



The mission of CLEEN Foundation is to promote public safety, security and accessible justice through empirical research, legislative advocacy, demonstration programmes and publications in partnership with government, civil society and the private sector.

Lagos Office:

21, Akinsanya Street,
Ojodu, Lagos, Nigeria

Tel: 234-1-493-3195, 234 - 7612479, 09035200933

Abuja Office:

26, Bamenda Street,
off Abidjan Street
Wuse Zone 3, Abuja

Tel: 234-09-7817025, 07067899368

Owerri Office:

Plot 10, Area M Road 3,
World Bank Housing Estate
Owerri, Imo State

Tel: 08128002962, 08130278469, 08060023936

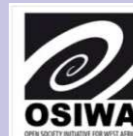
Situation Analysis on Public Safety and Security For the November 18, 2017 Governorship Election in Anambra State



CLEEN
FOUNDATION
Justice Sector Reform



CLEEN
FOUNDATION
Justice Sector Reform



CLEEN FOUNDATION

Situation Analysis on Public Safety and Security

For the November 18, 2017 Governorship Election
in Anambra State

DECEMBER 2017



CLEEN
FOUNDATION
Justice Sector Reform



First Published in 2018

By:

CLEEN Foundation

Lagos Office:

21, Akinsanya Street,
Ojodu, Lagos, Nigeria

Tel: 234-1-493-3195, 234 - 7612479, 09035200933

Abuja Office:

26, Bamenda Street,
off Abidjan Street
Wuse Zone 3, Abuja

Tel: 234-09-7817025, 07067899368

Owerri Office:

Plot 10, Area M Road 3,
World Bank Housing Estate
Owerri, Imo State

Tel: 08128002962, 08130278469, 08060023936

Email: cleen@cleen.org

Website: www.cleen.org

@ All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying, mechanical, recording or otherwise, without the prior approval of the CLEEN Foundation

LIST OF ACRONYMS

APC	All Progressive Congress
APGA	All Progressive Grand Alliance
ASATU	Anambra State Association of Town Unions
DCRM	Digital Card Reader Machine
EMB	Election Management Body
FAAC	Federation Account Allocation Committee
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
ICES	Inter-Agency Committee on Election Security
IGR	Internal Generated Revenue
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IPOB	Indigenous People of Biafra
KII	Key Informant Interview
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NEWG	Nigeria Election Working Group
NOA	National Orientation Agency
NPC	National Population Commission
NURTW	National Union of Road Transport Workers
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PPA	Progressive Peoples Alliance
SIEC	State Independent Electoral Commission
UPP	United Progressive Party

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

CLEEN Foundation is grateful to individuals and Organizations who contributed immensely to the realization of the project objectives and peaceful conduct of the Nov 18, 2017 Governorship Election in Anambra State.

First, is the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) for her generous support for the conduct of the study and other activities under the Project.

Second, are the following persons: Dr. Nkwachukwu Orji, The Resident Electoral Commissioner in Anambra State; Dr. Benson Olugbuo the Executive Director of CLEEN Foundation for their oversight function on the project; Mr. Kelechi Iwuamadi the lead researcher; Mr. Ebenebe Onyeka Steve, Mr. Okolie Roland Chukwuma, Mr. Okechukwu Madubuike the field researchers, Mrs. Chigozirim Okoro the Project Lead and Assistant Program Manager of CLEEN Foundation; Mrs. Ugochi Ehiaturike Program Manager Justice Development and Peace Caritas (JPDC) of Nnewi Diocese and our local partners for their commitment, hard-work and professionalism on the project, the publication and overall success of the election.

Third, are the respondents at the focus group discussion and key informant interviews conducted by CLEEN Foundation across the three senatorial districts of Anambra state that led to the research findings, and publication.

We commend INEC, Security Services, Media, CSOs under the Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room and the good people of Anambra state for their collective roles towards the peaceful conduct of the election.

Finally are the Board of Directors, Management and Staff of CLEEN Foundation for their immense contributions on the project towards the peaceful conduct of the election.

May God bless you all, thank you!

CONTENTS

Acronyms	3
Acknowledgement	4
1.0 Introduction	6
2.0 Objectives	8
2.0 Profile of Anambra State	9
2.1 Governance and Political History	9
2.2 Socio-economic Analysis	12
3.0 Methodology	14
5.0 Summary of Key Findings	19
5.1 Highlights of Security Threats in Anambra State	19
5.2 IPOB Activities and Security Situations across Anambra North, South, and Central Senatorial District	25
5.3 Other Developments and Security Threats to the Election	28
5.4 Potential Security and Public Safety Flash Points	30
6.0 Conclusion	32
6.1 Recommendations	33

CHAPTER ONE


Introduction

The South East geo-political region of Nigeria has in recent time continued to experience some forms of agitation and expression of discontentment by its indigenes in reaction to the perceived disadvantaged political and economic position of the region in the Nigerian project. Of interest to the stir which is being championed by various formal, informal and social groups are activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). The activities of IPOB and government response strategies have no doubt impacted on governance and livelihood in the entire South East, implied largely to perceived unrest indicating a threat to the overall development and peace in the region. To this effect, there has been widespread discontent by people of the region on the perceived role of the government in addressing the longstanding socio-economic and political grievances, thus leading to agitations and a general fear of insecurity. Accordingly the government has also, been unable to learn key lessons and draw the necessary implications for policy formulation and development.

The unaddressed grievances that emanated mainly from the 1967-1970 civil war in Nigeria have been argued to be the root cause of the reoccurring agitations in the South East since post-civil war era. Instead of addressing the complexities, connotations of attacks leaves the indigenes in a state of insurrection especially during critical moments such as elections.

Hence, following the announcement by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) of November 18, 2017 - as date for the gubernatorial election in Anambra state, the leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) launched a 'No-Election Campaign' in Anambra State requested that a Referendum be conducted. The 'no-election' campaign message of IPOB is basically a call for its members and supporters to completely boycott the November 18, 2017 gubernatorial election in Anambra state.

The Anambra State governorship election is one that would test the actual strength of democracy in Nigeria especially at a time when threat to public safety and security is on the increase as a result of Nigerian military's bid to execute 'operation python dance II' also known as 'Egwu Eke II' and an overwhelming suspicion of its medical outreach in some parts of the region. This happened to be one of the pivotal security concerns even as the governorship election in Anambra State draws near. In as much as the stakes are high in the battle for the seat of power in Awka, the call by IPOB to its members and supporters to boycott the election has remained a source of worry to the government, indigenous persons and Nigerians in general. The situation has left several narratives based on mostly assumptions due to unclear security architecture in the region at the moment.



Concerned groups like the Nigeria Election Working Group (NEWG) observed that the “No Election Campaign” by IPOB could serve as reason for the militarization of the Anambra State Governorship Election. The group argued that this could discourage potential electoral officials and electorate from participating in the election. Due to perceived insecurity, potential electoral officials and the electorate should not be deterred from participating in the electoral process—a situation that holds potentials to threaten the general conduct of the election, thus accounting to a possible larger-scale-effects. It is therefore within the aforementioned context and largely to document a concise and clear understanding of the security situation and the governorship election, that CLEEN Foundation embarked on this study— which seeks to underscore the likely effects of the security situation in South East Nigeria, particularly in Anambra State on the governorship election. The survey aimed at ascertaining whether IPOB “No Election Campaign” ahead of the election constitute any threat to the safety and security of the people in the state regardless of its proscription by the government. This is with a view to proffer workable solutions to mitigate election insecurity and voter apathy towards the 2017 Anambra state governorship election. The findings from the study would be used to improve the election's security information available to the public and election stakeholders, more especially the election management body and security agencies. Finally the study to proffer some key policy options for improving election security management in Nigeria.

This report is divided into five sections which includes (1) Executive Summary (2) Introduction (as indicated above). (3) Background information on the Profile of Anambra State, which addresses the Demographics, Geographical location, the Governance and Political History, Socio-economic and Political Development Analysis of the state since its creation. (4) Details of the Methodology approach adopted in the study given the limited time for the research and the sensitive nature of the subject matter; (5) summaries of Key Findings comprising highlights of Security Threats in Anambra State; IPOB Activities across Anambra North, Anambra South, and Anambra Central Senatorial Zones; and other Developments and Security Threats (excluding IPOB) across Anambra North, South, and Central Senatorial District that could impact on the election, and Nigeria in general. (5) Conclusion and (6) recommendations.

OBJECTIVES

The main objective of the study is to examine the implications of the agitations for secession evident in the threats to boycott the Nov 18, 2017 Governorship Election in Anambra state for public safety and security in the state, with a view to proffering actionable recommendations for improved election security management in Nigeria.

The survey also aimed at ascertaining whether IPOB “No Election Campaign” ahead of the election constitute any threat to the safety and security of the people in the state regardless of its proscription by the government. This is with a view to proffer workable solutions to mitigate election insecurity and voter apathy towards the 2017 Anambra state governorship election.

It offered opportunity to have an in-depth study of the activities of IPOB different from the media reports and how it may likely impact on the Anambra election. Although the recent proscription of IPOB have altered the equation, it is important to potential effects of the group's propaganda campaign on voter apathy and alienation of youths during the election by Anambra youths during the election. The overall objective is to promote election security through its findings.



CLEEN Foundation Call Centre Managers during the election.



Inscriptions by IPOB with Situation Room Observers.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 PROFILE OF ANAMBRA STATE

2.1 Governance and Political History

Anambra State was created in August 27 1991, from the old Anambra following the states creation exercise of August 27, 1991. The state has 21 Local Government Areas (LGAs) that are rural and urban which spread across the 3 senatorial districts of the state (see Table 2.1.1, and fig. 2.1.1 below), and from the map, the 7 local government indicated in pink colour are all in Anambra North senatorial districts, the 7 local governments in the yellow colour of the map are in Anambra Central Senatorial District, while the other 7 local governments in the blue coloured part of the map are in Anambra South Senatorial District. The state capital which is Awka, is situated within the Anambra Central Senatorial District, while the two major commercial cities of Onitsha and Nnewi are situated within Anambra North and Anambra South Senatorial Zones respectively. The state is bordered by Enugu and Imo State and, the River Niger is the natural boundary that separates the state from Delta state. During the 2006 National Population Census (NPC) Anambra state was reported to have a total population of 4, 182, 032, comprising 2,007,391 male and 2,174,641 female. The state is referred to as the gateway state, with its major center of commerce in Onitsha and Nnewi.

The law and government of Anambra state recognizes the powers of elected community executives headed by President Generals (PGs) as traditional system of governance. This has strategically placed PGs as a political force to be reckoned with in view of the influence they have in some communities. The Anambra State Association of Town Unions (ASATU) which is an association of town union PGs also has significant political influence in the area.

The three Senatorial Districts at a glance

S/N	Senatorial Districts	Local Government
1	Anambra North	Onitsha North, Onitsha South, Ogbaru, Anyamelum, Anambra East, Anambra West, Oyi
2	Anambra Central	Awka North, Awka South, Njikoka, Dunukofia, Anaocha, Idemili North and Idemili South
3	Anambra South	Aguata, Nnewi North, Nnewi South, Ekwusigo, Ihiala, Orumba North and Orumba South

The 21 LGAs in the state are headed by Local Government Chairmen who are the Chief Executive Officers of the LGAs. Although the Chairmen are supposed to emerge through local government elections conducted by the State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC), elections in this regard have not been regular. The last local government election was conducted in 2014 by the Peter Obi's led administration. Since then, after the expiration of the 3 year tenure of the last elected Chairmen, current administration has continued to appoint Caretaker Chairmen in place of elected Local Government Chairmen.

Fig. 2.1.1: Map of Anambra State with Local Governments for each Senatorial District



Sources: Google Map; Iwuamadi and CLEEN Foundation, 2012

POLITICAL HISTORY

Political developments in Anambra state since 1999 cannot be disassociated from the interesting electoral history of the state. Anambra state is among the few states in Nigeria where the election management body has been consistently conducting off-cycle and re-run elections since after the 2007 general elections. Governorship elections in the state between 1999 and 2013 have been off-cycle election resulting to election irregularities and political crisis- a development purported influenced by political god-fathers in the state. Examples of witnessed godfatherism include; the Ofor Mbadinuju saga (1999 - 2003), Uba Ngige (2002 - 2006) and the impeachment of Peter Obi as the governor of Anambra State. Politically, the state has had a history of comparative high turn-out of administrators and elected leaders. In its 26 years of formation, the state has been governed by 7elected governors and 4 military administrators, and 1 police commissioner (see Table 2.1.2).

Table 2.1.2: Sole Administrators and Elected Governors of Anambra State since 1991

S/n	Name of ruler/leader	Period
1	Navy Captain Joseph Abulu	27 August 1991 - January 1992
2	Dr. Chukwuemeka P. Ezeife	2 January 1992 - 17 November 1993
3	Police Commissioner Dabo Aliyu	November - December 1993
4	Col. Mike Attah	December 1993 - 21 August 1996
5	Group Captain Rufai D Garba	21 August 1996 - August 1996?
6	Wing Commander Emma Ukaegbu	6 August 1998 - 28 May 1999
7	Dr. Chinwoke Mbadinuju	27 May 1999 - 29 May 2003
8	Dr. Chris Ngige	29 May 2003 - 15 March 2006
9	Mr. Peter Obi	16 March 2006 - November 2006
10	Dame Virgy Etiaba	November 2006
11	Dr. Andy Uba	29 May 2007 - June 2007
12	Mr. Peter Obi	June 2007 - 17 March 2014
13	Mr. Willie Obiano	17 March 2014 to date

One interesting thing about the political history of Anambra state is that a majority of the people do not seem to be interested in electing leaders. Politics and voting in the state appear more elite driven than people driven. Historical analysis of registered voters and voters' turnout in the state since 1999 clearly suggests an increase in the level of voter apathy in the state. More worrisome is IPOB's call for election boycott by the people. This perhaps will make it difficult to ascertain if IPOB message could be a major factor that may likely have far reaching consequences such as increased voter apathy as portrayed over the years. Table 2.1.3, clearly shows that voter turnout has never been up to 50% since 1999 in the state. While Table 2.1.4 displays the total number of registered voters for each senatorial zone for the November 18, 2017 governorship election.

Table 2.1.3: Registered Voters and Voters Turnout during Governorship Elections in Anambra

Year	Total Registered Voters	Total Votes Cast	% of Voters turnout
1999	2,221,384	1,029,815	46%
2003	1,859,795	909,271	49%
2010	1,844,815	301,232	16%
2013	1,770,127	425,254	24%
2017	2,158,171	NA	NA

Sources: data extracted from INEC, & CDD, 2017

Table 2.1.4: Registered Voters per Senatorial District as at October 2017

Senatorial District	Total Registered Voters
Anambra Central	747,695
Anambra North	738,332
Anambra South	672,144
Total	2,158,171

Source: Data compiled from INEC official voter register

2.2 Socio-economic Analysis of Anambra State

Farming and commerce are the mainstay of the people in Anambra state with about 75% of its population engaged in farming. A large number of the people are artisans involved in crafts like blacksmithing, automechanic etc. Much of the commercial activities take place in Onitsha and Nnewi which are the major commercial hubs in the state and West Africa in general. Other major economic activities include transportation for both intra and inter-city transportation.

Budget Provisions

A total of N115.5billion titled 'Budget of Economic Recovery and Inclusive Growth' was approved for the 2017 fiscal year in Anambra state. Out of this amount, N58.9billion was marked for capital expenditure while N56.6billion was stipulated for recurrent expenditures. Anambra state receives the allocation from the federation account allocation committee (FAAC) to finance its budget. The

received amount is complemented with internal generated revenue (IGR) from taxes, bonds, and earnings among others. Regrettably, the spending plan of the state is far above the FAAC and IGR put together. Table 2.2.1 illustrates that spending plan of the state is consistently on the increase while the total revenue is dwindling. Interestingly, the IGR alone has been on a slight increase as seen in Table 2.2.2 within a period of 5 consecutive years, from N6.14bn in 2011 to N14.79bn in 2016.

Table 2.2.1: Internal Generated Revenue, 2011 - 2016

Year	Internal Generated Revenue (Naira)
2011	6.15bn
2012	7.6bn
2013	8.73bn
2014	10.5bn
2015	14.79bn
2016	14.79bn

Sources: Office of the Accountant-General of the Federation, National Bureau of Statistics, Debt Management Office, NEITI, 2016.

Table 2.2.2: Total Revenue and Spending Plan (2011 – 2016)

Year	Total Revenue (Naira) (FAAC + IGR)	Spending Plan (Naira)
2011	57.8bn	66.9bn
2012	63.11bn	103.2bn
2013	68.23bn	110.89bn
2014	63.45bn	140bn
2015	NA	NA
2016	49.15bn	NA

Sources: data extracted from BudgIT's 'The State of States, 2015', www.budgit.co; Office of the Accountant-General of the Federation, National Bureau of Statistics, Debt Management Office, NEITI, 2016.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a cross-sectional research design that allowed the research team to collect survey data simultaneously across the 3 Senatorial districts of Anambra state but with different subset of the population of respondents and key informants as samples. This design is basically to ensure that the research process and information gathered is done within the very tight frame for the study. The method of data collection majorly involved the use of qualitative techniques which include review of available existing relevant literature; observation; key informant interviews (KIIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs). Local languages were used where necessary to elicit information and for easy understanding of the questions by the respondents. The research instruments for the study were validated by stakeholders and it ensured uniformity in data collection. For the secondary data garnered, content analysis and logical inductive methods were used to analyze the information, while narrative and thematic analytical methods were used in analyzing primary data from the interviews and focus group discussions

Sample and Sampling Technique

The sample of respondents for the key informant interviews were drawn from 10 identified key stakeholders on the study subject (see table 3.1.1). This number could not be exceeded due to limited time available for the research. The 10 categories of key informants as seen in Table 3.1.2 below were purposely selected across each of the 3 locations (Anambra Central, Anambra North, and Anambra South Senatorial Districts) of the study between the periods of 9-16 October 2017. Whereas the focus group discussions that were organised in the 3 locations of the study featured targeted participants from the Informal Sector in Anambra North, Women Groups in Anambra South, and Youth Groups in Anambra Central. In all, 24 key informants across the 3 Senatorial Districts were interviewed while more than 30 representatives of relevant stakeholders actively participated in all the focus group discussions that were conducted in the 3 Senatorial Districts. However, it is important to note that the information gathered from the interviews and FGDs were complemented with relevant related literature and hands-on reports available, and more importantly the results from a recent survey on election security threat assessment in Anambra state conducted by CLEEN Foundation.

Table 3.1.1: Category of Key Informants Interviewed

Interviewees (key informants)	Locations (3 Senatorial zones)	Period
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Anambra State Town Union Association (ASATU) ii. Vigilante Groups iii. Faith-based Organisations iv. Agitators (IPOB Members) v. Inter-Agency Committee on Election Security (ICCESS) vi. Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) vii. National Orientation Agency viii. National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) ix. Media x. Development Partners (local and foreign) 	Anambra Central, Anambra North and Anambra South	Simultaneously conducted from 9 – 16 October 2017

Table 3.1.2: Category of FGDs Participants and locations

Category	Senatorial Zone	Location
Selected participants from the Business Community	Anambra North	Onitsha
Selected Women participants from Women groups, associations, civil society organisations, etc	Anambra South	Nnewi
Selected Young People from youth groups and association, etc.	Anambra Central	Awka

BRIEF ABOUT THE THREE STUDY LOCATIONS:

ANAMBRA NORTH SENATORIAL DISTRICT

Constitutes 7 Local Government Areas namely: Anambra East, Anambra West, Ayamelum, Ogbaru, Onitsha North, Onitsha South and Oyi. It has a population of 1,132,231 as at 2006 census, and a population projection of 1,454,600 in 2015. Anambra North is dynamic and unique in diverse ways. The ancient city of Onitsha which comprises two local government areas are Onitsha North LGA and Onitsha South LGA- known as the major economic centre in the entire South East of Nigeria. There are many markets and motor parks in these two LGAs and it explains why Anambra North is a major source of internally generated revenue (IGR) for the state. Onitsha also has the highest population density in the whole south east geopolitical zone. The number of non-indigenes in Onitsha North and South LGAs far outnumber the indigenes. A majority of the population are young people who come to Onitsha from different parts of the country and beyond in search of living.

Anambra North is also the food basket of the state with Ogbaru LGA and Anambra West LGA being mainly agrarian. They are mostly yam farmers and fishermen. The River Niger and Anambra River are the major rivers in the senatorial zone and these two rivers largely define the occupation of the rural communities which is mainly fishing and farming. Generally the people of Anambra north (indigenes and non-indigenes) are mostly business men/women. Many rural dwellers are farmers and fishermen particularly in Ogbaru and Anambra West LGAs. Amongst these population are civil and public servants as well as artisans etc.

Political Developments: Presently, all the local government areas in Anambra state are overseen by caretaker committees appointed by the governor. Since inception, Anambra state is known for running local government areas with caretaker committees instead of elected executives. The government of Peter Obi for all intents and purposes refused to conduct local government elections throughout his first tenure. It was in his 8th year as governor; at the verge of leaving office that he conducted local government elections. It is not clear if the incumbent would toe a different line.

The incumbent governor Chief Willie Obiano happens to be the first governor of Anambra state that hails from Anambra North senatorial zone. Other zones have had their fair share. That explains why Anambra North is eager to hold on to the seat of power. The three key contestants in the November 18 elections namely Willie Obiano (APGA), Oseloka Obaze (PDP) and Tony Nwoye (APC) are from Anambra north senatorial zone.

The immediate past and incumbent APGA governments' have had its fair share of

intraparty conflicts resulting in perpetual litigations. The inability of the incumbent governor to manage the politics of Biafra separatist agitation in the south east zone and particularly in Anambra state may have reduced the membership base of the party and by implication its political strength.

Anambra Central Senatorial District: This district is made up of seven Local Government Areas (LGAs) namely, Awka North, Awka South, Njikoka, Dunukofia, Anaocha, Idemili North and Idemili South. It has a total population of 1,372,276 based on an estimated population growth of 2.5%, the projected population of the zone as at 2017 is expected to stand at 1,800,545. The major language of communication is Igbo as over 95% of the residents are of Igbo ethnic group. Christianity is the major religion with Anglican and Roman Catholic being the major Christian denominations in practice. There are few others who indulge traditional religious practice.

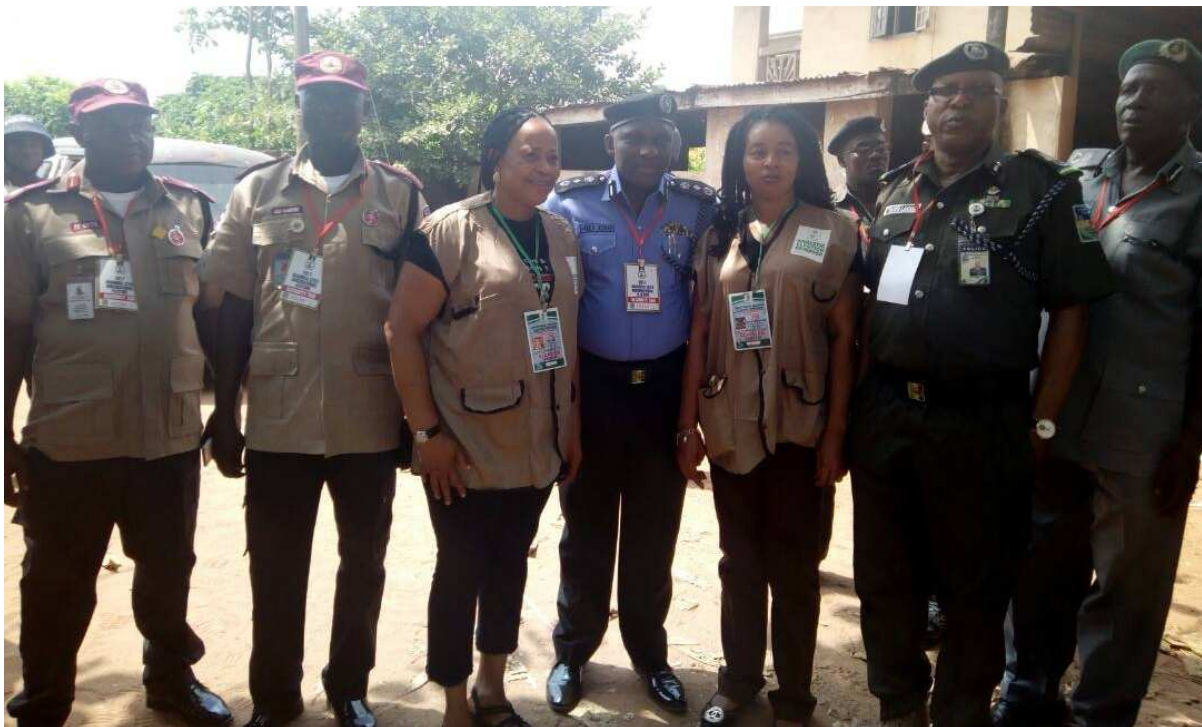
Economically, Anambra central senatorial zone is characterized by formal (civil/public service) and informal sectors (agriculture and commerce) existing side by side. Some of the major informal economic activities in the zone include small scale crop farming and commerce in the form of trading in building materials, motor spare parts etc. These economic activities also lead to growth of transport industries in various areas like Nkpor and Awka. Although, some civil servants reside in the interior, they still commute to Awka which is the state capital where much of the government institutions and parastatals are located.

Anambra South Senatorial District: Anambra South Senatorial zone is made of seven Local Government Areas of Aguata, Nnewi North, Nnewi South, Ekwusigo, Orumba South, Orumba North and Ihiala LGAs. The area represents 37.7% of the state entire population which is quite significant in the context of voting population. Economically, the area is host to important trading centers such as the Nnewi spare parts which pride itself in the manufacturing of automotive components spare parts and reputed to have a high presence of agro allied industries often times referred to as the “Japan of Africa”. Much of these commercial activities take place in Nnewi, Ekwulobia and Umunze areas of Orumba South, Aguata and Nnewi North respectively. Anambra South Senatorial zone has no history of electoral violence-this is because the average trader in the zone would prefer going about his legitimate business rather than get deeply involved in electoral process, an attitude not unconnected to the distrust existing between government and the governed. Hence, voter apathy has been a major problem of the people. The former INEC REC for Anambra State, Prof Chukwuemeka Onukaogu stated in 2013 that in Anambra South Senatorial Zone, out of the 532,905 registered voters only 163,999 persons voted, which represented a percentage of 30.8 votes cast during the election (Daily trust, 10 September, 2013)

Limitations of the Study

The security tension in the south east occasioned by the Egwu Eke II (Python Dance II) and its aftermath in Abia state, Umuahia and Aba reinforced the military medical outreach in Anambra state, instilled fear and suspicion in the minds of many residents. Several people bluntly refused both invitation to the FGDs and Interviews. There was also delays in starting the fieldwork due to procurement processes within the implementing organization. More importantly, the study was conducted within a very short time frame during which political activities were at the peak in the state. This made it difficult to book appointments and get attention of some key respondents. Although, turnout for the FGDs by participants across the three locations were encouraging, it was very difficult getting the key informants especially the President Generals of the town unions. The vigilantes in some localities were also not willing to grant interviews because of the security situation in the state.

The period of the study coincided with the deployment of Operation Python Dance II by the military. Hence, most of the residents were security conscious and apprehensive especially of government agencies and their activities. This had implication for data collection as some respondents were afraid and unwilling to respond to interviews because some feared the researchers may be secret agents of federal government. It took serious persuasion and assurance of anonymity to elicit information from respondents. Generally, the state was calm but much of the people were apprehensive of the activities of government security agents especially the police and military.



CLEEN Foundation and Situation Room Observation Team with the DIG Operations of the Nigeria Police Force Joshak Habila during the election.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The goal of the research is basically to have a clear understanding of whether the 'No Election Campaign' of Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) group could affect the November 18, 2017 governorship election positively or negatively. To achieve this, some key respondents selected from categories of relevant stakeholders to the study were either interviewed or participated in a focus group discussion across the state. In summary, there were concerns of voter apathy in response to the likely effect of the 'no-election campaign' by IPOB on November 18, 2017 election. In addition, the debate in public discourse largely centred on the activities of IPOB with many showing sympathy for IPOB but condemning both the response and strategy of the South East governors and federal government who proscribed the group, after the deployment of Operation Python Dance II in the region. However, the following specific findings summarize the exact outcomes and feedbacks arising from the study in each of the three senatorial zones in Anambra state.

4.1 Highlights of Security Threats in Anambra State

IPOB threat of election boycott: The IPOB “no election threat” and large scale anti-government propaganda strategy may not only cause voter apathy but may instigate some forms of violence. On the Election Day, some IPOB members may want to enforce the 'no election' threat by staging rallies in various locations. This may lead to clash between the group and security agents. In the event that a political party backed by the federal government emerge as winner after the election, there may be demonstrations which will likely be agitations by disgruntled politicians. Such demonstrations and nature of reaction by the police and military may create room for widespread post-election violence.

The statement by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) on 9th of July 2017 that election will not hold in Anambra state, according to IPOB spokesperson Emma Powerful, means that “IPOB would not allow any process that would perpetuate slave status and misery amongst the people of the Area”. This statement has thrown fear and apprehension on the people of Anambra State as well as institutions of government who are weary of the IPOB followership and sentiment given the general compliance to similar posture by the group on May 30th 2017 in honour of Biafra heroes. In as much as the group claim that their stance is to stay away from the election (Members and Sympathisers), their action before the commencement of the operation python dance II, which ended on October 14, 2017 suggest that IPOB planned to disrupt the election. In attempt to disrupt political rallies and

gathering of persons, there was clash with security agencies in Ekwulobia and Onitsha, leaving the incumbent Governor (Obiano) a victim at St Joseph Catholic Church Ekwulobia. The PPA Governorship candidate, Godwin Ezemo was equally a victim- even his condolence visit to a family in Ihiala was mistaken for a political rally, causing major fall out with members of IPOB and the people. (KII, Oraifite, 16/10/2017).

The use of propaganda and sustained threat by the group through short video clips showcasing violent footages as well as false recorded messages denoting fear in the minds of the people, dissuaded them from coming out to vote- thus leading to likelihood of serious voter apathy. The enforcement of “no election” by the group through door-to-door campaign with a message that there is a United Nation Charter which will grant referendum if 60% of the voting population do not come out to vote is indicative of the group's commitment and resolve to ensure the population does not come out to vote especially when government is seen by the people as an elitist conspirer existing only to satisfy a few.

Election Management: The conduct of INEC is critical to impacting on the actual and post-election security system of the state, and so failure of the Card Reader Machines (CRMs) may trigger violence on Election Day as some voters may see this as a ploy to enable ballot box stuffing by politicians, also considering full well insinuations that INEC and its CRM system would be compromised on Election Day.

Interparty violence: The November 18, 2017 election is an off cycle poll hotly contested by three major political parties in the state. There are possibilities of the presence of representative candidates and other influential members in the state capital few days before and during the election- and attempt by the incumbent government or security agencies to demobilize or make such persons inactive may likely lead to violence. At present, there are strong allegations that the federal government would use its federal might to support its candidates; the incumbent would use its power of incumbency to ensure reelection of APGA candidate while Peter Obi would use his influence in Anambra Central to get votes for PDP. This contest for Anambra Central Senatorial District may lead to violent inter-party engagement bearing non-verbal interpretations and actions of contestants, the election process might be threatened. If the message from contestant is 'do or die', it will definitely trigger violence from supporters in previous elections, there were pockets of violence especially in the last National Assembly re-run election particularly in Ukpokwu, where political thugs of a particular candidate were reported to have unleashed mayhem on electoral officers. This singular act of violence if unchecked by security agents, could lead to voter apathy, similarly, the activities of rent seekers and political jobbers hold the potential to cause violence. There is intense struggle between political parties to win the election, most of the parties see the election as very strategic especially as the 2019 general elections draw near. There are reported but unconfirmed cases of party supporters tearing off posters of

their opponents.

Militarization and Poor Civil-military Relations: The masses are already apprehensive about activities of the military in the entire South East region. Allegations abound that the federal government would deploy large number of police and military during the election to aide a particular political party and undermine some other parties and their supporters in order to enable the federal government take over Anambra state. Hence, failure of the police and military to conduct themselves in professional manner may trigger actual and post-election violence.

Lack of citizens' engagement in the affairs of the military is a serious concern for the Governorship Election in Anambra State. Not carrying the people along on military activities have started to raise dust on the true intentions of the military. On 11 October, 2017, there was wide spread rumour that the military were in a primary school at Ozubulu (An IPOB Stronghold) injecting pupils with the Monkey pox virus, a development that led the zone into pandemonium. In a sense the over militarization of the zone is another factor that could lead to Voter Apathy.

The relationship between the masses and members of security agencies especially the police and military has degenerated since the commencement of Operation Python Dance II in the South East. Hence, there are serious apprehension and suspicion of the military by the masses. There are also reports of incidences (unconfirmed) of police harassment and extortion of the masses within the zone and the entire state. There is a widespread perception that the police and military are enemies of the people and have come to extort, harass and intimidate the people. According to one of the key informants, “the only threat is the Federal Government using its security agencies such the police to extort, maltreat and harass the people-this will trigger a reaction that might not augur well. (KII, Awka, 16 October, 2017). This view is corroborated by FGD participants. According to one participant: “So they are sending all forms of security apparatus including military and police to intimidate the people in order to perfect their plan. Some people already believe there is no need to vote since the government will always do what they want after the voting. By implication, there may be crisis because the people will not fold their hands and watch you take what belongs to them (FGD, Youth, Awka, 6 October, 2017)”

Proliferation of Armed vigilantes and Informal Policing Groups: Anambra state is characterized by proliferation of armed vigilante groups. Although, the vigilantes were adjudged to have assisted in maintaining peace and order during voter registration in some wards, there are allegations that some President Generals in connivance with some politicians would want to use the vigilantes in negative ways to pursue selfish agendas. This has the tendency to cause violence during the election. The armed vigilantes are paid by government in power as such many

believe that such development will swing the pendulum in favour of the ruling party in the state who might want to use them to his advantage.

The proliferation of armed vigilante and informal policing groups is a key threat as noted by one key informant: “most of the PGs are being used by some politicians and so the vigilantes are in the loyalty of the PGs pay the vigilantes. (KII, Awka, 16 October, 2017; KII, Awada, 18 October, 2017).

Porous Borders and Herdsmen Activities: Anambra state has experienced its share of herdsmen attack. There are strong allegations that the herdsmen would be used by politicians to cause havoc during the elections.

Students and Cult Groups: The universities are in session with presence of large number of student cultists in Awka and its environs. It is very likely that some of these cultists may include out-of-school persons who would be recruited to cause mayhem by one of the contestants alleged to be a cultist. Such violence would likely occur before and during the elections as a way of intimidating opponents and their supporters.

The use of E-thug: Youth involvement in politics has always been encouraged, but forage of youth being employed as e-thugs could pose a threat if not mitigated. Political parties and their candidates have recruited a lot of young people to attack and discredit one another through propaganda (via new and social media), as a result, could snowball into physical confrontation(s).

Extreme Poverty and Hunger: At the moment Nigeria is recovering from recession. An output that is typically characterized by joblessness and high unemployment. This can raise the level of compromise by people who have to survive. The youth both graduate and none graduate have been made increasingly more vulnerable and a veritable instrument to be used by politicians. A concern here is that 48% of registered voters are students and by extension youths.

Women Marginalization: Women participation in formal decision making structure has always been an issue for general discourse. Recently, the ruling party in Anambra state All Progressive Grand Alliance APGA distributed mini buses to 326 party chairmen. The composition of the party ward chairmen were all male as such no woman benefitted from the political largesse of the Governor. As a result women have started agitating and the perceived sense of marginalization could trigger wide spread apathy from women.

Imposition of Nine Million Naira Bill Board Fee: The Anambra state under the leadership of APGA has also made a law requiring political parties to pay a fee of 9 million for every billboard they want to use for political campaign within the state. This has created ill feelings amongst other political parties who have

continued to question whether the incumbent paid such fee before mounting its own adverts on the billboards. Such ill feeling will worsen the already poor interparty relationship in the state and can create avenue for violent clash amongst various party supporters. .

4.2 Public Perception of IPOB Activities across Anambra State

IPOB is an indigenous organization that is agitating for the freedom and self-determination of the people of Biafra. It is a non-violent organization that is committed to the pursuit of the independence of Biafra. Its strategies include peaceful demonstrations, Radio Biafra, one-on-one “evangelism” and public prayers (KII, Agitator, Nsugbe, 7/10/2017).

IPOB is a part of the wider groups in the country agitating for self-governance; the agitation being a logical outcome of the failure of political leadership in the country. It has become a platform through which unemployed youth and other disadvantaged groups who feel frustrated by the political system vent their anger at the government particularly the federal government. It is a pan Igbo organization with a noble vision of self-determination which however is not well articulated and defined. A disguised quest for political cum economic restructuring of Nigeria towards true federalism (KII, Academic, Atani, 7/10/2017).

An organization seeking for the self-determination of the Igbos. Their agitation expressed mainly through public demonstrations have so far been peaceful (FGD, business community, Onitsha, 8/10/2017).

A divine intervention in response to age-long marginalization of Igbos in the political economy of Nigeria. A peaceful group of visionary men and women, boys and girls who are paying steep prices for Igbos and all Biafrans (FGD, business community, Onitsha, 8/10/2017).

IPOB has proven to be the most peaceful freedom movement in Nigeria. In the face of unwarranted and persistent provocation by security agents, it has remained resolute in its non-violent stance (KII, Media Practitioner, Onitsha, 11/10/2017).

The vision and mission of IPOB which is the emancipation of ndi Igbo from the domination and exploitation of the Hausa/Fulani is quite noble. However, the language of its leadership personified in Mazi Nnamdi Kanu and the overall packaging of the group leaves much to be desired. The leader of IPOB and his followers exhibit unbridled disrespect for elders and constituted authorities at all levels (KII, Fege, 17/10/2017).

A mass movement of freedom fighters but without proper education and sensitization of members and their fans (KII, Vigilante and community leader, Nkwelle Ezunanka, 19/10/2017).



IPOB represents a renaissance of the age-long struggle of the Igbos for equity and justice and freedom (FGD, business community, Onitsha, 8/10/2017).

It is a relatively peaceful organization determined to realize the Biafra dream. It however harbours some miscreants who constitute a potential threat to public safety (KII, businessman, Awada, 18/10/2017).

“IPOB is an idea as well as a consequence amongst the people of the zone”- (KII, Awka 16 October, 2017).

IPOB is perceived as a result of government neglect, deliberate policy of marginalization and economic exclusion, a consequence of unemployment and insensitivity on the part of government to galvanize the youth as a resource for a more productive outcome. “Nnamdi Kanu has consciously manipulated the youth and has taken advantage of government inaction and youth vulnerability to achieve his aim of popularity. It is a group seeking for self-determination occasioned by latent marginalization of the people of South East in the political equation of Nigeria”- (KII, Oraifite, 17th October, 2017).

“IPOB is a result of collective failure as a country to utilize enormous God given resources for the benefit of all. It is the consequence of the elitist conspiracy.”- (KII, Awa community Orumba North, 21 October, 2017).

It is clear that Biafra and by extension the IPOB sentiment is clearly with the people. “A middle class revolt against the elite of the South East” (KII, Fegge Onitsha, 21, October, 2017).

IPOB agitation could be genuine, but their recent mode of operation especially using inciting and provocative statement that is capable of causing another civil war was totally unacceptable. Their resort to subtle violence, challenge of security forces as witnessed in Ekwulobia and boycott of election stance as regards Anambra State November 18 Governorship election are some of the critical issues which are not in the best interest of the group and South East region (FGD, Women Group, Nnewi, 6 October, 2017).

IPOB as a Threat to Security towards the Election

The study respondents in most of the locations described IPOB as a peaceful organization and does not constitute any threat to the governorship election. Although the group is a peaceful movement, it has the potency of developing "hands" and "feet" and becoming a security threat like its predecessors namely; Bakassi boys and MASSOB. The utterances of IPOB leader Nnamdi Kanu, Radio Biafra and the rank and file of the agitators constitute a threat to the election and to public safety.

IPOB members and other eligible voters in the state have a right to vote or not vote. “We have chosen not to vote and we employ others to follow us in boycotting the election. We do not in any way constitute a security threat because we do not influence the decisions of people willing to participate in the election” (KII, Agitator, Nsugbe, 7/10/2017).

The philosophy and message of IPOB has eaten so deep into the minds of the teeming youths. Should the leadership of IPOB decide to use them during the polls to enforce an Election boycott order, you can be sure of security breach (KII, Academic, Atani, 7/10/2017). However, Anambra people are not afraid of IPOB as far as the forth-coming election is concerned. They are rather worried about the Nigerian army who are likely to flood the streets with their armoured tanks and foot soldiers. They have already demonstrated their hatred for Igbos in Umuahia and Aba in the name of Python dance. Nevertheless, “IPOB is not a security threat to the November 18 polls. They have conducted their affairs hitherto peacefully. However, there is a possibility of infiltrations of the organization by criminal elements. This is the fear some of us entertain” (FGD, business community, Onitsha, 8th October, 2017).

Membership Strength and Spread of IPOB

Anambra North Senatorial District

There are registered members with fans and supporters. The fans are more numerous than the members. Put together, IPOB constitutes about 80% of Anambra populace. Moreover, the spirit of Biafra resides in the consciousness of every Igbo man. “We have more members/fans in Onitsha” (KII, Agitator, Onitsha, 7th October, 2017).

IPOB has members and fans all over the seven local government areas that make up Anambra North. However, its membership/followership is more in Onitsha North and South LGAs where the population density is very high and where you find so many young people who are majorly nonindigenous businessmen and women. (KII, Academic, 7/10/2017).

Onitsha metropolis appear to be the stronghold of IPOB in Anambra state. Well over 50% of residents are either members, fans or sympathizers of IPOB (9th October, 2017/Ogboleke, Onitsha North/FBO). According to Nnamdi Kanu, IPOB does not fill membership form. However, virtually every Igbo man/woman is a member, fan or a sympathizer of the Biafra agitation and by implication IPOB. Members/fans of IPOB abound in Onitsha city (KII, Media Practitioner, GRA-Onitsha, 9/10/2017).

Membership strength varies from the views of the respondents. For example, about 60% of the residents of Anambra North identify with the group (KII, vigilante and community leader, Nkwelle Ezunanka, 19/10/2017). About 40% of residents of

Anambra North are members of IPOB. It could be higher in Onitsha but the committed ones are lower than 40% (KII, FBO, Fegge, 19th October, 2017).

About 7 out of every 10 persons you pick at random are IPOB fans and about 5 of every 10 persons are members (KII, businessman, Awada, 18th October, 2017).

Anambra Central Senatorial District

Membership of IPOB across Anambra Central Senatorial Zone is widespread comprising mainly of the poor unemployed youths: with tricycle/okada riders, bus/taxi drivers, artisans and traders as foot soldiers. There are also few elites made up of rich business people, intellectuals and politicians who support the activities of IPOB albeit clandestinely. Much of the members are found in densely populated business areas like Nkpor, Ogidi and Obosi which serve as point of convergence for its members in view of the commercial activities taking place within these areas. As noted by our Key Informant in Nkpor, 95% of people you see along this street or within this environment support IPOB because they have the spirit of IPOB in them. Of this percentage, believe in the cause of Biafra (KII, Nkpor, 16th October, 2017). This view is also corroborated by responses from the FGD in which all the participants unanimously agreed majority of the IPOB members are to be found in Nkpor, Ogidi and Obosi areas of Anambra Central Senatorial Zone. This is because of the demography of the areas and proximity to IPOB controlled areas like Onitsha.

Activities/Strategies: The major strategy adopted by IPOB is the use of propaganda spread through its Biafra radio channel 102.1. The propaganda from the radio tend to reach people who do not have access to radio- such persons are the traders, bus drivers, okada/tricycle riders who spread these propaganda as they move about their commercial activities. The propaganda moves from the market places to households through phone calls, social media and verbal discussion along the streets, with the aim to increase its membership and draw support from the people, IPOB capitalizes on various factors such as poor state of infrastructure especially roads in the zone, high rate of youth unemployment, increasing poverty level- to mention a few. As noted by one of the key informants: There is a problem of leadership because there is a vacuum which the leadership in the south east could not fill. Much of that vacuum aspires to be filled by Nnamdi Kanu and the young ones who are already dissatisfied with the system could decide to join him. Think of unemployment, think of the marginalization of the Igbos (KII, Awka, 16/10/2017).

In terms of demonstration, IPOB adopts what may be termed Guerrilla strategy which involves mobilizing its members and supporters from different locations to assemble at points where they plan to carry out their demonstration after which they disperse. Although, there has been reported incidences of IPOB demonstrations within Anambra Central Senatorial zone especially in Idemili

North, information from key informants indicate that much of the various demonstrations were carried out mainly by people brought in from outside the town. According to a key informant: Most of the people you see in Aba or Onitsha demonstrating as IPOB members are not from Aba or Onitsha. What they normally do is whenever they want to do something maybe at Onitsha, radio Biafra will tell everybody to head to Onitsha. They take transport down to Onitsha. Most of the people that demonstrate in Aba or Onitsha are not resident there. (KII Awka, 15 October, 2017).

The activities of IPOB members in Anambra have been adjudged to be peaceful and members do not carry arms or indulge in violence in the course of the demonstration. One of the widely reported incidence of IPOB activities that took place within Anambra Central Senatorial Zone include the July 8 2016 conduct of traditional mass burial by Igbo Women Worldwide for pro-Biafra protesters killed in the May 2016 Biafra Day Celebration (Ibeanu, Orji & Iwuamadi, 2017).

Anambra South Senatorial District

The generality of the respondents from Anambra south are of the view that about 70% of the people in the zone are either IPOB members or sympathizers, with two main classes categorized in terms of acceptance of the group: namely, those who are IPOB because they like the style of agitation, and others who feel marginalized within Nigeria. The federal government's show of force through operation python dance II was viewed as sheer intimidation and barring of fangs. This action resulted to a spate of hate speech on social media platforms, and has further drawn more sympathy to the Biafra agitators on one hand and curtailing the group's excesses on the other.

IPOB members are mostly youth group who feel disenchanting towards government. This group of people are mostly not indigenes of Anambra State, but from neighbouring states of Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo state, but due to economic activities are resident in the state. Respondents unanimous accepted this view also adding that these developments have kept youth busy more than it has made them useful. However, It is interesting to note that, Ekwulobia, Nnewi North, Nnewi South, Ihiala, Ozubulu Ubuluisiuzo, Okija and Ekwusigo are IPOB strongholds.

IPOB Activities/Strategies: A key strategy for IPOB is the alleged use of propaganda spread mainly through newspaper vendors and the effective use of Biafra radio channel 102.1. The propaganda is far reaching given the type of individual that spread the message and messaging from radio Biafra to its audience. Another means of spreading the group's propaganda is through phone calls, the social media and verbal discussions in public places. There is also the strategy of door to door campaign as evident in Nnewi North LGA. In this respect the desperation to forestall and ensure low turnout on Election Day is not in doubt. Another strategy is the use of persons who are indistinct from the social class i.e.

artisans who spread the propaganda as they move about their commercial activities. In order to draw support from the people, IPOB capitalizes on various factors such as poor state of infrastructure especially the federal roads in the zone.

A well designed campaign with a message that there is a United Nation charter which grants referendum if 60% of the voting population do not vote. According to a key informant, there are groups of United States based Lawyers of Igbo extractions promising a referendum if the group on their own ensures a general apathy of less than 20% registered voters.

4.3 Other Developments and Security Threats to the Election

Below are other developments and security threats to the election

Some police officers are engaged with some criminal elements who go as far as drinking and smoking Indian hemp with them and being used to intimidate perceived enemies or rivals (KII, Fegge, 17/11/2017) Politicization of community policing (vigilante). Often vigilantes are recruited along party lines or political loyalties; and given that the state government funds these vigilante groups across all LGAs, they are often used by the government in power to protect its interest even when it runs counter to public safety (KII, Academic, 7/1/17).

Some vigilante officers have been found culpable in criminal activities. A few weeks ago at Ochanja market, a vigilante was caught stealing a bag of stock fish and a mob killed him instantly KII, FBO, Fegge, 19/11/17).

School dropouts and unemployed youths are regarded as likely tools and susceptible to social vices like stealing, cultism etc. (7th October, 2017/Nsugbe/Agitator)

The impunity with which several task forces harass and intimidate innocent citizens especially small and medium scale businessmen and women across the commercial centres of the state is worrisome. This is very common in and around all the markets in Onitsha as well as in motor parks (KII, Academic, 7/10/2017; FGD, Onitsha, 8/10/2017).

Economic hardship orchestrated by bad leadership at federal, state and local levels may strengthen corruption vulnerability- leading to political thuggery, violence and other social vices (7th October, 2017/Nsugbe/Agitator).

High incidences of poverty occasioned by increase in unemployment, may lead to patronage of criminals as political thugs and personal security by government officials. (8th October, 2017/Onitsha FGD).

In view of the already tensed polity consequent upon the ongoing military expedition code named operation Egwu Eke, the latest of it being the military

medical outreach in some communities in Anambra state has been vehemently rejected by the people. The resultant effect of pandemonium owing to allayed fears of the vaccination/medical outreach- this fear is yet abated. Further agitations in the region stems from the mistrust/lack of Civil and Military relations.

- Extra-judicial killings of IPOB members at Umuahia and Aba and other gross human right abuses in the name of Egwu Eke by the military, forced vaccination of underage children in Anambra by the Nigerian Army. The alleged proscription of IPOB by South East governors and tagging of IPOB as a separatist and terror organization by the federal government (KII, Agitator, Nsugbe, 7th October, 2017).

Possible infiltrations of Anambra state by IPOB and other Biafra agitators and their fans who have been forced to go underground by the Nigerian Army (KII, Academic, Atani, 7th October, 2017). Armed and unrestrained Fulani herdsmen going on rampage across the country including south east states. Deployment of security agents along ethnic lines, poor training, equipping and motivation of the police and other security agents (FGD, Onitsha, 8th October, 2017).

- **Economic Hardship:** There exist a growing number of unemployed persons within the region who experience job loss in the private sector. Many of those working are owed several months of salary arrears. The pensioners are completely forgotten in many states. The depreciation of the naira has not helped the business community or those in the public and private sector (KII, FBO, Ogboli Eke, 9/10/2017, 2017).

- Deliberate negligence of the south east in development policies and programmes as exemplified in the proposed railway project, appointment of directors in Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), abandoning of the Onitsha sea port project and the 2nd Niger Bridge etc (KII, Onitsha, 9/10/2017).

- Violent Fulani herdsmen who the federal government for all intents and purposes feel very reluctant to restrain, arrest and prosecute. The problem is getting hydra-headed as some Igbo elite who love money more than the lives of their brothers now join hands with the Fulanis to oppress the masses in the name of investing in the lucrative and tax free enterprise (KII, Fegge, 17/10/2017).

- Over -policing and Militarization of the South East. The number of military and police check points in the south east and the impunity with which they obstruct traffic, exploit motorists, businessmen/women and other passengers, and assault innocent civilians is unbecoming of the 21st century world. As the elections draw near, the number is bound to increase exponentially to the effect that more eligible voters rather than feel protected would stay indoors for fear of being a victim of “accidental discharge” or being branded IPOB terrorist. Institutional corruption to which INEC, judiciary, police and other security agencies are not immune (KII, Onitsha, 18th October, 2017).

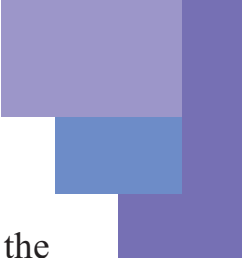
4.4 Potential Security and Public Safety Flash Points

Idemili North & South (Ogidi, Obosi, Nkpor): Idemili North is the major stronghold of IPOB in Anambra Central as well as home to the flag bearer of the UPP Osita Chidoka and Dr. Chris Ngige of the APC. Hence, there are anticipation of clashes between the two persons. While Ngige would want to deliver on his party's APC mandates, IPOB would employ every strategy to make sure people do not participate in the election. In the wake of the disparity, there would likely be fracas between IPOB and the police in the area before, during and after the election. There would also be interparty fracas in the area as political parties' jostle to secure the votes in the densely populated area of Anambra central Senatorial zone. The specific locations to watch out for a break out of violence clashes before during and after the elections are local government like Nkpor, Ogidi and Obosi.

Awka South & North: This is within the state capital, a central meeting point for politicians, and home to most non-indigenes, students as well as persons involved in all manner of illicit activities- the resultant effects of which Awka is prone to Post-election. The defeat of APGA candidate in the polls would be perceived by most residents as a fiat accompli by the federal government. This is because, most residents in Awka see APGA as an indigenous party and a defeat in this election would be the last nail in the coffin for APGA. Therefore, APGA's defeat would most likely trigger pockets of demonstrations and attacks on INEC and security agencies. Should one of the opposition parties be defeated, there may be post-election violence by various cult groups. The critical locations to consider include Eke Awka, Unizik Junction, Aroma and its environs.

Anaocha: Resident to Peter Obi who is a political colossus in Anambra state. For Obi, the election is not just a struggle to secure victory for his preferred candidate in the PDP, but a determination to undermine his political godson. Thus, Peter Obi and the PDP would leave no stone unturned in ensuring that Anaocha is not just delivered to PDP but lost completely by APGA-an opposing party. Although the area is politically serene, there may be interparty fracas between PDP and APGA supporters. A win by APC may even trigger pockets of demonstration in some locations in Anaocha because APC is perceived as a federal government party. A major location to watch is the popular Nwagu junction in Agulu.

Ekwulobia: Ekwulobia has been a major flash point from the beginning of the IPOB struggle for self-actualisation. It would be recall that in August 2017 the IPOB leader Nnamdi Kanu scheduled a visit to Ekwulobia in his tour of no election campaign. The fracas that ensued between IPOB members and security agents led to one unconfirmed death of an IPOB member. Ekwulobia is just few kilometres away from the Federal polytechnic Oko- a higher institution once considered a breeding ground for student cult activities. With basically no aspirant coming from that area, the student population and high level of clandestine activities of IPOB occasioned by the heavy presence of okada riders and commercial bus drivers should be a concern for security operatives.



Umunze in Orumba South LGA is another sensitive area that might need the presence of security personnel. “Nnamdi Kanu has consciously manipulated the youths and has taken advantage of government inactions and youth vulnerability to achieve his aim of popularity” (KII held at Nnamdi Azikiwe University Awka on 16 October, 2017).

Ozubulu- In Ekwusigo LGA recently witnessed one of the most callous killings in the history of Anambra State. Focused Group Discussion on 6 October, 2017 revealed that there are fears of insecurity especially given the Ozubulu church attack, there is a sense to which people believe such attack could repeat itself on Election Day. This fear and concern is quite germane given the slow speed at which government bring perpetrators of this heinous crime to book -a decision believed to be connected to the supposed relationship between the Governor and the “suspected persons” behind the gruesome massacre in the state.

Nnewi North and South-Nnewi is the second largest city in Anambra and the commercial hub of Anambra south senatorial zone. It has its own fair share of IPOB membership and sympathizers. It is the home town of billionaire Dr. Patrick Ifeanyi Uba. The political disagreement going on between Ifeanyi Uba and the People's Democratic Party PDP tend to have swung the tide in favour of the state ruling party APGA in the zone. Currently there are negotiations going on for political realignment between APGA and Ifeanyi Uba who would want to prove a point of influence in the area. However, with a smart and calculated move by PDP who made the daughter of the former Vice President Alex Ekwueme a running mate to Oseloka Obaze, (in order to balance the two dominant denominations (Catholic and Anglican), favourable outcome for the PDP is expected to lead to post-election violence in Nnewi.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0. CONCLUSION

As the November 18, 2017 Governorship Election in Anambra State draws closer, the relevance of IPOB cannot be overemphasized. The group is strategically relevant because of its threat to ensure large scale election boycott and the security implications arising from such threats and government's response mechanism. Accordingly, this study revealed that the election will likely experience low voter turnout either as result of a history of voter apathy in the state, or because the people are afraid of IPOB. Overall, the people are afraid of the conduct of security agents especially the police and the military.

There will likely be post-election violence if adequate security and sensitization is not provided in some locations considered as IPOB strongholds – these locations include Ekwulobia, Nnewi North, Nnewi South, ihiala, Ozubulu Ubuluisiuzo, Okija and Ekwusigo, Nkpor, Obosi, Ogidi, Awka and Agulu. The Election Day violence will likely result from any clash between IPOB members and security agencies if non-coercive security approach is not deployed, while post-election violence could crystallize if APGA loses the election to APC.

Aside the IPOB 'no election campaign' , other security threats can be traced to political parties and candidates who may not accept the election result in good faith. The possibility of the use of vigilantes and informal police groups by politicians for violent activities cannot be out ruled. The study also note that if INEC fails to utilize the digital card reader DCR for the voting process, post-election violence may occur.

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

Federal Government

The federal Government must employ dialogue above 'raw force'- as a result, there is need to provide alternative narratives (peace and conciliation messages) by government institutions like National Orientation Agency (NOA), Ministry of Information, etc. to counter the 'no election' campaign by IPOB. o Election Management Body- (1) INEC must conduct itself as an independent and unbiased umpire by ensuring that the card reader machines work properly during the election as any suspect of bias or foul play on the part of INEC, could trigger revolt from the people. (2) The arrival of Election materials must be prompt and other voting processes commenced as at when due. Post-election activities like counting, collation and announcement of results must be done in a transparent manner that will not endanger the peaceful conduct of the election.

Anambra State government

The incumbent government must demonstrate the spirit of sportsmanship and be willing to accept the election results regardless of the outcome rather than allow its supporters go violent when results are being released.

Security Agencies: must conduct themselves in a professional manner all through the election circle. In the event of peaceful demonstration, the security agents must recognise the right of people to peaceful demonstration while well trained anti-riot security agents should be used to disperse rioters in the event of violence.

Political Parties and Candidates


Political parties should carry out their political campaigns and rallies within the ambit of the law. Party agents must be well trained to understand proper conducts on election days so as to avoid undue interference with INEC officials.

The social contract and peace accord that will be agreed and signed by candidates should be strictly adhered to, with appreciable education of its need(s) and importance to supporters of candidates.

Town Unions: mobilization should be geared towards sensitizing communities to participate peacefully in the election. President Generals must remain non-partisan and cooperate with INEC and security agents by ensuring that violence do not erupt in their various communities.

Security Agencies

Operation 'show your voters card' should be adopted to IPOB members who do not



have voters card on election day, this exercise should be conducted in a non-coercive manner. It is believed that this exercise would go a long way to eliminate infiltration by possible miscreants.

There should also be securitization of polling booths by application of consolidated census data and other means such as motorization. Security agencies should intensify surveillance in already suspected vulnerable areas and flash point like St Mary, Orié Agbo, Amuko, Nnewi Ichi primary school all in Nnewi Ichi.

There should be a central telephone procedure i.e. toll-free lines that will receive calls if there is violence anywhere. This central base should be made effective and should also control the field security agents communicating areas that have security problem(s).

Civil Society Organisations

There is need for increased citizens' engagement by the civil society to dissuade the erroneous impression that has been created in the mind of the people about security agents especially the military. This sensitization should be done through traditional, religious as well as the institutions of President General (ASATU).

There is need to teach the public what they should know about election, the role of security agents, as well as their conduct during and after election.

CLEEN FOUNDATION'S PUBLICATIONS

S/N	Title	Description
1.	Constable Joe	A Drama Series on Police Community Relation In Nigeria
2.	Policing A Democracy	A Survey Report on the Role and Functions of the Nigeria Police in a Post-Military Era Published in 1999
3.	Juvenile Justice Administration in Nigeria	Philosophy & Practice Published in 2001
4.	Forward March	A Radio drama Series on Civil Military Relation In Nigeria Published in 2001
5.	Gender Relations and Discrimination in Nigeria Police Force	Published in 2001
6.	Civilian Oversight and Accountability of Police in Nigeria	Published in 2001
7.	Hope Betrayed	A report on Impunity and State-Sponsored Violence in Nigeria published in 2002
8.	Police and Policing in Nigeria	Final Report on the Conduct of the Police in the 2003 Elections published in 2003
9.	Police-Community Violence in Nigeria	Published in 2000
10.	Journey to Civil Rule	A Report on the Presidential primaries of the All Peoples Party (APP) and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) February 13-15, 1999 Published in 1999
11.	Crime and Policing In Nigeria	Challenges & Options
12.	Criminal Victimization and Fear of Crime in Lagos	Monograph Series No. 1
13.	Civil Society and Conflict Management in the Niger Delta	Monograph Series No. 2 Published in 2006

14.	Criminal Victimization, Safety and Policing in Nigeria: 2005	Monograph Series No. 3 Published in 2006
15.	Opportunity for Justice	A report on the Justice Olasumbo Goodluck Judicial commission of Inquiry on the Apo Six Killings by the Police in Abuja published in 2006
16.	Responding to Gender Based Violence	A Tool Book
17.	Criminal Victimization, Safety and Policing in Nigeria: 2006	Monograph Series No. 4 Published in 2007
18.	Beyond Declarations	Law Enforcement Officials and ECOWAS Protocols on Free Movement of Persons and Goods in West Africa published in 2007
19.	Police and Policing in West Africa	Proceedings of a Regional Conference Published in 2008
20.	Nigeria s 2007 General Elections	Betrayal Of Electorate Optimism and Participation
21.	Motion Without Movement	Report of Presidential Committees on Polic Reform in Nigeria
22	In the Eyes of The Beholder	A Post Election Survey Report Published in 2009
23	Another Routine or Fundamental Change?	Police Reform in Nigeria 1999 till date Published in 2009
25	Good Practice Guide	Establishing a School-Based Crime Preventio published in 2009
26	Cry for Justice	Proceedings of a Public Tribunal on Police Accountability in Nigeria published in 2009
27	Citizenship and Identity Politics in Nigeria	Monograph Series 5 Published in 2009

28	Criminal Victimization and safety in Lagos State, Nigeria 2009	Monograph Series 6 Published in 2010
29	Corruption and Governance Challenges in Nigeria: Conference Proceedings	Monograph Series 7 Published in 2010
30	Enhancing Accountability Systems in the Nigeria Police Force: Conference Proceedings	Monograph Series 8 Published in 2010
31	Emergency Response to Victims of Gun Violence and Road Accidents: Conference Proceedings	Monograph Series 9 Published in 2010
32	Policing Elections in Nigeria:	Assessment of the Role of the Nigeria Police Force in Elections in Nigeria
33	Training Manual on Peace and Human Rights for Security Institutions in Niger	Published in 2010
34	Report of Conference on Making Democracy Work for Nigeria People	Monograph Series 11 Published in 2011
35	Police Station Visitors Week 2010	
36	Young People and the Police in Lagos	Monograph Series 12 Published in 2011
37	Providing Effective Policing During the 2011 General Elections: Conference Proceedings	Monograph Series 13 Published in 2011
38	Police Internal Control Systems in West Africa	Published in 2011
39	Crime Victimization, Safety and Policing in Nigeria	Published in 2011
40	Responding to the Emerging Trends Of Terrorism In Nigeria	Conference Proceedings Monograph Series 16

41	Governance and Insecurity in South East Nigeria	Published in 2012
42	Police Reform in Nigeria	Civil Society Final Report Published in 2012
43	Operationalising Intelligence-led Policing in Nigeria	Conference Proceedings Monograph Series 17 Published in 2012
44	Criminal Victimization and Public Safety in Nigeria	Published in 2012
45	Criminal Victimization, Policing and Governance in Nigeria	Monograph Series 18 Published in 2013
46	External Police accountability and the Police Service Commission	Conference Proceedings Published in 2013
7	Conflicts and Security Governance in West Africa	Published in 2013
48	Crime and Public Safety in Nigeria	Published in 2014
49	Security and Governance in North-East Nigeria	Published in 2016

