

CHAPTER IV

**THE VICTORY FACTORS OF MUHAMMADU BUHARI IN NIGERIAN
ELECTION 2015**

This chapter will analyze the victory factors of the winning of Muhammadu Buhari in Nigerian election 2015 after lose in several previous election in 2003, 2007, and 2011.

A. The use of social media and engagement of APC with Obama's campaign strategist, AKPD Message and Media.

The winning of Muhammadu Buhari marks the differences between this election and the previous elections. There must be any improvement this time whether on his party election, running mate, or ideas that he packed into one more attractive packaging brought in the campaign. Gaining as much as possible votes for a presidential candidate must be the goal on every campaign. Therefore, a candidate should attract the attention of the voters through campaign activity. Muhammadu Buhari and APC's campaign was managed by the experienced politicians such as Governor of River States Rotimi Amaechi, the former Vice President Atiku Abubakar as vice chairman in North, and former Governor of Lagos State Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu who becomes vice chairman in South.¹

The election of people in the campaign activities also becomes an important point to determine the success of Muhammadu Buhari. Yemi Osenbajo as the candidate of vice president also becomes one other attraction, especially in South. The emergence of APC and

¹Bolashodun, O. (2015, January). *Details of Buhari's 2015 Campaign*. Retrieved May 31, 2015, from Naij: <http://www.naij.com/372732-details-of-buharis-2015-campaign.html>

Alhaji Lai Muhammed as its spokesperson has given the party an edge in terms of information management. Alhaji Lai Muhammed is known hyperactive in terms of media war. The media handler, Malam Garba Shehu also becomes another boost in the election.

The success of the APC campaign is also because of its partnership with the AKPD Message and Media. Talking about political messaging and media strategy game, the AKPD Message and Media is one of the experts. This company was founded by David Axelrod who was also the chief strategist, the successful team for Barack Obama presidential campaign in 2008 and 2012 and then become senior adviser for Barack Obama after he became the United States President. The partnership actually was established since December 2013 but in March 2014 after there was an abduction of 200 school girls by Boko Haram, the partnership stopped. Then AKPD was hired again by the APC in December 2014 for three week engagement to help the party in organizing announcement events.² The AKPD Message and Media did not play a leading role in APC's campaign because the success in America could not just be brought in Nigeria. The United States and Nigeria are two different countries which have their own pattern of politics. The AKPD Message and Media here acted as the assistance for APC in the campaign. However, the cooperation between APC and AKPD Message and Media was not so open to public. The AKPD Message and Media work here was limited on helping the party to draw up series of events for the campaign.³ Even so, the contribution of AKPD Message and Media as the former successful team of President Obama in the end generated the winning of Muhammadu Buhari and APC.

²Gray, R. (2015, February 10). *Firm Founded By David Axelrod Worked In Nigerian Election As Recently As December*. Retrieved May 31, 2015, from Buzz Feed News: <http://www.buzzfeed.com/rosiegray/firm-founded-by-david-axelrod-worked-in-nigerian-election-as#.bg9g43q4L>

³Kredo, A. (2015, February 9). *David Axelrod's Political Consulting Firm Far More Involved in Nigeria Election than Previously Disclosed*. Retrieved June 1, 2015, from The Washington Free Beacon: <http://freebeacon.com/issues/david-axelrods-political-consulting-firm-far-more-involved-in-nigeria-election-than-previously-disclosed/>

One of the factor of Buhari’s victory in 2015 Nigeria election is his effort on optimizing the use of internet especially social media on his campaign. The fact is that the growth of internet literacy in Nigeria has been increase in the last decade. Based on CIA, Nigeria is in 9th place internet users worldwide after China, European Union, United States, India, Brazil, Japan, Russia, and Germany. The total internet user in Nigeria is 66.6 million people or 37.6% of total population in 2014.⁴

Figure 4.1

The Nigeria Internet Users

Year/July	Internet Users	User Growth	New Users	Country Population	Population Change	Penetration
2014	67,101,452	16%	9,365,590	178,516,904	2.82%	37.59%
2013	57,735,862	4%	2,229,563	173,615,345	2.83%	33.26%
2012	55,506,299	19%	8,826,250	168,833,776	2.83%	32.88%
2011	46,680,049	22%	8,350,181	164,192,925	2.81%	28.43%
2010	38,329,867	23%	7,253,663	159,707,780	2.78%	24.00%
2009	31,076,204	30%	7,094,603	155,381,020	2.76%	20.00%
2008	23,981,601	141%	14,017,018	151,208,080	2.73%	15.86%
2007	9,964,584	25%	2,017,720	147,187,353	2.70%	6.77%
2006	7,946,863	60%	2,992,743	143,314,909	2.67%	5.55%
2005	4,954,121	183%	3,204,983	139,585,891	2.64%	3.55%
2004	1,749,138	136%	1,008,744	135,999,250	2.60%	1.29%

⁴CIA. (n.d.). *Country Comparison: Internet Users*. Retrieved August 9, 2015, from Central Intelligent Agency: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2153rank.html>

2003	740,394	79%	326,278	132,550,146	2.57%	0.56%
2002	414,116	266%	300,836	129,224,641	2.56%	0.32%
2001	113,280	44%	34,540	126,004,992	2.55%	0.09%

Source: Internet Live Stats. (n.d.). *Nigeria Internet Users*. Retrieved August 9, 2015, from Internet Live Stats: <http://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users/nigeria/>

In this election, the use of media becomes a significant factor for Buhari to get the voter's attention. Nigeria as the Africa's most populous nation with 170 million inhabitant has some of the world's highest level of mobile phone ownership. There are about 127 million mobile phone subscriptions in Nigeria. Based on telecommunication Union, in the last four years it has become a lot easier and cheaper to get the internet on our phone. The internet nowadays is not exclusive anymore, even for Nigerians who live on less than \$2 a day.⁵ As a matter of this fact, social media provides the opportunity for Buhari to connect with Nigerian people especially the youth. Therefore, Buhari conducted an online campaign through social media.

The social media era was started in early twentieth century began with LinkedIn which was launched in 2003, followed by My Space and Facebook in 2004, Youtube in 2005 and Twitter in 2006. In less than a decade, social media has grown rapidly and it has reached billions of people worldwide. As the January 2014, 74% online adults use social networking site of some kind.⁶ The use of social media in the first of its establishment was to connect inter-person in long distance. Now it has developed into other uses such as information sharing, business and even for campaign.

⁵Akwagyiram, A. (2015, April 3). *Social media triumphs in Nigeria's election*. Retrieved May 31, 2015, from Fin24 Tech: <http://www.fin24.com/Tech/News/Social-media-triumphs-in-Nigerias-election-20150403>

⁶Pew Research Center. (n.d.). *Social Media Use Over Time*. Retrieved May 31, 2015, from Pew Research Center: Internet, Science & Tech: <http://www.pewinternet.org/data-trend/social-media/social-media-use-all-users/>

As we all know, a campaign need a lot of funding. The important part of campaign which is the communication by doing publication, it will need a media to deliver it toward the voters. Commonly it will be publicized by traditional media such as television, radio, and newspaper. However, the publication through those media will take a lot of cost which absolutely will limit the parties who have limited money. Thanks to social media which are available for free. The presence of social media will expand the reaching scope of people. Any values and ideas of the candidate can be delivered to the voters by posting quotes and speeches on their page. They can even show the people activities done by the candidate through any pictures of videos they posted on the social media channel they have. While the candidate communicates to the voters, the voters can also give feedback such as giving comments. In contrast to making an advertisement on traditional media, the type of communication through social media forms a pattern of two way communication. There is also a contact building between the candidate and the voters.

Those advantages are also applied in the online campaign of Muhammadu Buhari. The engagement of Muhammadu Buhari with social media was started with the launch of his Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Youtube accounts.⁷ Muhammadu Buhari is deploying the use of major social networking sites to warm his way into the heart of Nigerian people. Since his appointment as the presidential candidate from All Progressive Congress was announced in on December 11, 2014, Buhari started to introduce his social media accounts. Even though the presence of Muhammadu Buhari on social media was slightly late, his followers had begun growing leaps and bound.

⁷William, W. (2015, April). *Muhammadu Buhari Helped By Technology of Social Media Networks of Facebook, Twitter and Instagram*. Retrieved May 31, 2015, from Jakpome News: <http://www.jokpeme.com/2015/04/muhammadu-buhari-helped-by-social-media.html>

Buhari's facebook fan page named "Muhammadu Buhari" was launched since December 2014 continually giving updates with fresh content. There are over 211.188 people who have subscribed to his online posts.⁸ He also pulled up on twitter using the name "@MBuhari" in December 2014. Within six hours after the launching, his twitter follower reached over 12.500 people and now is about 284.000 and more.⁹ Another social media he had been using is Instagram, a social media specialized to share photos and short videos. This account was named "@thisisbuhari" and reached over than 30.900 followers.¹⁰ The Youtube channel also being used by Muhammadu Buhari, named "#MuhammaduBuhari".¹¹

The issue brought by Muhammadu Buhari on his social media was underlining some serious problem faced by Nigerian people. The first one is security. Buhari said that the government has been ineffective and lacks the willpower to fight Boko Haram and pledged to end the insurgency within months if elected. In other side, Jonathan said that Boko Haram could be defeated in April 2015 while he seeked greater regional and international cooperation to tackle its terrors.¹² Muhammadu Buhari also said about the economy of Nigeria, where the government's economic policies have worsened the lives of Nigerian that he promises to pick the competent hands and tackle the poverty by closing the wealth gap through shared economic growth. He also underlines the corruption as *"If Nigeria does not kill corruption, then corruption will kill Nigeria."*¹³

⁸The official account of Facebook fan page of Muhammadu Buhari: <https://www.facebook.com/votebuhari>

⁹The official Twitter account of Muhammadu Buhari: <https://twitter.com/MBuhari>

¹⁰The official Instagram account of Muhammadu Buhari: <https://instagram.com/thisisbuhari/>

¹¹The official Youtube account of Muhammadu Buhari:
<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCn1QSqocCfm0YZzx6Df1k8g>

¹²BBC. (2015, March 27). *How Nigeria's presidential election works*. Retrieved April 26, 2015, from BBC News: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-31111572>

¹³ Ibid.

Unlike the previous election in 2011 when Jonathan monopolized the social media because Buhari did not have one, the 2015 election showed the presence of Buhari in social media, where the youth were the most active. Since he was chosen as the presidential candidate from APC in December 2014, the youth who used to criticize Jonathan regularly moved into Buhari's side. And at some point it made the voices for Jonathan decreased. The youth was creative and proactive to criticize every move of Jonathan and this situation somehow generated a message to be against the president. Young Nigerian based on the Fact Bound survey found that 70 percent of social media users were between 18-33 years old. However, the 2015 general election will provide perfect opportunity for young Nigerians and an estimated 75 percent of Nigerians about 160 million people are below the age 35 and 50 percent below 18 to start paying attention on Nigerian politics through any media.¹⁴

B. The More Active Participation of North Nigerian (Muslim) in 2015 Election than in the Previous One.

Muhammadu Buhari in 2015 election practically defeated Goodluck Jonathan up to 2.5 million votes. It was different than the previous election in 2011 when Muhammadu Buhari defeated by Jonathan up to 12 million votes. However, it was related to the participation of Buhari's supporter which based on Northern Nigeria or the north Muslim.

Nigerian election often appeared like a war. The pre election violence has led to death of many politicians, the supporters and innocent citizens. The other thing was there was always an intimidation to voters, spread fear across communities until the D-day. Therefore the elections in Nigeria always face serious security challenges because it involves not only the security of the execution of the election but also the security of the voters and candidates.

¹⁴Ogunlesi, T. (2013). *African Facebook Users in 2003*. Lagos.

Nigeria is a country divided into two. Geopolitically, it is split between the predominantly agricultural northern states and the oil-rich southern states on the Gulf of Guinea. The southern of Nigeria experienced a significant economic growth by the expense of the north. It transformed the country from the predominantly agricultural exporter by northern people into major player of the world's oil stage as it joined the OPEC in 1971. The Russian investment bank Renaissance Capital produced a report titled "Nigeria Unveiled" in 2013 picturing the Nigeria's economy as moving on two wheels, a Thriving South with rising income, lower unemployment, and better educated people while the other is the Struggling North with much poorer and less educated people. Since the South has held the presidency for 12 of the 15 years of civilian rule since 1999, this phenomenon shows that the North has lost its leverage in the North-South equation.¹⁵

Further complicating this is the split along religious and economic lines.¹⁶ The issue of region lines, ethnicity and religion run deep in Nigeria. Almost every part of the country feels injustice which only can be solved by their own wields power at the center preferably as the president. Even though there is a fear that the President will misuse the power to privilege his region, ethnicity or religion.¹⁷

Nigeria then knew an idea of power rotation and zoning which purposed to ensure the continuity and integration of Nigerian state, unite various diverse people while political parties are the vehicle to realize democracy in Nigeria and the main purpose is to ensure that there shall be no predominance of persons from a certain states or ethnic or from other sectional groups. Roeder and Rothchild argued that power dividing strategy designs

¹⁵Adibe, J. (2015). The 2015 Presidential Elections in Nigeria: The Issues and Challenges. *Journal of African Foreign Affairs* , 5-6.

¹⁶Pierce, B. (2014, March 14). *Nigeria – The North-South Divide*. Retrieved April 26, 2015, from Brent Pierce: <http://brentpierce.com/2014/03/14/nigeria-north-south-divide/>

¹⁷Adibe, J. (2015). The 2015 Presidential Elections in Nigeria: The Issues and Challenges. *Journal of African Foreign Affairs* , 4-5.

institutions to rely on civil society rather than the state as much as possible. It aimed at providing the cultural needs of individuals who belong to different ethnic and religious groups, limit the privileged representation of the cultural communities in state policy making realistically possible, and to encourage representation in state institutions as many other cultural groups and socio-economic interest as possible.¹⁸

Starting from 1999 there was an unwritten arrangement when democratic governance restored after a long period of military rule in Nigeria. There was a consensus among the political elite to limit electoral choices for the presidency to southern candidates. The actual matter was that there were dichotomy between South and North related to the power issue in Nigeria. Both sides wanted to be the holder of the power. Nigerian people consist of 50% Muslims, 40% Christians, and 10% indigenous believers. Geographically, religious conflict tends to occur in the center where Northern Muslim and Southern Christian populations meet.¹⁹

Following its independence in 1960, Nigeria experienced decades of political instability deliberated by the existence of military coups and several civil wars until finally the establishment of stable civilian in 1999 when Nigerian presidency has altered between Northern/Muslim and Southern/Christian leaders in an unwritten power-sharing arrangement known as zoning,²⁰ where the presidency should alternate between a Muslim and Christian occupant serving a maximum of two terms. This arrangement meant to ensure that both religious groups got fair access to the level of power or so-called a power-sharing zoning agreement. For instance, the first turn was President Olusegun Obasanjo from 1999-2007 and should be followed by the turn of north Muslim until 2015.

¹⁸Stefan Wolff and Christalla Yakinthou. (2011). Conflict Resolution: Theories and Practice. 2.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰Webber, M. (2010). TANENBAUM/Center for Interreligious Understanding. *Delegation Seeks Peaceful and Fair Elections in Nigeria* , 1.

However President Umaru Yar'Adua, a north Muslim was sick during his term and died in 2010 so the presidency was continued by his vice president Goodluck Jonathan for the first term until 2011. But came as a surprise, Goodluck Jonathan became candidate of president from PDP in 2011 election. The candidacy of Jonathan provoked anger of the Nigerian especially the north Muslim. This practically broke the agreement of "zoning". The violation began with the widespread protest by the supporter of the main opposition, Muhammadu Buhari degenerated into violent riots and killing in the northern states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara. The other violations were like burning homes, vehicles, and properties of ruling party's campaign. The riots also start killing Christians and member of southern Nigerian ethnic groups who were seen as supporting the ruling party and burning churches in all over the north. It was estimated about 800 people were killed within three days.²¹

The violence was triggered by a belief that the challenger Muhammadu Buhari, a north Muslim candidate should have won the election.²² This chaotic condition, the boycott done by north people especially led to the election's abstentions of Northern because people feel afraid to go out to the polling station while the mass fury blocked the road. This is why the north's participation in 2011 election relatively minimum. Of the close 74 million registered voters of whole Nigeria, it's about half of the population, only 39.469.484 people voted.²³

²¹Human Rights Watch. (2011, May 17). *Nigeria: Post-Election Violence Killed 800*. Retrieved June 11, 2015, from Human Rights Watch: <http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/05/16/nigeria-post-election-violence-killed-800>

²²Bekoe, D. (2011, August 9). *Nigeria's 2011 Elections: Best Run, but Most Violent*. Retrieved June 11, 2015, from United States Institute of Peace: <http://www.usip.org/publications/nigeria-s-2011-elections-best-run-most-violent>

²³Gberie, L. (2011, May 13). *The 2011 elections in Nigeria: a new dawn?* Retrieved June 12, 2015, from Institute of Security Studies: <http://www.obsafrique.eu/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/13May2011Nigeria.pdf>

Learning from the 2011 election, the 2015 election seemed better prepared. Even though INEC should have postponed the election six weeks relating to the security issues, but finally the election can be conducted in an orderly manner on March 28, 2015. The election also applied new voter card system called Permanent Voter Cards (PVC) in order to avoid any disturbance and fraud. The better condition in the North made the participation of Northern in election increased. As the fact of the figure below:

Figure 4.1

The Votes for Buhari in the North in 2011 and 2015 Election

State	Buhari 2011 (CPC)	Buhari 2015 (APC)
Adamawa	56.00%	58.91%
Bauchi	81.69%	91.30%
Benue	10.47%	54.73%
Borno	17.58%	94.35%
Gombe	59.73%	78.43%
Jigawa	58.21%	85.39%
Kaduna	51.92%	69.72%
Kano	60.77%	89.44%
Katsina	70.99%	92.83%
Kebbi	39.95%	83.88%
Kogi	23.53%	62.86%
Kwara	20.16%	68.66%
Nassarawa	40.08%	46.30%
Niger	64.03%	80.83%
Plateau	25.27%	43.68%
Sokoto	59.44%	80.54%
Taraba	34.91%	45.08%
Yobe	54.26%	94.19%
Zamfara	66.25%	80.44%
FCT	33.05%	47.72%
Total	31.98%	53.96%

Source: Kireev, A. (n.d.). *Nigeria. Presidential Election 2015 and 2011*. Retrieved May 25, 2015, from Electoral Geography 2.0: <http://www.electoralgeography.com/new/en/countries/n/nigeria/nigeria-presidential-election-2015.html> and <http://www.electoralgeography.com/new/en/countries/n/nigeria/nigeria-presidential-election-2011.html>

Based on the figure above, the votes for Buhari from North in 2011 election only reached 31.96 per cent and in 2015 election reached 53.96 per cent. The increase of the number can be assumed as the increase of Northern voter in 2015 election. Different from the previous election where mass got fury and boycotted the election, the 2015 election was conducted more peacefully even though the threat from Boko Haram still existed.

The Northern Muslim in 2015 election was not so aggressive as the previous one in 2011. Based on the unwritten agreement of zoning, the presidency this period should be handed over back to the Northern after the rule-breaking by Jonathan in 2011. It should continue the term of President Umaru Yar'Adua who died in the middle of his duty in his first term in 2010. Beside of that reason, Buhari's main vote was in the North.

However, the fact was that Buhari in 2015 election did not only win in Northern states but also several in the South such as Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, Kogi, and Benue. Muhammadu Buhari ever became a leader of Nigeria in 1980s under military coup. He is known as a discipline leader and coherent on exterminating corruption. With the condition of Nigeria nowadays, the critical condition related to the security was already robbed many Nigerian lives and rights to have a peace live. The figure of Muhammadu Buhari with his background might be one of the other reasons why he was also chosen by Southern people.

C. The United States Assistance in Ensuring a Free, Fair and Credible Election and also Bring the Mission to Put end the Global Terrorism Particularly Boko Haram.

One long standing security problem of Nigeria beside the conflict among ethnics is the urgency of the continually waged of militant Islamic group, Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'wati wal-Jihad means "People committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teaching and Jihad"

which more widely known as Boko Haram.²⁴ It actually is not a new arrival group, it has been a growing force in Nigeria for over a decade and has deep roots in the country's social development. Started by the teaching of a preacher in Kano state named Mohammed Marwa or known as Maitatsine which were extreme and often bizarre. He was against Western culture and declared that reading any book other than Quran was sin, including the prohibition of reading Sunnah and Hadits. Even more, he declared himself as the true prophet and denied Muhammad SAW's prophecy. He was ignored by Nigerian at the beginning but then Maitatsine's followers grew since 1970 when his teaching became increasingly antigovernment.²⁵

In the North, the majority of population is Muslim of the Hausa and the Fulani. In the South, the population is dominated by Christians belonging to the Igbo and Yoruba ethnic groups. The fact is that the country is nearly divided between Christian and Muslim. Therefore it became the key of any political turmoil in Nigeria. Sharia teaching of Maitatsine finally became the law of Northern Nigerian in nineteenth century and early twentieth century. With the constitution of 1999, it opened the door for Sharia to impose the law over their territory. Today, nine of the twelve of Northern states are under full Sharia law and the other three are under Sharia law for civil but not for criminal matters. In this context, the growth of North Muslim's power triggers the emergence of Boko Haram.²⁶

Boko Haram emerged in 2002 in Borno State led by Mohammed Yusuf. Boko Haram aimed at turning Nigeria into a truly Islamic state by imposing Sharia law throughout the

²⁴Security Council. (2014, May 22). *Security Council Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee Adds Boko Haram to Its Sanctions List*. Retrieved May 29, 2015, from United Nations: <http://www.un.org/press/en/2014/sc11410.doc.htm>

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶Security Council. (2014, May 22). *Security Council Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee Adds Boko Haram to Its Sanctions List*. Retrieved May 29, 2015, from United Nations: <http://www.un.org/press/en/2014/sc11410.doc.htm>

country including the Southern Christian. At the first emergence, the Boko Haram was radical but not violent. It changed in 2009 when Boko Haram members decided to refuse all kind of law that was somehow un-islamic. Then the arrest of several members triggered the riot that left 800 people dead. It was the first time Boko Haram had a large clash with the police. Since then, Boko Haram turned into horribly violent. Boko Haram began terrorizing motorists in the North and used chainsaws to kill truck drivers who passed through certain area.²⁷

For financial support, Boko Haram robbed banks, stole cash to buy heavy weapons. They used those heavy weapons to begin launching attacks on military bases and police stations. Nigerian soldier often fled from guarding checkpoints when Boko Haram fighters approached. Even when the president offered amnesty to all members of Boko Haram in case they lay down their weapons, Boko Haram responded by rejecting the deal. Furthermore, the new leader, Abubakar Shekau engaged Boko Haram with the international network of terrorist organization such as Al-Qaeda. Boko Haram then received any training from Al-Qaeda such as on how to use explosive and execute mass casualty terrorist attacks.²⁸

Boko Haram with its mission to spread Sharia, underlined their action against the government and democracy in Nigeria. This group stated that democracy is a corrupt Western's concept, therefore they warned people not to participate in election as the reflection of discouraging democracy in Nigeria. Just as in the previous election, Boko Haram hindered people to vote. Then about 1.000 people were killed in riots after the election and thousands of Nigerian and foreign workers left the country after that.

²⁷Ford, J. (2014, June 6). *The Origins of Boko Haram*. Retrieved May 30, 2015, from The National Interest: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-origins-boko-haram-10609?page=2>

²⁸Ibid.

The escalation of Boko Haram insurgency in northeastern Nigeria absolutely had raised serious concern about the ability of the Nigerian to participate in 2015 elections. Therefore, there is a potential disenfranchisement of about 1.5 million Nigerian people as the result of the violence by Boko Haram. Practically, Boko Haram insurgency affected the voting of three northeastern Nigerian as its domain territories which were the Adamawa, Yobe, and Borno. The requirement of voters vote in their hometown ballots also affected and made nearly impossible for the refugees to vote in the elections.²⁹

The insurgency of the militant group of Boko Haram led Nigeria into a critical condition related to the 2015 election. As the video posted by Boko Haram's leader last year, Abubakar Shekau, the leader of the group stated that he and Boko Haram would kill all the imams and other Islamic clerics in Nigeria because he thought that they were not Muslim since they followed democracy and constitution. He stated that this was a war against Christian and democracy and their institution. In another video he also stated that the concept of "government of the people, for the people" can no longer continue to exist. It shall soon be replaced by government of Allah, by Allah, for Allah. He also rejects the Nigerian flag and national anthem. The strong determination of Boko Haram is also including the effort to sabotage the 2015 elections. As the latest video released by Shekau, he said:

*"Allah will not leave you to proceed with these elections even after us, because you are saying that authority is from people to people, which means that people should rule each other, but Allah says that the authority is only to him, only his rule is the one which applies on this land. And finally we say that these elections that you are planning to do, will not happen in peace, even if that costs our live."*³⁰

²⁹Moftah, L. (2015, January 26). *Boko Haram and Nigerian Elections: Violence Set To Disenfranchise Presidential Vote*. Retrieved May 30, 2015, from International Business Times: <http://www.ibtimes.com/boko-haram-nigerian-elections-violence-set-disenfranchise-presidential-vote-1795186>

³⁰Abubakar Shekau speak in the video titled "Boko Haram Leader Abubakar Shekau Threatens Nigerian Election" retrieved on June 3, 2015 at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LfBXdcUy_II

As the biggest democratic country in Africa, the United States cannot neglect the situation. Nigeria has been a strategic partner and at times a surrogate for the United States in Africa.³¹ The good relations between Nigeria and the U.S. have been significant since the activeness of Nigeria as one of the nonpermanent members of U.N. Security Council and also its role in global dialogues on such issues as nuclear nonproliferation. Nigeria is an important U.S. trading partner and the second largest U.S. private investment on the continent. In 2010, President Obama and President Jonathan Administrations established the U.S.-Nigeria Binational Commission (BNC). It is a strategic dialogue to address issues of mutual concern, including terrorism of Boko Haram. For instance in the tragedy of 270 school girl's abduction in Chibok, Borno State, the governance of Jonathan asking for help to the United States to liberate the girls.

The U.S. Department of Defense in May 2014 appointed twelve active-duty U.S. soldiers to train about 650 Nigeria man for combat operations.³² It was the first time the United States trained Nigerian military units for operations and also provided non-lethal equipment like vehicles and uniform. This training lasted until December where Jonathan stopped the agreement in cause of the U.S. refusal to sell weapon to Nigeria in order to encounter Boko Haram.³³

The helps from United States are basically part of the request of Nigerian government itself. Democracy was back in Nigeria in 1999 marked by the governance's handover from military coup to civilian. It then gave the opportunity for Boko Haram to develop. Boko Haram is actually a form of aspiration of Nigerian people especially in North. Then its act

³¹Campbell, J. (2014). *U.S. Policy to Counter Boko Haram*. Washington DC: Council of Foreign Relations.

³²Ibid.

³³Tukur, S. (2014, December 1). *Nigeria Cancels U.S. Military Training as Relations Between Both Nations Worsen*. Retrieved June 9, 2015, from Premium Times: <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/172178-nigeria-cancels-u-s-military-training-relations-worsen.html>

became extreme as its disappointment toward government. They started to kill people and destroy infrastructures. As its action remains destructive and uncontrolled, Nigeria seeks aid from the United States.

For Nigeria, the United States is the largest donor that provides roughly \$700 million annually in recent years in order to support the democratic governance, improve agricultural productivity and access to education and health services, promote job creation and increased supplies of clean energy, and prioritize in professionalize and reform the security forces assistance. Another aid for instance, the U.S. assistance is about \$721 million in 2015, paled in comparison with the government revenue.³⁴

Support related the upcoming election in 2015 is including technical assistance of U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), support to civil society groups and efforts to mitigate violence, and funding for domestic and international observation missions. USAID's project assists credible and countable electoral processes by improving the quality of election. The project supports INEC in implementing a nationwide voter education focused on voter registration and participation to ensure that all citizens know and understand their right to vote.³⁵

John Kerry also visited Nigeria on January 25, 2015 and met Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari personally to urge the credible and peaceful election. John Kerry also said that the United States was prepared to do more to help Nigerian military to fight against

³⁴Susan B. Epstein, Alex Tiersky, and Marian L. Lawson. (2014, May 27). *State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs: FY2015 Budget and Appropriations*. Retrieved June 3, 2015, from Congressional Research Service : <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/227672.pdf>

³⁵USAID . (2014). *Support to Electoral Processes*. Retrieved June 8, 2015, from USAID from American People: Nigeria: <http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1860/Nigeria%20Elections%20FACT%20SHEET%202014.pdf>

Boko Haram. He stated that the aid provided depends on how the 2015 elections, whether able to carry out fair and peaceful or not.³⁶

Even though finally the election was postpone for six weeks related to the urgency of security, the observers of the elections was impressed by the voters who turn out. The Commonwealth Observer Group also commended the INEC and polling officials, the security services, domestic and other international observers for the commitment and dedication during the election.³⁷ As the follow up of the Boko Haram matter, Muhammadu Buhari planned to continue the military cooperation with the United States which ever stop last year.

³⁶Gordon, M. R. (2015, January 25). *Kerry Meets With Nigerian Leaders to Encourage Peaceful Election*. Retrieved June 9, 2015, from The New York Times:
http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/26/world/africa/kerry-meets-with-nigerian-leaders-to-encourage-peaceful-election.html?_r=0

³⁷Muluzi, D. B. (2015, March 30). *Nigeria elections 2015: interim statement by Commonwealth Observer Group* . Retrieved June 9, 2015, from The Commonwealth:
<http://thecommonwealth.org/media/news/nigeria-elections-2015-interim-statement-commonwealth-observer-group>