



ANAMBRA STATE ELECTION SECURITY RISK ASSESSMENT

... exploring views, knowledge, and non-violent expectations in 2021 Anambra State gubernatorial election

FOR INQUIRIES

+234 813 482 8527 +234 810 394 7690 info@kimpact.org.ng www.kdi.org.ng

RECOMMENDED CITATION

Kimpact Development Initiative, October 2021, "Election Security Risk Assessment"

Kimpact 2021 Election Security Risk Assessment in Anambra State Copyright © 2021 Kimpact Development Initiative (KDI). All rights reserved.

Disclaimer: This document has been produced by Kimpact Development Initiative (KDI) to provide information on the election security risk survey conducted in Anambra state in the buildup to the 2021 Anambra gubernatorial election. Kimpact, because of this, certifies that all the views expressed in this document accurately reflect the analytical views of the information gathered from KDI's trained field researchers and analysts. While reasonable care has been taken in preparing this document, Kimpact shall bear no responsibility for errors, or any views expressed herein for actions taken resulting from the information provided in this report.

Contents

01	Executive Summary	5
02	Background	7
03	Conduct of the study	12
04	Key Findings	13
05	Opportunities and Recommendations	30
06	References	33
07	Acknowledgments	34



Executive Summary



The Election Security Risk Assessment (ESRA) is a holistic pre-election assessment of all factors that could cause violence in elections. This framework creates an effective electoral violence mitigation plan that maps out hotspot areas and identifies early warning signals. Ultimately provides stakeholders such as Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), security agencies, and civil society organisations with information that could assist them in securing the election environment.

This analytical report explored views, knowledge, non-violent expectations, the social, political, and electoral atmosphere in Anambra state in the buildup to the November 6, 2021, Governorship election.

Key Findings

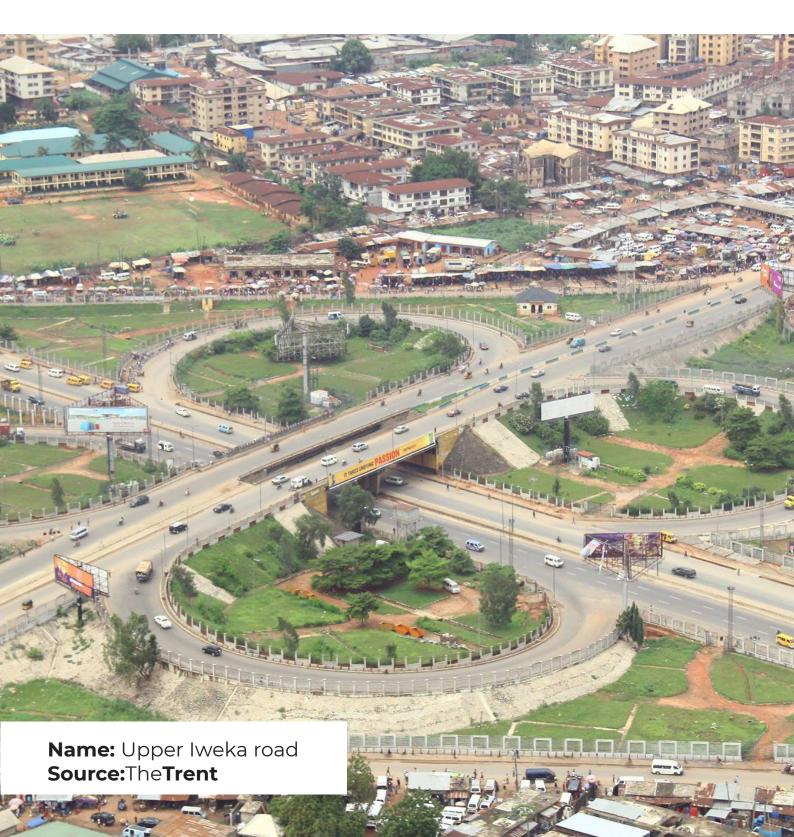
- Overall, most of the respondents expressed a degree of expectation for peaceful election in Anambra State. However, strategic violence mitigation interventions are needed in the run-up of the gubernatorial election.
- Most of the respondents in Anambra believe that Anambra has a deep history of political violence. Oyi, Aguata, Awka North, Ihiala, Idemili North, Nnewi North, Awka South, Orumba North, and Onishta North were reported to have witnessed the most electoral violence in the past six months.
- Respondents think the activities of the Separatist Group(IPOB) do not have anything to do with the forthcoming governorship election. However, political thuggery, undue interference by party agents, inadequate preparation by INEC, partiality of Security agents, Vote-trading and Fake News remain significant risk factors that could trigger election violence.
- Over 70% of the violent incidents are not election related. However, of the few electoral violence incidents Intimidation, harassment,

- physical harm, Assassination, and Kidnapping are the dominant forms of election violence in Anambra.
- An majority of the respondents expect a highly contested election in Anambra. They recognized the fielding of strong personalities as candidates as a significant factor that could cause strong political competition.
- Findings show access to media has been concentrated between the major dominant parties in the state.
- 31.9% of the respondents are concerned about the increasing rate of Human Rights Violation, especially, Police brutality, Extortion, and Gender-based Violence.
- Intimidation, harassment, and verbal abuse have remained the primary form of violence against female party faithful.

Opportunities and Key Recommendation:

Despite the disturbing news of violence in Anambra State, it is noteworthy to state that 74% of these incidents as tracked and documented by KDI since January 2021 are not linked to the election. This is evidenced by the high percentage of expectation for a peaceful election, as revealed by this study. Even though there are certain degrees of uncertainties, the optimistic nature of the respondents portends an opportunity. Thus, if all concerned

stakeholders are not relaxed and carry out strategic violence prevention interventions, the chances are high that we will have a peaceful governorship election in Anambra on November 6, 2021. High-profile stakeholders need high-level intervention to douse tension in the state. KDI also recommends a multi-stakeholder collaboration to coordinate pre-election and election day planning for violence mitigation and election security.



Background

In the buildup to the 2017 gubernatorial election in
Anambra state, massive turnout of voters was highly
anticipated as there were indications that voters' enthusiasm was outweighing the threat posed by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). The threat was by far

ing conducted outside the general election cycle. This
has demonstrated that electoral atmospheres marked
by uncertainties and extreme volatilities has negative
effects on electoral processes and overall election out-

Anambra state, massive turnout of voters was highly anticipated as there were indications that voters' enthusiasm was outweighing the threat posed by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). The threat was by far the single most significant threat to the conduct of the 2017 governorship election in Anambra. The separatist group earlier called for a boycott of the election, raised concerns over its formal accusation by security agencies, and threatened residents with death if they came out to vote, amongst other things. However, IPOB's threat ultimately affected the election negatively, especially the eventual 22% voter turnout of the over 1.5 million registered voters, the lowest turnout of voters in the history of Anambra State.

IPOB, in the aftermath of the election, claimed that the low turnout of voters was a sign of extensive obedience to its boycott order. The 2017 election was practically marked by heavy militarisation, separatist threats, widespread fear among the public, political crisis, and violence. This has been the trajectory of Anambra elections since the gubernatorial election in the state is be-

The case is like today, the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and its separatist operations have continued to dominate discourses around the upcoming 2021 governorship election in Anambra state, especially the violence that has erupted in the state till date. What remains unclear is if the havoc being wrecked by unknown gunmen is connected to the IPOB/ESN. On several occasions, the popular separatist group (IPOB/ESN) has denied its involvement in some of the attacks.

What remains clear is that the atmosphere in the state is tensed, and the volatile atmosphere in the state has made the election security come under scrutiny. The readiness of INEC to conduct elections amidst pandemics coupled with this level of insecurity and the preparedness of security agencies will go a long way to determine the election's credibility.



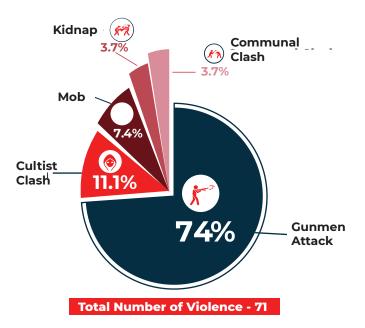
The trajectory of election in Anambra state has been practically marked by heavy militarisation, separatist threats, widespread fear among the public, political crisis, a heightened competition of the contested seats, and violence.

To an extent, the prevalent violence in Anambra state has been linked with the operations of IPOB, unknown gunmen, political thugs, and cultists. But there are fears mainly that IPOB's growing influence in the state and entire south-east region could do unprecedented damage to the upcoming election; this submission is based on the increasing rate of and the forceful obedience to its sit-at-home orders across the state.

Nevertheless, 74% of these incidents tracked and documented by Kimpact since January 2021 are not c^{1:} rectly linked to the election. They were predominantly attacks by unknown gunmen. This corroborates KDI's first pre-election environment security risk assessment in Anambra, showing that present violence was not connected to the upcoming election. But the election is not immune from it.¹

As such, this report consolidates every socio-political factor that could militate against the peaceful, free, and fair conduct of the November 6, governorship election. Also, it calls for the mobilisation of suitable efforts from all stakeholders, especially INEC, security agencies, and civil society organisations.

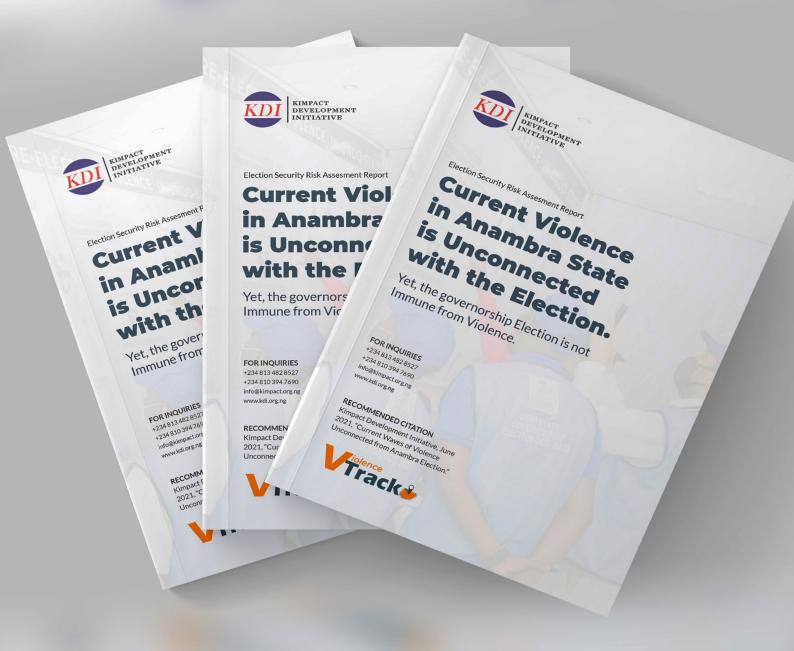
Dominant form of Violence in Anambra State



Violence Cases Tracked and Documented in Anambra State



According to KDI's election violence monitoring (V-Track) findings, over 71 cases of violence have resulted in over 195 deaths, and 12 kidnaps across Anambra since January 2021. Many of these violent cases have taken a fashion that could cripple election plans and the security apparatus in the state.



Voting Statistics

Registered Voters



2,525,741



1,272,293



1,253,178



the no of new voters successfully added by INEC

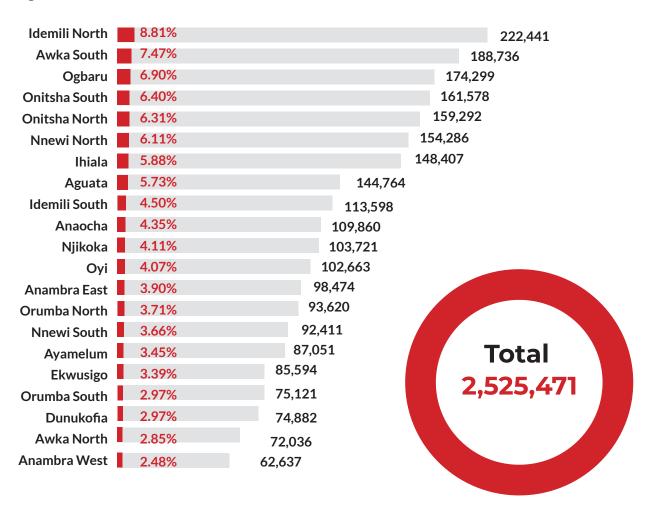
the newly added voters brings the total no of registered voters to



which is **the highest ever** in any anambra state election

This figure (138,742) also represents the highest number of newly registered voters across Nigeria's **36 states** and the FCT.

Total Registered Voters per Local Government Area



Registered Voters Percentage of Total

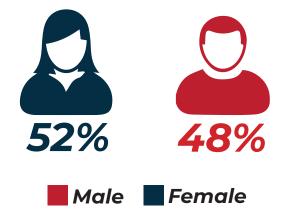
Conduct of the Study

5

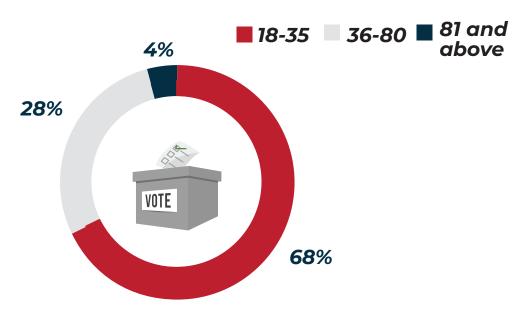
This study employed both quantitative and qualitative designs. The survey for this study was conducted across the 21 Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Anambra State by KDI field researchers between September - October 2021. A sample size of 630 respondents was drawn through a random sampling technique. The assessors used questionnaires to elicit responses from the respondent. Also, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and review of secondary sources, in addition to the questionnaires, were used by KDI to ground the analysis.

"The margin of error for this survey is +-5%, with a confidence interval of 95%,

Gender of the Registered Voters



Age Distribution of Voters



Key Findings

A Rich History of Political Violence in Anambra

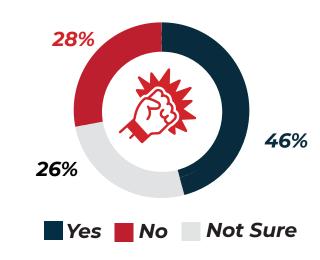
Most of the respondents in Anambra believe that Anambra has a deep history of political violence. This finding is connected with the public knowledge that the political and electoral landscape of the state has been riddled with widespread violence, godfatherism, and election rigging.²

Although most respondents disagree with the occurrence of any electoral violence in their LGA within the last six months, this shows that electoral violence is not a widespread phenomenon in Anambra state. However, our findings reflect that Aguata, Idemili South, Awka South, Orumba North, Orumba South, Oyi, and Anaocha have witnessed the most electoral violence.

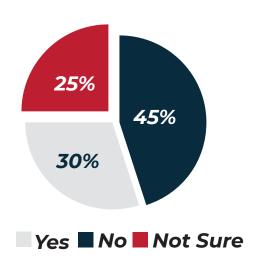
Furthermore, in those local governments where most incidences of electoral violence have been reported, political actors have been experiencing intimidation, harassment, physical harm, assassination, and kidnapping. This coincided with reports from Anambra when gunmen stormed a political rally organised by Charles Soludo in Aguata local government, leading to the loss of three lives. Most recently, Nnamdi Nnoruka, one of the governorship candidates of the Labour Party, was kidnapped and later forced to withdraw from the contest.³

The study found that the provocative actions of politicians are the primary factors that lead to political violence, as well as the use of political thugs and hate speeches. On Monday, September 27, violence erupted in some parts of the state, leading to the death of at least two persons as gunmen attacked members of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) during the parties' rallies in separate locations. The gunmen also left several other persons injured and set ablaze a car belonging to Chukwuma Soludo's group leader.⁴ These imply that the significant step towards securing the election environment is to get political actors to desist from damaging practices such as hate speeches during campaign activities and the use of political thugs.

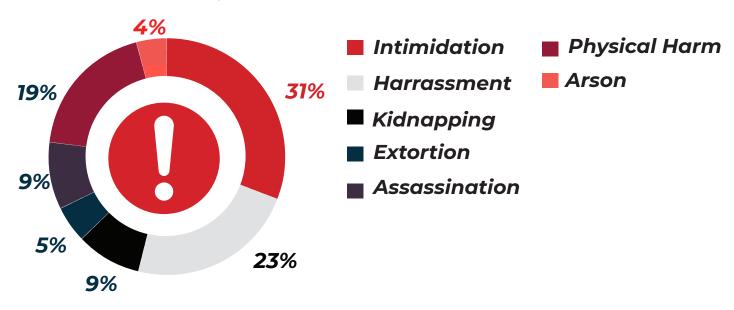
History of Political Violence in Anambra State



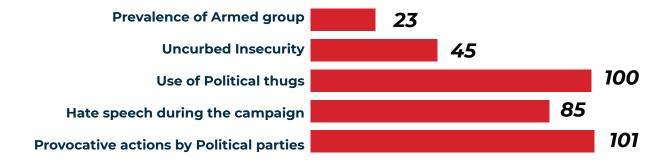
Has there been any incidence of electoral violence in your LGA in the last 6 months?



If yes, which of the following incidents occurred?



What led to the incident?



"Nothing has changed today; the pre-election environment is still marked by heightened insecurity, separatist threats, widespread fear among the public, and political crisis.

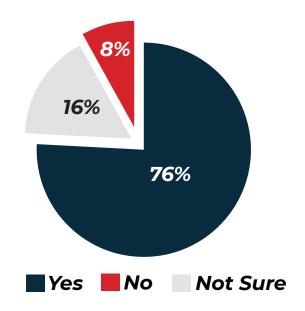


The Dominant Political Parties across Local Government Area in Anambra.

Majority of respondents affirmed that their local government areas have a dominant political party. However, the general data indicates that the All-Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) and People's Democratic Party (PDP) party continue to be the most institutionalised political party in Anambra. as it continues to be the most institutionalised political party in Anambra.

APGA currently holds the seat of power, while the People's Democratic Party (PDP) is the second most institutionalised party in the state. APGA and PDP share the 30 seats in the State House of Assembly, 24 and 6, respectively. The All Progressives Congress (APC), Action Democratic Party (ADP), African Action Congress (AAC), Zenith Labour Party (ZLP), and the Youth Progressives Party (YPP) are the remaining parties with significant consolidation in the state. This signifies that the actions and inactions of candidates across these parties would have a far more reach across the state.

Is there a Dominant Political Party/Group in the LGA/Community?



7 Politicals that came top in the Study (in no Particular order)















APGA

PDP

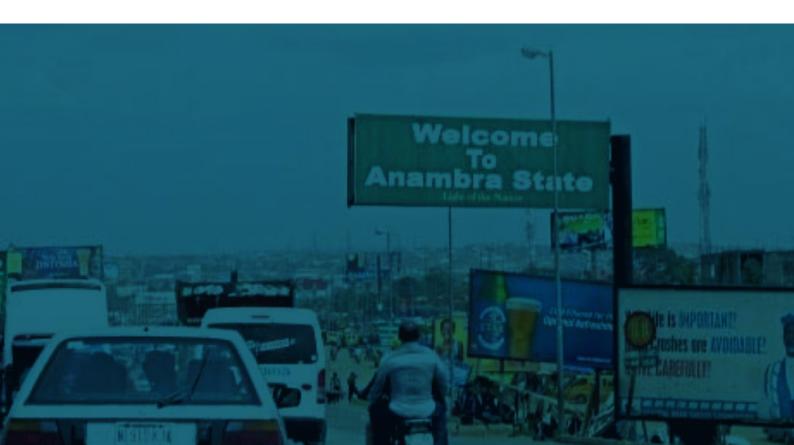
APC

YPP

ADP

AAC

ZLP



There is a High expectation of a Highly Contested Election in Anambra

Over 74% of the respondents expect a strong competition between those vying for the first seat of Anambra state (Governorship seat). They identified fielding of strong candidates by political parties, coupled with a strong level of campaigning and long-standing political rivalries among contestants as the significant factors that would lead to strong competition for the contested seats. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with experts showed five (5) strong personalities standing as candidates in the 6th November election. This includes (in no order):

1.Prof. Charles Soludo (APGA)

2.Mr. Valentine Ozigbo (PDP)

3.Sen. Andy Ubah (APC)

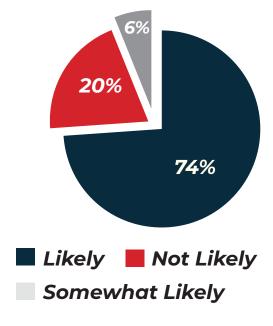
4.Sen. Ifeanyi Uba (YPP)

5.Dr Godwin Maduka (AP)

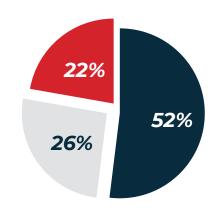
6. Dr Obioa Okonwo (ZLP)

Looking at the contest from the political parties' angle, the ruling party at the Federal level (APC) has never governed. Anambra before. AGPA, which is the incumbent political party and has ruled Anambra state for close to 16 years. Also, Anambra State is the only state in Nigeria controlled by APGA. This demonstrates the party's' influence in Anambra state. PDP has also ruled the state for 12 years before, and it is the major opposition party in Nigeria. Additionally, Peter Obi, who governed under the umbrella of APGA, is now a major chieftain in PDP. All these dynamics occupied the political party territory will intense competition and locking of horns.

The Likelihood of Strong Competition of the contested seats in Anambra?

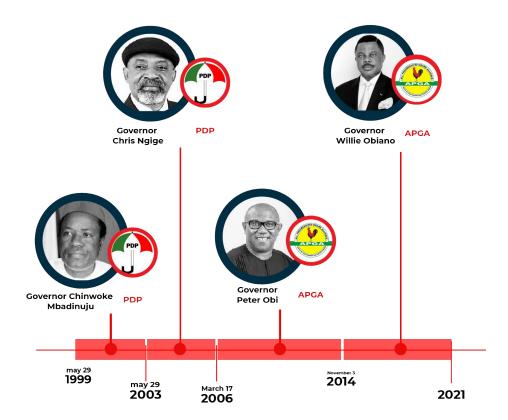


If likely, which of the following do you think could cause an intense political competition of the contested seats?



- Strong Personalies As Candidates
- A Strong Level Of
 Campaigning From The
 Candidate
- Long-Standing Political
 Rivalries In The LGA/
 Community

Elected Governors from 1999 till Date

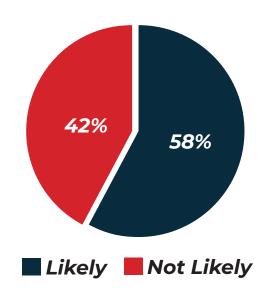


All of these are likely going to come with tension. This aligns with the 58% of the respondents who believe it is likely that the strong competition could results in electoral violence before, during, and after the election. Experts' reflection on this issue shows a higher probability that some of the attacks on political chieftains that were said to be perpetrated by the unknown gunmen are most likely going to be political thugs. IPOB/ESN has repeatedly denied involvement in some of the attacks.^{6,7}

The Senate Minority Leader, who represents Abia South in the red chamber, Enyinnaya Abaribe, reflecting on this in an interview, said that aside from IPOB and the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), there are more than 30 separatist organisations in the South-East.⁵ Could this be the unknown separatist group wreaking this havoc under the nomenclature of unknown gunmen?

Additionally, Ebonyi State Governor and Chairman of the South-East Governors' Forum, Dave Umahi, said in an interview also that counter-secessionist groups may rise if IPOB does not call its members to order and stop the threats and killings.⁸ Could it be the activities of the counter-terrorist group?

If yes what is the likelihood of it resulting in electoral violence?

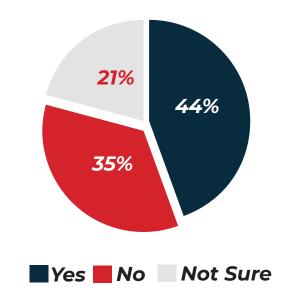


Acrimonious internal Party democracy is leading to violence

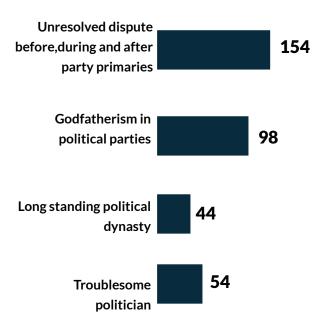
44% of respondents believe that internal party activities such as nomination and primaries of candidates have been leading to conflicts and resentments. Internal party conflicts are often triggered by godfathers or party executives who want to impose their choices over popular ones. Often, this leads to litigation that produces different court orders. This trend is not new in the political party arena; it happened in Bayelsa, Edo and Ondo state off-cycle elections. KDI observes that the absence of consensus amongst members of the same political party often leaves room for violence during, before, and after the election. Therefore, political parties need to strengthen internal party democracy within their party to foster a peaceful and fair election.

We cannot but look at the growing concern of the incumbent Deputy Governor defecting to an opposing party while still holding on to the seats. Dr Nkem Okeke, Deputy Governor of Anambra State, defected from the All Progressives Grand Alliance to the All Progressives Congress, while his principal remains in APGA. This was also seen in the 2020 gubernatorial election in Ondo state.⁹

Has there been any fight resulting from internal party democracy in your LGA/Community?(e.g nomination of candidate from party primaries etc)?



If yes which of the following led to violence?





Major Political Parties Continues to Dominate the Media Space

Findings show that there has not been any noticeable restriction on any political party to access the media for campaigns. This is close to why the percentage of respondents who said NO to the limited access to media is higher than the percentage that said YES.

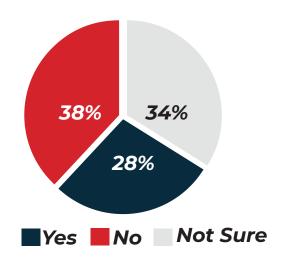
While this is commendable, only the dominant parties in the state have maintained the greatest share of that access. And this raises the propensity for the concentration of the election activities between these few parties when 18 political parties are contesting in the election.

Amid the discussion of leading political parties dominating the media space, this study identified that the propagation of fake news and provocative media action such as Hate Speech could quickly trigger violence before and during the election. Citizens also underscored the detrimental effects of favouritisms by any media house.

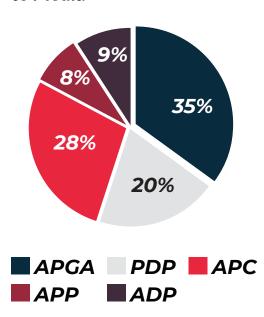
As the election day draws nearer, fake news is a major concern in Anambra state. A report by an online blog claims that Ndidi Nwuneli, Founder of LEAP Africa, is one of those "leading the pack to become the running mate of Akachukwu Nwankpo, who emerged as the governorship candidate of the African Democratic Congress (ADC) on June 30". Ndidi refuted this claim. 10 Furthermore, in her fact check, the Center for Democracy and Development (CDD) declared false a claim that PDP is the only party currently campaigning in Anambra State and violence has not affected the party's activities.

As such, media houses should be cautious of the already charged atmosphere in the state and eliminate any chance of coming across as favouring one party over another. KDI acknowledges the efforts of INEC in countering the propagation of fake news in Anambra's electoral context. This is because of the sensitisation forum organised by the commission to educate media executives, bloggers, and online publishers. The event held in Awka is particularly highlighted as a major effort in preventing election sabotage online.¹¹

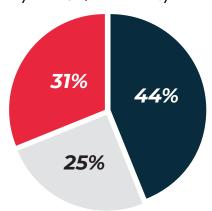
Has there been limited access to media by any of the political parties in your LGA/community?



Parties with the most access to Media



Which of the following ways do you think Information/media could be a source of electoral violence in your LGA/community



"Anambra state also has the highest number of petitions on police brutality in Nigeria."

Fake News FavouritismProvocative Media

Concerns on Human Rights Violation in the Run-up to the Election Day

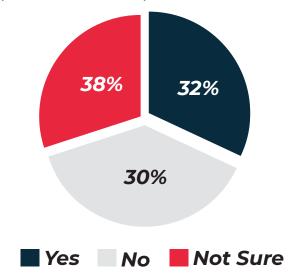
32% of the respondents have concerns about human rights violations, while 30% have not heard of such in their area. However, where Human Rights violations are spotted and reported, police brutality is the single most dominant form. This implies consistency in the views of Anambra citizens concerning police brutality; this claim is also reflected in KDI's first ESRA report on Anambra as the second most dominant risk factor that triggers violence in Anambra state. ¹³ It is also noteworthy to state that Anambra state also has the highest number of petitions on police brutality in Nigeria. ¹⁴

We acknowledged that there is a need for the government to be more decisive in its action. However, the government should be wary of human rights violations on ordinary citizens. If there is a surge in human rights violations wherein citizens do not feel safe in the hands of the armed state actors, this will cause fear in the populace's minds. which is one of the causative factors for the low turnout of voters in the last election, as accounted for by experts. The government's militarisation response to IPOB's boycott of the election will further contribute to increasing public fear and tension.

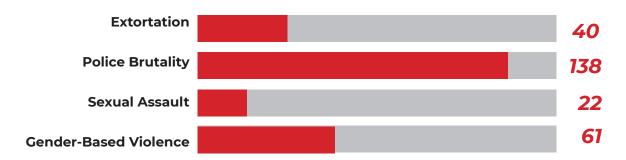
Already there are claims by Ohanaeze groups that Operations Golden Dawn is APC's tool to win election in Anambra. Suppose this school of thought continues. It

may become a popular view among the citizens and lead to a lack of trust in the process. Therefore, the Federal government should be cautious in the deployment of security agencies to the south-east, especially Anambra State. Likewise, the security personnel should be courteous and professional in their duties before, during and after the election.

Has there been any form of human right Violation that could result in electoral violence in your LGA/community?



Types of Human Rights Violation



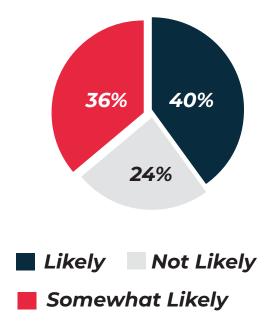
Much-needed Planning Need to go into the Security Personnel Distribution

The increasing violence and sporadic killings have called for proper security arrangements in Anambra ahead of the governorship election. As such, there is a need for election managers and security agencies to collaborate on securing the election. The respondents have stated concerns about the likelihood of inadequate security arrangement as of the time of this study.

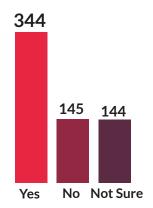
However, the Nigeria Police Force is particularly commended for the planned deployment of 34,587 police personnel to the state, representing an 8,587 increase from the number of deployed officers during the 2017 election.

At this point, much-needed thought and Planning need to go into the personnel distribution so that security personnel are not concentrated in the urban areas more than the rural communities. Factors like the potential flashpoints and the hard-to-reach areas need to be considered in the distribution.

From KDI's previous election observation mission, violence and malpractices are usually the order of the day in some of these hard-to-reach areas, especially waterlogged areas that do not witness considerable numbers of security personnel or election observers/monitors. Has there been an inadequate security arrangement in your LGA/Community?



Is there any hard-to-reach area in your LGA e.g place with bad road network, rocky or creeks?



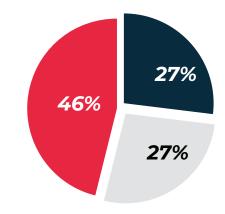
Number of Police Personnel deployed for the 2017 Election



Intimidation, Harassment and Physical Abuse Remain The Primary Form of Violence Against Female Party Member/Supporters

Findings indicate that violence against female members and female supporters of parties has not been rising. However, from a small fraction of the respondents that believe violence against women in elections and politics is increasing, 45% reported that intimidation, harassment, and sexual abuse of female party members had remained the major form of violence against them. This is likely to discourage women from participating in political activities in the state. This will always lead to women underrepresentation in Nigeria's democracy if this goes unchecked. Most especially that women dominate the voter register in Anambra as at present.

Has there been a rising form of violence against female party supporter or representatives?

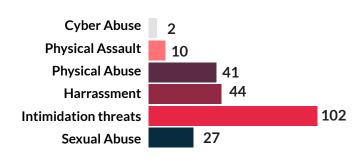


Gender disaggregation

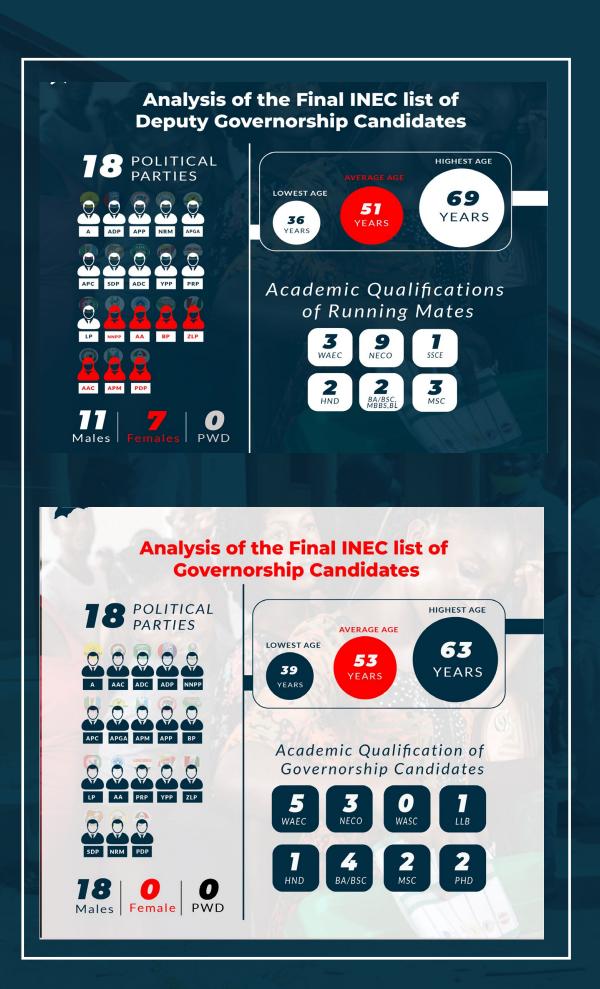


What form of violence against women is prevalent in your local government?

Yes Not Sure



No

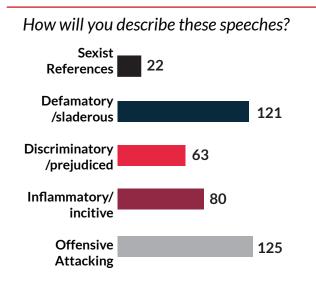


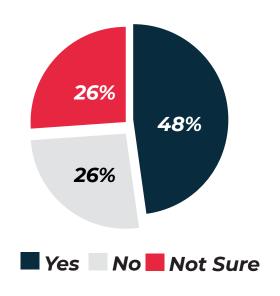
"The significant step towards securing the election environment is to get political actors to desist from damaging practices such as hate speeches during campaign activities and the use of political thugs.,

. The Rise In The Use of Hate Speeches

Most of the respondents believe that the use of hate speeches is on the rise again within the political land-scape in Anambra. Yet, political hate speeches are features of dirty politics that could lead to violence among political contemporaries.

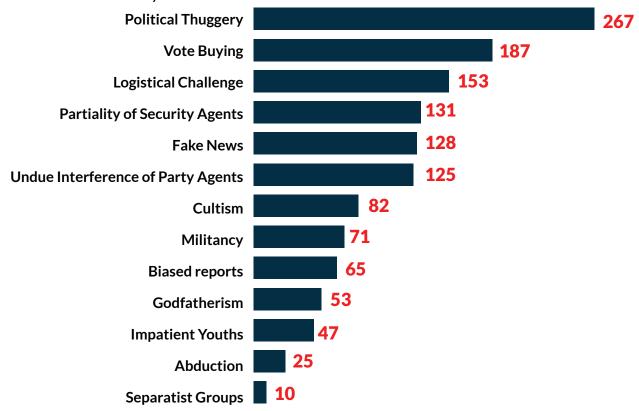
Currently, are there an increase in dangerous (hate) on the political and electoral landscape?





Political Thuggery and Exclusion of Youths Remain Major Risk Factors That Could Trigger Election Violence

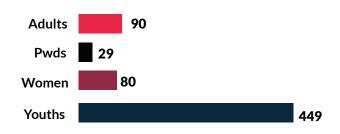
In your opinion, which of the following risk factors do you think could most Likely generate tension or cause violence in your area?



However, several risk factors that could trigger violence during the election have been identified. Political thuggery is the most critical risk factor that could constitute a threat to having a peaceful election. It is closely followed by vote trading, the partiality of INEC, security agents, fake news, and undue interference by party leaders.

Considering this on the level of demographics, the exclusion of youths from the political and electoral process is a major factor that could spur election violence. One would naturally think that the separatist group should top the list of actors that could threaten the peaceful conduct of elections in the state. However, respondents believe the activities of the Separatist Group, especially IPOB, do not have much to do with the forthcoming governorship election.

In your view, which of the following groups do you think, if excluded from participating actively in the elections, could lead to violence?

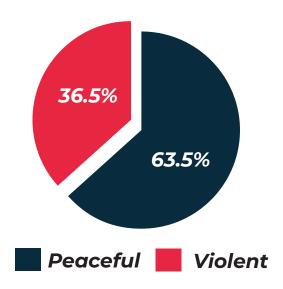


The Widespread Expectation of a Peaceful Election

Majority of the respondents expressed a widespread expectation that the election would be peaceful, representing a major finding of this report. This finding is similar to KDI's first pre-election security risk assessment in Anambra, which showed that the wave of violence in the state was unconnected to the election. However, we project that the election will not be immune from the violence. Even though respondents dissociated the election from the violence, most respondents expressed that they would not feel comfortable going to the polls if violence continued, thus affecting voters' turnout.

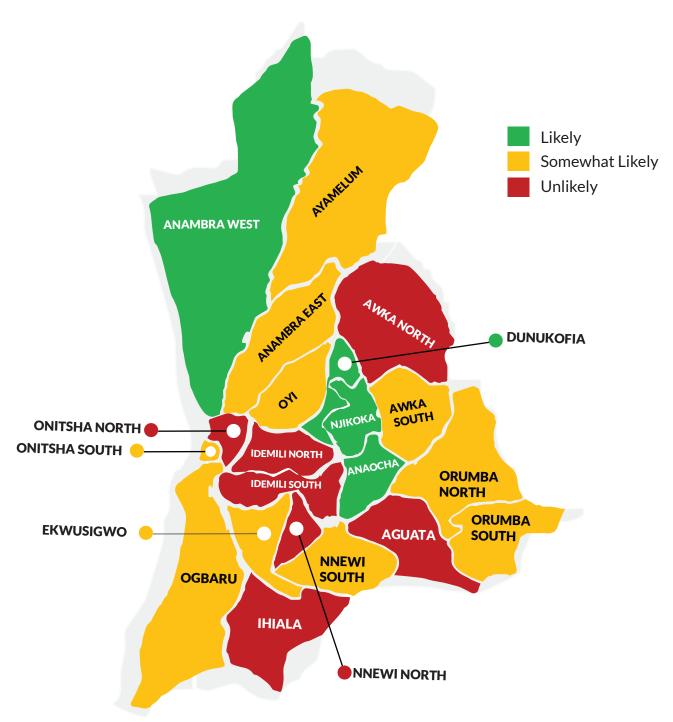
To achieve a much-desired peaceful election in Anambra, one of such efforts that could be introduced is the intervention of key stakeholders in Anambra such as first-class traditional rulers, candidates, INEC, and security agencies. Research findings show that the Oba of Benin and the National Peace Committee's (NPC) interventions were highly instrumental in tranquilising the electoral atmosphere and the election process in Edo and Ondo during the 2020 governorship election in both states. Conclusively, achieving a peaceful election in Anambra is not far from possible if the right strategies could be adopted.

On the whole, how do you think this election will go in your LGA/community?



Uncertainties Over Peaceful Election

Likelihood of Violence



The ESRA using a clustering predictive modelling technique revealed that Ihiala, Aguata, Idemili North, Idemili South, Nnewi North, Onitsha North and Awka North have a high tendency of experiencing violence. Ogbaru, Ekwusigbo, Nnewi South, Onitsha South, Awka South, Orumba North, Orumba South, Oyi, Anambra East, and Ayamelum are projected somewhat likely to experience violence. However, the possibility of violence is unlikely in Anambra West, Dunukofia, Njikoka and Anaocha.

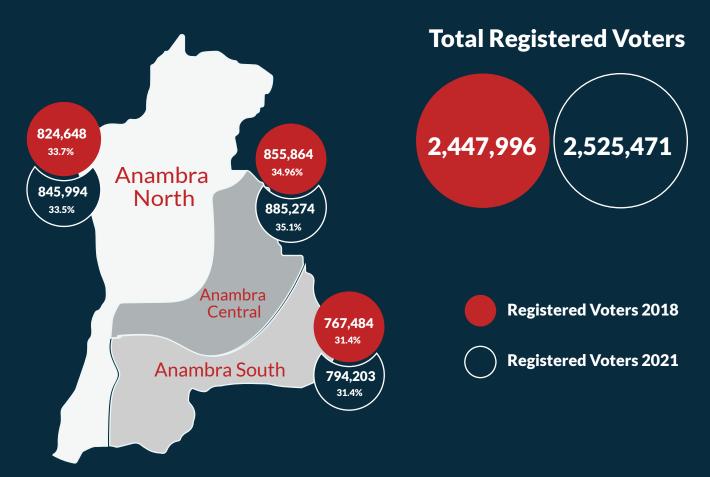
Insights

All the LGAs projected to have a high tendency of experiencing violence falls on the top ten LGAs with an increased number of Registered Voters (RV), except for Awka North which is also experiencing an increasing rate of cult clashes. A close look at these LGAs from the KDI violence tracking initiative data, they are LGAs where fatal violence incidents are prevalent.

In terms of voting strength, all the senatorial districts

had a slight increase in the number of registered voters from the 2021 Continuous Voter Registration (CVR). In proportion to the total number of registered voters, each senatorial district significantly has strength in terms of number. Because the percentage difference between these districts is marginal, this makes every area in the state important to any candidate who aspires to conquer the state's political landscape.

Total Registered Voters by Senatorial District

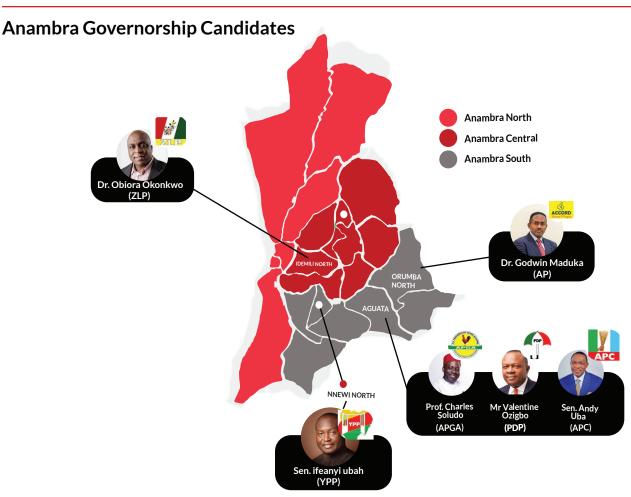


Tracking from the previous elections, no senatorial district has attained 30% turnout judging from the 2013 to 2017 governorship elections in Anambra. However, Anambra Central and South senatorial districts have maintained a steady increase in the two election years. We can predict that amid dwindling voter turnout in

Nigerian's electoral landscape, Anambra Central and South may still maintain a steady increase in the upcoming election. These can equally make candidates more interested in these areas because of their voting history and pattern.

Voting Statistics in the recent Governorship Elections

	2013			2017		
Senatorial District	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	% of TVC from RV	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	% of TVC from RV
Central	614,550	139,329	22.7%	718,573	159,984	22.3%
North	615,300	154,818	25.2%	705,900	137,901	19.5%
South	554,686	148,095	26.7%	649,661	150,920	23.2%
Total	1,784,536	442,242	24.8%	2,064,134	448,805	21.8%



Looking at the strong personalities with unprecedented interest in the forthcoming election, the homestead for the six-strong personalities (candidates) falls in Anambra South and Anambra Central.

It is evident that Anambra North and Anambra South would be the battleground due to the dynamics of these areas. None of the five strong candidates is from Anambra North, so most would want to have a larger share of the votes because it might likely swing the overall vote.

Historically, urban areas or capital cities sometimes are neutral zone; votes in Anambra Central may probably be shared amidst leading candidates (even the margin between the winner and the other may not be huge).

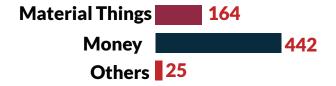
However, Anambra south will be full of tussles. Five (5) of the dominant candidates comes from the southern part of Anambra, and Aguata LGA is a homestead to 3 of these candidates.

These political gladiators will to prove their supremacy and influence to claim victory in these districts, most notably in their LGAs. So, they may be under social pressure to make a point in his homesteads by ensuring that they claim victory in their senatorial district and the gubernatorial race. Before now, these senatorial districts have witnessed a certain degree of violence and tension.

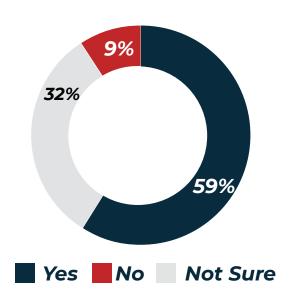
Voter Inducement

An overwhelming majority of respondents alluded to the likelihood of voter inducement with money and other material things before and during the election. Several reports already indicate evidence of voter inducement through the purchase of PVCs, distribution of money and gift items in Anambra East, Aguata, Awka, Ogbaru, Onitsha South, Idemili North, Nnewi North, and Orumba LGAs. The buying and selling of PVCs were explicitly observed in Nnewi North LGA. The influence of voter inducement on the election process could be damaging. It is a disregard for democratic norms, and it obstructs the democratic process by interfering with the rights of citizens to decide who will represent them and their interests freely. This often results in the candidate with the biggest financial pockets winning the election, rather than the popular candidate.

In your opinion, which of the Following is likely to be used to induce Voters?



Is there any likelihood of voter inducement?



"The professionalism and competence of INEC officials and security officers were recognised as the most principal factors for dousing tension on election day.,



The Implications of INEC's Preparedness and the Efficiency of INEC's Personnel

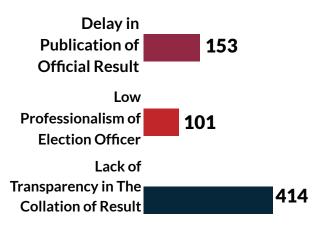
Across Nigeria, citizens trust in the electoral process can be said to be dwindling, and the upcoming Anambra governorship election offers an excellent opportunity for INEC to demonstrate its commitment to open, peaceful, free, and fair elections in Nigeria. Most of the respondents have raised the importance of INEC's preparation for the elimination of threats to the election, citing the need for INEC to do the following

- get their logistics right,
- eliminate loss or destruction of election materials,
- Increase transparency in the election procedure, and
- the importance of effective distribution of polling units and voting points.

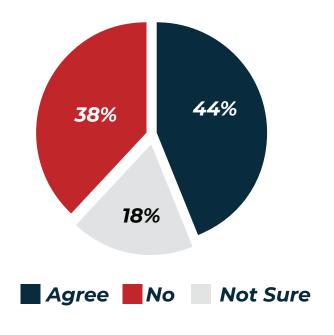
Furthermore, the professionalism and competence of INEC officials and security officers were recognised as the most principal factors for dousing tension on election day.

In this regard, KDI welcomes the unrelenting preparation of INEC towards the election as a good sign of solidifying the electoral process in Anambra; the commission earlier stated in its September 28, 2021, press release that appreciable progress has been made in fixing the commission's facilities that have earlier suffered various destructions earlier in the year.

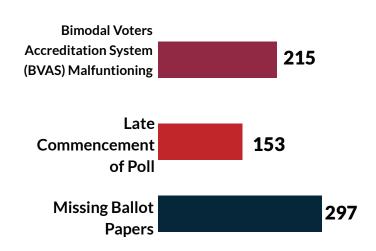
Which of the following can affect the acceptance of the result?



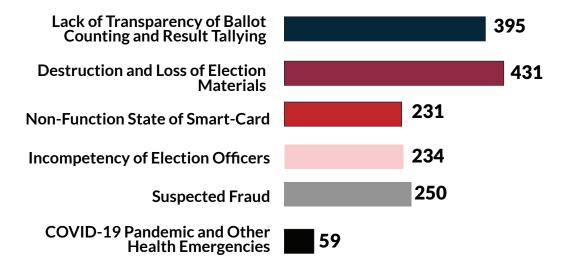
Do you agree that inec's preparedness could constitute a threat to the peaceful conduct of the coming election?



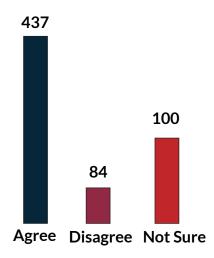
In your opinion which of the following logistical challenges could likely constitute a threat to the conduct of the upcoming election?



Which of the following could serve as threats to the election-on-election day? (Select all that applies)



Do you agree that problems associated with the distribution, and adequacy of polling units and voting points could lead to violence on election day?



Which of the following could result intension on the election day in your lga/community?



Opportunities and Recommendations

Despite the disturbing news of violence in Anambra State, it is noteworthy to state that 74% of these incidents as tracked and documented by KDI since January 2021 are not linked to the election. This is evidenced by the high percentage of expectation for a peaceful election, as revealed by this study. Even though there are certain degrees of uncertainties, the optimistic nature of the respondents portends an opportunity. Thus, if all concerned stakeholders are not relaxed and carry out strategic violence prevention interventions, the chances are high that we will have a peaceful governorship election in Anambra on November 6, 2021. KDI recommends the following:

INEC

- Considering the findings highlighted in this report concerning the importance of INEC's preparedness in eliminating threats to the election, KDI advises the commission to ensure that plans for the election are concluded ahead of time and laid out openly and transparently as this will aid more public trust in the commission and the election process.
- INEC should ensure that all logistical issues relating to sensitive materials, and the commencement of the election are sorted ahead of time to avoid glitches during the election as such glitches could trigger tension and conflict at the voting points.
- We encourage INEC to ensure that all its staff, including its ad-hoc staff, are properly trained to deliver a peaceful, free, and fair election. They should also ensure that they are well enlightened about the dynamics and importance of this election in Anambra state.
- INEC should also ensure proper coordination with security agencies before, during, and after the election to ensure a successful election cycle in Anambra.



- Considering that innovative technologies will be deployed during the election, we encourage INEC to publish and popularise the process of using such technology during an election so that voters are well enlightened on the election process, and as such, every potential for irregularities are eliminated, and conflict is prevented.
- INEC should leverage its power to extract real commitments from political parties, their candidates, and other key stakeholders in the state towards the security of the election, lives, and properties.

Media

- Media houses are encouraged to ensure that they
 do not publish provocative content as this could
 lead to violent conflicts before, during, and after
 the election. They should verify all news and always
 ensure they publish information based on physical
 and hard evidence.
- Media houses should ensure that they create spaces for fair play by granting access and coverage to
 the activities of all political parties and their candidates without appearing to the public as being partial.
- Media houses should ensure that their platforms are used as avenues to educate voters, especially on the use of new election technologies and procedures.

Security agencies

- Upon the intention of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) to deploy 34,587 police personnel for the Anambra governorship election, KDI advises proper training and enlightenment for the police officers being deployed to the state. So that they kept abreast of intricate details about prevalent insecurity in Anambra and threats against the election. This is recommended as a strategy to prevent police officers from doing more damage than good concerning the election.
- In the light of several hard-to-reach areas where there are also chances of electoral malpractices, security agencies are advised to study the pattern of the geographical and demographical characteristics of those areas and deploy, as necessary.
- Security agencies should collaborate with residents and leaders in communities to foster a bottom-up approach to securing the election process. A bottom-up approach is particularly recommended because community residents are believed to understand the precarity of their localities more and can significantly assist security agents in discharging their duties.
- Security agents should be trained on specific ways to douse the tension being mounted on the polity because of IPOB's threats and how to approach any IPOB related situation on election day specifically.
- There should be a massive sensitisation campaign on the identification of fake Police. Given this, there is a need for an identification plan for all security personnel deployed on election day.
- Election Security Control Center should be proactive in communications towards having an appropriate and swift response team for intervention on violence issues, if any, erupt.
- Election Security Control Center should also popularise their dedicated hotlines for the elections amidst the citizens so that citizens can call in to give them security information.

 The security agencies should be trained more on election policing to avoid human rights violations on election day

Political Parties

- All political parties are encouraged to ensure that their members and supporters are well educated on the election process and are encouraged to come out and vote on election day.
- Political parties and their candidates should demonstrate open commitment to a credible election process by desisting from the inducement of voters with money and materials as there are several detrimental effects of this on the election process and democracy. We charge parties to shift focus from voter inducement to issues-based campaigns as voter inducement limits the credibility of elections.
- Political parties and their candidates should ensure that their polling agents are well trained on their roles and responsibilities to prevent them from fomenting trouble at polling units.
- Political parties and their candidates should play by the rules and desist from rhetoric (Hate Speech) that could cause disunity and hatred. Hate Speech will only incite followers to perpetrate violent acts.

National Peace Committee

- The National Peace Committee (NPC) should continue its engagement with major political actors and electoral stakeholders to commit to a peaceful election in Anambra State.
- NPC should also design an intervention strategy that speaks to the stakeholders at the grassroots.

Traditional Institutions

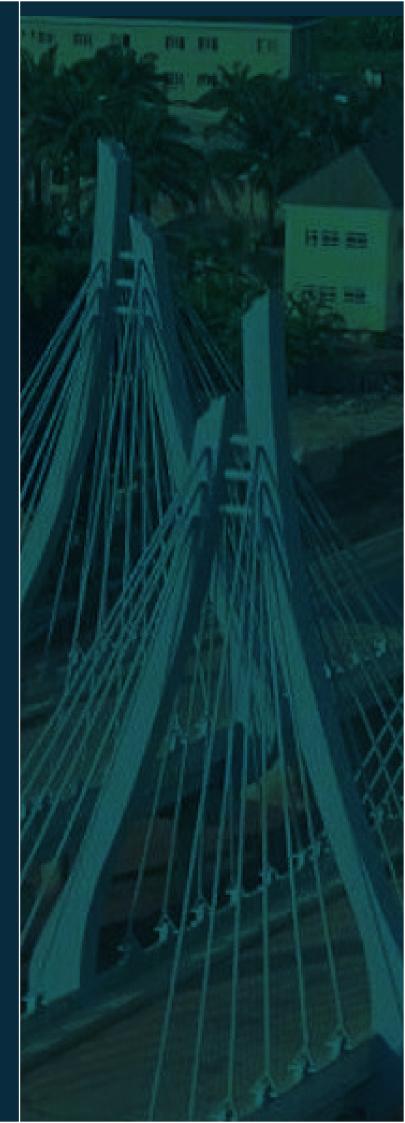
- Traditional rulers as gatekeepers of the communities must be engaged to use their platforms to reach out and sensitise the citizens on the need for peaceful elections. Just like the Oba of Benin did in Edo State.
- Traditional institutions should be fully integrated and involved in Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) before, during, and after elections.

Religious Leaders

 Religious leaders should join their voices to spread the message of peaceful election using their platform

CSOs and other Stakeholders

- KDI encourages CSOs and other stakeholders to embrace collaborative efforts in the implementation of their activities like, the education of voters, the mitigation of violence, and in securing the commitments of political actors to play by the rules.
- Civil society organisations should intensify their voter sensitisations against electoral violence, upscale their peace education, peace initiatives, and violence tracking.
- Civil Society Organisations and Development partners should prioritise capacity development for the political leaders on relationship building, strategic communication, and conflict resolution beyond and during an election. Some electoral-related issues happenings in Anambra state are because of fallout and inability to resolve conflicts.
- Internal Party Crisis has been a significant issue in our electoral process. CSOs working to strengthen institutions in Nigeria should design a massive intervention strategy to tackle this menace.



Reference

06

- Kimpact Development Initiative, June 2021, "Current Waves of Violence Unconnected from Anambra Election." Pp 21 https://www.kdi.org.ng/ anambradecides2021-first-pre-election-security-risk-assessment-esra/ (Accessed on the 21 October, 2021)
- 2. https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid = 2 4 7 8 7 0 6 1 0 6 9 9 3 3 9 & s e t = p cb.247872940699106
- 3. https://www.kdi.org.ng/learning-from-history-drawing-lessons-for-anambradecides2021/ Accessed on the 21 October 2021
- 4. https://guardian.ng/politics/anambra-lp-guber-candidates-whereabouts-unknown/ (Accessed on the 21 October 2021)
- 5. https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/09/may-hem-in-enugu-anambra/ (Accessed on the 21 October 2021)
- 6. https://thenationonlineng.net/ipob-denies-in-volvement-in-obianos-convoy-attack/ (Accessed on 21 Oct. 21)
- 7. https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/04/attackon-zone-13-anambra-ipob-denies-involvement/ (Accessed on 21 Oct. 21)
- 8. https://www.sunnewsonline.com/ipob-politicians-fuelling-crises-in-south-east/ (Accessed on 21 Oct. 2021)
- 9. https://punchng.com/counter-secessionist-groups-will-rise-in-south-east-if-ipob-doesnt-stop-kill-ings-umahi/ (Accessed on 21 Oct. 21)
- 10. https://punchng.com/breaking-anambra-deputy-

- gov-okeke-joins-apc-meets-buhari-in-aso-villa/ (Accessed 21 October 2021)
- 11. https://www.thecable.ng/fake-news-alert-ndidinwuneli-isnt-contesting-in-anambra-governor-ship-election/amp (Accessed 21 October 2021)
- 12. Kimpact Development Initiative, June 2021, "Current Waves of Violence Unconnected from Anambra Election." Pp 21 https://www.kdi.org.ng/anambradecides2021-first-pre-election-security-risk-assessment-esra/ (Accessed on the 21 October, 2021)
- 13. https://www.dataphyte.com/latest-reports/endsars-730-petitions-and-counting-over-police-brutality/ (Accessed on 21 Oct. 21)
- 14. https://dailypost.ng/2021/10/05/anambra-guberoperations-golden-dawn-is-apcs-tool-to-win-election-ohanaeze-alleges/ (Accessed on 21 October 2021)

Acknowledgement

07

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

Research Team

- Adebesin Timilehin- Research Assistant
- Daniel Ighodaro Information Graphics Designer
- Oluwafemi Adebayo Research Team Lead
- Bukola Idowu Research Associate

We Appreciate

- Eucharia Ijeoma Anekwe, (Director- Gender Perspective and Social Development Centre), for the effective coordination of the on-the-field data collection and your real-time views.
- Ugochi Agalaba-Ehiahuruike
- Tina Igbasi
- Nonso Orakwe



Find out More

+234 8103947690 www.kdi.org.ng info@kimpact.org.ng

Twitter.com/@KDI_ng Instagram:@KDI_ng www.facebook.com/kdinigeria