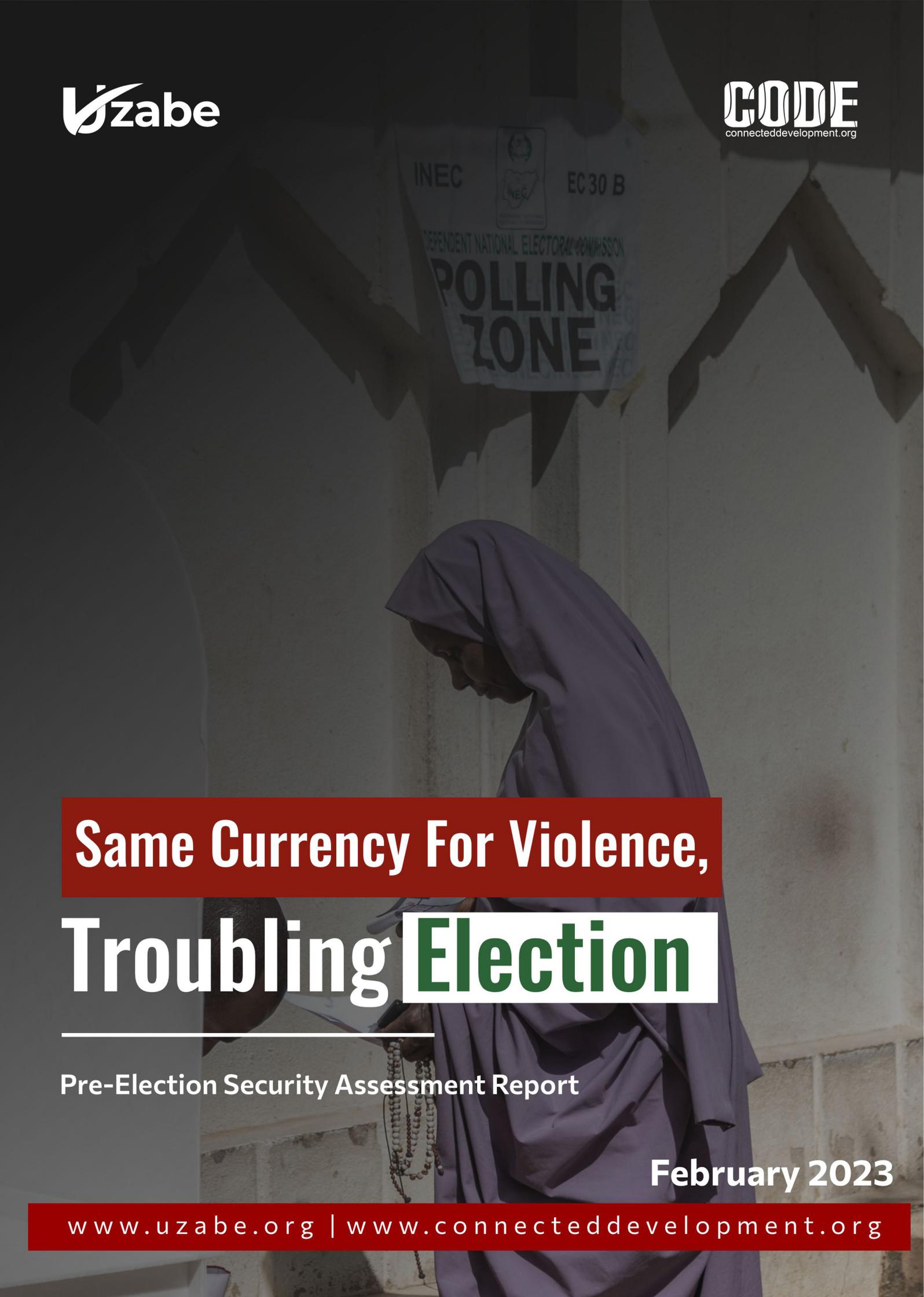


INEC EC30 B

INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

POLLING
ZONE



Same Currency For Violence, Troubling Election

Pre-Election Security Assessment Report

February 2023

Executive Summary

The history of Nigeria has been shaped by conflict, violence, instability, and insecurity. Election seasons are marked by military coups, electoral fraud, religious fanaticism, ethnicity, militancy, and banditry. The Electoral Act of 2022 is excellent and will enhance Nigeria's democracy, but electoral violence will not be eradicated overnight. Electoral violence and misconduct continue to affect politics. In 2015, the Nigeria Civil Society, Situation Room, recorded 106 deaths due to elections. The same organization recorded 626 deaths during the 2019 general election, a 590% increase from the previous election. In numerous geographical locations, the media highlights security lapses and instability. These incidents will influence the general election of 2023 in unforeseeable but predictable ways.

As the general elections of 2023 approach, Connected Development (CODE) initiated the National Security Watch Project (NSWP) in June 2022 in order to monitor and record Federation security breaches. Nigeria is a young democracy, and election campaigns frequently entail political violence and incendiary rhetoric against the administration. Consequently, the NSWP issues Monthly Security Dossiers (MSD) to conduct a macro-analysis of security breaches. This report is a summary of the compilation of the Monthly Security Dossiers (MSD). As a measure of civic vigilance, it guarantees that electioneering does not disregard security governance (as usual).

The combined version of the series (June 2022–January 2023) aims to investigate, comprehend, influence, and advance national and subnational security goals. We anticipate that identifying subnational security tendencies will strengthen national security cooperation. Using content analysis, three national newspapers (Thisday, Daily Trust and Tribune Newspaper) were surveyed for incidents of security failure across the federation.

In the compiled report, 2283 people were killed in violent acts, 2154 were kidnapped, and 1,030 were injured to varying degrees. About 37,317 persons (in rural communities) suffered displacement. Overall, it is likely that these attacks, if they continue unchecked, might have devastating consequences for Nigeria's democracy, and notably for the upcoming general elections in 2023. Even as defense budgets continue to expand, we demand accountability in security expenditures and, eventually, improved security outcomes, which will result in safer communities.



Hamzat Lawal
Chief Executive

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1. Background

Incident	Newspaper	Date	State	LGA	Source
Two Killed as Suspected Herdsmen Attack Enugu Community	Thisday	01/07/2022	Enugu	Isi-Uzo	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/07/02/two-killed-as-suspected-herdsmen-attack-enugu-community/
Bandits kill 22 soldiers, 7 cops, many civilians in Niger, Taraba	Daily trust	01/07/2022	Niger	Shiroro	https://dailytrust.com/bandits-kill-22-soldiers-7-cops-many-civilians-in-niger-taraba
Bandits kill 22 soldiers, 7 cops, many civilians in Niger, Taraba	Daily trust	01/07/2022	Taraba	Karim Lamido	https://dailytrust.com/bandits-kill-22-soldiers-7-cops-many-civilians-in-niger-taraba
Police Confirm Attack by Gunmen in Enugu	Thisday	01/07/2022	Enugu	Agbani Road	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/07/02/two-killed-as-suspected-herdsmen-attack-enugu-community/
Police Rescue 77 Hypnotised People from Church Basement in Ondo	Thisday	01/07/2022	Ondo	Ondo	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/07/01/police-confirm-attack-by-gunmen-in-enugu/
Again, terrorists abduct Catholic priest in Kaduna	Tribune	01/07/2022	Kaduna	Kauru	https://tribuneonlineng.com/terrorist-abduct-catholic-priest-in-kaduna/
Police kill IPOB member, arrest Ebubeagu operative over bike theft	Daily trust	03/07/2022	Ebonyi	Ezza North	https://dailytrust.com/Police-kill-IPOB-member-arrest-Ebubeagu-operative-over-bike-theft
2 kidnap kingpins arrested by police in Ekiti	Daily trust	03/07/2022	Ekiti	Ekiti	https://dailytrust.com/2-kidnap-kingpins-arrested-by-police-in-ekiti
Again, gunmen kidnap two catholic priests in edo	Tribune	03/07/2022	Edo	Esan	https://tribuneonlineng.com/Again-gunmen-kidnap-two-catholic-priests-in-edo/
Gunmen Kill Many, Abduct Several Chinese In Niger	Tribune	03/07/2022	Niger	Shiroro	https://tribuneonlineng.com/Gunmen-Kill-Many-Abduct-Several-Chinese-In-Niger/
Police Kill Three Suspected Kidnappers, Free Italian in Edo	Thisday	04/07/2022	Edo	Ovia	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/07/04/police-kill-three-suspected-kidnappers-free-italian-in-edo/





2. Context And Justification

A safe and secure environment for people, businesses and the state is a precondition for economic, political, and social development. Without internal civil society vigilance in security governance, security agencies in developing nations are endemically predisposed to mismanagement for political purposes other than conflict resolution, law and order, peace, and development.³ So, a body of evidence on security sector performance is critical to understanding and mobilizing resources for peace and security.

As violent incidents turn commonplace, the tendency or risk of casualising attacks and abandoning victims/survivors to “their tents” by the government and policy community becomes rife. Therefore, the impetus of the series is civic vigilance, citizen engagement, policy advocacy influencing and partnership. As an intended outcome, the NSWP will be used for agenda-setting, in-depth analysis, and evidence enrichment for conflict management and response coordination. In likely instances where insecurity could threaten or compromise election administration, the identified threats will be amplified for public attention.

3. Methodology

The adopted research method is content analysis. For every month, we build a compendium (database) of security breakdowns reported in mainstream newspapers in Nigeria. To control or eliminate “fake news” or unconfirmed stories, the compilation is restricted to incidents reported in selected newspapers. Following scientific sampling methods, three newspapers - Daily Trust, Tribune, and Thisday - were purposely selected because of their national orientation and coverage. The unit of analysis is individual or discrete news articles/reports in the selected dailies. To enable inter-month comparability and to build time-specific trends, the dossier is a monthly publication; and for consistency, data collection runs from the first day of the month to the last day.

S/N	States	Number of Incidents	Human impact/casualty of attacks					Total Casualties
			Fatality	Displaced	Abduction and Kidnapping	Rescued	Injured	
1	Bauchi	1	4	0	0	6	0	11
2	Cross River	1	0	0	0	2	0	3
3	Delta	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
4	Kaduna	4	18	0	0	16	0	38
5	Kogi	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
6	Kwara	1	1	0	0	0	1	3
7	Osun	2	0	0	3	0	0	5
8	Oyo	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
9	Rivers	1	0	0	2	0	0	3
10	Abia	6	9	0	4	0	3	22
11	Abuja	56	27	0	120	23	15	241
12	Adamawa	12	16	0	6	13	0	47
13	Akwa Ibom	4	2	0	2	5	0	13
14	Anambra	30	53	0	7	2	4	96
15	Bauchi	22	51	0	16	76	2	167
16	Bayelsa	12	8	0	1	1	0	22
17	Benue	43	294	0	7	9	65	418
18	Borno	30	402	0	51	12	78	573
19	Cross River	6	6	0	5	0	0	17
20	Delta	28	31	7	7	39	26	138
21	Ebonyi	19	39	0	0	0	1	59
22	Edo	50	41	0	112	142	0	345
23	Ekiti	23	4	0	18	7	1	53
24	Enugu	16	38	0	16	15	4	89
25	Gombe	6	7	0	2	0	3	18
26	Imo	33	102	5	16	4	27	187
27	Jigawa	8	3	0	2	1	3	17
28	Kaduna	72	155	0	427	256	11	921
29	Kano	12	8	0	5	0	1	26
30	Katsina	36	84	0	252	33	21	426
31	Kebbi	7	9	0	12	7	1	36

4. Findings And Discussions

This section summarizes major incidents from June 2022 to January 2023 and attempts to provide in-depth analyses - characterisation, intensity, scale, and patterns.

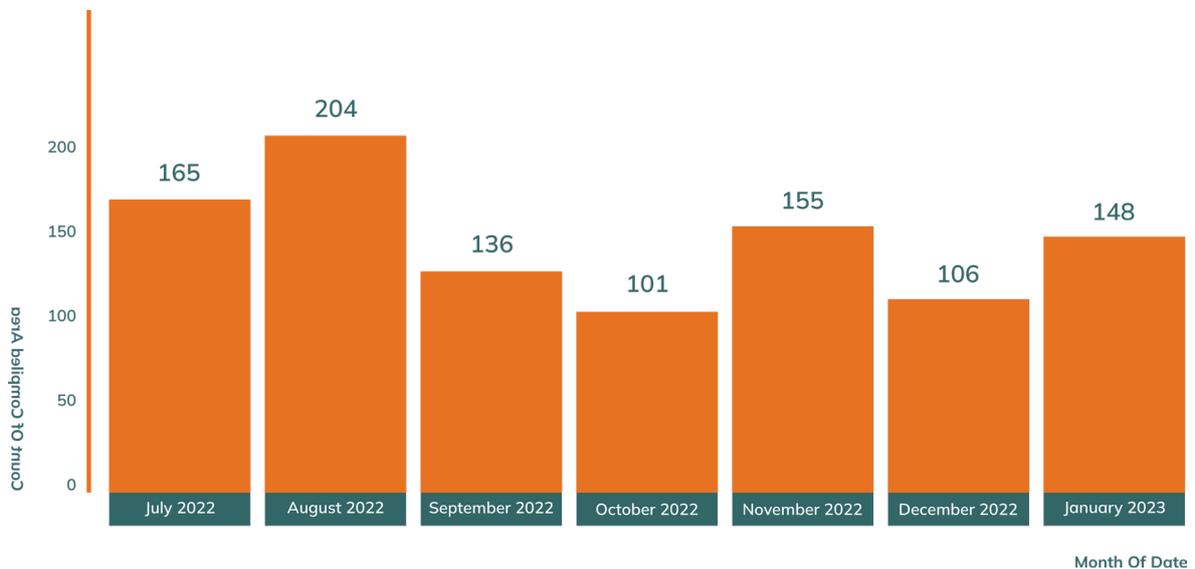
4.1 Profile of Attacks

Whereas the security situation across Nigeria was volatile and combustible in July and the subsequent terrorist scare in major cities especially FCT mainly because of the ominous Kuje jailbreakXXX; the number of violent security breakdowns (attacks) experience an upward and downward trend in the months under review with with August(206) as the highest and October(101) as the lowest. As months gets closer to the general elections, there have been an incremental spike in January(148). This represents an increase in violent attacks across the federation.

The attacks dropped in September and October with a total incidents of 136 and 101 consecutively. We see a spike in November with a total of 155 incidents. This dropped but has progressed in January with a total of 148 incidents as seen in Figure 1.

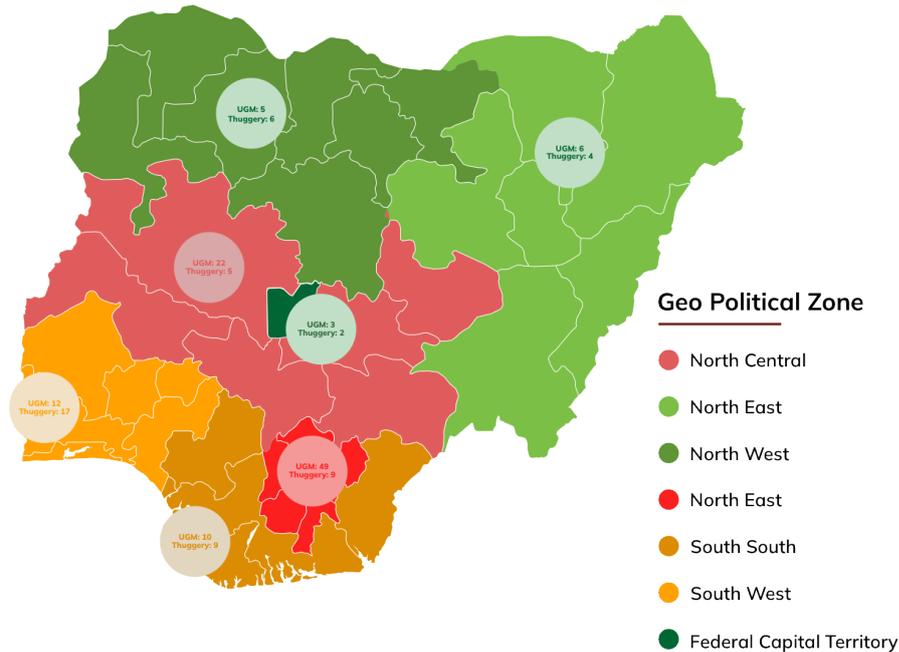
Again, on the months under review, Borno State recorded the highest number of fatalities (402) across the federation and was closely followed by Benue (294) and Plateau(180) with majority of states recording a number of fatalities of 50. Thus, fatalities from the activities of criminals and aggressors are not limited to any particular geopolitical zone. Instead, the attacks possess a national spread or orientation. Again, “scores” were anxiously deployed to mask the casualty, scale, or intensity of some attacks.

Figure 1: Representation of Incidents by Months



4.2 Spotlight On Political Thuggery

Figure 2: Representation of Incidents of thuggery and Unknown gunmen across the Geopolitical zones in Nigeria



Since the pre-independence general elections of 1959, politics in Nigeria has been fiercely contentious. By 1960, the Tafawa Balewa led-administration had immediately after independence established the Federal Electoral Commission (FEC) to manage the post-independence federal and regional elections of 1964 and 1965 respectively. Unfortunately, the ruling Northern People's Congress (NPC) was accused of rigging the elections by the opposition political parties.

As a consequence, the results of the elections were rejected by the opposition (led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo). The fierce rejection of the results was on accounts and accusations of political thuggery. Later on, the contests degenerated into widespread violence including killing, arson, looting, and destruction of properties, especially in the Western Region. The political tussle between Akintola and Awolowo (1969- 1960), which witnessed unprecedented violence, is one of the earliest crises in the post-colonial era that defined the beginning of the criminalisation of politics in Nigeria.

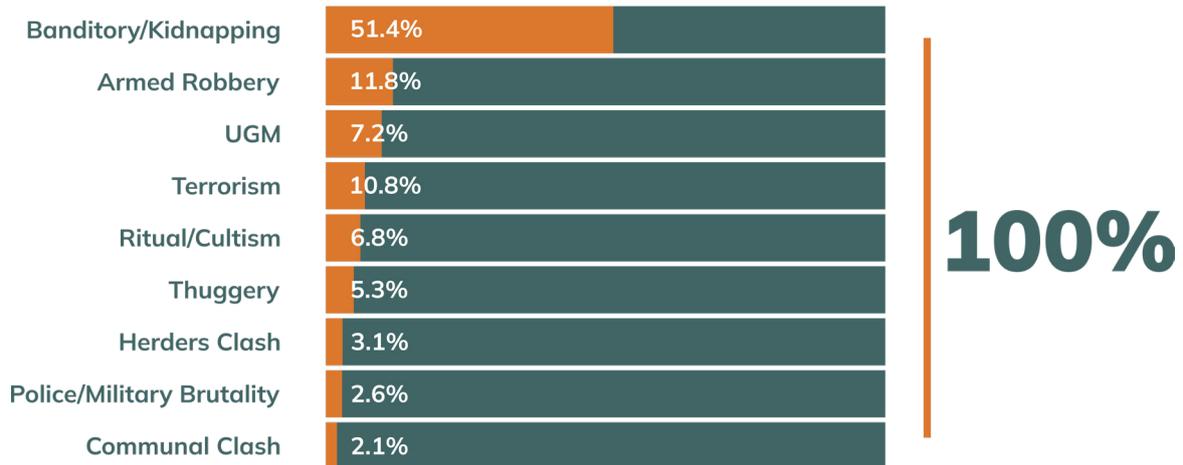
Thus, political thuggery or violence - an ugly phenomenon in the body politics - is the use of thugs, private armies and physical force to threaten or harm political opponents or rig elections. Often instigated by politicians to intimidate opponents and secure undue advantages at the polls, the Nigerian political scene has always experienced violence in varying degrees, especially during political campaigns and periods of general elections and re-run elections. Thuggery is a serious threat to democratic consolidation because it scares away credible candidates, women and youthful candidates, from active participation in the process and ultimately hinders public accountability of elected officers.

PG 09

32	Kogi	42	74	1	48	4	8	177
33	Kwara	63	51	1,000	115	67	15	1,311
34	Iagos	44	27	0	2	7	8	88
35	Nassarawa	30	109	0	53	36	7	235
36	Niger	52	145	16,300	270	56	43	16,866
37	Ogun	44	17	0	13	7	11	92
38	Ondo	23	8	0	72	88	4	195
39	Osun	24	14	0	16	0	4	58
40	Oyo	27	15	0	10	3	4	59
41	PLateau	47	180	4	64	7	9	311
42	Rivers	16	11	0	21	37	7	92
43	Sokoto	11	77	0	162	2	0	252
44	Taraba	11	51	20,000	22	0	2	20,086
45	Yobe	2	5	0	0	0	0	7
46	Zamfara	35	86	0	193	47	21	382
Column Total		1,015	2,283	37,317	2,154	1030	410	44,209

Figure 3: Projection of crime towards the election

8 Months Projection Of Crime Towards Election



While thuggery taints the credibility of elections, the exact causes are not easy to ascertain. From unemployment to poverty; godfatherism to prebendal politics; several factors have been implicated as drivers of thuggery. Whatever the causes are, the actual danger posed by political violence goes beyond election days. Because thuggery involves the domination and suppression of groups or persons in acquiring and sharing political power, the confidence of many Nigerians in the politics and institutions tasked with elections management and administration becomes significantly challenged.

Following the truism that democracy is the best form of government that can guarantee social development, it is imperative for authorities to make elections thuggery-free. This is possible when voters can exercise their franchise without fear of attacks for their political leanings or choices. Since thuggery drives voters' apathy and low turnout syndrome, its continuous accommodation in Nigeria's political culture hinders efforts at democratic consolidation. As the 2023 general election draws near, it is time to fight political thuggery to a standstill.

PG 01

Similarly, the militarization of the political space with its attendant proliferation of arms, ammunition, and other dangerous weapons for acts of killing, arson, looting, and destruction of properties are all direct consequences of thuggery. In some cases, thuggery degenerates into politically-motivated assassinations which diminish the essence and value of Nigeria's evolving democratic culture.

As seen in Table 2, political violence does have a nationwide spread, with highest incidence in the SouthEast region(58) followed by the SouthWest(29). This is largely predictable as secessionist calls have been made in these regions. An ugly trend observed in these regions is the perennial attacks on the INEC staff and offices, this poses grave consequences that can result into voter apathy.

Looking at the projection of crime towards election in figure 2., We see that incidents of violence from unknown gunmen (UGM), cultism and thuggery all make at least %5 of the total dataset and a total of %27 from all youth influenced crimes. Youths who are the major objects of political violence in Nigeria all fall under this category.

Table 2: Tabular Representation of Geopolitical zones and political violence

Geopolitical Zones	Number of Political Violence
Abuja	5
North central	26
North East	10
North west	11
South east	58
South south	19
South west	29
Grand Total	159

4.3 More Funds Or Safer Communities?

Table 3: Trends in Federal Defence Allocations (2021- 2015)

Year	Federal Budget Size (Trillion Naira)	Share of the Security Sector (Trillion Naira)	Share of the Security Sector (%)
2015	4.405	0.988	22
2016	6.06	1.07	18
2017	7.44	1.15	16
2018	9.12	1.35	15
2019	8.92	1.4	16
2020	10.59	1.8	17
2021	13.59	1.96*	14

Source: CODE Research and compilations from Guardian Newspaper

*Later in the year, the FG added N722.53 billion to the initial N1.96 trillion allocated in 2021 through the supplementary budget.

In recent years, Nigeria has raised its military spending or defense budget in an effort to boost its military capability and security, but attacks have not decreased proportionally. Recent statistics indicate that security breaches are worsening despite massive funding allocations. Is it necessary for the federal government and states to allocate more funds to security services in order to achieve the desired results, or is accountability the missing link in creating safer communities? The federating units cannot continue to allocate precious resources for security services (at the expense of important sectors such as education and health) without equivalent effects on peace and political stability. We believe that this is the ideal time for key stakeholders to shed light on Nigeria's military expenditures and demand accountability.

Despite this, it is indisputable that contemporary security results or incidents across the federation raise severe concerns about the efficacy of defense expenditures. Similar to other sectors, Nigeria's security forces are susceptible to fiscal misuse and corruption. Through the Department of State, the United States Government stated in 2021 that impunity and corruption are primary sources of impunity in Nigeria's police, State Security Service, and army. What cannot be clearly determined is the silver bullet for ensuring the safety of lives and property: additional finances, operational efficiency, or both. Increasing fiscal expenditures to security agencies is insufficient; accountability and efficacy must also be considered. Nigerians are incentivized to fully finance its security agencies and to expect value-for-money allocations and expenditures. Due to widespread political corruption and the unsavory privatization of public policy, it cannot be stated that increasing emphasis on political responsibility in security expenditures is inappropriate. Nigerians require value for their limited public resources.



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PEACE
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Nigeria

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ARE NOT FOOLER

off-white™
WHITELABOR™
'85
AIR

NIKON
NIKON

STOP

5. Recommendations

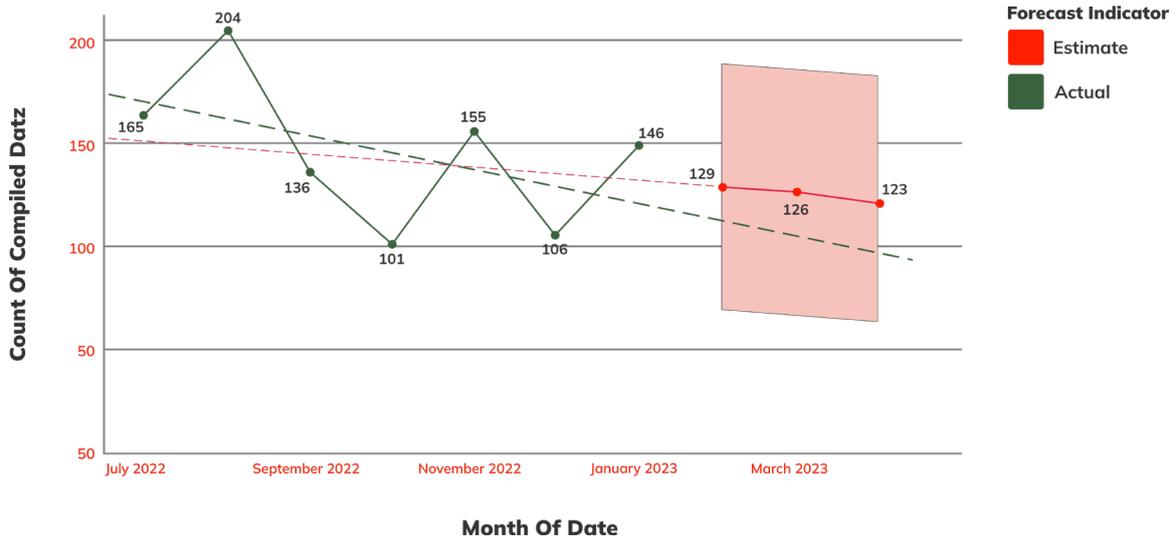
The pattern of security breakdowns suggests a high degree of dynamism in the character of attacks. As such, there is no scientific room for a silver bullet approach to mitigating attacks. However, the following recommendations can prove invaluable in articulating corrective measures or responses.

1. Due to the closeness of the North Central to the seat of government or seat of power - Aso Rock; a sensible policy imperative could be to apply the lessons from the North West (generated from years of counterinsurgency operations) to thwart the encroachment and possible engulfment of North Central in banditry and other criminal activities. The earlier the better because of the prohibitive opportunity costs associated with full-blown counterinsurgency assignments on social development.
2. While military personnel are indispensable in starving off attacks or pushing aggressors to the fringes of society, the consequences of prolonged military occupation cannot be overemphasised in a democracy. The heavy presence of combative forces among civilian populations is not a good measure of peace as internal security obligations are principally that of the Police. Even if occasions/situations require military interventions, they should have short tenures or timelines after which the regular police personnel should take over and administer/discharge their constitutional obligations.
3. Since most attacks happen in rural areas (grassroots), the local governments as the third tier of government have the task to collaboratively and proactively gear up to the various challenges of security and good governance. It is also strategic to recognise and amplify the inevitable roles of the LGAs in delivering peace and economic growth. This amplification of the roles of the LGAs in grassroots development suggests that LGs would need more autonomy and independence to fulfill or deliver their mandates, especially local security governance.
4. Reports of political thuggery in the South West and South West regions where political thuggery are most prevalent are redlines that must be closely watched. The electoral management body (INEC) must keep close eyes to determine the best ways to curtail reported electoral violence from overflowing into the 2023 general election. Of course, safeguarding and guaranteeing electoral integrity is a matter of national security.

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Predictive Analysis



Source: CODE Research team

The above graph depicts an upward trend in incidents in the month of January and also shows a forecast for the next three months which indicates a little decrease based on the previous data collected but this greatly depends on the election.

6. Conclusion

Security challenges - terrorism, banditry, thuggery, herder-farmer clashes, etc., have become emblematic of the difficulties confronting the Nigerian state. While these challenges affect all facets of national life - politics, economy, social cohesion, etc., how they are shaping or would shape political behavior in the 2023 general election is an unresolved intellectual puzzle. However, this report has successfully attempted to blow up the discussion/debate for scientific interrogations with the aim of offering a better understanding of security breakdowns or fear of violent attacks that may make or mar the forthcoming general elections. Overall, it seeks to provoke or remind policy actors of the impossibility of free and fair elections in violence-infested environments.

Gunmen abduct traditional ruler, housewife in Kano village	Daily trust	05/07/2022	Kano	Rogo	https://dailytrust.com/gunmen-abduct-traditional-ruler-housewife-in-kano-village/#:~:text=The%20kidnapped%E2%80%A6&text=00%3A39%20WAT-,Gunmen%20on%20Tuesday%20invaded%20Bari%20village%20around%2011pm%20in%20Rogo,and%20the%20housewife%2C%20Binta%20Abdulkadir.
5 suspected motorcycle thieves posing as police officers arrested	Daily trust	05/07/2022	Nassarawa	Keffi	https://dailytrust.com/5-suspected-motorcycle-thieves-posing-as-police-officers-arrested/
15 feared killed in fresh Ebonyi communal crisis	Daly trust	05/07/2022	Ebonyi	Ohaukwu	https://dailytrust.com/15-feared-killed-in-fresh-communal-crisis-in-ebonyi/
Police Kill Three Suspected Kidnappers, Free Italian in Edo	Thisday	05/07/2022	Edo	Ovia South	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/07/05/police-kill-three-suspected-kidnappers-free-italian-in-edo/
Few Dead, Two Injured as Bandits Attack Buhari's Convoy En Route Daura	Thisday	06/07/2022	Katsina	Daura	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/07/06/few-dead-two-injured-as-bandits-attack-buharis-convoy-en-route-daura/#:~:text=A%20few%20people%20died%20yesterday,hometown%20in%20Daura%2C%20Katsina%20State.
Gunmen Abduct Mother of Senatorial Candidate in Kano	Thisday	06/07/2022	Kano	Ungogo	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/06/07/gunmen-abduct-mother-of-senatorial-candidate-in-kano/
Police arrest 6 over cult killings in Edo	Daily trust	06/07/2022	Edo	Etsako	https://dailytrust.com/police-arrest-6-over-cult-killings-in-edo/

Appendix

Incident	Newspaper	Date	State	LGA	Source
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Bandits kill 22 soldiers, 7 cops, many civilians in Niger, Taraba	Daily trust	01/07/2022	Niger	Shiroro	https://dailytrust.com/bandits-kill-22-soldiers-7-cops-many-civilians-in-niger-taraba
Bandits kill 22 soldiers, 7 cops, many civilians in Niger, Taraba	Daily trust	01/07/2022	Taraba	Karim Lamido	https://dailytrust.com/bandits-kill-22-soldiers-7-cops-many-civilians-in-niger-taraba
Police Confirm Attack by Gunmen in Enugu	Thisday	01/07/2022	Enugu	Agbani Road	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/07/02/two-killed-as-suspected-herdsmen-attack-enugu-community/
Police Rescue 77 Hypnotised People from Church Basement in Ondo	Thisday	01/07/2022	Ondo	Ondo	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/07/01/police-confirm-attack-by-gunmen-in-enugu/
Again, terrorists abduct Catholic priest in Kaduna	Tribune	01/07/2022	Kaduna	Kauru	https://tribuneonline.ng/terrorist-abduct-catholic-priest-in-kaduna/
Police kill IPOB member, arrest Ebubeagu operative over bike theft	Daily trust	03/07/2022	Ebonyi	Ezza North	https://dailytrust.com/Police-kill-IPOB-member-arrest-Ebubeagu-operative-over-bike-theft

2 kidnap kingpins arrested by police in Ekiti	Daily trust	03/07/2022	Ekiti	Ekiti	https://dailytrust.com/2 kidnap kingpins arrested by police in Ekiti
Again, gunmen kidnap two catholic priests in edo	Tribune	03/07/2022	Edo	Esan	https://tribuneonlineng.com/Again, gunmen kidnap two catholic priests in edo/
Gunmen Kill Many, Abduct Several Chinese In Niger	Tribune	03/07/2022	Niger	Shiroro	https://tribuneonlineng.com/Gunmen Kill Many, Abduct Several Chinese In Niger/
Police Kill Three Suspected Kidnappers, Free Italian in Edo	Thisday	04/07/2022	Edo	Ovia	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/07/01/Police Kill Three Suspected Kidnappers, Free Italian in Edo/
12 killed in bandits, vigilantes clash in Plateau	Daily trust	04/07/2022	Plateau	Wase	https://dailytrust.com/12 killed in bandits, vigilantes clash in Plateau
Three Policemen Feared Killed As Gunmen Attack Enugu Checkpoint	Tribune	04/07/2022	Enugu	Enugu	https://tribuneonlineng.com/three-policemen-feared-killed-as-gunmen-attack-enugu-checkpoint/
Bandits Kill One, Shoot Community Leader, Abduct Four Women In Plateau	Tribune	05/07/2022	Plateau	Mangu	https://tribuneonlineng.com/bandits-kill-one-shoot-community-leader-abduct-four-women-in-plateau/
Again, Gunmen Kidnap Two Catholic Priests In Edo	Tribune	05/07/2022	Edo	Esan North East	https://tribuneonlineng.com/again-gunmen-kidnap-two-catholic-priests-in-edo/
Security Agencies Prevent Arsonists from Burning Bauchi Assembly Complex	Thisday	05/07/2022	Bauchi	Bauchi	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/07/05/security-agencies-prevent-arsonists-from-burning-bauchi-assembly-complex/
Terrorists Abduct Catholic Priest in Kaduna	Thisday	05/07/2022	Kaduna	Kauru	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/07/05/terrorists-abduct-catholic-priest-in-kaduna-2/



