



**Pre-Assessment Report on
Anambra State 2021 Governorship
Election**

NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY
SITUATIONROOM

PRE-ASSESSMENT REPORT ON
ANAMBRA STATE 2021
GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION

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BACKGROUND TO THE 2021 ANAMBRA GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION



The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) scheduled Anambra State Governorship Election 2021 to hold on Saturday, 6th November 2021. This election will take place as an off-cycle election due to an important event that occurred in 2006, which interfered with the general cycle of elections in the State. On 15 March 2006, exactly 3 years after Chris Ngige of People's Democratic Party (PDP) was returned elected by INEC, the Court of Appeal overturned his victory and declared Peter Obi of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) as the winner of the election. The appellate court held that Peter Obi scored the highest number of lawful votes in the 2003 Governorship election held in State. Consequently, Anambra State became the first State in Nigeria where Governorship election is conducted off the general elections' cycle.

Since the return to democracy in 1999, Anambra State elections have been dominated by "god-fatherism" and money politics. Being a State with many business tycoons, industrialist billionaires and political powerbrokers, Anambra State has invisible hands with money and powerful networks exerting political influence.

The administration of Governor Chinwoke Mbadinuju from 1999 to 2003 was marred by numerous sociopolitical and security problems, which were attributed to interference of political godfathers, a situation that also trailed his successor. Barely 40 days after

taking the oath of office as Governor of Anambra State in May 2003, Chris Ngige was allegedly abducted from his office and forced to resign on 10 July 2003 on the order of his supposed godfather, Chris Uba, for failing to pay back funds expended for his election. This was the first time a sitting Governor would be kidnapped and detained for hours for any reason.

Although, Chris Ngige was released and regained his Governorship seat, the State has never seen a smooth and rancour-free political environment since then. In November 2004, youth and armed thugs loyal to the supposed godfather to the Governor caused mayhem in the capital city, Awka, when they set ablaze some government offices including the State-run radio and television studios and vehicles, demanding for the resignation of the Governor. This, allegedly, happened with the support of the Federal Government at the time, as Police conspicuously looked away during the mayhem.

Similarly, following the judgment of the Court of Appeal, Peter Obi was sworn in on 17th March 2006, however, he was impeached in a controversial manner seven months later by a few lawmakers in the State House of Assembly. Following his impeachment, the Deputy Governor, Dame Virginia Etiaba, became the Governor of the State.

From 2nd November 2006 when Peter Obi was impeached and after the Appeal Court overturned the action on 9th February 2007, INEC had commenced preparations for another Governorship election in the State, inferring that the Governor's office becomes vacant by 29 May 2007. The election, which held on 14th April 2007, produced Emmanuel Andy Uba, popularly known as Andy Uba, as the winner, albeit through a grossly flawed process full of ballots stuffing, violence and results manipulation.

Although Andy Uba was sworn-in as Governor of the State on 29th May 2007, the Supreme Court removed him two weeks later and returned Peter Obi to office on the ground that Obi had not completed his four-year term before election was conducted.

Consequently for the entire 2003 to 2007, Anambra State saw electoral disputes and political vagueness as four individuals –Chris Ngige, Peter Obi, Dame Virginia Etiaba and Andy Uba- shared among themselves a full tenure of a Governor due to one badly conducted election. Such is the high stake in every election in Anambra State. This year's Governorship election is not an exception; the stake could be higher looking at all the challenges that have emanated from primary elections of the larger political parties -APC, APGA and PDP and the myriad of security problems.

On 6th February 2010, Peter Obi was re-elected Governor for a second term of four years, after a hot contest with Chris Ngige, a erstwhile Governor of the State; Chukwuma Charles Soludo, a former Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria and Andy Uba, a former presidential aide.

Following the expiration of Peter Obi's second tenure in 2013, Willie Obiano of APGA was returned elected on 16th November 2013 as the incoming Governor of the State. Transition from one administration to another in Anambra State has not been completely devoid of money politics, thuggery, godfatherism and intimidation. Nevertheless, Willie Obiano was re-elected in 2017 for his second to run till 17th March 2022. In line with its Constitutional mandate, INEC scheduled Saturday, 6th November 2021 to conduct the Governorship election that will enable the people of Anambra State select their next Governors.

The Anambra Governorship election will be the third Governorship election that INEC is conducting in the era of coronavirus, after the Edo and Ondo States' Governorship Elections held last year. Both the Nigeria Centre for Disease Control (NCDC), which leads national response to the pandemic, and INEC have issued guidelines and policy documents to ensure safe conduct of the election.

This report contains a contextual analysis of the socio-political factors shaping the 2021 Governorship Election in Anambra State, INEC's preparations for the election, and nomination of candidates and campaign by political parties. It further highlights some of the key issues and security challenges ahead of the election, and contain some important recommendations for stakeholders working to ensure a credible and peaceful Anambra State Governorship election 2021.



DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF ANAMBRA STATE

Anambra State was created in 1976 from the former East Central State by the Military regime of General Olusegun Obasanjo. The State shares its borders with seven States, specifically Imo, Abia and Rivers to the South, Kogi to the North, Delta and Edo to the West, and Enugu to the East. The administrative area of the State was reduced in 1991 to create Enugu State, shifting the capital from the “Coal City” to Awka, a city historically known for metalworks, particularly blacksmith, as well as bronze and woodcarving.

As at 2016, the State had a population of 4,177,828 people, mainly Igbo, and spread across twenty-one (21) Local Government Areas on a landmass of 4,844 square kilometres. Due to its commercial and industrial features, Anambra State has a high presence of residents from other parts of the country and the world.

Economic activities of the people include trading, textile, metalworks and farming particularly yam, rice, citrus fruits, cocoyam, oil palm, maize and cassava. The State is also rich in mineral resources like bauxite, ceramic, crude oil and natural gas, amongst others.

The commercial centre of the State is Onitsha. Onitsha, a city developed on the bank of River Niger with active seaport, is one of the biggest commercial hub in West Africa and serves as a transit point for several consumer goods.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS

Aguata	Dunukofia	Nnewi South
Awka North	Ekwusigo	Ogbaru
Awka South	Idemili North	Onitsha North
Anambra East	Idemili South	Onitsha South
Anambra West	Ihiala	Orumba North
Anaocha	Njikoka	Orumba South
Ayamelum	Nnewi North	Oyi

DISTANCE OF LGA FROM STATE CAPITAL, AWKA

S/N	LGA	DISTANCE	TIME
1	Aguata	29 Km	29 Mins
2	Ayamelum	44 Km	45 Mins
3	Anambra East	36 Km	36 Mins
4	Anambra West	65 Km	1Hr. 7 Mins
5	Anaocha	24 Km	27 Mins
6	Awka North	19 Km	20 Mins
7	Awka South	4.3 Km	8 Mins
8	Dunukofia	13 Km	12 Mins
9	Ekwusigo	49 Km	53 Mins
10	Idemili North	25 Km	26 Mins

11	Idemili South	42 Km	48 Mins
12	Ihiala	82 Km	1 Hr. 20 Mins
13	Njikoka	9.3 Km	11 Mins
14	Nnewi North	39 Km	42 Mins
15	Nnewi South	46 Km	52 Mins
16	Ogbaru	83 Km	1 Hr. 24 Mins
17	Onitsha North	43 Km	35 Mins
18	Onitsha South	48 Km	42 Mins
19	Orumba North	47 Km	54 Mins
20	Orumba South	43 Km	43 Mins
21	Oyi	27 Km	26 Mins

DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNORS OF ANAMBRA STATE SINCE 1992

No	Name	Title	Took Office	Party	Notes
1	Chukwuemeka Ezeife	Governor	2 January 1992	SDP	
2	Chinwoke Mbadinuju	Governor	29 May 1999	PDP	
3	Chris Ngige	Governor	29 May 2003	PDP	The Court of Appeal upturned election of Chris Ngige and declared Peter Obi the winner.
4	Peter Obi	Governor	17 March 2006	APGA	

5	Virginia Etiaba	Governor	3 November 2006	APGA	Sworn-in when Peter Obi was illegally impeached by the State Legislature.
6	Peter Obi	Governor	9 February 2007	APGA	Emmanuel Nnamdi Uba (Andy Uba) was elected and sworn in on 27 May 2007. He was removed by a Supreme Court decision on 14 June 2007. He governed the State for 14 days.
7	Willie Obiano	Governor	17 March 2014	APGA	Willie Obiano was re-elected for a second term on 18 November 2017.



POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

History of elections in Anambra State and early signs of inflammatory rhetoric and desperations occasioned by intra-party conflicts, armed thuggery and violence mobilisations such as “Unknown Gun Men” (UGM) and tendency like the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), are radically shaping the political environment of the State ahead of the 2021 Governorship Election.

Looking at the nominal strength of the political parties competing in this election, APGA has been ruling the State since 2006 when the Appeal Court declared the party as the winner of the 2003 Governorship election. In the 2019 General Elections, the PDP won two Senatorial and six House of Representatives' seats, Young Progressives Party (YPP) won a Senatorial seat and APGA, five House of Representatives' seats. The APC has seen expansion of its electoral fortune by holding out the promise of integration with Federal Government and consequent defections into the party that included a Senator and eleven State Lawmakers, and belatedly, the incumbent Deputy Governor of the State after failing to secure nomination to contest the Governorship election under APGA. Thus, four of the eighteen political parties competing in this election are established in the political landscape of the State while the remaining fourteen are jostling for in-road.

These factors, combined with the aged-long money politics and election violence in the State amongst others, are drawing the attention of many stakeholders across board to Anambra 2021.

POLITICAL INTRIGUES, PARTY PRIMARIES AND EMERGENCE OF CANDIDATES

The 2021 Governorship election in Anambra State is starting in a perplexing and acrimonious way. Despite numerous efforts by the civil society community to ensure that political parties play by their own Constitutions, they have continued to conduct their nomination process without recourse to internal democratic principles. This was evident in the primary elections conducted by some parties, particularly APGA, APC and PDP, leading to several contestants seeking unclear and counter reliefs at various Courts in Awka, Owerri, Jigawa, Abuja and Kano.

Different factions of APGA and PDP conducted parallel primary elections ahead of the Governorship election. In the case of APGA, three parallel primary elections held on the same day -23rd June 2021. Charles Soludo was separately nominated through parallel congresses organised by two factions of the party – one led by Victor Oye group and the other led by Edozie Njoku while the third faction led by Jude Okeke nominated Chukwuma Umeoji. Consequently, each of the factions were in Courts seeking validation of their nomination.

Similarly, Valentine Ozigbo and Ugochukwu Uba were nominated as the candidates of PDP from different sets of parallel primaries held on 26th June 2021. A faction led by Chukwudi Umeaba, allegedly loyal to a self-acclaimed godfather of Anambra politics, Chris Uba, nominated Ugochukwu Uba, a former Senator using a "list of delegates from all the wards". Ugochukwu Uba is a brother to both Andy Uba, the APC candidate for the election, and Chris Uba, the alleged godfather of the PDP's faction and the erstwhile godfather of Chris Ngige.

In the primary election conducted using a "Super Delegates" model by the Committee set-up by the National Executive Committee of PDP, Valentine Ozigbo emerged as the flag bearer of the party, beating 16 other aspirants. Super Delegates are party executives and elected officials.

For the two parties, APGA and PDP, INEC initially recognised the nomination of Charles Soludo as APGA candidate in the election and Valentine Ozigbo as PDP candidate, it however substituted both of them for Chukwuma Umeoji and Ugochukwu Ozigbo respectively following Court orders. But the Commission later reverted to the earlier status quo as a result of separate judgments of the Supreme Court affirming their candidature.

The early conflicting orders from Courts of coordinate jurisdictions have given stakeholders cause to worry, and have therefore called on the management of Nigeria's Judiciary to address the challenge.

Relatedly, the APC primary election scheduled for 26th June 2021 raised a number of controversies. Eleven of the thirteen aspirants for the primary election, including a Minister and former Governor of the State –Chris Ngige, alleged that the primary election did not hold anywhere in the State as expected. But the Governor Dapo Abiodun led Committee countered the statement of the aspirants, and declared Andy Uba winner of the party's ticket. However, INEC claimed that its Monitors did not observe any nomination process of the party as the primary election officials failed to turn-up at voting centres despite a large turnout of delegates, therefore could not recognise the candidate. Nonetheless, a Court has ordered INEC to include Andy Uba as the candidate of APC for the November 6th Governorship election.

The remaining fifteen political parties conducted their nomination seamlessly within the time stipulated by INEC. Yet, seven of the parties substituted both Governorship and Deputy Governorship candidates barely a month after conducting their primary elections. The parties are Accord (A), Action Alliance (AA), African Action Congress (AAC), Allied Peoples Movement (APM), National Rescue Movement (NRM), Social Democratic Party (SDP), and Zenith Labour Party (ZLP). Similarly, Action Democratic Party (ADP), Peoples Redemption Party (PRP), Young Progressives Party (YPP), and APC substituted their Deputy Governorship candidates within the same period.

Commendably, five political parties had no issue with nomination and are campaigning with candidates produced through the primary elections. The parties are Action Peoples Party (APP), African Democratic Congress (ADC), Boot Party (BP), Labour Party (LP), and New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP).

Finally, one thing was common among the political parties throughout the nomination process is, money was a major determinant of the outcome of each of the primary elections.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

The quality of political and election campaigns in Anambra 2021 is abysmal. Intra-party conflicts generated from the poorly conducted primary elections seem to have

expanded discord among political actors in the State. These conflicts, as well as an apparent lack of issue-based campaigns, are setting tone for electioneering. There are little discussions of development plans for the people of the State by the political parties and their candidates. Much of the campaign issues are centred on attaining power instead of development pledges on social service issues, economic activities, security and general quality of life of the people of Anambra State.

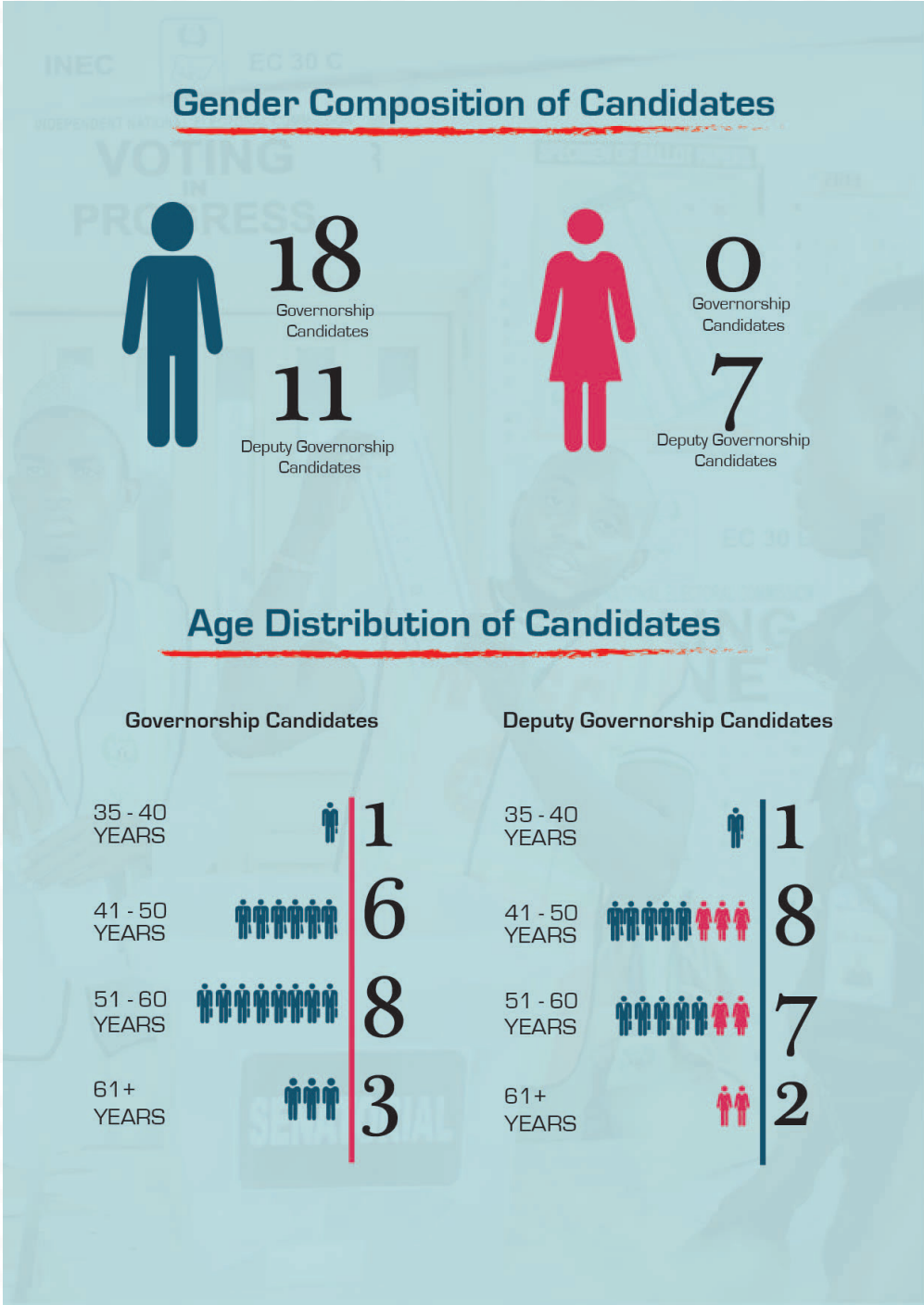
As the security challenges gather steam, political campaigns have reduced to radio/TV messaging and supporters informally wooing people within their locale as against the conventional public gatherings and branded cars and wears, mainly due to fears of possible attack.

Also, many political parties and their candidates are reportedly offering money and other material incentives to voters and collecting account details of citizens to transfer money to on election day. In some cases, items distributed during these informal engagements were codified as Covid-19 palliatives, making it difficult for citizens' groups to track campaign expenses. This is an early signal that the 2021 Governorship election would experience a high proportion of vote buying in a State in which elections are historically fraught with widespread money politics.

Thus, Civil society groups working on elections in Anambra State would need to expand their interventions to include structured advocacies for issue-based campaigns and voters' sensitization, on one hand, and sustained actions to stem the tide of vote buying, on the other hand.

INCLUSION

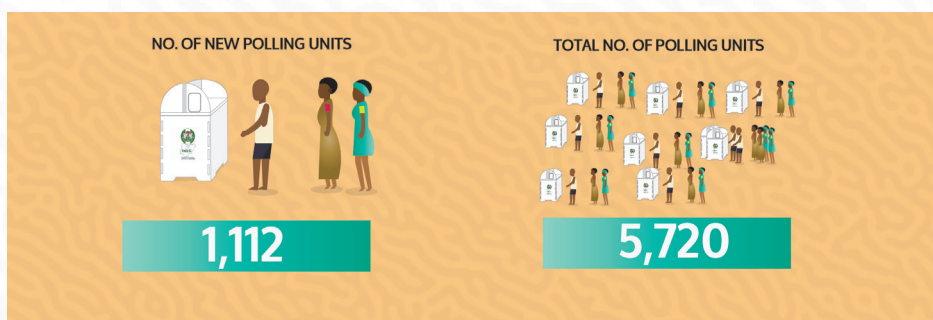
Based on the list of candidates released by INEC, the Anambra 2021 Governorship election lacks inclusion of young people, women and persons with disabilities (PWDs) among the candidates. There is no single female Governorship candidate in this election while only one candidate of the eighteen is a young person under the age of forty (40). It is unclear if there was anyone in this category of citizens that obtained application of any political party to participate in primary elections. This is a disappointing occurrence, particularly after what was achieved in the Edo State Governorship election 2020 where ADC and NNPP nominated Mabel Oboh and Agol Tracy respectively, and Ondo 2020 where Labour Party featured Okunade Taiwo. Ms Oboh of ADC beat ten other candidates to come fourth in the Edo State Governorship election 2020.



INEC'S PREPARATIONS

INEC commenced preparations for this election with the release of its timetable and schedule of activities in January 2021. INEC had announced that it developed a work-plan for prosecuting the election that included voters' registration and sensitization, election operations, training and conduct of the election proper, amongst others.

INEC has been carrying out voter education and sensitization activities at the State, and through periodic press releases and briefings by the National Headquarters. Earlier in the year, INEC held engagements with stakeholders including political parties and CSO groups on the need to expand voters' access to polling units. These engagements enabled creation of additional polling units in Anambra State by converting the existing voting points into 1,112 substantive polling units. When added to the original 4,608 polling units, Anambra State now has a total of 5,720 polling units going into the November 2021 election.

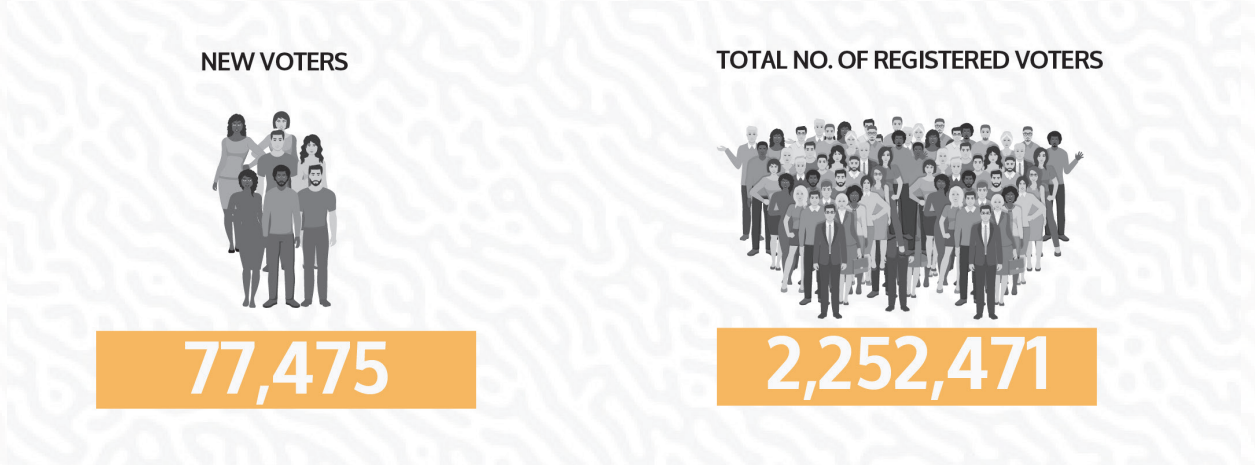


CONTINUOUS VOTERS' REGISTRATION (CVR)

On 28th June 2021, INEC resumed Continuous Voters' Registration (CVR) exercise nationwide. The last CVR exercise was conducted four years ago, coincidentally just before the Anambra State Governorship Election in 2017.

In the 2021 exercise, INEC deployed a new technique for registering voters with the launch of the pre-registration online portal – www.cvr.inecnigeria.org. With the online pre-registration portal, prospective voters can pre-fill their information on the INEC portal and schedule an appointment for biometric capturing at a physical registration centre of their choice.

The physical registration centres were located at State and Local Government offices of INEC until 30th August when INEC devolved registration centres to the Ward level in Anambra State for a week before the registration was closed. This was done to enable INEC produce permanent voter's cards (PVCs) for the new voters inline with Section 9(5) of the Electoral Act 2010, as amended. Thus, INEC conducted CVR exercise in Anambra State for ten (10) weeks ahead of the November Election. A total of 77, 475 valid registrations were captured; therefore increasing the number of registered voters in the State to 2,525,471.



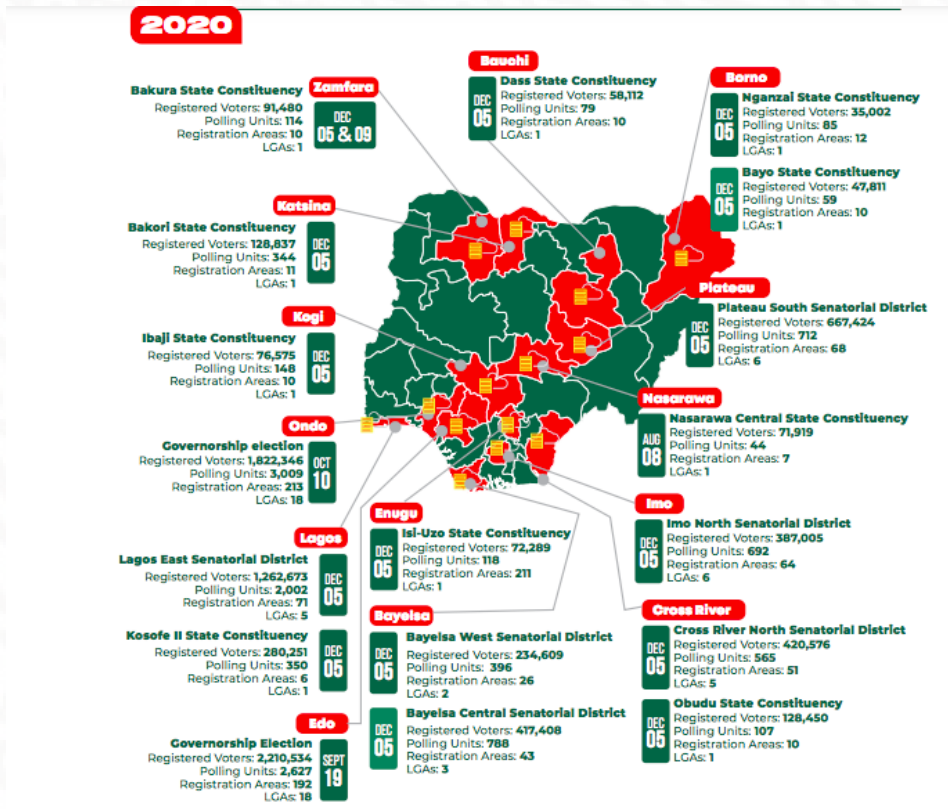
To conclude the process, INEC displayed the register of new voters at the local government offices for seven (7) days in order for citizens to make claims and objections in compliance with section 19(1) of the Electoral Act 2020 (as amended).

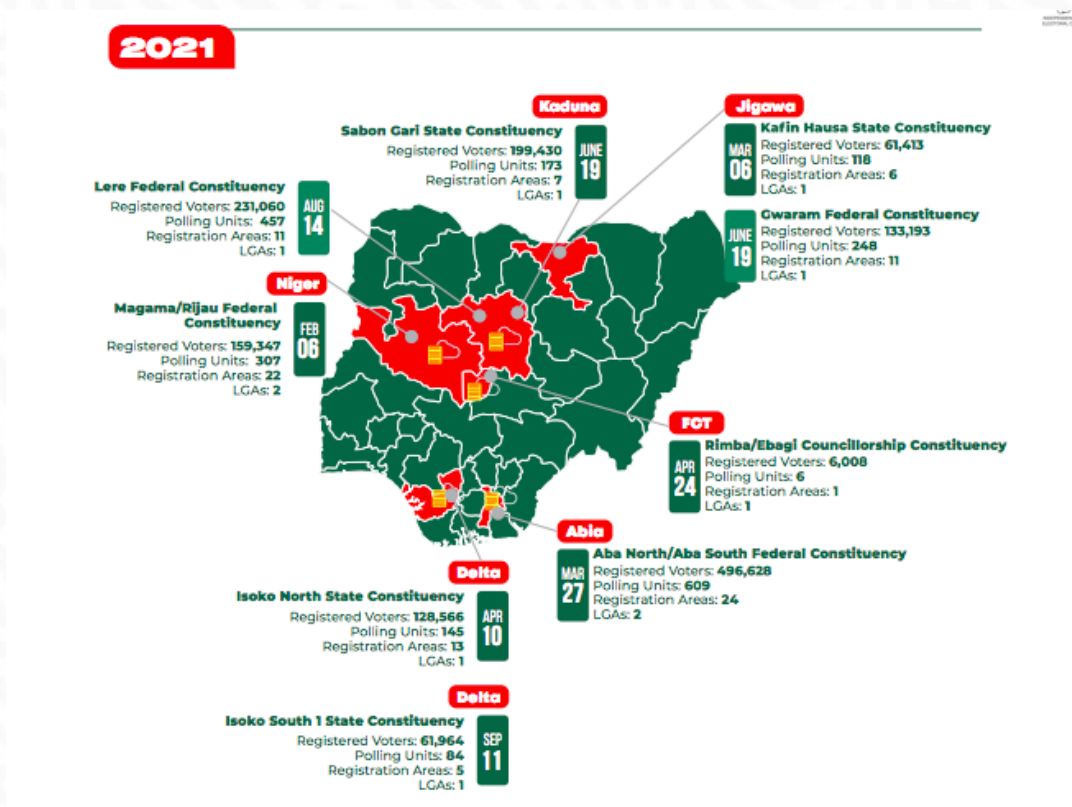
INEC RESULTS VIEWING (IREV) PORTAL AND Z-PAD

Since 2020, INEC has published electronic images of Polling Unit results through its Result Viewing (IREv) Portal. IREv is a public domain created by INEC to make PU Result Sheets, codified as Form EC8A, available to the general public in real-time. The Z-pad is used to scan the original PU results sheet and transmitted to the domain -<https://inecelectionresults.com/> - as an attachment.

The arrangement ensures that the EC8A forms filled, signed and pasted at each PU by the Presiding Officers and parties' agents are accessible to all interested members of the public. It also ensures that there is no difference between what is pasted at the PUs and the forms tendered at the Collation Centres. This means there will be some level of credibility with collation of results at the Ward level frequently reported to be the weakest link in Nigeria's election process by Situation Room.

Elections where INEC have transmitted scanned copies of PU result sheets to the public domain:

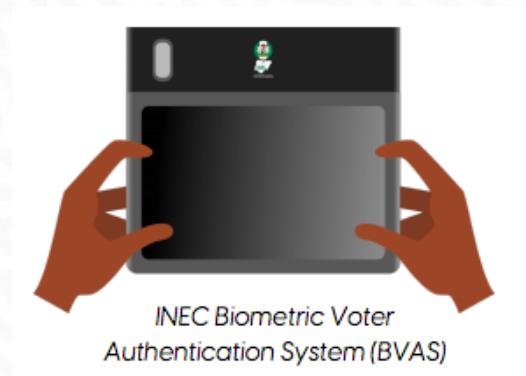
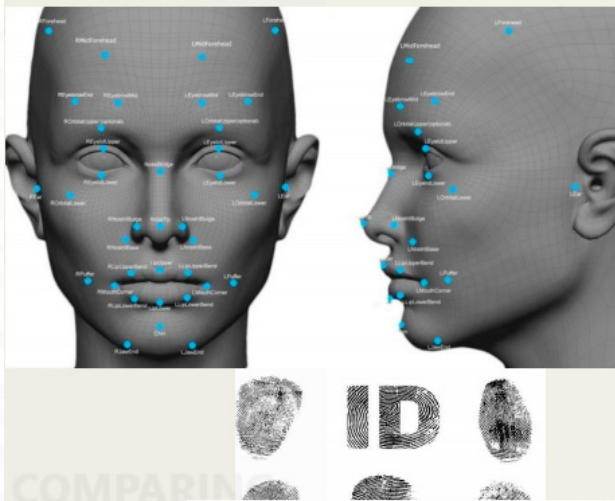




SOURCE : INEC

BI-MODAL VOTER AUTHENTICATION SYSTEM (BVAS)

For the 2021 Governorship election in Anambra State, INEC would be deploying a new technology known as Bi-modal Voter Authentication System (BVAS). The BVAS, domiciled on INEC's tablet device called Z-pad, is a multi-layer system designed to accredit and authenticate voters by their facial features and fingerprints. The BVAS is replacing the Smart Card Readers (SCRs), and it is intended to put a second level of authentication of voters by facial recognition where biometric/fingerprint fails. This is meant to eliminate voting by identity theft. Consequently, *a voter who failed both fingerprints and facial authentication will not be issued a ballot paper to vote. Therefore, no electronic authentication, no voting.* This system was successfully experimented during the Isoko South 1 State Assembly Constituency Bye-election held on 11th September 2021 in Delta State.



RECRUITMENT/TRAINING OF ELECTION WORKERS AND DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTION MATERIALS

During the Situation Room Dialogue Session with INEC Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) of Anambra State held on Friday, 8th October 2021, the REC stated that about 26,000 ad-hoc staff are required for the November 6th Governorship election. According to the REC, INEC had commenced recruitment of the ad-hoc staff and had scheduled their training to begin on 19th October 2021. INEC further stated that training of other categories of election workers such as Electoral Officers (EOs) and Assistant Electoral Officers (AEOs) has been completed while that of Supervising Presiding Officers will take place soon.

Additionally, INEC mentioned that it was set to commence distribution of non-sensitive materials to the 21 Local Government Areas ahead of the election, and advised observer groups and party agents to be present in the Awka branch of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) in the week of the election to observe distribution of sensitive materials.



ELECTORAL STATISTICS

Following the creation of new polling units in March 2021, the recent CVR exercise conducted by INEC, party primaries and the Supreme Court judgments on disputes arising from the primaries, below are the election statistics.

WHO ARE THE CANDIDATES?

The contest will see 18 political parties with their candidates slog it out in November. None of the 18 Governorship candidates is female while 7 out of the 18 Deputy Governorship candidates are female.

S/N	NAME	PARTY	DESCRIPTIONS
1	Maduka Godwin A.	Accord (A)	<p>62-year-old Maduka is a businessman and Medical Doctor with specialisation in Anaesthesiology and Pain Management.</p> <p>Running mate: Obi Kenneth Ifeatu; 52 years old.</p>

2	Etiaba Bennet Chukwuogo	Action Alliance (AA)	57-year-old Chartered Accountant and a businessman. Running mate: Uchebo Regina Nwao; 49 years old.
3	Nwankwo Wilson Chidozie	African Action Congress (AAC)	Aged 55 years, Nwankwo is a major distributor of building materials in Nigeria. He is also involved in shipping businesses. Running mate: Nwaebili Chinwe Clara; 50 years old.
4	Akachukwu Sullivan Nwankpo	African Democratic Congress (ADC)	59-year-old former presidential aide and specialist in conflicts resolution. Running mate: Lawrence Chijioke Ughamadu; 48 years old.
5	Ume-Ezeoke Afam Luke Douglas	Action Democratic Party (ADP)	A Prince and businessman, Ume-Ezeoke is 51 years old. Running mate: Maxwell Emeka Chukwujama; 51 years old.
6	Emmanuel Andy Nnamdi Uba	All Progressives Congress (APC)	Former Senator from Anambra South Senatorial District and former Presidential Aide. Andy is 62 years old. Running mate: Chukwuemeka Stephen Okafor; 57 years old.
7	Charles Chukwuma Soludo	All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA)	A Professor of Economics, former Chief Economic adviser to the President and Chief Executive of National Planning Commission, and former Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeira. Soludo is 60 years old. Running mate: Ibezim Onyekachukwu Gilbert; 45 years old.

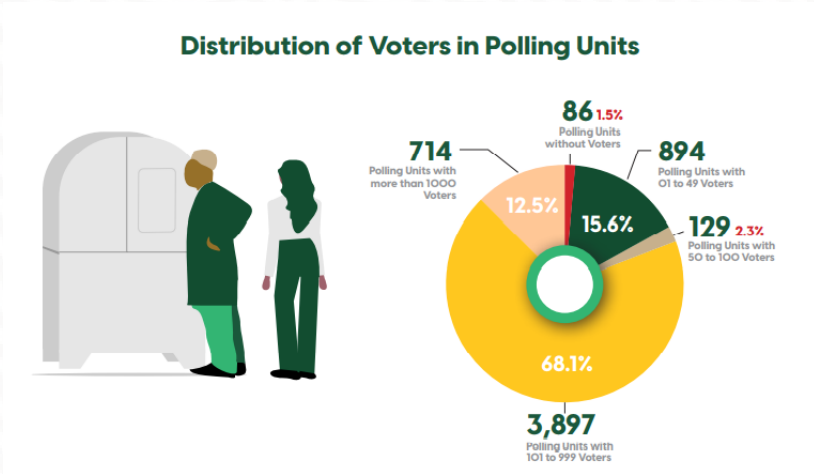
8	Onyejegbu Geoffrey Ukwudili	Allied Peoples Movement (APM)	<p>Onyejegbu is a retired Nigerian Army Colonel and Architectural Engineer. The 63 years old veteran has participated in peace missions around the world.</p> <p>Running mate: Onuora Chinwe Uchenna Letitia; 58 years old.</p>
9	Azubuike Philip Echetebe	Action Peoples Party (APP)	<p>Azubuike is 50 years old, and the flag bearer of APP in the election.</p> <p>Running mate: Ogbonna Jonathan Vinatus Nnabike; 51 years old.</p>
10	Chika Jerry Okeke	Boot Party (BP)	<p>The 47-years-old Chika is a publisher and an author, and a Geologist by training.</p> <p>Running mate: Chika Juliet Adibe; 46 years old.</p>
11	Agbasimalo Obiora Emmanuel	Labour Party (LP)	<p>Agbasimalo is a chartered accountant and a former banker. He is 39 years old.</p> <p>Running mate: Muokwue Chinedu Peter; 45 years old.</p>
12	Ohajimkpo Leonard Emeka	New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP)	<p>Ohajimkpo Leonard Emeka is 50 years old, and the flag bearer of NNPP.</p> <p>Running mate: Nwude Henrietta Ebelechukwu; 49 years old.</p>
13	Ezenwafor Afamefuna Victor	National Rescue Movement (NRM)	<p>45-year-old Ezenwafor is a Chemical Engineer by training, and a Realtor. He has more than a decade of experience working with a pension funds administrator in Nigeria.</p> <p>Running mate: Ojukwu Nzube Chukwuma; 36 years old.</p>

14	Valentine Chineto Ozigbo	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	<p>Valentine is a business and former CEO of Transnational Corporation of Nigeria Plc (Transcorp). The 50-year-old is a former bank executive.</p> <p>Running mate: Lilian Azuka Enemo; 64 years old.</p>
15	Nnandi Nwawuo	Peoples Redemption Party (PRP)	<p>Nnamdi is a 45-year old businessman from Anambra North Senatorial District.</p> <p>Running mate: Igbo Godwin Gozie; 55 years old.</p>
16	Uzoh Obinna Chukwudum Godwin	Social Democratic Party (SDP)	<p>Uzoh is 58 years old, a businessman and lawyer and a Ph.D. holder in Economics.</p> <p>Running mate: Chira Uzochukwu Obiora; 42 years old.</p>
17	Ifeanyi Patrick Ubah	Young Progressives Party (YPP)	<p>Ifeanyi is a 49-year-old businessman in the oil and vehicle spare parts industries. He is the current Senator representing Anambra South district in the Senate.</p> <p>Running mate: Okechukwu Nnamdi Eze; 59 years old.</p>
18	Okonkwo Obiora Francis	Zenith Labour Party (ZLP)	<p>Okonkwo is a businessman. Aged 55 years, Okonkwo is the Executive Chairman of United Nigeria Airlines, a new carrier in Nigeria.</p> <p>Running mate: Jessie Balonwu Uka; 69 years old.</p>

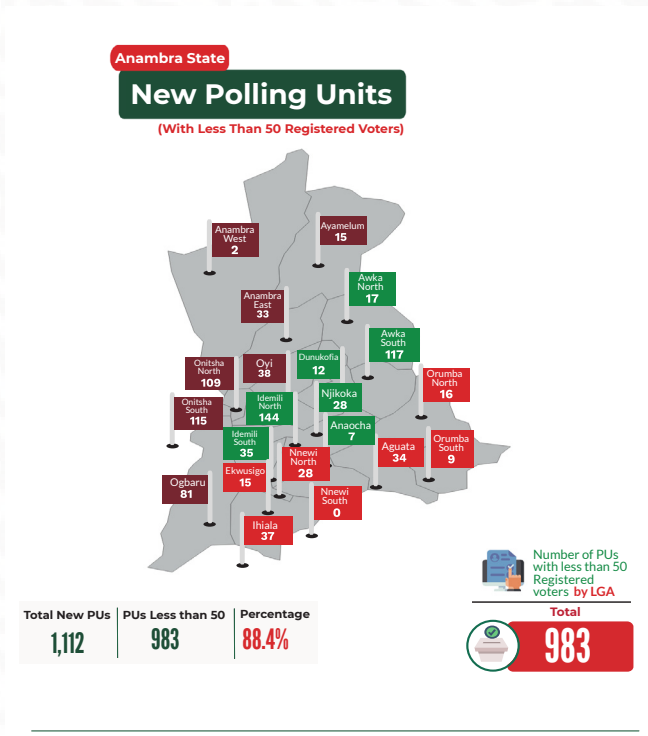
POLLING UNITS DISTRIBUTION AND REGISTERED VOTERS BY LGA

S/N	LGA	No. of RAs/ Wards	No. of PUs	No. of Registered Voters
1.	Aguata	20	342	144,764
2.	Ayamelum	11	191	87,051
3.	Anambra East	15	241	98,474
4.	Anambra West	10	164	62,637
5.	Anaocha	19	320	109,860
6.	Awka North	14	150	72,036
7.	Awka South	20	390	188,736
8.	Dunukofia	14	165	74,882
9.	Ekwusigo	12	193	85,594
10.	Idemili North	12	467	222,441
11.	Idemili South	12	243	113,598
12.	Ihiala	20	323	148,407
13.	Njikoka	18	231	103,721
14.	Nnewi North	10	218	154,286
15.	Nnewi South	20	297	92,411
16.	Ogbaru	16	383	174,299
17.	Onitsha North	15	313	159,292
18.	Onitsha South	17	321	161,578
19.	Orumba North	18	253	93,620
20.	Orumba South	18	208	75,121

21.	Oyi	15	207	102,663
	TOTAL	326	5,720	2,525,471



SOURCE : INEC



Breakdown of PUs with Less Than 50 Registered Voters

0 Registered Voters	1 - 15 Registered Voters	16 - 30 Registered Voters	31 - 49 Registered Voters	TOTAL
86	571	208	118	983



ELECTION SECURITY

The security situation in Anambra State is of great concern to stakeholders. Historically, the State is reported to have a high rate of criminal incidents, particularly Onitsha where a major market in the West African sub region harbours uncountable touts and thugs. Also, the blacksmithing profession of aboriginal people of Awka, which enables production of locally made Dane-guns and other firearms, and cultism among unemployed youth have been reported as enablers of crime in the State. Successive governments have made efforts, through both conventional and unconventional means, to address the challenges but have largely failed. From the introduction of State-backed Bakassi Boys in 1999 till they were disbanded in 2002 for their overbearingness and lawlessness till the recent Ebube Agu, none has shown the needed effectiveness to combat crimes and thuggery in the State till this moment. Instead remnants of the disbanded Bakassi Boys and some community touts have found their ways into other security outfits, many of which are being mobilised by politicians.

In Anambra State, election seasons are the peak periods for violence. Literature on election violence in the State since 2003 shows the extent of the challenge to be deeper, replete with reports of killings. Between January and August 2021, Kimpact Development Initiative (KDI) reported 62 incidents of political violence that culminated in the death of over 50 people in Anambra State. Yet, no known arrest has been made by security agencies. This is a frightening statistics going into the November 2021

Governorship election, particularly for a State that has a rich history of abysmal voters' turn during elections.

THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF BIAFRA (IPOB)/ EASTERN SECURITY NETWORK

The IPOB separatist agitators are important elements in conversations on election security in Anambra State. Since May 2021, the group has allegedly given sit-at-home orders periodically to the people living in the entire South-East geopolitical zone of the country. Initially, citizens adhered to the order willingly.

In the lead up to the 2017 Governorship election in Anambra State, IPOB initially declared a sit-at-home order on election day but later rescinded it following a meeting convened by the "Ala-Igbo International Foundation" with the leadership of the group. The separatists group formed a militia outfit called Biafran Security Services (BSS) but later rebranded them Eastern Security Network (ESN).

Although IPOB was proscribed in September 2017, the group remain relevant till date. Since the kidnap from abroad and detention of the leader of the group, Nnamdi Kanu, in July this year, the order has become regular, taking place every Monday and on important national days. The orders are observed; willingly by some people, out of fear by some other and enforced by hoodlums and touts in less cooperating areas. In the course of enforcement of these sit-at-home orders, many people have been killed and properties destroyed.

It is unclear if IPOB will issue an order on the Governorship election day in the State. Nevertheless, the group has reportedly stated that the recent sit-at-home orders were not issued by them but by politically motivated criminal elements that want to cash-in on the narrative to entrench themselves and perpetrate evils in the land. This has made the election environment more complex.

CULTISM

A high level of unemployment in Anambra State is a motivation for cultism. Even though the State has the sixth lowest rate of unemployment in Nigeria according to Nigeria Bureau of Statistics, the rate has increased from 10.8% in 2021 to 17% in the 2nd quarter of 2020. With Anambra being the 2nd most densely population State in

Nigeria, the number of unemployed youth could be higher in nominal figure than most States. This is a recipe for community cultism.

Additionally, the tertiary institutions in the State such as Nnamdi Azikiwe University Awka, Anambra State University renamed Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu Univeristy Uli and Federal Polytechnic Okoh are dominated by activities of cult groups. In previous elections, businessmen and politicians in the State have been known to mobilize funds to recruit and engage cult groups from the tertiary institutions and the streets to gain victory. This is another dimension to the security challenges ahead of the 2021 Governorship election in the State.

ATTACKS ON INEC OFFICES

INEC facilities vehicles have been attacked several times since February 2019 by "Unknown Gun Men" in many States across the country, with Imo State leading in the number of incidents. The yet to be identified individuals have set ablaze some buildings, equipment and materials, and vehicles of INEC, adding another complexity to the security.

In Anambra State, two incidents of arson and vandalism have been recorded. These events took place on 21 October 2020 at Nnewi North LGA Office of INEC and 23 May 2021 at the State Headquarters' office. This is how multifaceted election security has become in the lead up to the 2021 Governorship election in the State.

EBUBE AGU AND OPERATION GOLDEN DAWN

The South-Eastern Governments have attempted to address the issues with a supposed formation of a regional security group code-named Ebubu Agu. The initiative has been publicly launched in most of the States in the region, including Anambra, without any standard strategy and legal backing. In some areas within the region, thugs are being recruited into the group, giving it a semblance of Bakassi Boys, another recipe for disaster. Thus, these State governments are only making political statements, and possibly deepening the problem in an attempt to solve it.

On 4th October 2021, the Nigerian Army commenced a military action dubbed Operation Golden Dawn to run till 23rd December 2021 in the entire Southeast. The Operation is

supposedly initiated to control insecurity and foster inter-agency collaboration in the State, was launched by 302 Artillery Regiment at Igbariam, Anambra East LGA.

FLASHPOINTS

From the reports of Kimpact Development Initiative –Learning from History, and CLEEN Foundation's Security Threat Assessment, the following areas are potential security flashpoints with respect to the November 6th, Governorship election in Anambra State:

- » Nnewi
- » Obosi, Eke Nkpor –Idemili North LGA
- » Onitsha – Onitsha North & South LGA
- » Ozubulu – Ekwusigo LGA
- » Amunike – Akwa North LGA
- » Azi, Okija, Ihiala – Ihiala LGA (IPOB Stronghold)
- » Isiofia – Aguta LGA (IPOB Stronghold)
- » Ukacha – Anaocha LGA
- » Awkuzu, Igboriam, – Oyi LGA
- » Awka South
- » Abagana – Njikoka LGA
- » Dunukofia LGA
- » Okoh, Orumba North
- » Nneyi – Anambra East
- » Obodo Ukwu, Atani Road - Ogbaru
- » Otuocha – Otuocha LGA

POLICE DEPLOYMENT

The Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has announced that it is deploying 34,587 officers for the 2021 Governorship election in Anambra State. This shows extra 13,503 officers above the number that was deployed for the same election in 2017 (21,084).

The contingents for the election security operation that will be drawn from the Police Airwing, Force Marine, Police Medical, Mobile and Force Animal Commands, comprises of conventional Police officers and Special Forces personnel from the counter terrorism, explosives ordinance, Interpol, Intelligence and Special Protection units.

Breakdown of the Police deployment includes 2 Deputy Inspectors-General of Police, 5 Assistant Inspectors-General of Police, 14 Commissioners of Police, 31 Deputy Commissioners of Police, 48 Assistant Commissioners of Police, and 34,487 Officers, Men and Women of the Force.

Following from several consultative meetings held by INEC with members of the Inter-Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES) and other stakeholders, the Security agencies have promised election stakeholders, particularly the people of Anambra State and political parties that they will contain threats to the election and work in a professional manner throughout the election period.

CONCLUSION

The poorly conducted party primaries, money politics and violence tendencies have turned the State into a huge theatre ahead of the November 6th election. This acrimonious political environment, coupled with gross apathy, could have multiplier effects on the election proper and may generate questions on legitimacy of the next government. The challenge shows that the Court would eventually decide the candidates and who governs the State afterwards. This is a sad reality we are confronted with today, due to a deliberate failure on the part of political parties to apply themselves to the dictates of democracy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. THE INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

INEC has a great role to play in building public confidence in the forthcoming election, as follows:

- » Strengthen its relationship with the Security institutions through ICSS to determine security need and lead deployment of security personnel on election duty.
- » Adequately exercise its oversight functions on political parties ahead of the election in the areas of Issue-based campaign, hate speech and violence conduct/tendencies.
- » Ensure sufficient training of Ad Hoc staff and security agents.
- » Put safeguards in place to ensure smooth election-day operations, especially safe transportation of materials and officials to and from the various election centres, including the riverine areas.
- » Since INEC has created new polling units, the Commission should ensure that names of voters allocated to each polling unit are properly pasted at least 24 hours before the election. This would ensure voters are fully aware where their names fall.

2. SECURITY AGENCIES

The security agencies should:

- » Strengthen inter-agency cooperation and protect polling units and collation centres in a non-partisan and non-threatening manner;
- » Ensure the welfare of their personnel, conduct adequate training ahead of the deployment and track them for misconduct, specifically involvement in vote buying, and arrest of innocent citizens and observers.
- » Work in synergy with INEC to ensure adequate and even deployment of security personnel across polling units and between urban and rural polling areas.
- » Extend the deployment of personnel from major cities and towns, to villages and local communities, to boost the confidence of the citizens to come out and cast

their votes securely. Past elections sees a concentration of the Capital City

- » Ensure operatives involved in Operation Golden Dawn do not interfere in the election process in any way, and conduct themselves in a manner that build citizens' confidence and safety.
- » Security agencies should have utmost regard for human rights as they carry out their responsibilities in securing the election process as directed by the election umpire.

3. POLITICAL PARTIES AND CANDIDATES:

- » Political parties and their candidates should respect INEC's guidelines and the electoral laws, and be civil during the election.
- » Take responsibility to sensitize voters, based on their party's manifesto and candidate's development agenda.
- » Take deliberate measures to ensure that their members and supporters commit to peaceful conduct before, during and after the election.
- » Provide adequate training for their election agents and deploy sufficiently across the polling units and collation centres.
- » Uphold the Peace Accord that they are set to sign before the election.

4. CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

Civil society should:

- » Intensify civic and voter education across the State to improve voter turnout and the importance of mandate protection.
- » Increase enlightenment campaigns on the danger of violence.
- » Promote issue-based campaign as a strategy for discouraging hate speech and all forms of violence in all the stages of the electoral process.
- » Encourage community leaders and community-based organisations/association to mobilise community members to turnout for the election.

- » Ensure safety of their trained observers.
- » Possibly convene peace-building dialogues among political actors and Traditional leaders to ensure a violence-free election.
- » Work closely with the Police Service Commission and Nigeria Police Force to monitor the activities of security agencies in the election.
- » Deepen collaboration with the media to tame fake news during the election.

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ABOUT

PLAC hosts the secretariat of the Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room and is a member of its steering committee.

The Situation Room provides a co-ordinating platform for civil society engagement on governance issues. It is also a platform for information sharing among civil society groups working on elections and topical national issues. It intervenes in the electoral process by promoting collaboration, proactive advocacy and rapid response to crisis in the electoral process. The Situation Room provides a forum of advance planning, scenario building, evidence based analysis, constructive engagement with various stakeholders in the electoral process and observation of elections.

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