



Key Findings of Reporting Period Four

23 December 2014 - 8 January 2015

Summary and Recommendations

The fourth reporting period allowed TMG to analyse observed data over time more robustly. From the first reporting period to those sent on 8 January, TMG observers had sent in over 3,000 structured reports from a checklist of 40 questions that assessed electoral preparations, the pre-election political environment and early warning indicators of potential electoral violence. When taken on aggregate, the PREO election observation effort has collected 119,040 individual data points. An analysis of period four data, when compared to previous reporting periods, identified challenges to the pre-election environment. Specifically: voter education campaigns by INEC have been unequal in scope across the country, religious and gender-based hate speech continue to plague the campaigning period, restrictions on campaign activity pose challenges in certain parts of the country, and that violence and intimidation of candidates and their supporters are on the rise.

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Considering the analysis of period four data and the direction that PREO data from all four periods is trending, TMG:

- encourages INEC to increase voter education efforts, particularly in northwestern Nigeria;
- challenges its CSO peers who are undertaking voter education activities to focus on these same underserved states, particularly Sokoto, Kwara, Zamfara and Ogun;
- repeats its call for candidates, media houses and citizens to refrain from using incendiary language and to maintain a respectful campaign environment, particularly with regard to religious beliefs and gender;
- calls upon government bodies with a mandate for maintaining order in the campaign environment to equitably and independently allow candidates and parties to campaign freely in all areas of the country; and
- recommends that police forces in the North East, North West and South West zones maintain a campaign environment free of violence and intimidation for all candidates.

Methodology

The TMG pre-election observation project leverages the presence of one locally recruited TMG election observer in each of the 774 LGAs of Nigeria to gather systematic information about the 2015 pre-electoral environment, including early warning signs of electoral violence. TMG pre-election observers will remain deployed until February 7, 2015 and are releasing a series of six reports on the pre-election environment from December 2014 to February 2015.

Period 1: 14 - 27 Nov. 2014

Period 2: 28 Nov. - 12 Dec. 2014

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TMG observers report both on events that they **observed directly/witnessed** (events personally witnessed) and events that they **observed indirectly/heard of** (events that were conveyed by a credible third party). These third parties may include credible media outlets or other members of the community. Before reporting on an incident as **observed indirectly/heard of**, TMG observers first seek to verify the event using a four-step process. Unlike the TMG Quick Count methodology (www.tmgowards2015.org/about), TMG does not rely on sample-based observation to carry out its pre-election observation efforts. The reported data is therefore not statistically representative of the country as a whole, but does provide an indication of general emerging trends nationally and within geopolitical zones. **TMG encourages end users of its reports and data to independently corroborate and respond appropriately to trends identified and discussed in these reports.**

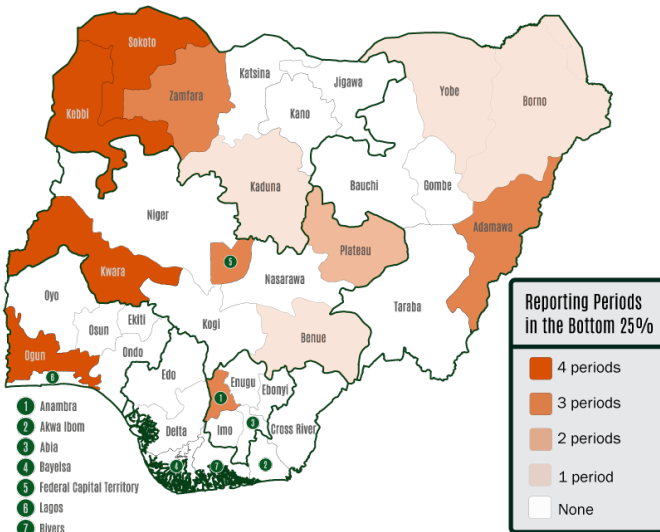
Voter Education Undertaken by INEC and Civil Society

Explaining to voters the process of casting ballots is an important aspect of the election process, as it reduces the chance of voter error and inadvertent disenfranchisement in the election process. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has a mandate to educate voters on how vote, and auxiliary voter education activities are being undertaken by civil society organizations across Nigeria. TMG observers monitored the presence of voter education workshops organized by both INEC and civil society over the course of four reporting periods.

During period four, TMG observers noted that in 51% of LGAs, voter education campaigns were undertaken by INEC and in 49% activities were undertaken by civil society organizations. However, by comparing observer reports over time, some states have been consistently underserved. The maps below highlight the comparative number of reporting periods in which Nigerian states have been in bottom quartile (25% and under) of percentage of LGAs conducting voter education when compared to one another. The goal is to show consistency with voter education efforts over time and geography.

INEC Voter Education Consistency

States shown by **number of PREO reporting periods** in which they fell in the bottom 25th percentile of voter education performed by INEC, observed by LGA. States with darker shading are those that have ranked lowest over time for voter education observed in LGAs.

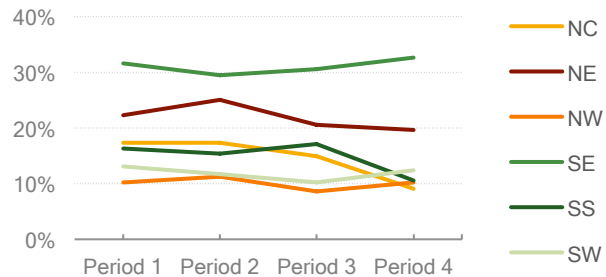


Gender-based Hate Speech

While not widespread across Nigeria, in the pre-election period, hate speech¹ based on gender continues to be a problem in the South East geopolitical zone. Presence of hate speech has increased from period three in this reporting period. Thirty-three per cent of LGAs in South East Nigeria observed hate speech directly and indirectly during period four. Imo state in particular reported the presence of gender-based hate speech in 55% of LGAs.

Gender-based Hate Speech by Zone

By percentage of LGAs observing hate speech based on gender

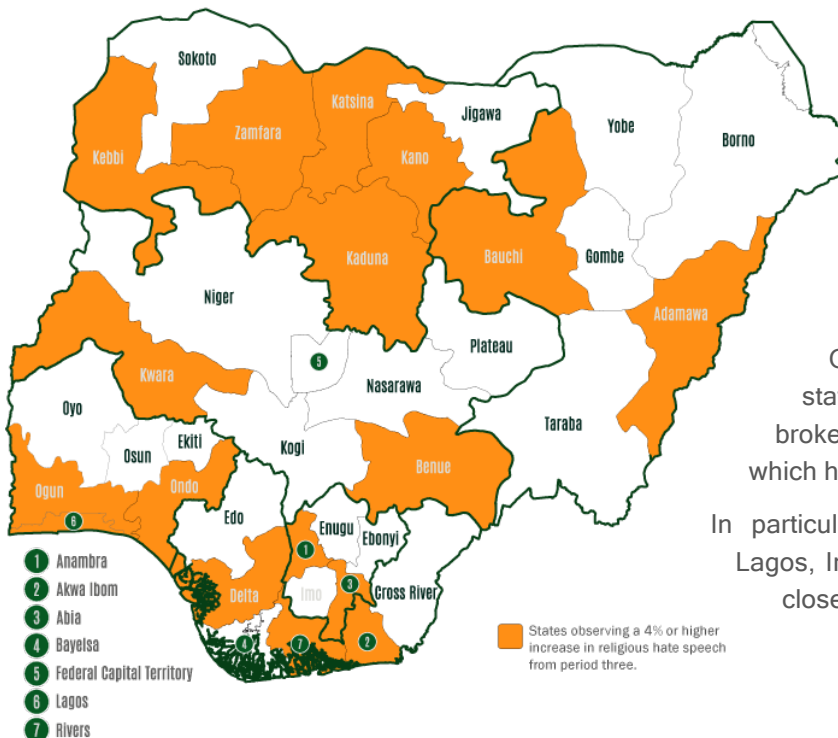


Religious-based Hate Speech

Perhaps more concerning is the pervasive and widespread observance of hate speech based on religion. Period four saw an increase in religious hate speech across the country, which did not have an acute geographic concentration.

Religious Hate Speech Increases

States shown by percentages of LGAs that reported an increase in observed hate speech based on religion of over 4% from period three.



The map to the left shows states in which states there was a 4% or greater increase in the percentage of LGAs in which hate speech based on religion was observed.

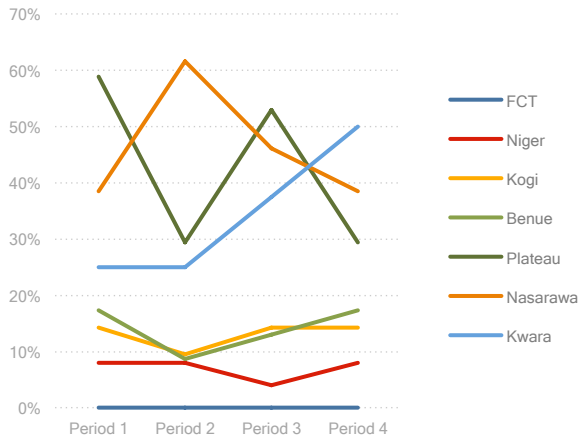
Considering the role that religious cleavages can play in fomenting electoral violence, it is essential that a message of respect and calm is repeated across the country.

Graphs on the next page show state level religious hate speech broken down by geopolitical zones which highlight state outliers in context.

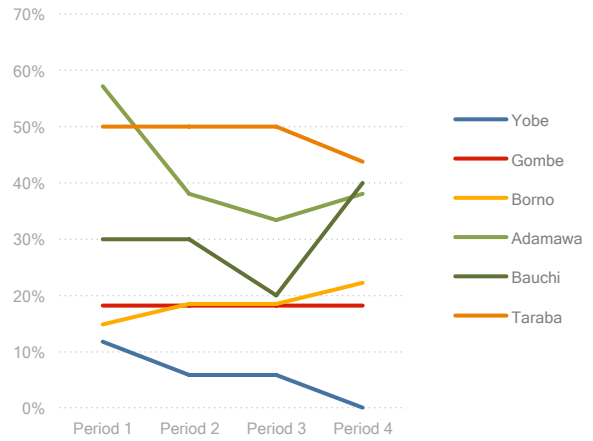
In particular, Sokoto, Nasarawa, Kwara, Lagos, Imo and Bauchi states should be closely monitored.

¹ TMG has defined hate speech as the use of derogatory language to incite violence against a targeted individual or group.

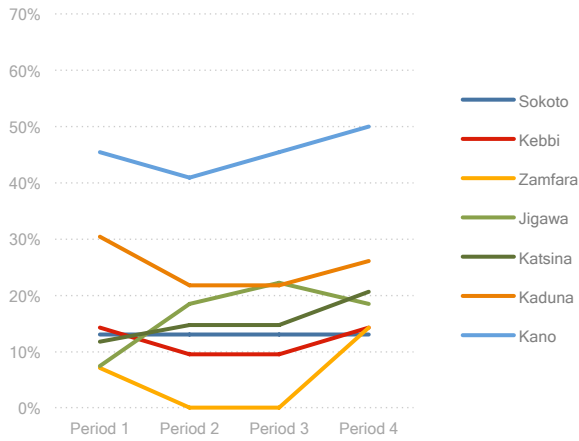
Religious Hate Speech in North Central



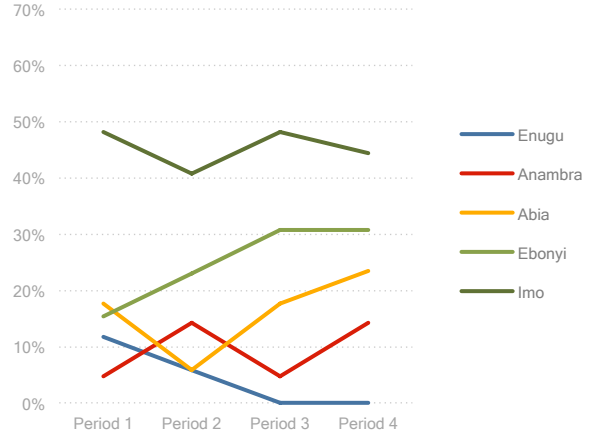
Religious Hate Speech in North East



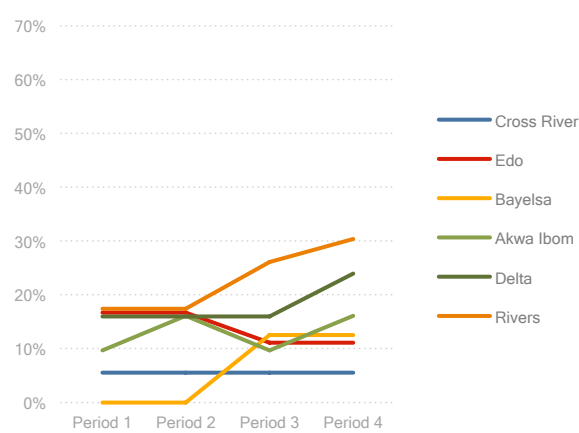
Religious Hate Speech in North West



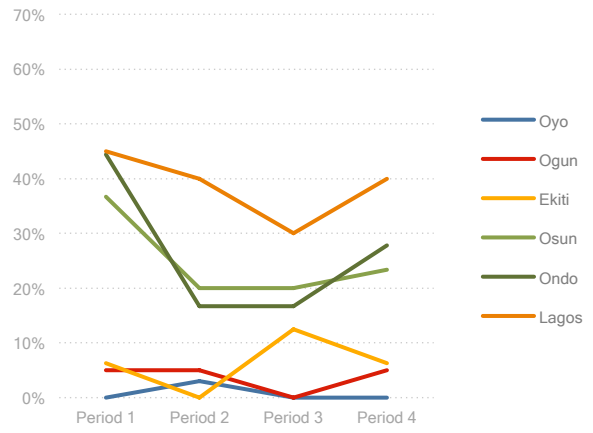
Religious Hate Speech in South East



Religious Hate Speech in South South



Religious Hate Speech in South West



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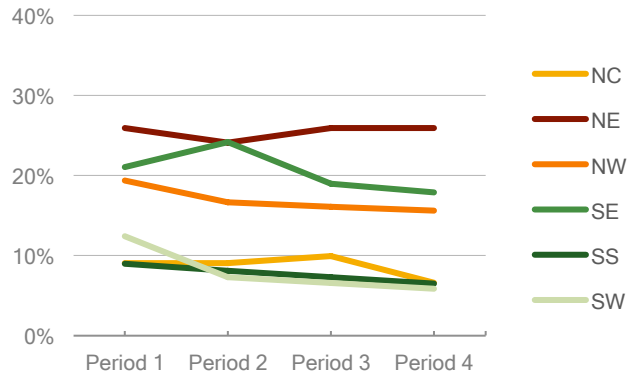
Period 4: 23 Dec. 2014 - 8 Jan. 2015

Government Restrictions on Campaigning

The ability of every candidate and political party to campaign freely is essential to the democratic process and the government is charged to maintain this environment. However, as this reporting period and others have illustrated, some LGAs are observing limits and restrictions on campaign activity. When period four figures are combined, the North East, South East and North West geopolitical zones saw restrictions on campaigns in 20% of LGAs compared to a combined 6% in South South, South West and North Central. This disparity poses a challenge to a free campaign environment and the ability of candidates and political parties to conduct fair national campaigns.

Government Restrictions on Campaign Activity

By percentage of LGAs per zone that observed restrictions by government personnel



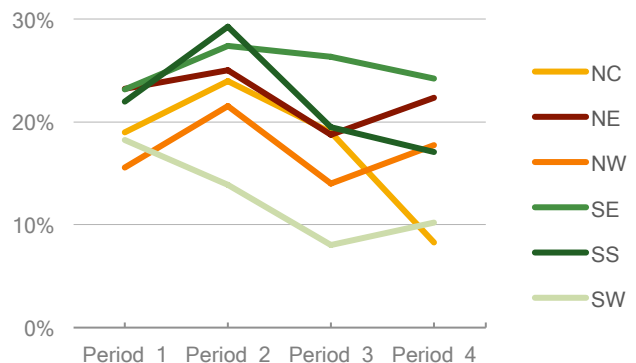
Violence and Intimidation of Candidates and Their Supporters

Finally, TMG observed a concerning upward trend in violence and intimidation directed at candidates and their supporters. TMG categorically condemns violence and intimidation, and when used for political ends, this behaviour becomes particularly troubling.

In particular, the upward trends in violence and intimidation witnessed in North East, North West and South West geopolitical zones should be addressed promptly. These zones experienced 2-4% increases in the number of LGAs observing the behaviour directly and indirectly, while two periods of declining violence and intimidation were observed in North Central, South East and South South. As the campaign period continues toward election day, TMG encourages police and security forces to be vigilant and equitable in enforcing the law to protect the right of candidates and parties to campaign in a safe atmosphere.

Partisan Violence and Intimidation

Percentage of LGAs per Zone That Observed violence and/or intimidation of candidates or their supporters



Critical Incident Reports

TMG observers 14 verified critical incident reports during the reporting period. Reports were confirmed through a call-back process and have been visualized on the Nigeria Electoral Early Warning System 2015 (NEEWS2015 CrowdMap at: <https://news2015.crowdmap.com/>). The highest number of reports came from Jigawa State, with five reports coming from observers in five different local government areas. Four of these reports, which came from Birniwa, Kiyawa, Kazaure and Maigatari LGAs, said that clashes erupted between PDP and APC supporters over the destruction of posters and billboards including party supporters attempting to paste over the opposing party's poster with their own. While the destruction of posters and billboards may seem on the low end on the scale of election-related violence, it an early warning sign and a manifestation of tension that have the potential to spark clashes between party supports, as demonstrated in Jigawa,

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