

APPENDICES

A. Appendix I: List of Delegates



**National Democratic Institute
International Pre-election Assessment
Mission to Nigeria
October 11-15, 2010**



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Botswana

Rt. Hon. Joe Clark
Former Prime Minister
Canada

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Chief Electoral Commissioner of the
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Sierra Leone

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Founder and Chairman of the
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Johns Hopkins University School of
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National Democratic Institute
International Observation Mission to Nigeria
National Assembly Election
April 9, 2011



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Cape Verde

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Former Governor of New Jersey
United States

H.E. Mahamane Ousmane
Former President
Niger

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Former Senator
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Former Prime Minister
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B. Appendix II: Statement of NDI's Pre-Election Assessment Mission to the 2011 Elections

I. INTRODUCTION

This statement is offered by an international delegation organized by the National Democratic Institute (NDI). The delegation visited Nigeria from October 10-15, 2010, to assess preparations for the 2011 national and state elections. The delegation's goals were to:

- demonstrate international support for Nigeria's democratization process;
- make an accurate and impartial assessment of the political and electoral environment in the pre-election period; and
- offer recommendations for enhancing confidence and participation in the process.

The delegation was composed of political and civic leaders as well as election and democracy experts from Africa, Asia and North America. The delegation, co-led by former President Ketumile Masire of Botswana and former Prime Minister Joe Clark of Canada, and included Dr. Christiana Thorpe, chairperson of the National Electoral Commission of Sierra Leone; Dr. Nazmul Ahsan Kalimullah, chairman of the National Election Observation Council of Bangladesh (JANIPOP) and professor at the University of Dhaka; Dr. Peter Lewis, director of the African Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins University School for Advanced International Studies; Dr. Chris Fomunyoh, NDI senior associate for Africa; Barrie Freeman, NDI deputy regional director for Central and West Africa; and Carlo Binda, NDI/Nigeria country director.

The delegation met with the chairman and senior officials of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), political party leaders, members of the National Assembly, presidential aspirants, civic and religious leaders, government officials, the Acting Inspector General of Police, journalists, academics, citizen election observer groups, development partners, and the Chairperson of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission. The delegation expresses its deep appreciation to everyone with whom it met for welcoming the mission and for sharing freely their views on the electoral process.

An accurate assessment of any election must take into account all aspects of the electoral process, including the legal framework for the elections; the ability of citizens to seek and receive sufficient and accurate information upon which to make political choices; the ability of political aspirants to organize and reach out to citizens in order to win their support; the conduct of the mass media in providing coverage of parties, candidates, and issues; the ability of citizens and political competitors to engage in the political and electoral process free from fear for personal security; the conduct of the voter registration process and integrity of the voter register; the right to stand for election; the conduct of the voting, counting, results tabulation, transmission, and announcement of the results; the handling of election complaints; and the installation to office of those duly elected. Public confidence in elections and the legitimacy of the government that results from polls will depend, in large measure, on the degree to which the rights and guarantees noted above are respected.

There are encouraging developments in Nigeria's election process, however, concerted efforts are required to clarify the electoral calendar, implement practicable improvements

and inspire public confidence and participation. This will require cooperation and vigorous action by all electoral stakeholders.

NDI is a nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that works to support and strengthen democratic institutions worldwide through citizen participation, openness and accountability in government. The delegation conducted its activities in accordance with Nigerian law and the *Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation*, which is endorsed by 35 intergovernmental and international nongovernmental organizations, including the African Union, Commonwealth Secretariat, Economic Community of West African States, European Union, as well as NDI and others. In accordance with the Declaration of Principles, NDI and the delegation do not seek to interfere in the electoral process. The delegation is part of NDI's long-term observation of the Nigerian election process, and additional statements, releases and reports will be issued at later dates.

II. POLITICAL CONTEXT

Since the transition from military to civilian rule in Nigeria, elections held in 1998/99, 2003 and 2007 were marred by violence, voter intimidation, ballot stuffing, and the opaque tabulation and announcement of results. Each subsequent election has been less credible than the previous one. Although the 2007 election resulted in a historic transfer of power from one civilian administration to another, serious irregularities and election-related violence undermined the credibility of the outcome, weakened the legitimacy of the leaders elected, and led to increased public disillusionment with the democratic process.

President Umaru Yar'Adua, elected in 2007, acknowledged in his inauguration speech the need to reform Nigeria's troubled election process. Yar'Adua created the Electoral Reform Committee (ERC), chaired by retired Chief Justice Mohammed Uwais, and tasked it with holding nationwide consultations and offering recommendations to improve the electoral process before the 2011 polls. Efforts of Nigerian civil society to advance recommendations for reforming the electoral process, and to some extent recommendations of international observers, contributed to process surrounding the Committee's work. The Uwais report was completed and submitted to the President of the Federal Republic in December 2008. A significant number of the report's recommendations were subsequently incorporated into constitutional amendments and the 2010 Electoral Act. Regrettably, the Electoral Act was only signed into law in August 2010, just months before the January 2011 deadline for elections as stipulated in a new amendment to Nigeria's constitution. The amendment provided that elections be held not earlier than 150 days and not later than 120 days from the expiration of incumbents' terms in office (in this instance, May 29, 2011).

Following the death of President Yar'Adua in May 2010, Vice President Goodluck Jonathan acceded to the presidency. President Jonathan appointed Professor Attahiru Jega, a respected academic, to replace the much-maligned chairman of INEC, Maurice Iwu. Professor Jega's credentials as a pro-democracy advocate and honest administrator, and his early efforts to make INEC more accessible to political parties and civil society organizations, have raised expectations that the coming elections would be more credible than previous electoral exercises. Professor Jega's appointment has been seen by many as a tangible commitment of President Jonathan's promise that the 2011 elections would be conducted in a transparent manner.

Nonetheless, much remains to be done within a realistic timeframe, particularly given Nigeria's negative electoral history.

In September 2010, INEC requested that it be given until April 2011 to prepare for credible elections, notably the production of a new voter register to replace the flawed 2007 register. The Nigerian government, political parties, civil society and media are in favor of the postponement, and both chambers of the National Assembly are considering draft legislation to that effect at the time of the delegation's visit.

Currently, five candidates have expressed their intent to compete for the nomination of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). At the same time, opposition parties, including the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), the Action Congress Nigeria (ACN) and the Labor Party, are preparing to field candidates for the presidential race.

There was expressed concern to the delegation that President Jonathan's decision to seek the PDP nomination would interrupt the party's principle of "zoning," under which Northern and Southern aspirants alternate as presidential candidate. While some party supporters say that a Southern presidential candidate would aggravate regional tensions, others in the PDP contest that view.

III. FINDINGS

The delegation was pleased to find heightened interest in the 2011 elections and the determination of many individuals and civic organizations to promote citizen engagement at all levels of the electoral process. At the same time, there is a deepening sense of the need to change the approach to elections in Nigeria. Many political actors expressed concern that the legacy of flawed elections has a negative impact on Nigeria's political and economic development, as well as its standing in the world.

The delegation observed that while many Nigerians are determined to actively participate in the 2011 elections, they are fearful that verbal commitments to electoral reform may not translate into concrete actions to match. The delegation found a sense of urgency among Nigerians to see demonstrable steps in election preparation.

The delegation also noted positive developments that augur well for credible elections, including: the appointment of a well-respected academician and university administrator as chairman of INEC, passage of the 2010 Electoral Act that provides for more transparent candidate selection processes and lays out regulations for monitoring political party behavior and addressing electoral malfeasance, and the determination of diverse Nigerian civic organizations to advocate for fair and transparent elections.

The delegation identified a number of hurdles that could undermine a successful electoral process, such as delayed agreement on the legal framework, security and policing of the polls, and the efficiency of INEC organs at the local government, constituency and ward levels. Allowing sufficient time to organize credible elections would give INEC the opportunity to conduct a critical voter registration exercise and meet the logistical challenges of holding general elections in a country with an estimated voting population of 70 million citizens.

Legal Framework

At the time of the delegation's visit, the most pressing election-related priority before Nigeria is the need to resolve lingering doubts surrounding the legal framework and timetable for the 2011 elections. The amended constitution pushed the election date forward from April to January 2011 to allow more time for the adjudication of electoral disputes before the swearing-in of new elected officials on May 29. However, the late date at which the reforms were adopted resulted in a very tight timeline for election preparations, which caused INEC to call for the election dates to be pushed back to April. That in turn requires passage of another constitutional amendment by the National Assembly and two-thirds of the state houses of assembly.

Many Nigerians agree that more time for preparations could improve the electoral process. However, the delegation notes with concern that continuing uncertainty surrounding the electoral timetable could render planning even more difficult for all electoral stakeholders and potentially diminish the enthusiasm of potential voters.

INEC and Preparations for the 2011 Elections

The appointment of Professor Jega generated goodwill and high expectations, though there is concern that expectations will be difficult to meet unless change at the top of INEC is accompanied by reform at all levels of the election management body. The delegation heard concerns that in previous elections some polling officials – particularly returning officers whose final announcement of results can only be challenged in court – have been subjected to financial inducements and intimidation by some politicians and their supporters. The delegation learned that INEC is exploring ways to better staff polling operations on election day and may reach out to organizations such as the National Youth Service Corps to provide a pool of educated and committed poll workers.

The delegation was informed that INEC's budget is now a "first line" charge on the Federal consolidated accounts, which gives the body more financial independence from the Executive branch than in the past. The timely release of funds to INEC is a marked improvement over previous election cycles.

The delegation commends INEC for reaching out to different stakeholders, including political parties, civil society and Nigerian security services. However, a number of individuals and groups with whom the delegation met expected INEC to be more proactive in providing public updates on the status of electoral preparations and explaining emerging challenges to conducting credible elections. As registration and voting procedures are elaborated, they expect INEC to develop voter education materials and outreach strategies in consultation with Nigeria's National Orientation Agency.

Professor Jega has led INEC into a more mutually respectful relationship with Nigerian civil society organizations. He has promised to expedite the accreditation process for domestic and international observers in 2011, as monitoring groups faced major challenges in receiving accreditation to observe past elections.

Despite these positive developments, the delegation notes that a cardinal aspect of the electoral process, voter registration, has yet to begin. Many Nigerians worry that the logistical and

capacity challenges associated with INEC's plans to develop a new, electronically based voter register could further delay the registration process. The delegation also notes with concern that many of Nigeria's estimated nine million students in universities and other institutions of higher learning could be disenfranchised by the requirement to register and vote at assigned polling places that may not coincide with their physical locations, which vary during school and vacation periods. Large-scale problems with voter registration, including attempts to create an electronic registry in an unreasonably compressed time, undermined past elections. Particular attention therefore is needed to ensure that the present registration builds voter confidence through transparency, verification, and public education.

Security Environment

The NDI delegation arrived in Abuja one week after two lethal side-by-side car bombs exploded in the city on October 1 during celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of Nigeria's independence. An exchange of accusations by politicians from opposing camps about the source of the violence has exacerbated an already volatile situation. Continuing restiveness in the Niger Delta, recent cases of kidnapping in several states, and pockets of religious extremism and violence raise concerns over the ability of Nigerian security services to adequately provide security in a nonpartisan manner during all stages of the electoral process, and protect citizens' rights to assemble and vote in peaceful conditions.

In past elections, some elements of the country's security services have been accused of acting in a partisan manner, including the disruption of opposition rallies and indifference to instances of violence and other electoral malfeasance.

The delegation is encouraged by the stated commitments of the Acting Inspector General of Police (IGP) to ensure the conduct of free and fair elections, and by the steps being taken by the IGP to obtain a proper interpretation of provisions of Nigeria's Public Order Act. The delegation hopes that a proper interpretation will be implemented to safeguard political rights. The importance of this is highlighted because police have recently invoked this law to prevent a number of political meetings and other events. The delegation learned that efforts are being made to better coordinate the various security agencies in order to ensure a peaceful electoral period, including during political party primaries and also highlights the importance of this being done.

Political Parties

The delegation was impressed that many Nigerians are determined to make sure that the 2011 elections are a true reflection of the will of the electorate, in contrast to the pattern of previous elections. This is partly the result of the lack of consensus within the ruling PDP around a presidential candidate, and also the result of the optimism of several opposition parties about their potential to galvanize the electorate.

Some citizens that met with the delegation expressed fears that a "do or die" mentality could heighten negative competition and raise the risk of politically motivated violence. The delegation commends and encourages the evident desire among Nigerians to participate in greater discussion around policies, issues, and party platforms that could enable voters to make informed choices.

Internal Party Democracy

The 2010 Electoral Act includes significant changes to the candidate nomination process, with emphasis on primaries designed to increase internal party democracy. In its current form, the Act also prohibits political appointees from serving as voting delegates in party primaries. The delegation learned that a draft bill pending before the National Assembly would amend this provision, although it is unclear how the National Assembly would vote on the amendment.

The delegation notes with concern rising fears that, if poorly managed, the PDP primaries could be so contentious as to exacerbate regional, religious or ethnic tensions, perhaps resulting in violence. A free, fair and transparent primary process could mitigate these tensions. While the delegation does not seek to elevate any particular political party or single it out for criticism, this point was emphasized to the delegation by Nigerians across the political spectrum.

Citizen Engagement

Nigeria's vibrant civil society has been a driver of electoral reform, with a number of prominent individuals and organizations contributing substantively to the work of Justice Uwais' Electoral Reform Committee. Civic engagement in the debate over electoral reform since the 2007 election has galvanized civil society to be more invested than ever before in better political processes, including the promotion of issue-based campaigns and peaceful, credible elections.

The delegation lauds the enthusiasm and dedication with which citizen monitors are preparing to observe the electoral process across the country. Based on the experience of the last decade, domestic monitoring groups would play a critical role in providing Nigerians with the information needed to accurately assess the integrity of their electoral process. They are equally important in deterring and detecting irregularities during voter registration, the pre-election period, on election day, and in the post-election period. Many of these groups are eager to take advantage of technological innovations to improve their ability to protect citizens' right to vote, and their right to have those votes accurately counted. One civil society consortium -- composed of the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria; Justice, Development, and Peace/Caritas Nigeria; the Nigerian Bar Association; and the Transition Monitoring Group -- recently launched Project Swift Count, an initiative that will use statistical random sampling on election day to verify the accuracy of official voting results. The delegation was pleased to learn that a number of groups has begun designing programs to improve citizen knowledge and awareness of the electoral process.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The delegation believes that with sufficient political will, many of the shortcomings of previous elections can be addressed. However, this will require determined efforts by political and civic actors to work together with a sense of urgency and commitment toward peaceful and credible elections.

In the spirit of international cooperation, the delegation offers the following recommendations for review and consideration:

To the Government of Nigeria:

- Nigeria's leadership should continue to publicly affirm its commitment to free, fair and credible elections in 2011.
- The government should make clear that electoral misconduct by public officials, politicians, and members of the security services will not be tolerated.

To the National Assembly:

- The National Assembly and state assemblies should act on the constitutional amendment permitting the postponement of the elections from January 2011 to a later date. Given the short time frame, it is urgent to clarify the electoral schedule.
- The National Assembly should consider passing legislation following earlier recommendations by the Uwais Committee and a submission to the body by the Executive Branch to create an Electoral Offenses Commission or other such entity in order to prosecute offenders and curb impunity.

To INEC:

- INEC should continue to enhance and facilitate open communication with political parties, civil society, security services, media and other election stakeholders on a regular basis throughout the electoral period. These entities bring different perspectives to elections, and collaboration among them can build trust and improve the electoral process.
- INEC should consider creating an interparty dialogue mechanism that meets regularly during all stages of the electoral process at the national, state and local levels. Examples such as Sierra Leone's Political Party Liaison Committee, Ghana's Inter-Party Advisory Committee, and South Africa's Peace Committees have played key roles in reducing election-related tensions in those countries.
- INEC may wish to consider contingency plans for voter registration in case the challenges associated with electronic registration equipment hinder its current strategy.
- INEC should be proactive in informing the public so that citizens can participate in all aspects of the electoral process in a timely and informed manner.
- Election observers should be granted accreditation well before the start of voter registration so as to facilitate adequate training on, and monitoring of, all aspects of the electoral process. Observers should be guaranteed access to registration, polling, and collation centres..
- INEC should develop an effective voter education program to inform citizens of election procedures and regulations.

To Security Services:

- Security services should require that all officers must remain neutral and avoid intimidating voters. They should ensure that priority during elections is placed on protecting civilians and should stress that disciplinary action will be taken against any and all officers who use their powers to favor any political party or candidate or to harm the electoral rights of any party, candidate or citizen.

- Security services should develop a strategy for effectively coordinating election-related security measures at the national, state, and local levels both within the security sector and with the election commission, political parties, civil society, and other election stakeholders.
- The leadership of the security services should ensure that the roles of different security agencies during the election are well-defined internally and communicated to the broader public.

To Political Parties:

- Political parties should consider measures to reduce politically motivated violence. Codes of conduct with enforcement mechanisms and structured multiparty dialogue could be implemented in order to reduce the likelihood of conflict during the electoral process.
- Political parties should strive to improve internal democracy, especially around pertinent issues such as the candidate selection process, and the inclusion of women and youth as candidates and leadership.

To Civil Society:

- Conduct civic and voter education campaigns through all phases of the electoral process.
- Nonpartisan citizen monitors should provide impartial assessments of the electoral process so that citizens can judge the integrity of the process. Observers should adhere to regional and international standards and principles guiding election monitoring.
- Monitor party primaries where possible and provide independent evaluations of democratic procedures within the political parties.

NDI will continue to observe the electoral process and will issue additional statements as appropriate. NDI will cooperate with other international election observation missions to Nigeria's elections and with nonpartisan election observation efforts by Nigerian citizen groups and other actors in accordance with the Declaration of Principles and Nigerian law.

C. Appendix III: Statement of NDI's International Election Observer Mission to the April 9 Legislative Elections

Abuja, April 11, 2011

This preliminary statement is offered by the National Democratic Institute's (NDI) election observer delegation to Nigeria's April 9, 2011, National Assembly elections. The 50-member delegation from 23 countries was co-led by: Joe Clark, former prime minister of Canada; Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas Monteiro, former president of Cape Verde; Mahamane Ousmane, former president of Niger and former speaker of the ECOWAS Parliament; Jon S. Corzine, former U.S. senator and governor of New Jersey; Marietje Schaake, member of the European Parliament from The Netherlands; Natasha Stott Despoja, former senator and party leader from Australia; and Kenneth Wollack, president of NDI.

The delegation recognizes the importance of these elections. The National Assembly's constitutionally mandated role is central to democratic governance, and its authority will depend in large measure upon the credibility of these elections. These polls also will set the stage for the conduct of the upcoming presidential, state and remaining National Assembly elections.

The delegation visited Nigeria from April 4 to April 11. The mission builds upon the findings of NDI's pre-election delegation, conducted in October of 2010, and the reports of 12 NDI long-term observers, who, since January, have witnessed pre-election preparations, including the voter registration process and the campaign period. Delegates observed over 230 polling units in 77 local government areas (LGAs) across 18 states in all six geopolitical zones and in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The delegation conducted its activities in accordance with Nigerian law and the *Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation*, which has been endorsed by 36 key inter-governmental and nongovernmental organizations worldwide. The delegation cooperated with other international observer missions and with Nigerian civic groups, which deployed approximately 15,000 observers nationwide.

The delegation would like to stress that it does not intend to render a final judgment on the April 9 National Assembly elections at this time. The tabulation process and the announcement of results have not been completed. In the past, this has been a process during which serious irregularities have emerged. This statement is therefore preliminary in nature. Presidential, gubernatorial and state assembly elections will be held in the coming weeks. An NDI delegation will observe the presidential election and the Institute will continue to monitor the electoral process and issue reports at appropriate times. The Institute does not seek to interfere in the electoral process and recognizes that it is the Nigerian people who will ultimately determine the credibility and legitimacy of their elections.

I. KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Though not without significant problems, Nigeria's April 9 National Assembly elections, compared to past elections, provided a real opportunity for citizens to exercise their right to vote. Increased citizen awareness, public confidence in the leadership of election authorities, and greater engagement by political parties and civil society all provided the basis for a break from previous failed elections. However, continued vigilance is needed to realize the promise of these

polls. Positive momentum must continue to build to meet the challenges that will be presented by the upcoming presidential and state elections.

The delegation joins Nigerians and others in the international community in condemning the violence during the election process, including bombings on election eve and election day, as well as violent acts in the campaign period that together left over 100 dead and many more injured. The delegation acknowledges the resolve of millions of Nigerians who went to the polls showing that their desire for democracy will not be deterred by violence. Political violence, however, is a national problem that needs to be addressed urgently by all sectors of Nigerian society.

Nigerians who went to the polls were enthusiastic, determined to cast their ballots and keen to safeguard their vote. Polling officials, in particular, the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), who were recruited as polling staff, generally demonstrated extraordinary commitment and neutrality. The NYSC represents a generation of Nigerians who have not experienced a democratic election, but contributed to the integrity of this one. In most places, delegation members observed cooperation among political party agents, accredited citizen observers, security personnel and election authorities. The new chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is widely credited with building public confidence in that institution and the electoral process.

INEC's decision to postpone the polls from April 2 was a forthright admission of unpreparedness and allowed major problems to be addressed. Such problems were simply ignored in the 2007 elections. At the same time, the failure to hold polls as originally scheduled caused widespread disappointment, which in part may explain what appears to be a lower voter turnout on April 9. Logistical failures caused INEC to halt and then further delay these elections; at least 15 senatorial and 48 House of Representative races were postponed further until the state polls.

The serious problems observed by the delegation included instances of: significantly late openings of polls; inaccurate, incomplete or missing voter lists; inconsistent application of procedures; underage voting; overcrowding of polling sites; lack of ballot secrecy; failure to post results at polling sites; and missing essential materials. In addition, observers witnessed isolated cases of intimidation, vote buying and ballot box snatching. Unless these problems are addressed, they could adversely affect hotly contested presidential and gubernatorial races in which voter turnout is expected to be higher.

The unusual "vote and wait" approach advanced by INEC, civil society organizations and political parties as part of Nigeria's re-introduced "modified open ballot system" (MOBS or "accreditation voting") requires voters to stay at polling units for many hours and encourages them to remain over the entire voting and counting process. The system was designed to reduce opportunities for intimidation and misconduct that have occurred previously at polling sites during lulls in the election process. At the same time, the voting system requires much of voters and could reduce participation, particularly of those with poor health and family responsibilities, thereby affecting women disproportionately. On balance, the delegation believes the system contributed to the integrity of these elections. However, we hope that as elections improve in the future a less complicated and onerous process can be adopted.

Another unusual feature of Nigerian elections has been the role of the judiciary, which has in the past overturned numerous election outcomes at the state and federal level. Moreover, in the immediate lead-up to the April 9 polls, the courts eliminated candidates who were alleged to have been selected improperly by parties. Therefore, there were instances in which voters would not have known the candidates competing for seats in their constituencies. The extraordinary role of the courts illustrates weaknesses in the electoral system and the democratic practices of political parties. In addition, electoral offenses have gone virtually unpunished, creating a sense of impunity. We hope that improvements in the electoral process will reduce the overreliance on the courts and reinforce the rule of law.

While longer term improvements in the electoral process are needed, this delegation respectfully offers the following recommendations focused on steps that can be taken in the days ahead to improve the processes surrounding the presidential and state elections. INEC should:

- Improve logistics plans to ensure on-time opening of polls;
- Update or supplement the voter register and provide it, along with instructions on its use, to polling officials before the April 16 presidential poll to reduce instances of voter disenfranchisement;
- Take additional steps to ensure that polling officials, including NYSC members, are able to manage their polling units and properly implement polling procedures (possible remedies include effective assistance hotlines, mobile help units and additional training);
- Print, distribute and ensure the public posting of results sheets at each polling unit and at collation centers, as well as post on the official INEC website results of all elections, including results from the polling site level and aggregated results;
- Reissue instructions requiring polling officials to complete and secure results sheets in tamper-evident envelopes before leaving the polling stations;
- Instruct polling officials to create multiple accreditation and voting points wherever possible and provide guidance on better management of queues to alleviate crowding, confusion and delays;
- Improve the security and management of collation centers including by providing additional staff at ward level;
- Ensure that election officials employ every means possible to ease the accreditation and voting process for the elderly, the disabled and women who are pregnant or accompanied by children;
- Enforce vigorously the law against underage voting by instructing polling officials to exercise their authority to verify the identity and age of those attempting to vote;

- Instruct officials to place voting booths in such a manner that ballot secrecy is ensured and inform voters of the proper ballot folding method to maintain the secrecy of their vote; and
- Take immediate steps to prosecute those responsible for election violence and fraud, and widely publicize the actions taken.

The INEC chairman in addition to taking these urgent and necessary administrative steps should use the media to inform citizens about them and to call on citizens and electoral officials alike to work together and increase vigilance to ensure credible polls.

Candidates, especially the major presidential contenders, should, in an act of statesmanship, find ways to cooperate in the coming days to demand that their supporters adhere strictly to the codes of conduct adopted by their respective political parties.

The leadership of the security services should take all measures necessary to ensure that their officers act professionally, remain politically impartial and continue to cooperate with electoral officials to ensure orderly and peaceful polling.

II. ELECTION DAY OBSERVATIONS

Observer reports from these elections – including incidents of problems listed below – contrast with the nature of observations following the 2007 polls. Four years ago, systemic and widespread irregularities subverted the overall credibility of those elections.

Despite long queues and challenging weather conditions during April 9 polling, voters demonstrated eagerness and determination at the polling units visited. With some exceptions, observers witnessed cooperation between polling officials, security forces, party agents and voters to support the election process. However, they also noted instances where tensions arose as voters lacked understanding of the procedures or were informed that they would not be allowed to cast a ballot because their names were missing from the voter list.

While delegates in most areas observed a peaceful and orderly election day, some witnessed tension or disturbances. Overcrowding in some polling sites created tense environments for voters, and, at times, NYSC polling staff faced difficulty in maintaining authority over the polling site. In one polling site in Ogun state, observers witnessed ‘thugs’ who were allegedly aligned with a political party creating a disturbance and then stealing a ballot box following the count. In Lagos, there were credible reports of local gangs harassing INEC officials and voters.

Violent incidents occurred in different parts of the country during the elections. A bomb exploded at an INEC center in Suleja, Niger state, on the eve of the elections killing of at least 13 people. On election day, two bomb blasts—including one at a polling unit—in Borno killed a number of people, and there were additional incidents in Osun, Bayelsa and Delta. It is estimated that at least 16 people were killed on election day.

Unlike the aborted elections on April 2, many of the polling units observed opened on time or with a delay that still allowed all interested voters to be accredited and vote. Significant delays in

some sites may have led to some citizens being unable to vote. For example, at one location in Kaduna, polls were closed prematurely due to security concerns about overcrowding or darkness. Officials in some areas held accreditation and voting simultaneously in an attempt to process large crowds more quickly.

Observers reported varying levels of turnout, with crowds appearing smaller than those for the April 2 polls. Some voters and polling officials attributed this reduction to voter fatigue and disappointment over the rescheduling of the polls. The proportion of female voters varied across the country. Delegates observed that elderly and disabled voters were often provided special considerations to facilitate their voting. Such consideration was not always provided to pregnant women or those accompanied by children.

While overall turnout was relatively low, overcrowding was often reported, especially in Benue, Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Adamawa, Sokoto, Akwa Ibom and the capital. The creation of additional sub-units to alleviate overcrowding was rarely observed, even in stations where sufficient materials, staff and space were available. At times election officials seemed overwhelmed, and party and security agents were observed organizing the queues, and, in isolated instances, accrediting voters, “helping” voters mark their ballots or even assuming polling officials’ duties.

Observers reported that in the majority of polling places visited, staff received all essential materials. However, some polling officials reported an insufficient number of ballots, due to ballot use during the April 2 polls or to an under-allocation of ballots. Results sheets were also missing in some polling units and, in some cases, polling officials attempted to compensate by photocopying sheets designed for other races or used regular paper to record results. Security of sensitive materials was sometimes vulnerable.

Problems with the voter register were reported across the country, with prospective voters being refused accreditation even though they were in possession of a voter registration card. INEC officials admitted that some official lists were misprinted, had some pages missing, were not available, or contained incorrect or incomplete data. In a polling unit in Kano, for example, the printout of the voter list was incomplete, ending at names beginning with the letter ‘T.’ Procedures for those whose names were not on the list varied from one polling unit to another. For example, in Enugu, some officials allowed voters to cast tendered ballots at one polling site, while at another, voters not on the list were sent away.

Procedures for accreditation, voting and counting were inconsistently followed, with deviations reported in all states observed. Polling officials’ understanding of the process and level of knowledge about the procedures varied. Some officials omitted significant steps aimed at safeguarding the integrity of the elections, such as separate accreditation and voting processes, a double check of voter identity and proper inking. Delegates noted, however, that most procedural violations seemed to result from insufficient knowledge or pressures to process a large number of voters in a short amount of time, rather than from an intention to compromise the process.

Despite repeated warnings by INEC that underage voters would be arrested and prosecuted, observers noted a significant number of minors accredited to vote at polling sites in Katsina, Kano and Kaduna and, to a lesser degree, in other parts of the country. For example, dozens of individuals dressed in school uniforms who appeared to be as young as 12 to 14 were accredited at a polling site in Katsina.

Observers witnessed violations of ballot secrecy due to placement of voting booths, and the misunderstanding by voters or polling officials on the proper way to mark and fold the ballot. Few voters complained that their choice was visible to both security and party agents standing in the vicinity of the voting booths and ballot boxes; the majority of voters seemed unconcerned by the circumstances.

Counting started rather early in most states observed and was generally conducted in the presence of observers, agents and large numbers of voters. Most counting processes were conducted without major incidents, although some facilities lacked sufficient lighting to complete the count easily.

In some places, polling officials failed to reconcile the ballots before starting the count, delayed filling out the forms until arriving at a collation center, or used plain paper to record and display the results. Staff also faced difficulties in filling out the forms, in part due to procedural omissions during accreditation and voting, such as not determining the number of people in the queue when voting began. In a large number of places, results were not publicly posted as procedures stipulate.

The collation centers at ward level were often poorly managed with a single staff person both attempting to organize arriving polling officers and entering results. While the officials we observed were well informed and competent, overcrowding and lack of procedures to manage results sheets securely may have created opportunities for interference in the process.

The presence of security officials contributed to the peaceful and orderly conduct of elections in most places. The shuffling of security officers between locations contributed to the confidence of people in the impartiality of security services at the polling stations observed. In most places security officials properly assisted polling staff by maintaining queues and quelling tension in overcrowded polling sites; in other locations, such as some polling sites in Kano, security was passive. In many locations, security officials inserted themselves into managing polling stations when polling officials were unable to assert their authority. While their intervention was generally helpful, it highlights the need to strengthen the role of presiding officers. Observers in a few states reported a heavy security, while delegates in others noted insufficient number of police in some locations and passive security in other locations. Rural areas seemed to be more affected by inadequate police presence, while many polling units in urban centers witnessed many officials from several security agencies.

III. THE ELECTORAL CONTEXT

Nigerians embraced the return of civilian rule in 1999 after more than 30 years of chronic instability punctuated by civil war, coups and repressive military governments. Prior to the 2011 elections, three general elections have been held in 1999, 2003 and 2007. Each was seen as less credible than the previous one. Those elections undermined public confidence in the country's electoral process.

Nigeria's nascent democratic institutions were especially shaken in 2007 by an opaque election administration, widespread irregularities and misconduct. At the time, domestic and international observers describe the elections as fatally flawed and having failed the Nigerian people.

The Nigerian court system played a prominent role in attempting to correct problems of the 2007 elections. The results of many state and national elections were challenged and a number overturned, with some appeals still ongoing in 2011. While Nigeria's courts frequently showed independence in overturning election results, the volume of complaints from the elections – a total of 1,260 – overwhelmed the legal system. Overturned elections led to the automatic swearing in for governors in four states where they had initially lost the election and to rerun gubernatorial elections in six states.

Upon assuming office, President Jonathan declared improving the 2011 election process to be a priority of his administration. One of his first actions was the appointment of Professor Attahiru Jega as INEC chairman. Prof. Jega, who had served as a member of a presidentially appointed election reform committee, emphasized the need to restructure the commission, thereby raising expectations that INEC would be more transparent throughout the electoral process, incorporate good practices for credible elections and promote dialogue among all Nigerian stakeholders.

The Election Reform Committee released its report in December 2008, offering recommended reforms aimed at making the election process more credible and transparent. After the period of inaction on electoral reform, the National Assembly passed several amendments in quick succession beginning in July 2010. Two sets of constitutional amendments, in July and November 2010, were accompanied by a new electoral act in August 2010, and further amendments were made to the electoral act in January and February 2011. Most important, the amendments established INEC's financial independence from the executive branch and set stricter punishments for electoral offenses. One amendment set forth processes to guide the conduct of more democratic political party primaries, though parties largely did not adhere to them.

Pre-Election Period

Legal Framework and the Electoral Reform Process

To increase INEC's flexibility in setting the electoral calendar, the National Assembly passed a number of amendments to the constitution in November and an Electoral Act in January that allowed the commission to move elections from January to April 2011. Additional changes in February permitted INEC to extend the voter registration period. These later amendments also included clauses reducing INEC's mandate to enforce democratic practices within the candidate selection process.

Multiple versions of legislation led to confusion among officials, political competitors, observers and voters. Up until the elections, multiple versions of the law were in publication, with few stakeholders having the most recent version.

INEC re-introduced the "modified open ballot system," or accreditation voting – a system that requires all voters to check in at their polling units in the morning, and to remain at or return to the polling units by 12:30 to begin the voting process. Accreditation voting is rare, only used in

Nigeria periodically and in the Dominican Republic since 1996. INEC reintroduced the voting method to mitigate fraud and misconduct by encouraging continuous citizen presence at the polling sites. During past elections, international and domestic observers identified several concerns with accreditation voting, including potential voter disenfranchisement—particularly among women—and threats to ballot secrecy. However, as one observer noted, “complexity was designed for good purposes.”

Alongside accreditation voting, civil society and INEC advanced the concept of “vote and wait,” which is based on the idea that citizens should remain at the polling unit and witness the ballot count to increase transparency of the process. Some civil society groups advocated a more activist approach by citizens, in what they called “mandate protection”. Security forces reacted coolly to both concepts, citing concerns over crowd control and the potential for chaos. INEC and the police worked together in planning for election day to balance the tension between citizen presence and crowd control.

Election Administration

Despite widespread public support for the new INEC chairman—and a broad acknowledgement that this administration was more forthcoming than its predecessor—the commission still faced challenges providing timely, detailed and comprehensive information to parties, observers and the public. The late release of information on procedures for voter registration and for voting meant that most voter education efforts focused on general values around the elections rather than voter experience on election day.

While much of INEC’s permanent staff was carried over from the last elections, the commission made an effort to recruit a new work force to staff polling units during voter registration and election day. For the first time, ad hoc staff were recruited from a pool of university graduates performing their year of obligatory national service under the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) to administer voter registration and polling. Recruitment and training of polling staff occurred according to the official INEC timeline in most states around the country, but hiring and allocation of staff was not well-documented. Electoral officers, who were redeployed shortly before the election to different locations in an attempt to mitigate malfeasance faced difficulties in organizing ad-hoc staff they were suddenly charged with overseeing.

While INEC’s deployment of “non-sensitive” voting materials appeared on schedule and reached most states and local government areas in sufficient time, concerns about disbursement of sensitive materials (i.e., ballots and results forms) foreshadowed the delay of the April 2 elections. In the days leading up to the originally scheduled National Assembly elections, some state commissioners had already expressed concerns to NDI that they would not receive sensitive materials soon enough. Meanwhile, Chairman Jega stated on the eve of the elections that all preparations were completed for elections to take place on time.

Halting and Postponement of the National Assembly Elections on April 2

As election day began, it became obvious that in many polling sites critical materials had not been delivered. Reportedly, materials from printers had been delivered late and some ballots had omitted contesting parties. At midday, after several million voters had cast ballots, Chairman Jega halted the elections and rescheduled them for the following Monday. He later rescheduled

the polls for April 9, after consulting with political parties. INEC pushed back the presidential election to April 16 and gubernatorial and state assembly polls to April 26.

INEC did not immediately indicate how it treated the millions of ballots that were already cast by voters on April 2. After considerable delay, INEC announced that it was cancelling those ballots. This decision required the reprinting and delivery of replacement ballots, along with replacing ballots that originally had missing party logos. This necessitated a further delay until April 26 in about 15 percent of constituencies.

Voter Registration

INEC had conducted an ambitious electronic voter registration exercise from January 15 to February 5. The start of the registration process was marked by many logistical problems that made it difficult for voters to register in many parts of the country. Project Swift Count, a citizen monitoring effort that deployed a statistical random sample of observers throughout the country, documented significant problems in the beginning of the process, including delayed opening of registration units—with 84 percent of units failing to open on the first day of the exercise, due to late arrival of materials and faulty equipment. The commission extended the exercise by one week—or longer in some locations—to compensate for the initial slowness of the process, giving more citizens the opportunity to register. Swift Count acknowledged that INEC was able to address many of these challenges over the course of the registration period.

The display period following registration was designed to give Nigerians the opportunity to ensure that they were properly registered and to object to registrations of ineligible voters. However, INEC did not release guidelines for the display process until just days before it began. Very few display centers were open in the first few days, and not all of those that opened displayed the entire list. Many officials kept the list in a folder so voters could check their own information, but not check for the improper registrations of others. Voter education on the process was limited, and very few voters reviewed the list. Project Swift Count noted that an average of 40 voters visited centers on the penultimate day of the display process.

INEC reported on March 2 that it had registered 73.5 million voters, a higher number than expected and several million higher than the provisional figure announced only days earlier. In response to questions, INEC stated that it had initially underreported because of poor communication between Abuja and registration centers. INEC identified more than 870,000 duplicate entries by cross-checking fingerprints and photos; it committed to delete all of them and prosecute the registrants suspected of intentionally registering more than once. In late March, at least two people were prosecuted and sentenced to prison for multiple registrations.

Citizen Engagement

Since the 2007 elections, Nigeria's civil society heightened its engagement in the electoral process, first as advocates of electoral reform, then as promoters of voter education and later as observers of the electoral process. A number of organizations and coalitions planned to observe the elections in April. For the first time in Nigeria, a coalition of four highly respected civil society organizations – Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN), Justice Development and Peace/Caritas (JDPC), the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) and Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) – established Project Swift Count to conduct an advanced

form of election observation. Project Swift Count includes both quantitative and qualitative analysis of elections using a nationwide statistical sample. Other civil society organizations also conducted observation efforts, using new media and other innovations, such as incident-mapping, information sharing and voter education, to inform and mobilize citizens to participate in the elections.

Candidate Selection

Despite minimum standards for democratic primaries set out in the 2010 Electoral Act, many primaries were not conducted in accordance with the law. Several parties acknowledged improper conduct in their primaries and committed to rerun them. Nonetheless, they were unable to do so before the January 15 deadline. Where primaries were rerun after the deadline, INEC challenged their validity in court. In some states, INEC's challenges were upheld; in others, judges ruled that the reruns were valid.

Some parties held credible primaries, but a number of their candidates were substituted or withdrew to allow others to appear on the ballots. Further, legal complications surrounding the selection of candidates – particularly for state and National Assembly races – meant that INEC was still revising the list of candidates two days before the election. To avoid a delay in printing ballots, INEC announced that ballots would show only party names and symbols. In places where late changes were made, voters were likely not to know what candidate stood behind the party's name and symbol. Other candidates who received their party nominations without controversy were able to conduct political campaigns well in advance of the elections.

Female Candidates

The party primary process produced very few female candidates; they comprised less than 15 percent of those running for National Assembly seats. Some parties took measures to increase the participation of female as nominees in state primaries by waiving a filing fee. However, several female candidates complained that additional fees were still required. Others faced pressure to withdraw from party primaries, and some who won party nominations were intimidated to step aside for male party members. In one extreme case, a female senatorial candidate from Kaduna was attacked in two separate incidents, allegedly by members of her own party who opposed her nomination.

Many female candidates were unable to meet the high cost of campaigning. In Ekiti state, however, civil society and media outlets provided such candidates with some free airtime to help defray campaign costs.

The Campaign

While the campaign period began in December, the uncertainty over candidate lists meant that campaigning for many races did not begin until February. Many Nigerians were heartened that campaigns had become more issue-based compared to previous elections, with candidates taking positions on topics such as security, corruption, economy, health, education and infrastructure. The most prominent method of campaigning was through posters, billboards and town hall meetings. Better financed candidates held large rallies and advertised in radio, television and newspapers. Campaign finance regulations appeared not to be enforced.

In mid-March, 54 political parties signed an electoral code of conduct in which they committed to upholding the rule of law, promoting civil conduct during the campaign, on election day and in the post-election period, as well as complying with party finance regulations. The code contained a number of points to mitigate or prevent conflict among party supporters, including abstaining from espousing violence, coordinating campaign events to avoid confrontations among supporters and banning weapons at official events. The code also reactivated the Inter-Party Advisory Council (IPAC) intended to observe and regulate compliance with the code and to sanction parties that violate it. It is not clear if IPAC and its state and local counterparts were effective as an enforcement mechanism of the code. However, multiple parties referenced the code when publicly condemning the actions of their rivals.

The Complaints Process

In March, INEC reported that over 300 court cases had been filed against it nationwide. Several political parties filed multiple appeals against INEC's decisions to refuse their candidate lists. While it was within INEC's power to refuse lists under the original Electoral Act of 2010, the February 2011 amendment removed this authority.

The battles over candidacies also took place in the courts. The courts were still deciding cases on the eligibility of candidates until elections began. While the delegation commends the courts for taking actions to protect Nigeria's democratic process, it notes that overreliance on the courts to enforce internal party democracy is a troublesome development.

Prior to the elections, some INEC officials and voters were charged with electoral offences, such as the theft of sensitive electoral materials and multiple registrations. While INEC's mandate allows it to prosecute such offenses, it does not have investigative powers.

The Election-Related Violence

The delegation is deeply troubled by the level of political violence that occurs in Nigeria during election periods. There are those who point to the reduced number of deaths as a sign of improvement since 2007. Nevertheless, there are a number of troubling signs. In previous elections, violence was concentrated during the party primary period. This year, incidents of violence steadily increased from the primary elections through the campaign period and on election day. Further, the use of explosives threatens to escalate the nature of political violence.

Over 100 deaths have been attributed to politically-motivated violence with several hundred others injured. Through the election period, NDI received reports of intimidation of candidates and their supporters, open brawls between supporters of different parties and candidates, kidnappings of candidates and their family members, shootings, assassination of candidates and bombings of innocent civilians. Earlier in March, an explosion occurred in Suleja during a campaign rally of one of the gubernatorial candidates killing 10 people and leaving more injured. In Borno state, four people were killed by a gunman while preparing to distribute election materials at a polling station. In Akwa Ibom state, clashes between supporters of competing political parties led to mob violence, injuries and deaths, and arson and massive destruction of property. A prominent gubernatorial candidate and a party leader were assassinated in two separate incidents in Borno State.

The delegation noted that INEC and the security services took measures to mitigate violence during the elections by providing further training to their respective officials and establishing special telephone hotlines through which citizens could report incidents of violence and illegal behavior. Civil society organizations, such as the Nigerian Bar Association, also conducted civic education programs aimed at raising the awareness of politicians and citizens in general on the need for peaceful and credible elections. The delegation deeply regrets the frequency of violent incidents and hopes that enhanced and concerted efforts are made to counter these alarming trends. Those found responsible should be prosecuted and punished in accordance with the law.

IV. ABOUT THE MISSION

Through this delegation, NDI seeks to express the international community's interest in, and support for, a democratic electoral process in Nigeria, to provide an accurate and impartial report on the character of the election process to date and to offer recommendations to improve future electoral processes.

An accurate and complete assessment of any election must take into account all aspects of the process, and no election can be viewed in isolation from the political context in which it takes place. Among the factors that must be considered are: the legal framework for the elections set by the constitution, electoral and related laws; the ability of citizens to seek and receive sufficient and accurate information upon which to make political choices; the ability of political competitors to organize and reach out to citizens in order to win their support; the conduct of the mass media in providing coverage of parties, candidates and issues; the freedom that citizens and political competitors have to engage in the political and electoral process without fear of intimidation, violence or retribution for their choices; the conduct of the voter registration process and integrity of the voter registry; the voting, counting, results tabulation, transmission and announcement processes; and the handling of election complaints and installation to office of those duly elected.

NDI's comprehensive election observation for the April 2011 elections have thus far included a pre-election assessment mission in October 2010, followed by the deployment of long-term observers to monitor and report on electoral preparations, the voter registration process, and the campaign period. Prior to the elections, the delegation met with presidential and legislative candidates; election authorities; political, religious and civil society leaders; representatives of the media; and security and government officials. The delegations cooperated with Nigerian observer groups and other international election observation missions.

NDI has organized more than 150 delegations to assess pre-election, election-day and post-election processes around the globe in every region in the world. NDI has observed elections in Nigeria in 1998, 1999, 2003 and 2007.

NDI conducts its election observation in accordance with the *Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation*, which is endorsed by 36 intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. These include the United Nations Secretariat, the African Union, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the SADC Parliamentary Forum, the Francophonie, ECOWAS, the European Union, the International Republican Institute and NDI.

The delegation is grateful for the welcome and cooperation it received from voters, election officials, candidates, domestic election observers and civic activists. NDI has been officially accredited to conduct an international election observation mission by INEC.

NDI's international election observation mission in Nigeria is funded by a grant from the United States Agency for International Development.

D. Appendix IV: Statement of NDI's International Observer Mission to the April 16 Presidential Election

Abuja, April 18, 2011

This preliminary statement is offered by the National Democratic Institute's (NDI) election observer delegation to Nigeria's April 16, 2011, presidential election. The 30-member delegation from 14 countries was co-led by: Joe Clark, former prime minister of Canada; Mahamane Ousmane, former president of Niger and former speaker of the ECOWAS Parliament; Robin Carnahan, secretary of state of Missouri (USA); and Christopher Fomunyoh, NDI senior associate and regional director for Central and West Africa. Through this delegation, NDI seeks to express the international community's interest in – and support for – a democratic electoral process in Nigeria, to provide an accurate and impartial report on the character of the election process to date and to offer recommendations to improve future electoral processes.

The delegation arrived in Nigeria on April 4, prior to the National Assembly elections, and remained in country until April 18. As part of NDI's comprehensive election observation mission, the delegation builds upon the findings of NDI's pre-election delegation conducted in October of 2010, and the reports of 12 NDI long-term observers, who, since January, have witnessed pre-election preparations, including voter registration and the campaign period. Members of the delegation also observed the April 9 National Assembly elections and concluded, in an April 11 statement, that despite a number of significant problems, those elections represented a break from Nigeria's electoral past and provided a real opportunity for citizens to exercise their right to vote. During the presidential election, delegates observed over 153 polling units in 61 local government areas (LGAs) across 11 states in all six geopolitical zones and in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The delegation conducted its activities in accordance with Nigerian law and the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation.

The delegation would like to stress that it does not intend to render a final judgment on the April 16 presidential election at this time and that this statement is preliminary in nature. The tabulation and announcement of final results, as well as acceptance of results by candidates, have not been completed. As this has been a phase of the process during which serious irregularities have emerged in the past, the delegation urges candidates and their supporters to utilize peaceful, legal means to resolve election-related complaints. The Institute does not seek to interfere in the electoral process and recognizes that it is the Nigerian people who will ultimately determine the credibility and legitimacy of their elections.

KEY FINDINGS

As was the case with the National Assembly elections, this presidential poll represents a step forward from seriously flawed elections in the past. Nigerian citizens demonstrated commitment and dedication as they turned out to vote in elections that hold the promise of setting a new standard for integrity in Nigeria's electoral process. The presidential election was the second in a series that appears to mark a turning point for Africa's most populous country.

At the same time, the April 16 poll, like those on April 9, revealed important problems that need to be addressed before the upcoming state elections and in the longer term. Continued vigilance

is still needed through the completion of the 2011 election process to realize the promise of these polls.

Effective and committed leadership at the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is a key factor in the improvement over previous polls. However, democratic elections are not simply a technical exercise and their success does not rest with the electoral authority alone. While the election commission is charged with providing an effective and neutral setting for voting, the actions of political parties and their supporters, security forces, citizen election observers and other civil society organizations and voters themselves significantly impact the integrity of the electoral process. Each of these actors contributed to the improvements of the April 9 and 16 polls, while each faces challenges to maintaining electoral integrity.

Millions of Nigerian citizens met their civic responsibility with great enthusiasm and perseverance through their presence in polling stations across the country on election day. The delegation applauds this dedication and encourages continued engagement by citizens and their organizations in upcoming elections and other political processes. We encourage parties and their supporters to abide by the provisions of the Code of Conduct they signed to foster Nigeria's efforts to deepen and strengthen its democracy. The responsibility to combat negative practices, such as vote buying, electoral malfeasance, intimidation and violence, rests not only with INEC, but with all sectors of Nigerian society.

The delegation recognizes the innovative and cost-effective use of new media in these elections by INEC, political parties, security forces, citizen observers and voters themselves. Websites, social networking, SMS messaging and other technology tools aided in the collection, analysis and dissemination of information about the election process.

The delegation commends efforts by INEC staff at all levels to improve transparency and credibility. In the very short time after the April 9 National Assembly elections, INEC:

- Improved considerably on the distribution of polling materials and registered fewer incidents of delayed materials;
- Re-trained polling station staff on voting procedures, including measures to increase ballot secrecy and post polling station results; and
- Made efforts to amend the voter register to include voters who had been wrongly excluded before.

Observers applauded the dedication and neutrality of polling station staff, most of whom were National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) members. These staff showed initiative and increased confidence in addressing challenges that arose on election day.

The delegation also acknowledges the role of security services, which in the majority of polling stations observed played a positive, low-profile and professional role.

Obviously in a country so complex, problems remain. Overwhelming crowds influenced some polling officials to relax procedures intended to safeguard the voting process, and the crush of people may have prevented some eligible voters from participating in the election. While INEC instructed presiding officers to assign no more than 300 voters to a polling site, NDI observers visited locations that had over 1,000 registered voters. Observers visited two polling sites in

Nassarawa state with over 3,800 and 6,000 registered voters, respectively. In addition, observers heard reports of wide state-by-state variance in the number of invalidated ballots that, if true, is an area of concern.

The delegation noted the complicated and multi-tiered collation process that is vulnerable both to human error and malfeasance as tabulation proceeds from the polling unit to INEC headquarters. Despite efforts in this election to fast-track election returns, this process created added work for INEC officials and observers.

Though international observers were received warmly at polling sites, some domestic observers faced intimidation and harassment. There were credible reports of observers kidnapped by ‘thugs’ and detained by security forces. In Asaba, Delta state, six domestic observers and one NDI international advisor were held overnight at a police station without charge.

On election day, two separate explosions struck Borno state. Two bombings occurred in Kaduna and a shooting in Jos left one person dead. Tensions between party supporters led to serious incidents of violence after the close of the polls. Mob violence broke out in a number of states where party supporters damaged property and physically harmed and killed members of opposing parties or INEC officials. The delegation notes with grave concern multiple incidents of violence in the post-election period that have resulted in loss of life and destruction of property.

Short-Term Recommendations

In preparation for the April 26 elections, the delegation recommends the follow actions:

- Split all polling places with over 500 voters into sub-units to improve efficiency and access to the process;
- Standardize implementation of procedures in all states and local government areas;
- Ensure security, sufficient staff and adequate facilities for collation centers; and
- Follow through in prosecuting electoral offenders.

Recognizing the collaborative role that security officials have played in the improved electoral environment thus far, the delegation recommends that security services:

- Respond to increasing needs for better crowd control in ways that neither intimidate voters nor compromise the secrecy of their ballots, in cooperation with polling station staff; and
- Protect the rights of INEC-accredited citizen observers, including their right to move freely on election day and to access all aspects of the process.

As the aggregators of citizen interests and opinions, political parties play an important role in consolidating democratic practices. Given heightened competition for elective office at the state level, the delegation recommends that political parties:

- Rigorously follow and abide by provisions of the Code of Conduct prohibiting acts of violence, intimidation of voters and other violations of the Electoral Act;
- Refrain from extrajudicial and violent rejection of election results and use peaceful, legal means to resolve electoral disputes; and

- Submit names of agents assigned to represent parties at each polling unit.

ELECTION DAY OBSERVATIONS

Election Administration

The delegation noted higher voter turnout than for the National Assembly elections in polling sites observed, and was impressed by the dedication and neutrality of polling station staff, primarily comprising NYSC members. Election officials showed initiative and exhibited increased confidence in addressing challenges that arose on election day.

Essential materials, including ballots and results sheets, were present in all polling stations observed, and most stations opened on time. The impact of refresher trainings quickly ordered by INEC was apparent—with many polling staff, for example, making renewed efforts to post polling station-level results.

In response to voter register omissions that emerged during the April 9 elections, INEC took positive steps to enfranchise more eligible voters, by providing updated voter registers or, in a few cases, addenda to polling staff.

The delegation noted a lack of uniformity among different states and localities in implementing INEC directives issued just days before the election, as well as an inconsistent application of prescribed procedures, especially regarding changes to the voter register.

Secrecy of the ballot continued to be a problem in many sites, where poor station set-up, lack of privacy screens or improper instructions to voters on folding ballots was observed. In one extreme case witnessed by delegates, voters were displaying their ballots to party agents before placing them in the ballot box.

Overcrowding was observed in many stations, creating a challenge for polling staff and security officials alike. Although INEC increased the number of staff in some stations, most units observed did not have sufficient staff or equipment to create or efficiently manage polling sub-units, even though some polling stations were assigned thousands of voters. While most polling staff and officials employed cooperative and creative measures to ensure order within stations observed by NDI, some were unable to maintain sufficient organization of the process. In these problematic stations, procedures developed by INEC to prevent fraud, including distinct accreditation and voting periods and double inking, were set aside – often at the request of voters – to expedite the congested process.

Delegates in some locations witnessed serious incidents including underage voting, campaigning, intimidation and indications of vote buying. While these incidents were limited and most polling station officials attempted to mitigate them, observers noted that the local voting communities in some areas encouraged these violations.

While some collation centers were well organized, transparent and adequately staffed, others lacked basic necessities including sufficient space and electricity. In some locations, observers witnessed large crowds – mostly comprising male youths – that were unruly and sometimes violent, threatening the quality of the process.

Political Parties and their Agents

Observers saw a number of party agents on election day and, despite isolated incidents of undue voter influence, most contributed positively to the process by cooperating with polling station staff and security officials to maintain order in polling stations. Despite requests by INEC, most political parties did not provide the names of those agents who would represent that party at specific polling units on election day, limiting the ability of polling staff to enforce order in the station and increasing the likelihood of impersonation of party agents by those wishing to disrupt the process.

Citizen Election Observation

The delegation notes the diligent efforts of tens of thousands nonpartisan citizen election observers, including the systematic observation activities of Project Swift Count, present on election day. It is troubling that a number of accredited citizen observers were intimidated and harassed. Some were prevented from completing their duties when they were not allowed to enter polling locations or to travel between polling sites. A number of observers were reportedly kidnapped by thugs and detained by police. In Asaba, Delta state, six domestic observers and one NDI international advisor were held overnight at a police station. The delegation strongly condemns the restriction of observers' rights and all threats to their safety and freedom, whether by criminals or officials.

Security Officials

Security forces deployed to polling stations throughout the country to maintain order in polling stations and prevent incidents of violence throughout election day. While the delegation found them to be present in most stations, their numbers in some stations were insufficient – particularly in rural areas. Most security officials demonstrated restraint and professionalism, although the delegation heard isolated but concerning reports of mistreatment and unnecessary use of force.

Electoral Violence

On election day, two separate explosions struck Borno state; there were also two bombings in Kaduna and a shooting in Jos that left at least one person dead. Tensions between party supporters led to serious incidents of violence after the close of the polls. Mob violence broke out in a number of states and resulted in at least 12 deaths, many injured and destroyed or damaged property.

THE ELECTORAL CONTEXT

Since Nigeria's return to civilian rule in 1999, the country has struggled to hold credible democratic elections. The 2007 elections were especially flawed, prompting over 1200 petitions that ultimately led to the overturning of several gubernatorial and legislative races by the courts.

Soon after assuming office in May 2010, President Goodluck Jonathan appointed Professor Attahiru Jega – a widely respected member of civil society – as INEC chairman. In planning for the April 2011 elections, INEC reintroduced the “modified open secret ballot,” or accreditation voting, a system that requires voters to remain at polling units for long periods of time. Many Nigerians believe that this “vote and wait” effort limits fraud and the manipulation of results.

Although 20 individuals declared candidacies for president, only four candidates had national name recognition: Nuhu Ribadu of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Mallam Ibrahim Shekarau of the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), and President Jonathan for the People's Democratic Party (PDP). In the week of the election, six of the 20 presidential candidates withdrew from the race and invited their supporters to vote for President Jonathan. A seventh left the race in favor of Gov. Shekarau. Since the official deadline for candidate withdrawal expired in February, all parties remained on the ballot.

Legal Framework

While a number of positive legal reforms were passed in the lead-up to the April 2011 elections, the late timeline for their adoption led to confusion among political parties, election observers and the public. At one point, multiple versions of the law were in circulation. It took the intervention of the Nigeria's Attorney General in March 2011 to confirm the final version.

Voter Registration

In early 2011, INEC conducted an electronic voter registration exercise in an attempt to replace the widely discredited list from 2007. Problems in the process led to incomplete or inaccurate registrations of many voters, a number of whom were asked to re-register. Few citizens were able to verify they were registered, as procedures for review were not uniformly followed. INEC removed more than 870,000 duplicate entries, leaving 73.5 million voters on the list. On April 9, many eligible voters were turned away because their names were not on the register. Before the April 16 polls, INEC worked to update voter registers or create addenda of eligible voters omitted from the list.

The Campaign

Many presidential campaigns made a special effort to garner grassroots support, conducting door-to-door outreach and working with women's and other community groups. Two televised debates were organized for presidential candidates, but none involved all candidates. President Jonathan did not attend the first, and opposition parties refused to attend the second.

The National Assembly Elections

The National Assembly elections, held on April 9, marked a break from the failed elections of Nigeria's past. Citizen awareness, increased confidence in electoral authorities and engagement by parties and civil society contributed to a more credible election process. However, shortcomings included logistical problems, uneven performance by poll workers and violence in some places of the country on election day. Following the April 9 polls, INEC reported over 100 arrests of individuals – including potential voters and security personnel, election and government officials – for offenses ranging from electoral violence and voter intimidation, to vote-buying and diversion of sensitive election materials. The commission also confirmed 39 deaths immediately related to election day. This included the bombing of INEC's state office in Suleja where 16 individuals, including INEC staff, were killed.

Technology and New Media

As statistics confirmed that the number of Nigerians utilizing the internet substantially increased since 2007, parties, civil society, INEC and other government bodies utilized technology and new media to reach citizens, spread messages and gather information. Political parties used websites, social networking and SMS messaging to share information about their platforms and

to organize their supporters. Citizen election monitors organized incident reporting and mapping to encourage citizens to share their experiences through online submissions and SMS messaging. INEC and security officials set up SMS hotlines to collect information and coordinate responses to incidents on election day.

Security Preparations

Between the National Assembly and presidential elections, INEC and the security services worked to further harmonize their respective responsibilities and mitigate violence in the election process. At the national, state and local levels, election and security officials coordinated efforts. They also shared information openly with parties and observers on steps taken to guarantee peaceful and credible elections. Civil society organizations conducted civic education programs aimed at raising the awareness of politicians and citizens in general on the need for peaceful and credible elections.

Election-Related Violence

Over 135 deaths have been attributed to politically-motivated violence with several hundred others injured during the primaries, campaign and election period. Through the election period, NDI received reports of intimidation of candidates and their supporters, open brawls between supporters of different parties and candidates, kidnappings of candidates and their family members, shootings, assassination of candidates and bombings of innocent civilians.

LONG-TERM RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the steps Nigeria has already taken to embrace electoral reform and in the spirit of international cooperation, the delegation proposes additional recommendations to help strengthen the electoral framework in the medium to long term. The effective implementation of these recommendations requires a strong commitment by the government and INEC, with support from civil society and political parties. An important guide to improving the process would be the “Uwais Report,” prepared by the Electoral Reform Committee, chaired by former Chief Justice Muhammadu Uwais. The government, INEC, parties, civil society and others should continue to advance the reforms recommended by the Committee.

For the Government:

- Finalize the legal framework at least six months before the election, as stipulated by Article 2.1 of the ECOWAS Protocol for Democracy and Good Governance;
- Establish an Electoral Offenses Commission and clear guidelines for the management of electoral complaints and litigation;
- Create a Political Parties Registration and Regulatory Commission so that INEC can focus on election administration and avoid potential contention with political parties;
- Strengthen INEC’s authority over state-level Resident Electoral Commissioners;
- Consider ways to enfranchise Nigerians who work on election day – including poll station staff, security officials, party agents, and citizen observers – as well as other citizens unable to participate due to immobility;
- Create a Constituency Delimitation Commission with direct responsibility for re-allocating wards and registration areas based on population changes; and
- Consider reforms to strengthen and enforce comprehensive political party finance laws.

For INEC:

- Develop comprehensive and consistent training programs for permanent and ad hoc INEC staff at all levels;
- Review performance during the 2011 elections to consolidate best practices;
- Address weaknesses in the voter register and adopt procedures for continuous voter registration as stipulated by the Electoral Act;
- Design a clear, effective and timely accreditation process to encourage the continued engagement of civil society and the international community in observing elections;
- Take longer-term action to plan for an equitable allocation of polling units based on voter registration figures, as the Electoral Act and Constitution provide;
- Develop voting mechanisms that will reduce the incidence of invalidated ballots; and
- Build institutional expertise by incorporating now-experienced NYSC ad hoc poll workers as future trainers and INEC staff.

For political parties:

- Adopt transparent candidate selection, campaign and party finance processes in compliance with the 2010 Electoral Act;
- Participate actively in the Inter Party Advisory Committee to promote dialogue and adherence to the Code of Conduct; and
- Support and promote female participation in party leadership at national and state levels, during the candidate selection process and as candidates.

For Civil Society:

- Build on the accomplishments of the 2011 elections to strengthen involvement in the political process;
- Continue to advocate for electoral reforms; and
- Enhance collaboration and cooperation on citizen participation in elections.

ABOUT THE MISSION

An accurate and complete assessment of any election must take into account all aspects of the process, and no election can be viewed in isolation from the political context in which it takes place. Among the factors that must be considered are: the legal framework for the elections set by the constitution, electoral and related laws; the ability of citizens to seek and receive sufficient and accurate information upon which to make political choices; the ability of political competitors to organize and reach out to citizens in order to win their support; the conduct of the mass media in providing coverage of parties, candidates and issues; the freedom that citizens and political competitors have to engage in the political and electoral process without fear of intimidation, violence or retribution for their choices; the conduct of the voter registration process and integrity of the voter register; the voting, counting, results tabulation, transmission and announcement processes; and the handling of election complaints and installation to office of those duly elected.

NDI fielded a 50-member delegation to the April 9 polls that included all of the present delegation members except one, and issued an April 11 statement that can be found at www.ndi.org. NDI's long-term observers will remain in Nigeria to observe upcoming

gubernatorial, state assembly and delayed legislative elections. The Institute will continue to monitor the electoral process and issue reports at appropriate times.

NDI conducts its election observation in accordance with the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation, which is endorsed by 36 intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. These include the United Nations Secretariat, the African Union, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Southern African Development Community Parliamentary Forum, the Francophonie, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the European Union, the International Republican Institute and NDI.

NDI has organized more than 150 delegations to assess pre-election, election-day and post-election processes around the globe in every region in the world. NDI has observed elections in Nigeria in 1998, 1999, 2003 and 2007.

The delegation is grateful for the welcome and cooperation it received from voters, election officials, candidates, domestic election observers and civic activists. NDI has been officially accredited to conduct an international election observation mission by INEC.

NDI's international election observation mission in Nigeria is funded by a grant from the United States Agency for International Development.

E. Appendix V: Results of the 2011 General Elections

Results of the 2011 Nigerian General Elections











Presidential, Gubernatorial, National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly

In April 2011, Nigerians participated in their first credible general elections in more than a decade and their fourth nationwide election since the return to civilian rule in 1999.

This document presents the results of these elections, including the National Assembly elections on April 9, the presidential elections on April 16, and Gubernatorial and State Houses of Assembly elections on April 26 and 28. For each election, we present a national summary of results, followed by a state-by-state breakdown of results. Where credible comparative information is available, we have also shown the comparison between the 2011 and 2007 elections.

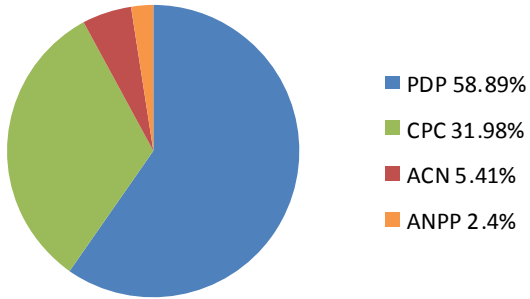
The 2011 election results reaffirm the dominance of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in Nigerian politics. Although the party lost two of the country's influential governorships, it still controls the presidency, 24 of 37 governorships, 67 percent of officially declared Senate seats, 56 percent of officially declared House of Representative seats, and 70 percent of the officially declared State Houses of Assembly majorities.

Other parties grew in strength in this election despite the PDP's successes. Most notably, the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), a party that was only founded in 2009, was able to win a gubernatorial seat and nearly 32 percent of the presidential vote. The Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) also increased its gubernatorial seats by two.

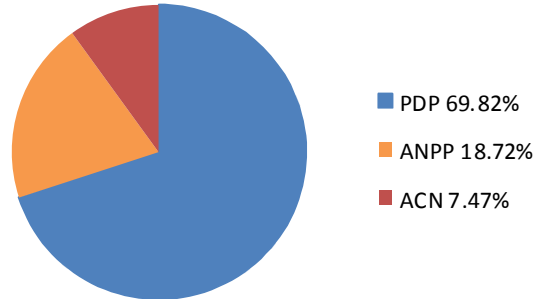
<u>Political Party Key</u>			
<i>In the following graphs, each political party is consistently represented by the following colors:</i>			
People's Democratic Party (PDP)		Congress for Progressive Change (CPC)	
Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)		All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA)	
All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP)		Labor Party (LP)	
Democratic People's Party (DPP)		Kowa Party (KP)	
Progressive People's Alliance (PPA)		Peoples Party of Nigeria (PPN)	

Nigerian Presidential Election Results (Comparative)

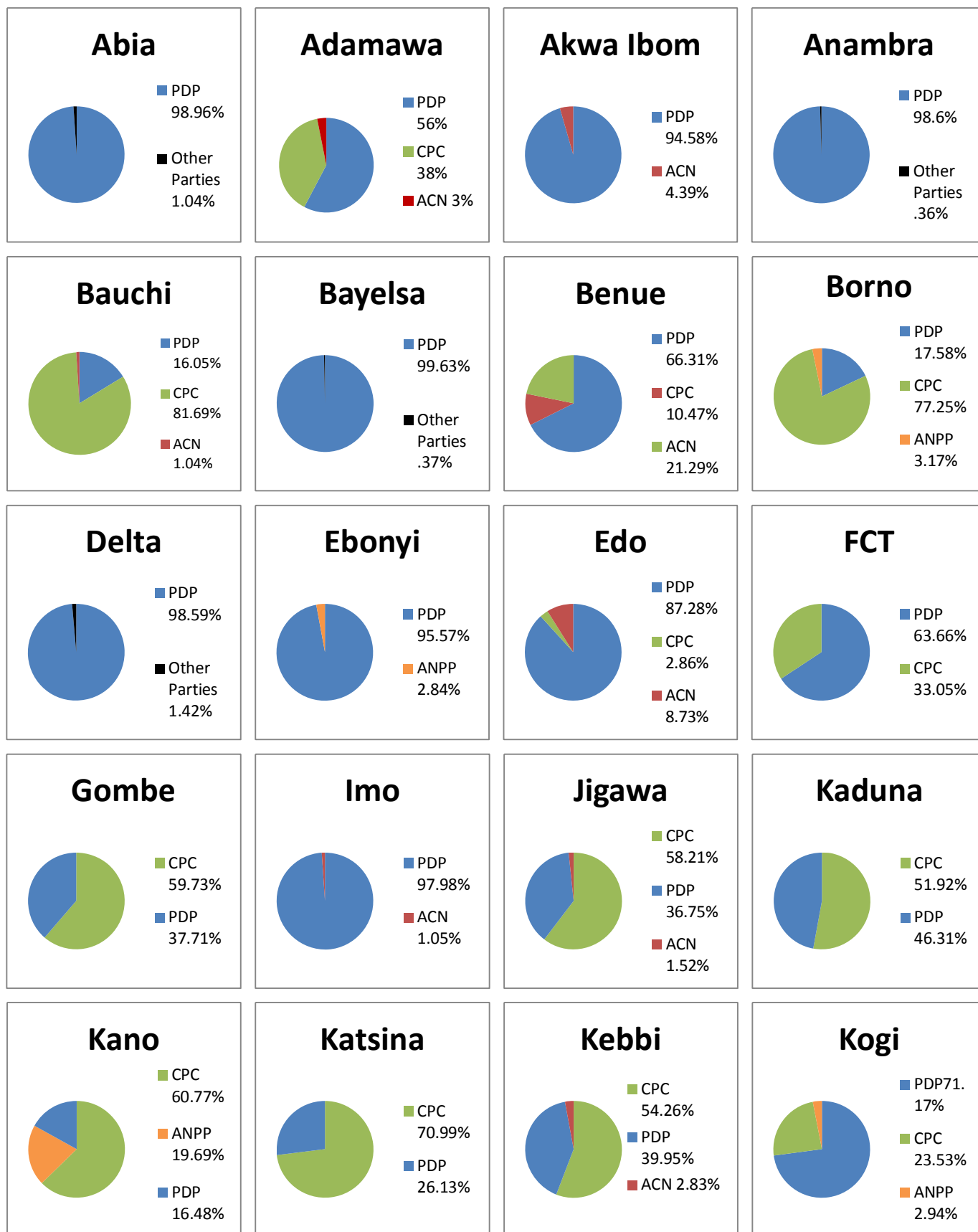
Percentage of Votes Won per Party, 2011 Elections

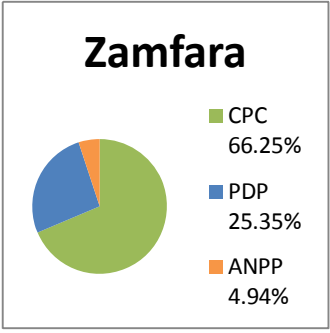
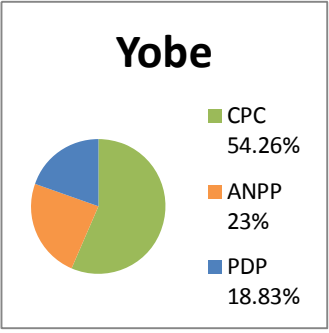
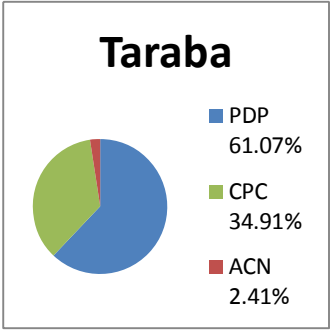
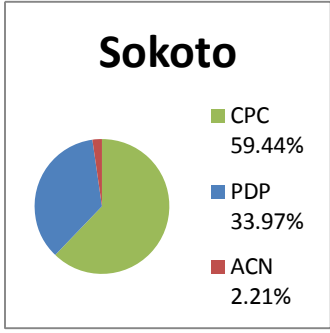
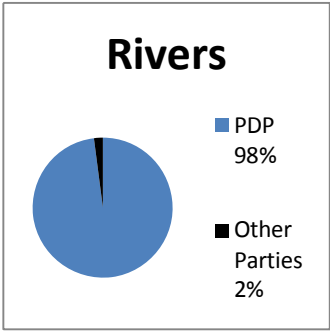
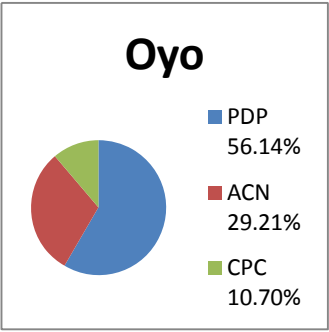
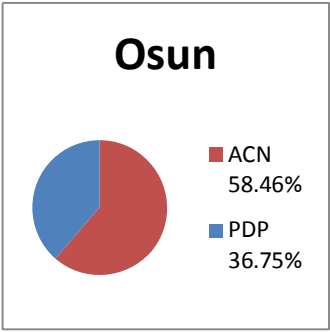
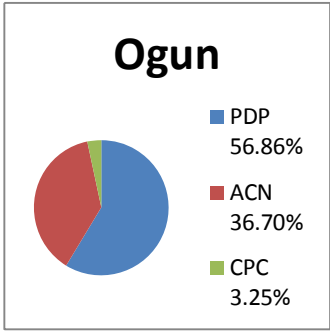
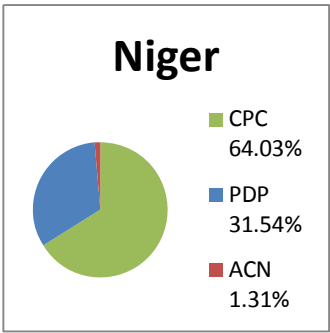
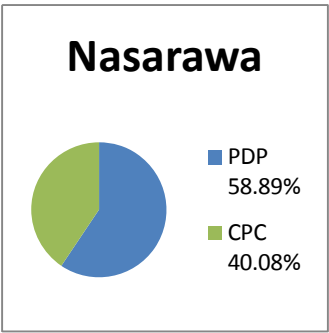
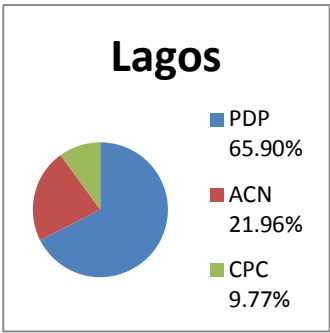
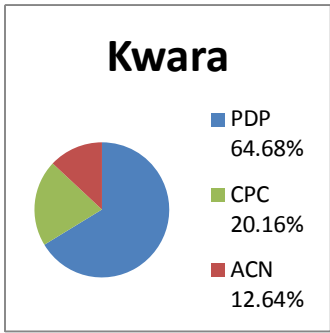


Percentage of Votes Won per Party, 2007 Elections

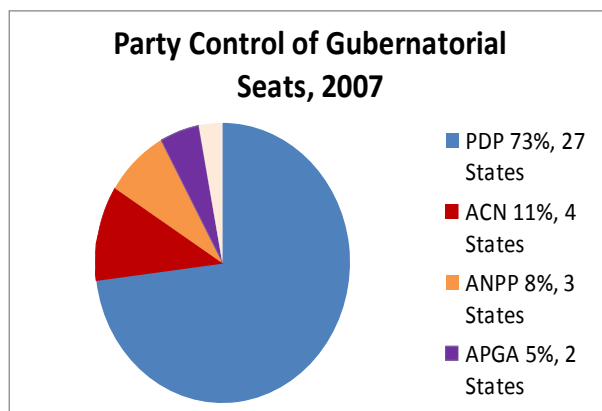
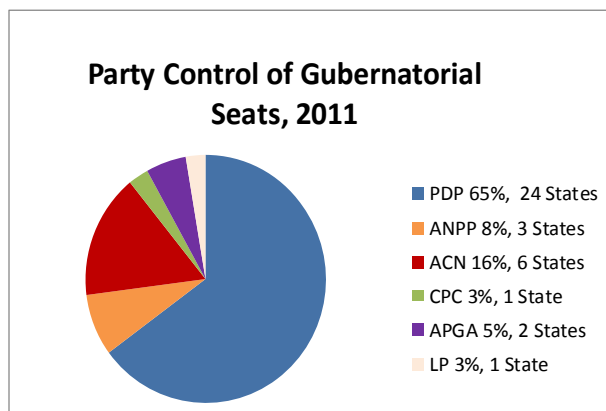


Party Vote Percentages by State, 2011 Elections





Nigerian Gubernatorial Election Results (Comparative)



2011 Elections	
Political Party	States Won
PDP	Abia, Adamawa*, Akwa Ibom, Bauchi, Bayelsa*, Benue, Cross River*, Delta, Ebonyi, Enugu, FCT**, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi ¹ , Kogi*, Kwara, Niger, Plateau, Rivers, Sokoto*, Taraba
ACN	Edo*, Ekiti*, Lagos, Ogun, Osun*, Oyo
ANPP	Borno, Yobe, Zamfara
CPC	Nasarawa
APGA	Anambra*, Imo
LP	Ondo*

2007 Elections	
Political Party	States Won
PDP	Adamawa Akwa Ibom, Bauchi+, Bayelsa, Benue, Cross River, Delta, Ebonyi, Enugu, FCT**, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi, Kogi, Kwara, Imo, Nasarawa, Niger, Ogun, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers, Sokoto, Taraba
ACN	Edo+, Ekiti+, Lagos, Osun+
ANPP	Borno, Kano, Yobe, Zamfara
PPA	Abia
APGA	Anambra
LP	Ondo+

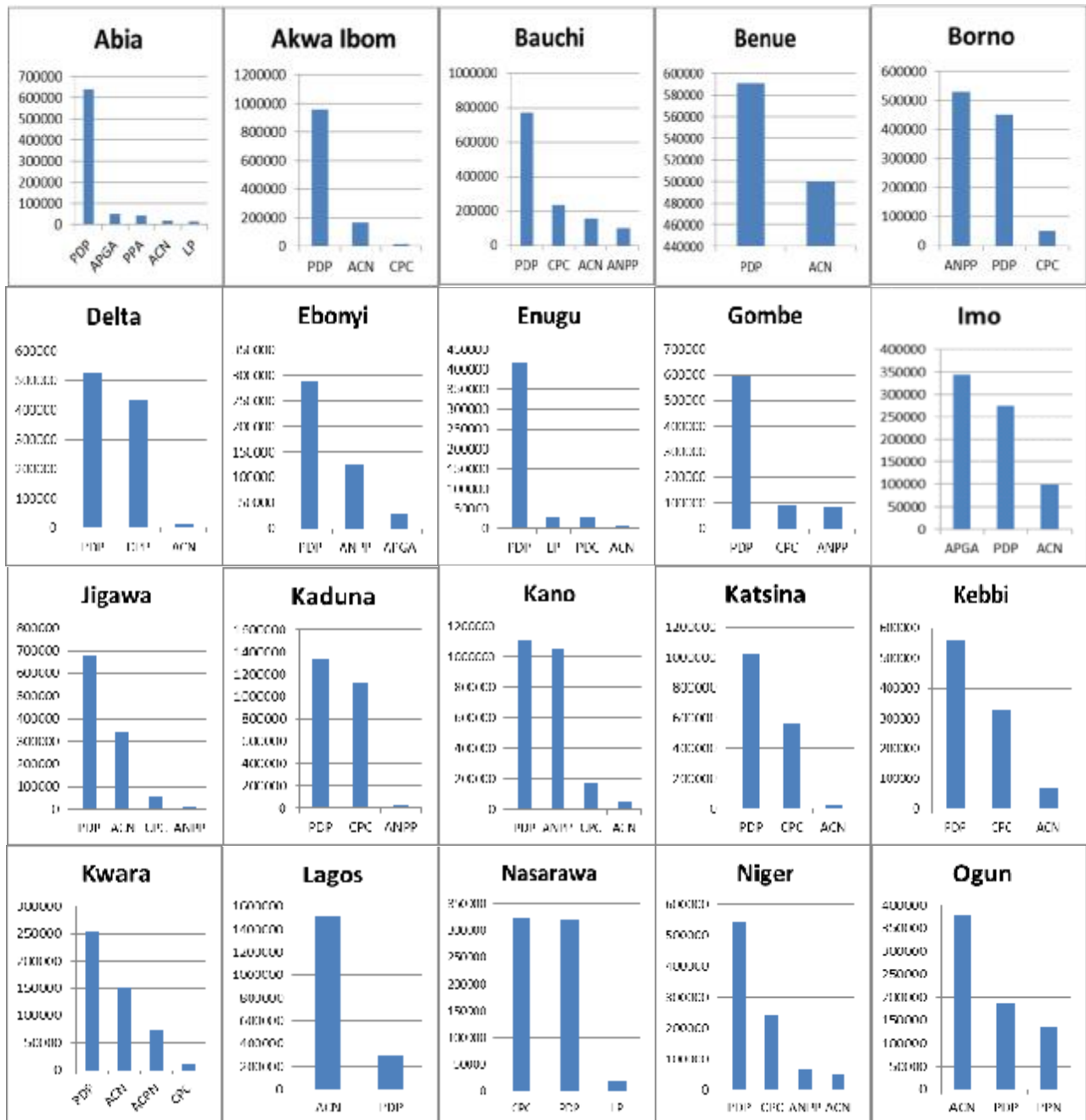
*Gubernatorial Elections were not held in these states in April 2011; they are listed with the party winning their most recent election

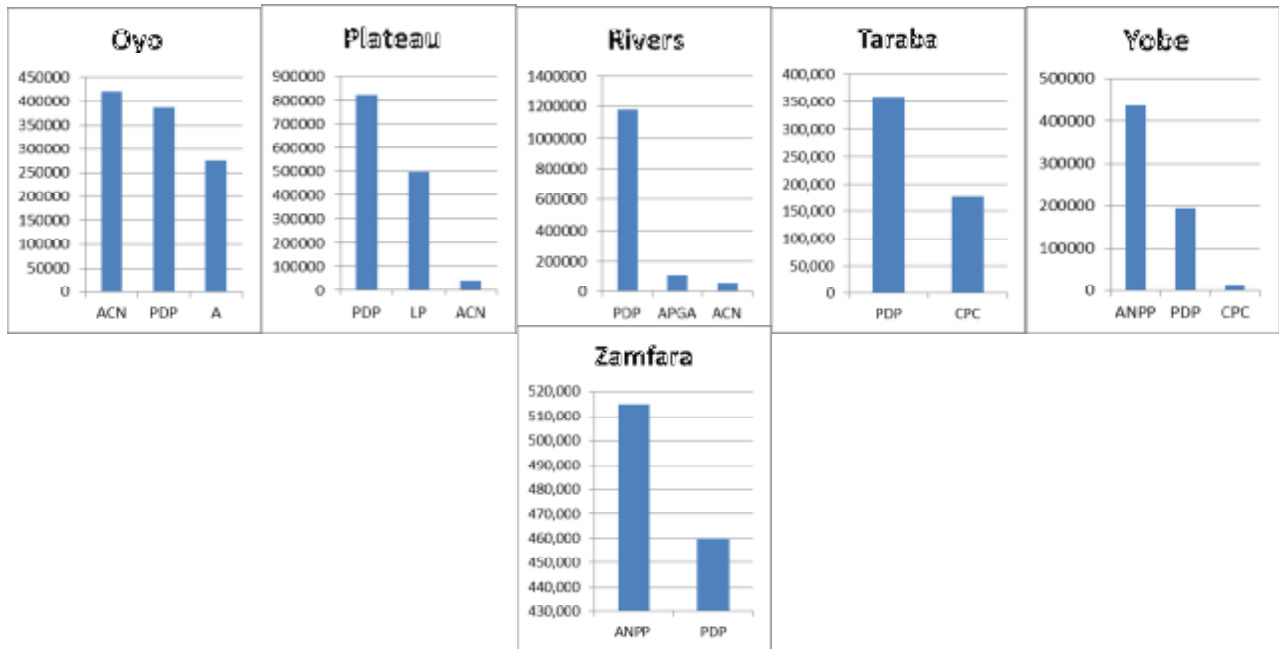
** The President appoints a Minister to act as administrator of the FCT.

+ These states held rerun elections after 2007 that led to a change in party from the original elections

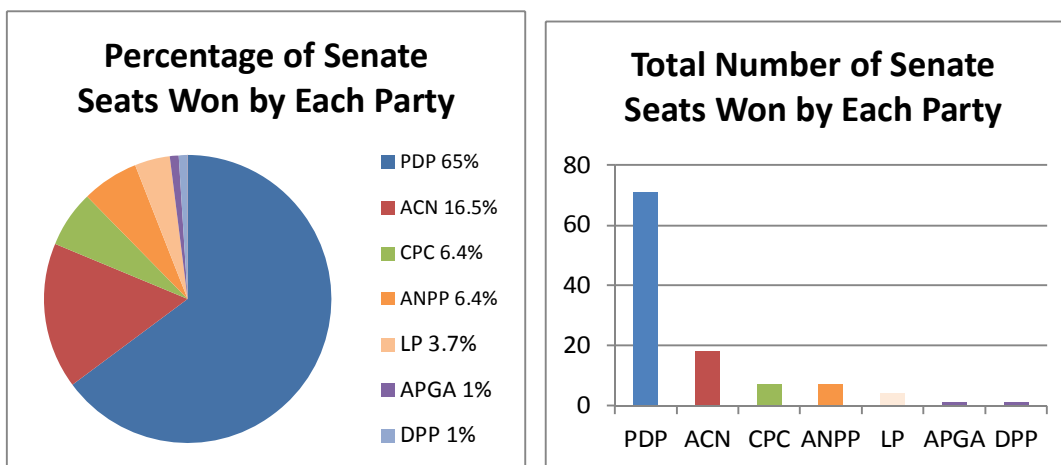
¹ Election nullified by Election Petition Tribunal. INEC ordered to hold new election.

Party Votes by State, April-May 2011 Elections





2011 Nigerian Senate Election Results

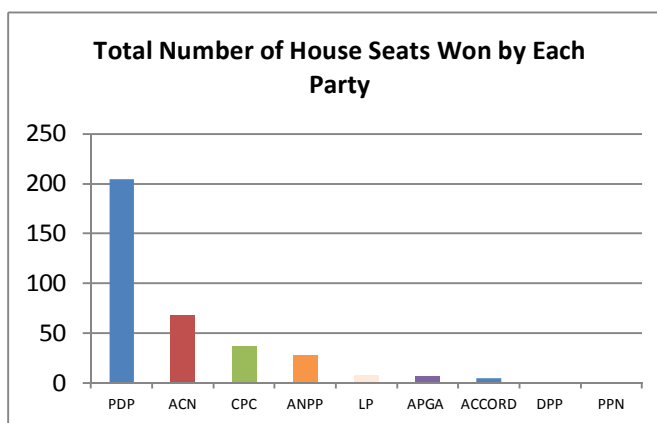
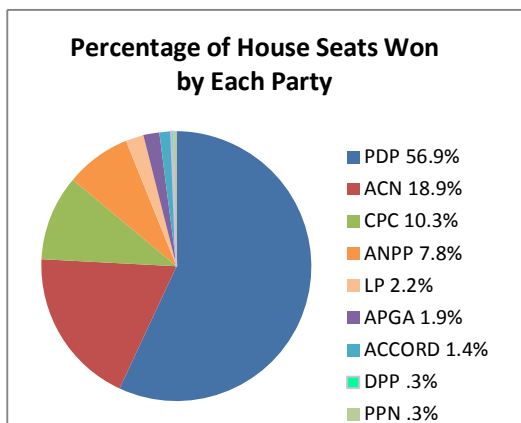


Number of Seats Won by Party in Each State

	PDP	ACN	CPC	ANPP	LP	APGA	DPP
Abia	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adamawa	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Akwa Ibom	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anambra	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Bauchi	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bayelsa	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Benue	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Borno	2	0	0	1	0	0	0
Cross River	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delta	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ebonyi	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Edo	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Ekiti	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Enugu	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
FCT	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gombe	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Imo	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
Jigawa	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kaduna	1	0	2*	0	0	0	0
Kano	2	0	0	1	0	0	0
Katsina	0	0	3*	0	0	0	0
Kebbi	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kogi	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kwara	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lagos	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Nasarawa	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
Niger	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
Ogun	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Ondo	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Osun	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Oyo	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Plateau	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
Rivers	3*	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sokoto	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taraba	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yobe	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Zamfara	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
TOTALS <i>(out of 109)</i>	71	18	7	7	4	1	1

* Includes elections that were later nullified.

2011 Nigerian House of Representatives Election Results

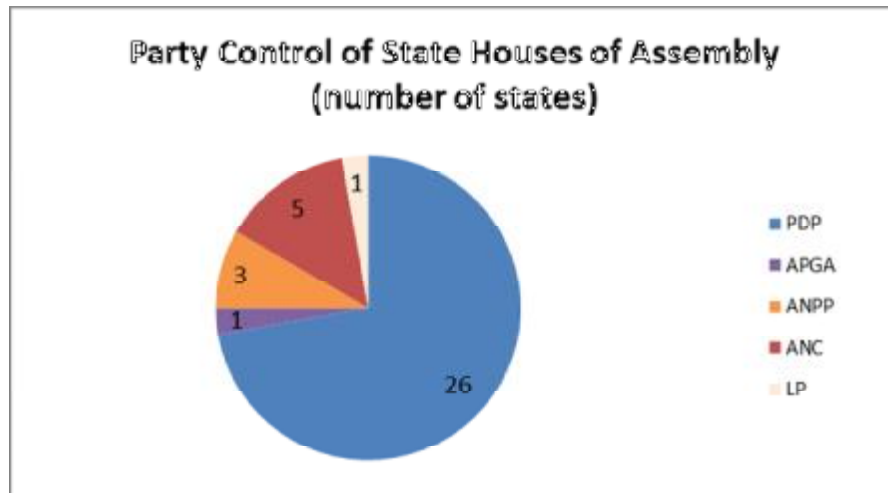


Number of Seats Won by Party in Each State

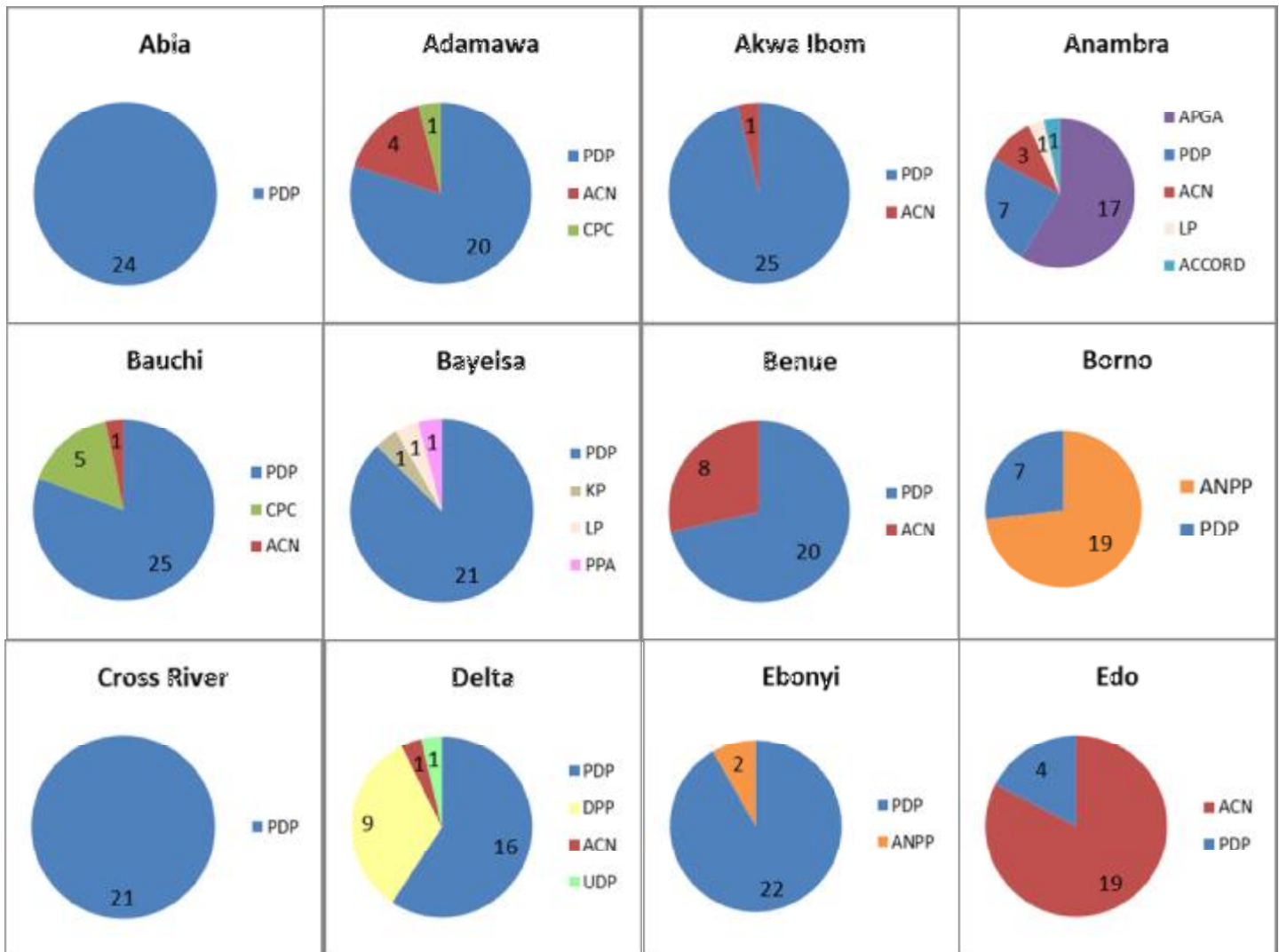
	PDP	ACN	CPC	APGA	ANPP	DPP	PPN	LP	ACCORD	<i>Number of constituencies</i>
Abia	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Adamawa	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Akwa-Ibom	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Anambra	5	1	0	5*	0	0	0	0	0	11
Bauchi	8	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Bayelsa	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Benue	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Borno	2	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	10
Cross River	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Delta	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1*	10
Ebonyi	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6
Edo	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Ekiti	0	6*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Enugu	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
FCT	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Gombe	4*	0	2*	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Imo	7	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	10
Jigawa	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Kaduna	8	0	8*	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Kano	14*	0	2	0	8*	0	0	0	0	24
Katsina	3	0	12*	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Kebbi	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Kogi	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Kwara	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Lagos	0	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
Nasarawa	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Niger	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Ogun	1	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
Ondo	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	9
Osun	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Oyo	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	14
Plateau	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Rivers	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Sokoto	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Taraba	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Yobe	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	6
Zamfara	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	7
TOTALS (out of 360)	205	68	37	7	28	1	1	8	5	360

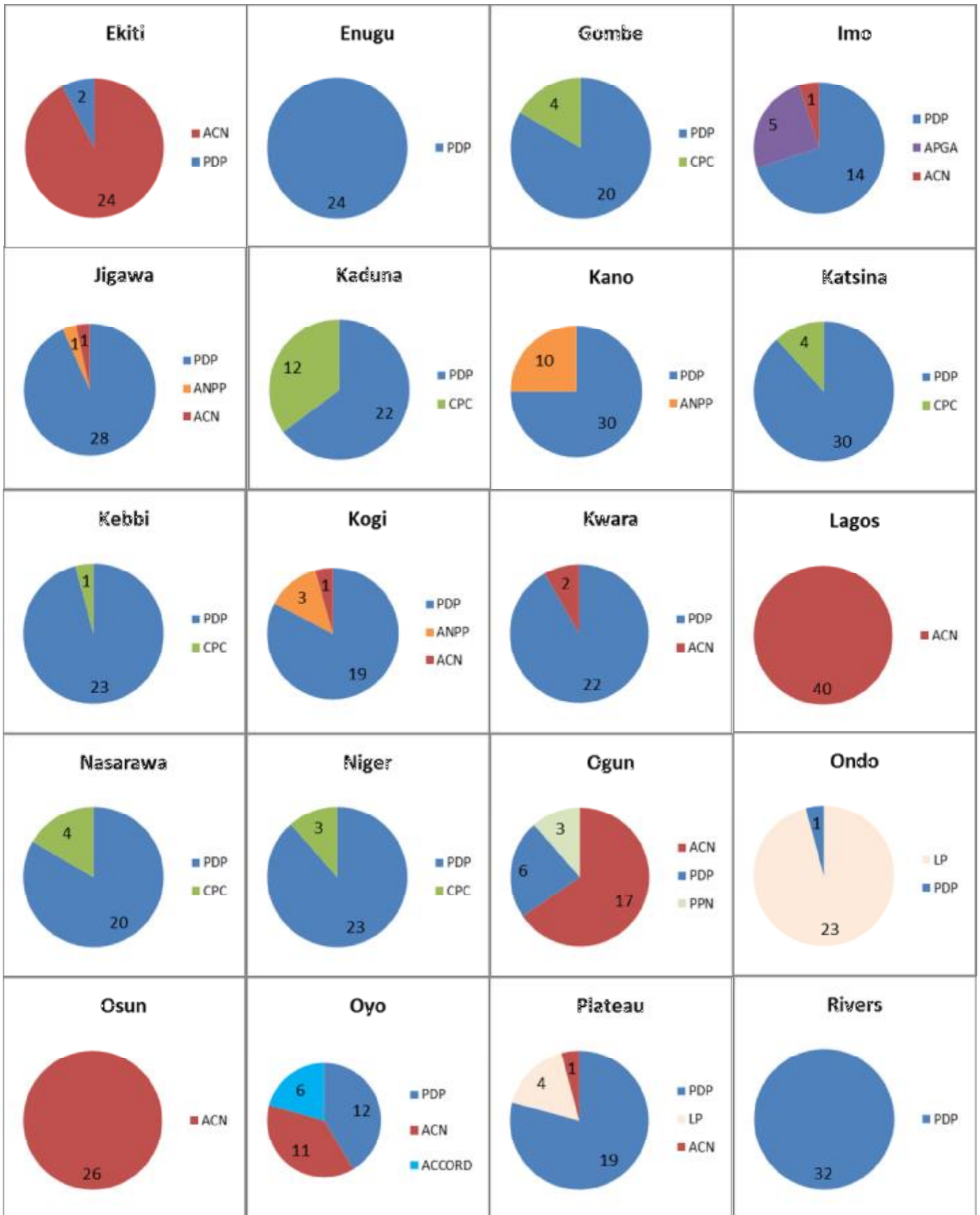
* Includes elections that were later nullified.

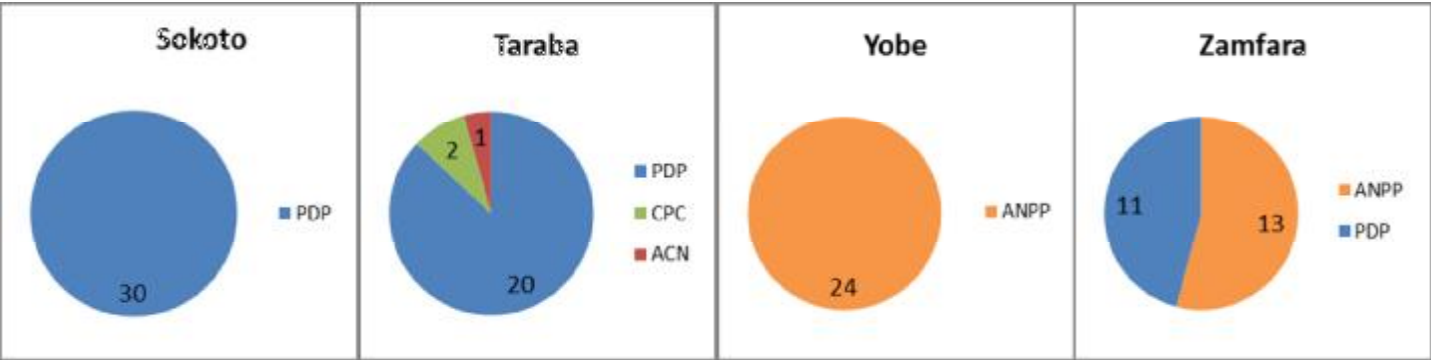
2011 Nigerian State Houses of Assembly Election Results



Number of Seats Won by Party in Each State

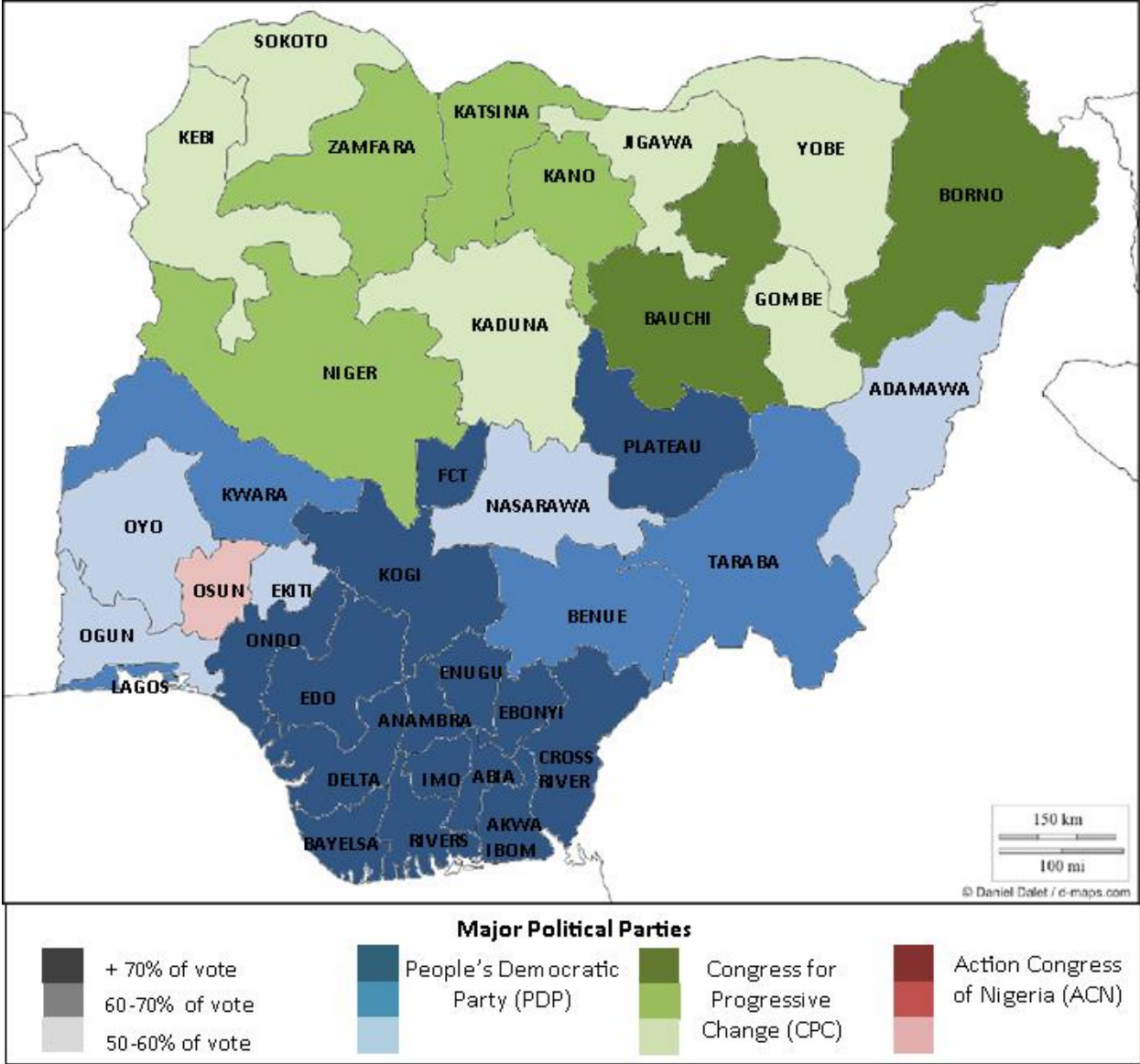




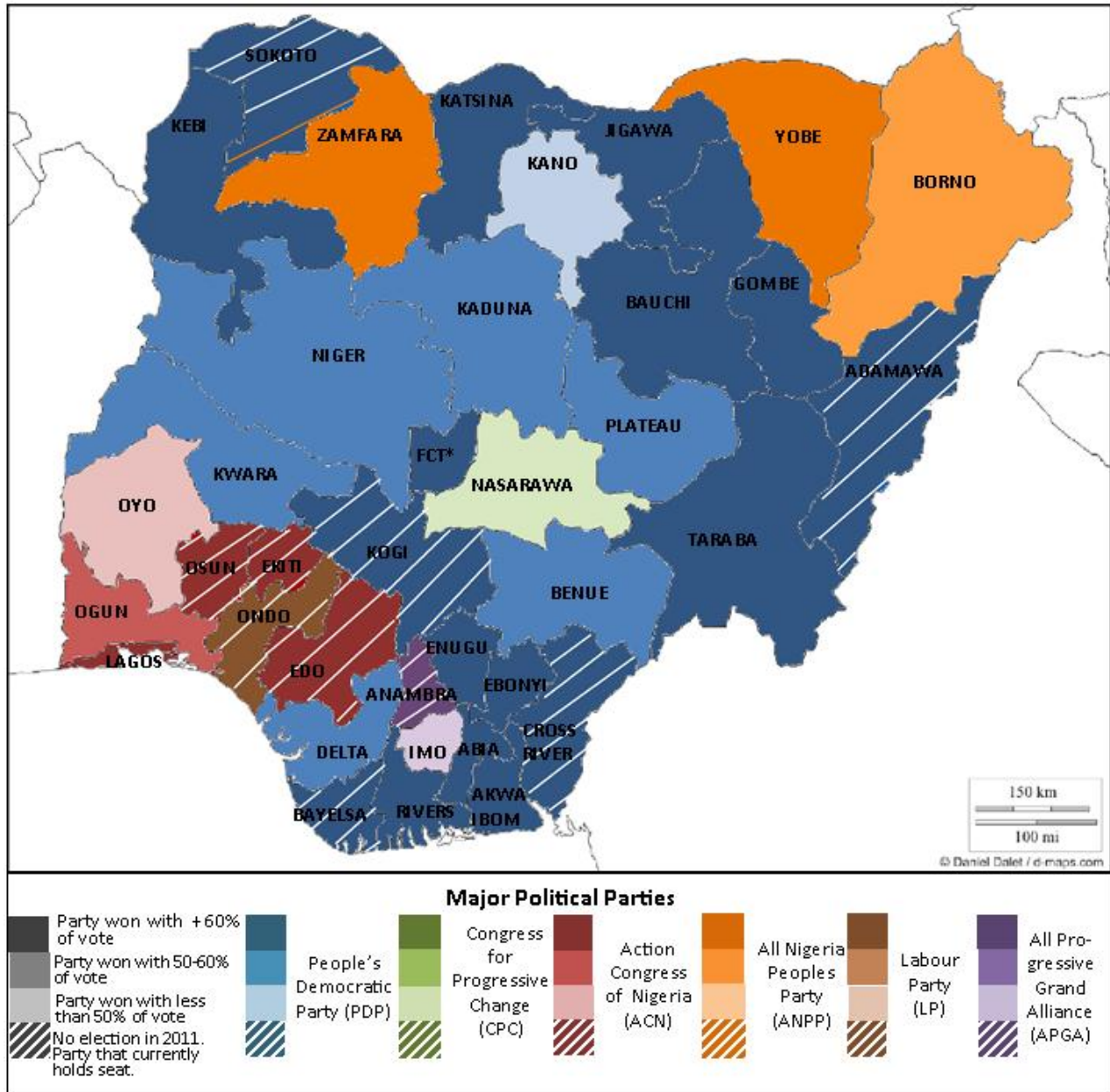


F. Appendix VI: Results of the 2011 General Elections Maps - Party Strength by State

**2011 Presidential Election:
Percentage of Winning Party by State**

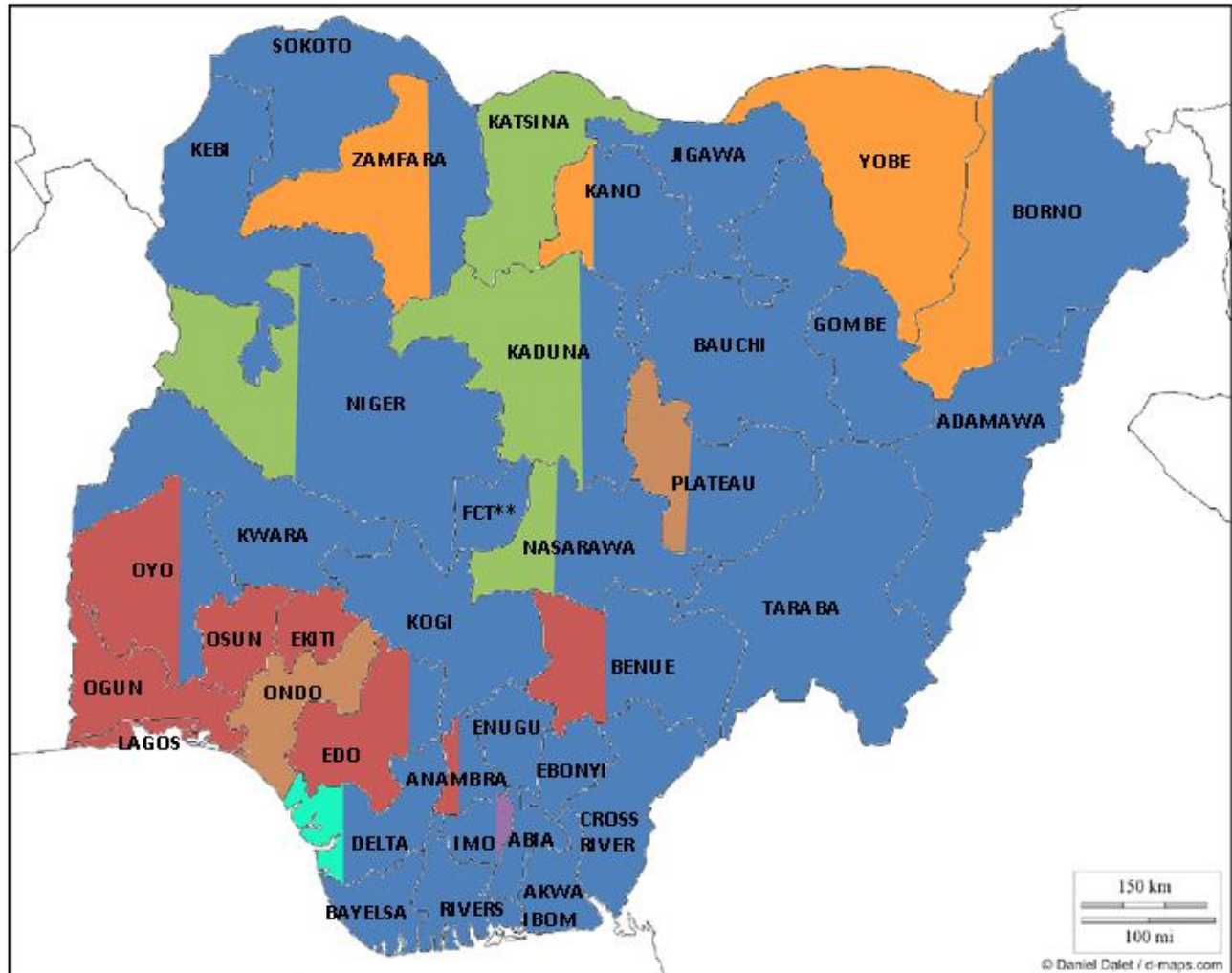


2011 Gubernatorial Election: Percentage of Vote of Winning Party by State



*The President appoints a Minister to act as administrator of the FCT.

2011 Presidential Election: Strength of Party by Number of Senate Seats per State*

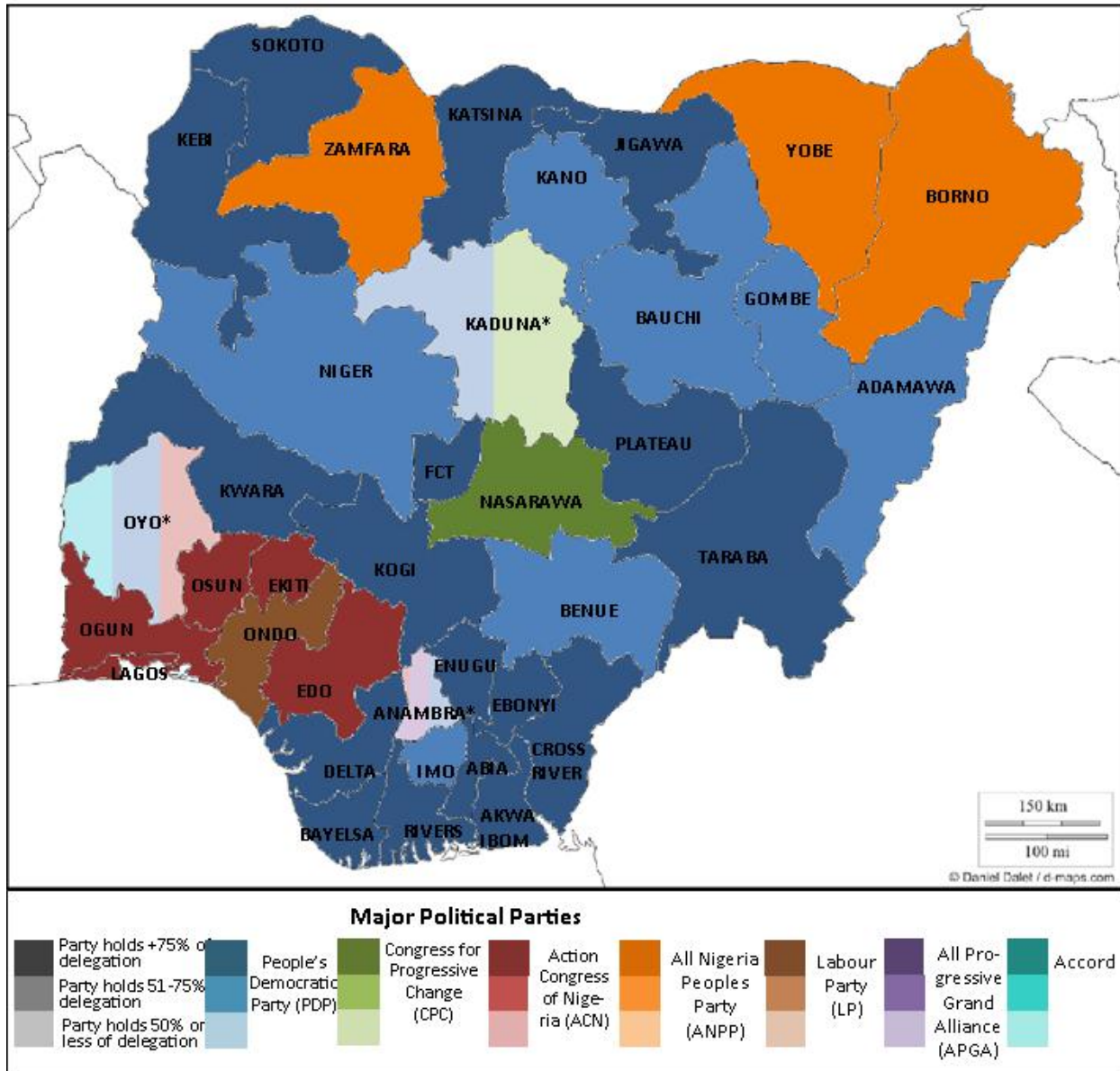


* Each state has three senate seats. The color divides the state depending on the number of seats each party holds (1/3 shaded = 1 of 3 seats)
 ** The FCT only has one Senate seat

Political Parties



2011 House of Representatives Election: Percentage of HoR State Delegation by Party



* States where no party has a majority of the state delegation: Anambra (PDP-5, APGA-5, ACN-1); Kaduna (PDP-8, CPC-8); Oyo (PDP-5, ACN-5, ACCORD-4)

G. Appendix VII: INEC Certified Voter Register – Number of Voters and Duplicate Registrations by State

State	Tentatively Announced	Actual	Duplicates
ABIA	1,481,191	1,524,484	17,522
ADAMAWA	1,714,860	1,816,094	9,773
AKWA IBOM	1,714,781	1,616,873	8,738
ANAMBRA	1,758,220	2,011,746	33,747
BAUCHI	1,835,562	2,523,614	7,451
BAYELSA	472,389	591,870	14,513
BENUE	1,415,162	2,390,884	42,042
BORNO	2,730,368	2,380,957	21,164
CROSS RIVER	1,018,550	1,148,486	39,085
DELTA	1,900,055	2,032,191	17,166
EBONYI	876,249	1,050,534	3,917
EDO	1,412,225	1,655,776	6,277
EKITI	750,753	764,726	2,868
ENUGU	1,301,185	1,303,155	9,401
FCT	886,323	943,473	953
GOMBE	1,266,993	1,318,377	18,730
IMO	1,611,715	1,687,293	11,082
JIGAWA	1,852,698	2,013,974	23,148
KADUNA	3,565,762	3,905,387	95,563
KANO	5,135,415	5,027,297	10,784
KATSINA	2,931,668	3,126,898	132,062
KEBBI	1,603,468	1,638,308	4,960
KOGI	1,215,405	1,316,849	7,003
KWARA	1,115,665	1,152,361	2,631
LAGOS	6,247,845	6,108,069	13,932
NASSARAWA	1,224,206	1,389,308	19,439
NIGER	721,485	2,175,421	142,040
OGUN	1,869,326	1,941,170	2,868
ONDO	1,558,975	1,616,091	14,761
OSUN	1,293,967	1,293,967	14,762
OYO	2,577,490	2,572,140	14,720
PLATEAU	1,983,453	2,259,194	8,125
RIVERS	2,419,057	2,429,231	42,309
SOKOTO	2,065,508	2,267,509	8,471
TARABA	1,308,106	1,336,221	41,069
YOBE	1,182,230	1,373,796	3,474
ZAMFARA	1,746,024	1,824,316	4,062
TOTAL	67,764,334	73,528,040	870,612

H. Appendix VIII: Gubernatorial and Legislative Elections Nullified by Election Petition Tribunals

State	Constituency	Original Winner	Reason	Outcome
GOVERNORS				
Kebbi	-	Alhaji Saidu Dakingari (PDP)	INEC failed to produce list of ballot papers and ballot boxes delivered to polling units	New election ordered
SENATE				
Abia	Abia Central	Nkechi Nwaogu (PDP)	Candidate is not from the district	New election – case before Supreme Court
Anambra	Anambra North			Conflicting judgments on who is the legitimate PDP candidate
Anambra	Anambra South	Andy Uba (PDP)	Re-run required in three constituencies	Re-run scheduled for Feb. 15 th halted for further proceedings
Kaduna	Kaduna North	Ahmad Datti (CPC)	Recount of ballots showed petitioner had majority of votes	Ahmad Makarfi (PDP) declared winner
Katsina	Katsina North	Abdu Umar Yandoma (CPC)	Primary results rejected	New election ordered – Replaced by Hadi Srika
Katsina	Katsina Central	Ahmed Sani Stores (CPC)	Primary results rejected	New election ordered – Replaced by Sadiqu Yar Adua
Kogi	Kogi East	Dangana Ocheja (PDP)		Attah Adioko (ANPP) declared winner
Rivers	Rivers East	George Sekibo (PDP)	AAP party unlawfully excluded from contesting	Rerun election – Sekibo retained seat
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES				
Akwa Ibom	Eket	Eseme Eyibo (PDP)	Dan Bassey Abia (PDP) declared legitimate PDP candidate	Court ordered Abia be sworn in
Anambra	Anaocha/Nijkoka/	Uche Ekwunife		Re-run ordered in 11 wards – Ekwunife

	Dunukofia	(APGA)		retained seat
Delta	Ukwuani/Ndokwa	Dr. Olisemeki Imeagu (DPP)		Ossai Nicholas Ossai (PDP) declared winner
Imo	Ahaizu/ Ezinihitte Mbaise	Ralph Ibokwe (PDP)		Igbokwe (PDP) wins re-run election
Oyo	Kishi/Irepodun/Oorelope	Hafeez Adelowo Jimoh (PDP)	Action Alliance candidate's name not on ballot	January re-run deemed inconclusive. PDP candidate wins 2 nd re-run.
Katsina	Jibia/Kaita	Abdu Dankama (CPC)	Primary results rejected	New election ordered, but the decision of the Tribunal was thrown out on appeal*
Katsina	Fakari/ Sabuwa/ Kankara	Murtala Isa (CPC)	Primary results rejected	New election ordered, but the decision of the Tribunal was thrown out on appeal*
Katsina	Funtua/ Dan-Dume	Mukhtari Dan-Dutse (CPC)	Primary results rejected	New election ordered, but the decision of the Tribunal was thrown out on appeal*
Katsina	Mani/ Bindawa	Aminu Ashiru (CPC)	Primary results rejected	New election ordered, but the decision of the Tribunal was thrown out on appeal*
Katsina	Daura/ Mai-Adua/ Sandamu	Umar Adamo Kasayel (CPC)	Primary results rejected	New election ordered, but the decision of the Tribunal was thrown out on appeal*
Katsina	Katsina	Muhammed Tukur Sada (CPC)	Primary results rejected	New election ordered, but the decision of the Tribunal was thrown out on appeal*
Katsina	Kankia/ Kusada/ Ingawa	Musa Salisu (CPC)	Primary results rejected	New election ordered, but the decision of the Tribunal was thrown out on appeal*
Katsina	Mashi/ Dutse	Tasi'u Doguro (CPC)	Primary results rejected	New election ordered, but the decision of the Tribunal was thrown out on appeal*
Ekiti	Ijero/ Ekiti West/ Efon	Oyetunde Oladimeji Ojo (ACN)	Unlawful exclusion of candidate	New election (Allowed to maintain seat while on appeal)
Kaduna	Soba Federal Constituency	Abubakar Musa Abubakar (CPC)	Conducted election without proper notice	New election (Allowed to maintain seat while on appeal)

Gombe	Dukku/Nafada	Umar Abdullahi (CPC)	Candidate not qualified (lacking authentic secondary school certificate)	New election (Allowed to maintain seat while on appeal)
Gombe	Billiri/Balanga	Yusuf Manu Swa (PDP)	Irregularities	New election held Oct. 22, Swa declared winner again
Kano	Bichi	Alhaji Lawan Shehu (ANPP)	CPC candidate's name excluded from ballot	New election (Allowed to maintain seat while on appeal)
Kano	Dabbatta/ Makoda	Surajo Harisu (PDP)	Votes wrongfully rejected by INEC for ink stains	Alhaji Badamasi Ayuba (ANPP) declared winner based on full tally