officeholders may establish a new dynamic in the up-coming elections. The defections were the result of the total break-down in relations between Governor Amaechi and President Jonathan. Aspiring for the PDP governorship ticket is Chief Nyesom Wike, who was formerly one of Governor Amaechi’s closest aides and who is reportedly backed now by President Jonathan.

The tensions resulting from the poor relations between Governor Amaechi and President Jonathan and from the fall out between Amaechi and Chief Wike heighten concerns regarding potential electoral violence. Some factions of ex-militants in the state have openly identified with Chief Wike. There are also concerns that the formal security forces will be aligned with PDP. Allegedly, the Governor may resort to self-help by arming some youths to confront both the informal and the formal security forces that he believes will be given a specific mandate against him. The Governor recently made public statements in Abuja that if PDP wins, APC will form a parallel government, with statements appearing to lend credence to these concerns.

The governorship election is further complicated by a perceived breach of the informal zoning formula for governorship. Both Governor Amaechi and Chief Wike, his former aide, come from the same senatorial district. Many within PDP feel Chief Wike’s candidacy would improperly give the governorship back-to to the same senatorial district. Given that almost all the aggrieved aspirants are of Ijaw extraction, the likelihood of falling back to the large stock of ex-militants in their fold to express their grievance appears quite possible.

C. Political Parties, Candidates and Elite Alliances

Chief Nyesom Wike, the frontline aspirant on the platform of the PDP, is believed to have overwhelming control of the party machine in the state. He also enjoys the support of the party at the national level. Dakuku Peterside, was adopted as the candidate on the platform of the APC. He is currently a member of the Federal House of Representatives and is widely believed to be a close ally of Governor Amaechi. There are 16 other aspirants who bought nomination forms on the platform of the PDP. Their common stand is that Chief Wike be dissuaded from contesting the election as a breach of the informal state zoning agreement.

In the Rivers South-West Senatorial District, two-term PDP Senator George Thompson Sekibo is seeking a third term, in contravention to the informal zoning arrangement. The APC candidate is Chief Andrew Uchendu, a three-time member of the House of Representatives. He is a close ally of the Governor and is of the Ikwerre ethnic nationality, whose turn it is understood to be to contest for the Senatorial position. In the Rivers West Senatorial District, PDP Member of House of Representatives Chibudom Nwuche, is seeking election as Senator. Chief David Briggs, a

former Commissioner is also aspiring to contest. The APC contender is yet to be determined. In the Rivers East Senatorial District, Senator Magnus Abe is serving a first term and is likely to contest again, having failed to secure the APC governorship nomination. The PDP aspirants are not yet known.

D. Political Campaign and Campaign Financing

In practical sense, only one candidate has been canvassing for support so far and that is the frontline PDP aspirant Chief Nyesom Wike. All other aspirants on the platform of the PDP have concentrated their efforts at working towards getting President Jonathan to dissuade Chief Wike from contesting. In a system that is largely opaque, it is hard to determine the sources of campaign funds. It should be mentioned that Chief Wike has enormous personal resources to use in campaigning. As APC only recently selected their candidate, little campaigning has occurred. Prior to obtaining the nomination, potential aspirants were hesitant to campaign in deference to Governor Amaechi's prerogative to select the candidate.

2) SECURITY SETTING

A. General Assessment

The security situation is of concern to key stakeholders—including electoral officials, political leaders, and civil society members—due to the statements and activities of political contestants and their supporters. The environment seemingly has improved following the recent change of the police commissioner, who was perceived as favouring PDP. Security agents include the Nigeria Police force (regular and anti-riot), the military, State Security, and the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corp.

B. Drivers and Triggers of Electoral Violence

The primary risk factor for electoral violence is that PDP is apparently disregarding the zoning arrangement in the governorship and senatorial elections. Another key factor is that the alleged bias of the security forces against the Governor may compel him to resort to self-help, and he has the means—and possibly the inclination—to do so.

3) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Electoral Disputes: In connection to the perceived breach of the zoning arrangement, aggrieved PDP aspirants lodged complaints to the national secretariat of the party. A five-man panel was set up to investigate and report its findings; however, most, if not all, the aspirants boycotted the sittings of the panel because they felt the panel could not have been neutral. They alleged that four of the five members in the panel had worked closely with Chief Wike when he was in the federal cabinet.

4) ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Electoral Structure and Administration

The State Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) is Aniedi A. Ikoiwak, who has served in Rivers as REC more than four years. He has conducted elections in Bauchi (2007-2008), Edo (2008), and Kwara (2010). He has also been re-deployed to conduct elections on an ad hoc basis in Anambra, Bayelsa and Abia States. His state of origin is Akwa Ibom. The REC sees his job as simply that of an umpire.

B. Voter Registration and Distribution of Permanent Voter Card (PVCs)

Civil society and party officials recognize the improved performance of INEC under the current REC, but worry that the election management body consistently fails on some important deadlines and decisions. They also have lingering fears over irregularities in previous elections, particularly the 2003 election that produced more votes than registered voters. The distribution of the PVCs has not yet been carried out. An earlier planned attempt to distribute the PVCs in 7 of 21 LGAs raised concerns and was eventually put on hold, with plans to carry out the exercise on 28 November 2014.

C. Civic and Voter Education (CVE)

Civic and Voter Education is ongoing. There are several media outlets that run slots emphasizing the need to vote during elections or the need to shun violence. Stakeholder Democracy Network has an on-going CVE programme in association with Nigeria Info, a major broadcasting house in Rivers.

5) SOCIAL ACTORS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Civil Society and Advocacy/Pressure/Lobby Groups

Most churches announce to members the need for them to register and claim their PVCs. Emphasis is often made that it is the only way that Christians can bring about the desired change in the governance of the state. Apart from regular church announcements, the Catholic Church— through its NGO, the Justice Development and Peace Commission (JDPC)—has a planned programme for the up-coming election. They have been recognized with observer status during many previous elections across the Federation. INEC has accepted to train its staff on election observation and voter education. Their reach is state-wide.

Stakeholder Democracy Network (SDN) is also implementing large-scale CVE programmes, in association with MacArthur Foundation. They are also planning to hold a political debate programme, which will be done in association with Nigeria Info. Following the election, SDN hopes to engage the winning party after six months into office, to ascertain how well their campaign promises are being kept.

B. Media Outlets

There are numerous broadcast media operating in the state, including both public and private media. A state radio or television station is generally perceived to be biased in favour of the government. Similarly, a media house owned by a private individual is generally perceived to be biased against those who may be opposed to the media house owner.

C. Gender Relations

PDP has reduced fees for its female candidates, in Rivers and elsewhere, to reduce the financial constraints to active participation of women in politics. APC charges no fees for its female aspirants, and APC has approximately ten women in the state party executive committees.