

VIOLENCE BETWEEN AND WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA: STATISTICS, STRUCTURES AND PATTERNS (2006-2014)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Conflicts occurring between or within the main political parties in Nigeria led to the death of more than 2,000 people between 2006 to 2014. General elections get most of the media attention but they accounted for less than 50% of the total number of such fatalities.

The patterns of violence differed strongly between the 2007 elections characterized by low number of deaths, mostly during the primaries and the campaign, and the 2011 elections that led to massive contestations of the results, killing more than 650 people.

Intra party violence accounts for 18% of the death. It happens regularly before party local congresses and primaries. This figure tops 39% of the CPC related victims and rises to 9% for the PDP. States where intra party violence killed the most are Rivers, Ondo, Edo, Benue, Nasarawa and Akwa Ibom. In more than 60% of cases some gangs or cult groups were involved.

The PDP is a central actor in party violence. It is involved in more than 87% of such fatal incidents over the period and 97% of the fatalities resulting from inter-party competition. Clashes involving the PDP were mainly against ANPP (40% of the total number of incidents), followed by the AC (18%), the CPC (17%), the ACN (11%) and the APC (7%). PDP/CPC clashes have a lethality rate of 23 deaths per fatal incident, as against 11 for the PDP/ANPP and 2,5 for the PDP/ACN.

General elections cannot be considered as the main cause of political violence in Nigeria. Political clashes, killings or assassinations also depend on the local context. The number of victims and scale of violence

differ strongly in this regard. 46% of PDP related death happened in clashes with the ANPP, mostly in Bauchi and Oyo states, 41% in clashes against the CPC in Bauchi and Kaduna states.

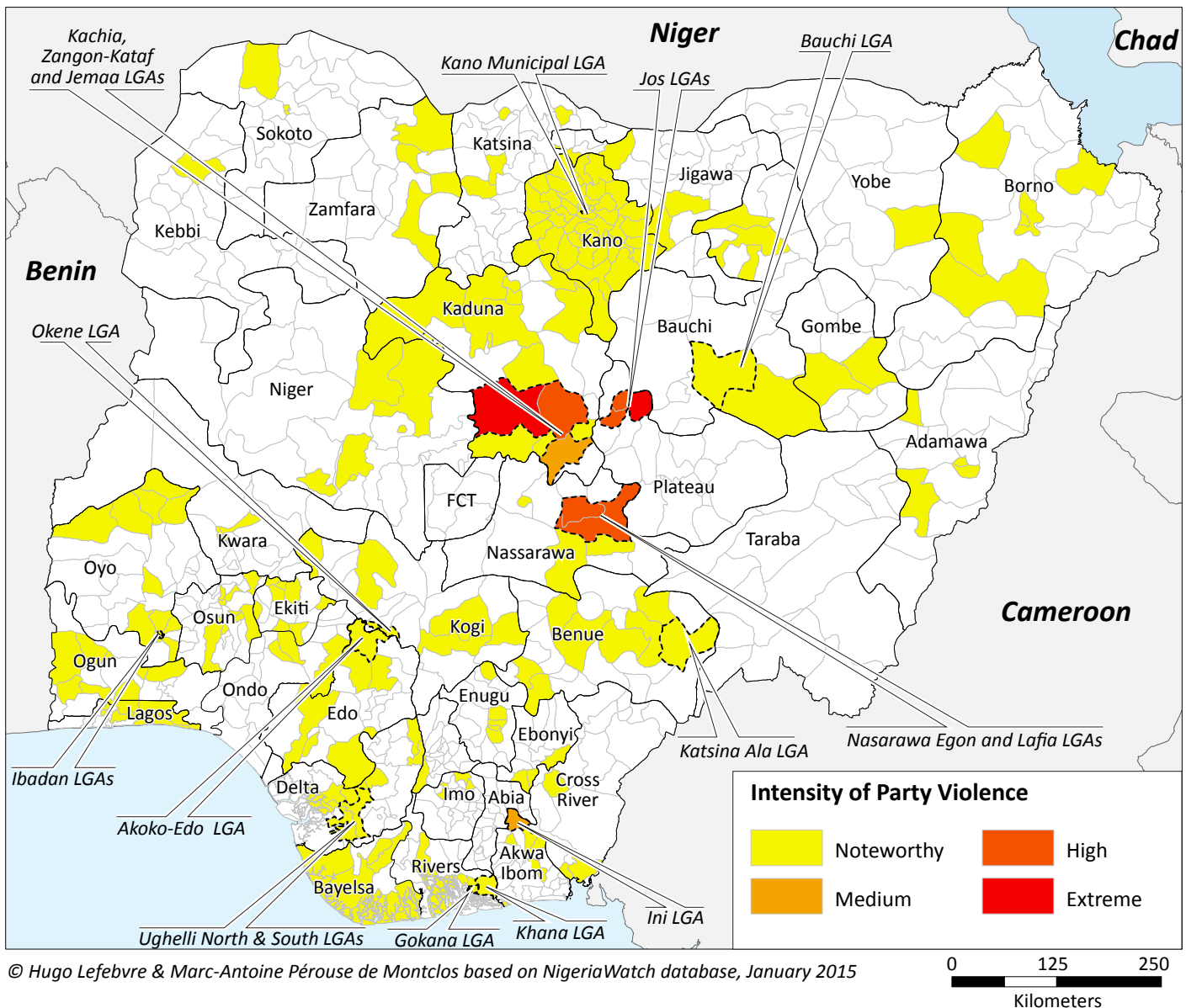
13 events account for more than 70% of the death toll in the 2006-2014 period. What they have in common is that they ignited ethnic, religious and/or economic tensions, especially in Kaduna, Kano, Nasarawa and Plateau. Other states affected by recurrent political violence are Adamawa, Bauchi, Bayelsa, Benue, Kogi, Lagos, Oyo, and Rivers.

Some local government areas are frequently affected by political clashes. This is the case of Ini in Akwa Ibom, Katsina Ala in Benue, Ughelli North and South in Delta, Kano Municipal in Kano, Okene in Kogi, Gokana and Khana in Rivers, Bauchi in Bauchi State, Akoko-Edo in Edo State, Lafia in Nasarawa and Ibadan LGAs in Oyo.

Some other LGAs could be monitored before, during and after the 2015 elections as they were once stricken with mass violence, including Jos (Plateau), Nasarawa Egon and Lafia (Nasarawa), Jemaa, Kachia and Zangon-Kataf (Kaduna), Okene (Kogi).

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Party violence, fatalities and politics per Local Government in Nigeria (2006-2014)



Party violence per LGA

Akoko-Edo (Edo): General elections contest, 2007

Bauchi LGA (Bauchi): General elections contest, 2011; PDP-ANPP pre-electoral campaign, 2007

Ibadan LGAs (Oyo): PDP primaries in 2006; General elections contest, PDP-ANPP and road transport union factions in 2007

Ini LGA (Akwa Ibom): 2008 PDP primaries before local elections

Kano Municipal LGA (Kano): General elections contest, 2011; local elections contest, 2007; PDP-DPP in 2008; PDP-APC in 2014. Kano is the only state where all LGAs are affected by party violence.

Katsina Ala LGA (Benue): PDP factions clash in 2010

Okene LGA (Kogi): PDP-AC over local elections, 2008; General elections contest, 2007

LGAs where party violence is strongly linked to communal clashes

Gokana LGA (Rivers): PDP factions and cult societies in 2006

Jos LGAs (Plateau): PDP-ANPP over local elections in 2008, Electoral campaigns, 2006 and 2011

Kachia, Zangon-Kataf and Jemaa (Kaduna): General elections contest in 2011

Khana LGA (Rivers): PDP factions and cult societies in 2007; local elections contest, 2006 and 2008

Nasarawa Egon and Lafia LGAs (Nasarawa): CPC factions and cult societies in 2013; PDP-ANPP General elections contest, 2007

Ughelli North / South LGAs (Delta): General elections contest, 2007 and 2011; PDP factions during 2006 primaries; PDP-LP during 2008 local polls

ABSTRACT

Acts of violence between or within political parties in Nigeria are usually associated with general elections and their spectacular death toll. To investigate this violence further, the analysis relies on the statistical tools of the NigeriaWatch database during the 2006-2014 period. It appears that patterns of political violence differ strongly between the 2007 and 2011 general elections. During the 2007 election, killings occurred mainly within parties or were linked to the campaign. During the 2011 elections, however, most casualties were reported after the announcement of the results. Nevertheless, killings related to general elections accounted for less than 50% of the total number of such fatalities as they were reported between 2006 and 2014. A large share of party violence is ignored as it is mostly internal or with a low lethality rate. Arguably, violence is a mean used by the political elite, rather than the people's choice to protest against electoral fraud. Levels of violence vary between parties and between states. As the ruling party, the PDP is a central actor involved in 97% of the casualties of party clashes. Over the period under study, some events appear as being particularly distinctive because of their large number of casualties and their links to ethnic, religious or economic tensions.

Keywords:

Nigeria, political parties, politics, violence, general elections, PDP, APC, CPC, ANPP, AC, ACN.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

I A quick history of party related violence:
from the 'Kaduna Mafia' to 'Godfatherism'

II Methodology

III General Elections during the Fourth Republic

IV Intra party violence since 2007

V Centrality of the PDP in clashes between parties

VI From local political conflicts to mass violence:
a geography of risk

Conclusion

Bibliography

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