



---

## Key Findings of Reporting Period Five

8 January 2015 - 22 January 2015

---

### Summary and Recommendations

During the fifth reporting period, the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG)'s observations reflected a series of concerning trends in the pre-electoral environment: mounting campaign violence, including nation-wide increases in attacks on candidate rallies and the destruction of candidate property; eye witness reports over time of individuals gathering small arms and light weapons in such states as Jigawa, Kano, Nasarawa and Sokoto; and escalating violations of the electoral code, including the misuse of government vehicles to conduct election campaigns and the buying of voters' cards. These negative trends occurred even as Nigeria's fourteen presidential candidates pledged on January 14, 2015 to abide by the terms of the so-called Abuja Agreement. Signatories agreed to conduct issue-based campaigns, to renounce inflammatory language in their campaigns, and to publicly denounce any acts of violence or incitement to violence by supporters and opponents alike. This agreement represents a commendable effort to limit the spread of electoral violence. TMG applauds the country's presidential candidates for making these commitments and urges them to ensure that they are enforced as election day approaches.

Based on TMG's analysis of trends in the previous five reporting periods, specific recommendations include:

- Presidential candidates and signatories to the Abuja Agreement should encourage party rank-and-file members to abide by the terms of the agreement and should publicly denounce party members or supporters found in violation.
- Police forces - particularly in the North East, North West and South West geopolitical zones -- should maintain a campaign environment free from violence and intimidation for all candidates and political supporters.
- Community leaders -- particularly in the North East, North West and South East geopolitical zones -- should encourage community members to conduct themselves with integrity around the elections and specifically to refrain from acts of violence and destruction as a means of political expression.
- Customs officials and other relevant security actors should investigate consistent eye witness reports of small arms and light weapons circulating in the states of Jigawa, Kano, Nasarawa and Sokoto.
- Candidates should adhere to all provisions of the electoral code, including restrictions on the use of government property to carry out a political campaign.

### 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

**Period 1:** 14 - 27 Nov. 2014

**Period 2:** 28 Nov. - 12 Dec. 2014

**Period 5:** 9 Jan. - 22 Jan. 2015

**Period 3:** 13 - 22 Dec 2014

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

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.

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](http://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.**

## Signs of Mounting Violence

In the fifth reporting period, TMG observers noted an upsurge in several trends signalling that campaigning is occurring in an increasingly violent environment, particularly in the North East, North West and South East geopolitical zones.

### *Destruction of Candidate Property*

Between periods four and five, TMG observers directly witnessed an increase in the destruction of candidate property in five out of the country's six geopolitical zones as depicted to the right.<sup>1</sup> The eight percent increase in the North West geopolitical zone is particularly concerning. In the third reporting period, TMG commented on the geographic concentration of the PDP and APC's respective campaign activities, and found that both parties were campaigning heavily in North West. TMG categorically condemns any act of violence, intimidation or destruction in the pre-election period, particularly when such acts are intended to close the political space for candidates, activists or private citizens of particular political persuasions.



#### VANDALISM AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

Change between period four and period five in percentage of LGAs directly observing vandalism or destruction of candidate or supporter property



### *Circulation of Small Arms and Light Weapons*

Multiple TMG observers have directly witnessed the gathering small arms and light weapons in four out of five reporting periods in the states of Jigawa, Kano, Nasarawa and Sokoto. Although the weapons that the observers witnessed circulating in their states may be in transit rather than intended for final use in those states, it will be important for customs officials and other relevant security agencies to monitor these states closely in the remainder of the pre-election period and crack down on any illegal arms trafficking where possible. Regardless of the weapons' intended destination or use, ready

<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of the observation effort, TMG reported on any act committed with the intent of destroying, altering or defacing the property of a political candidate or his/her supporters and did not differentiate between types of acts (such as graffiti, breaking windows, damage to or removal of campaign billboards, damage to vehicles, damages to homes of land, or arson).

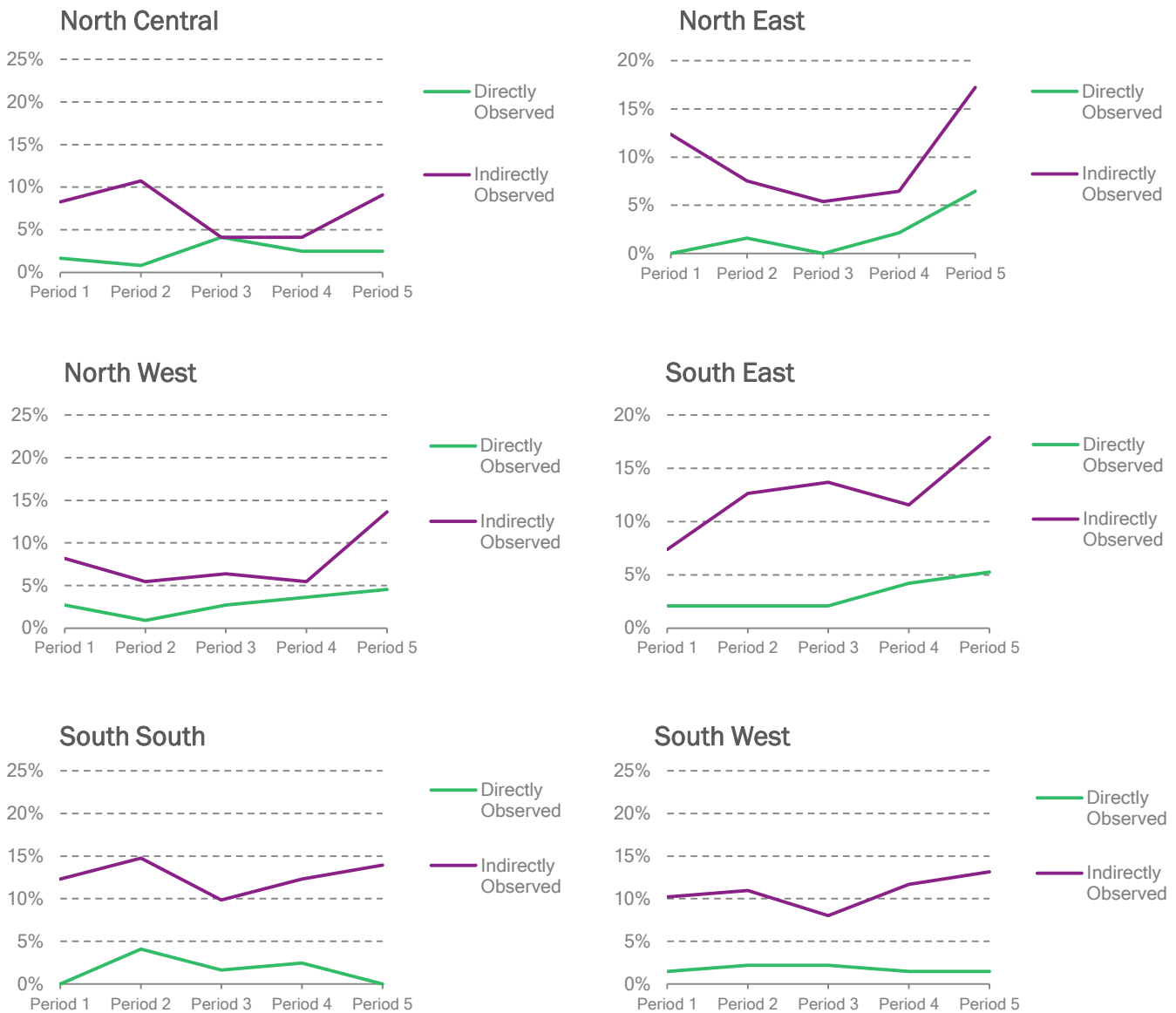
availability of small arms and light weapons anywhere in the country lowers the transaction costs of fighting, and increases the chances that tensions could escalate into outright conflict.

## Attacks on Rallies

Comparing data from the first five reporting periods, TMG reports suggest an upward trend in attacks on rallies taking place in the North East, North West, and South East geopolitical zones over time. TMG observers reported attacks on any rally organized with a political intent, including: political party rallies, candidate rallies, generic get-out-the-vote rallies, and ward congresses. TMG categorically condemns any such attacks, which indicate closing political space in addition to a worrying sign of willingness to engage in politically motivated violence. TMG encourages responsible security actors and government bodies to monitor these regions closely and to act to maintain a campaign environment free of violence and intimidation for all political candidates and their supporters.

## Observed Attacks on Rallies in Each Geopolitical Zone

By percentage of LGAs observing



Period 1: 14 - 27 Nov. 2014

Period 2: 28 Nov. - 12 Dec. 2014

Period 5: 9 Jan. - 22 Jan. 2015

Period 3: 13 - 22 Dec 2014

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

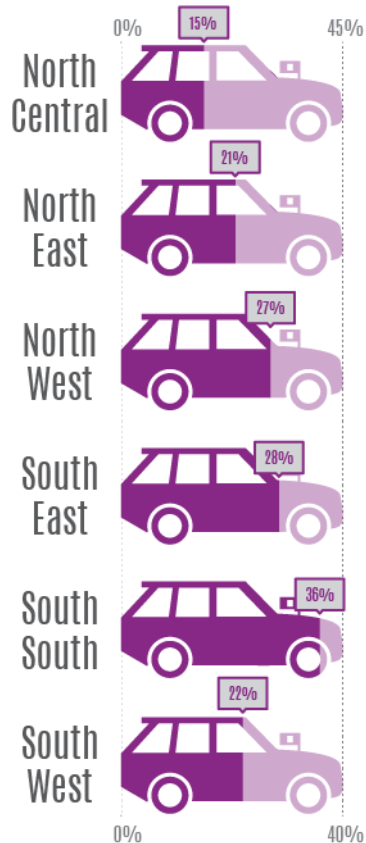
## Violations of the Electoral Code

### Campaigning in Government Vehicles

Over time, TMG observers have reported an increase in the misuse of government property to organize political party or candidate rallies nation-wide. In North Central, 10 percent of observers directly observed individuals campaigning in government vehicles in reporting period one. By reporting period five, this percentage had reached 15 percent. In North East, the percentages increased from an initial 19 percent to 21 percent in period five. In North West, observers reported a sharp increase in the misuse of government property for campaigning, with initial levels of 12 percent climbing to 27 percent at the end of period five. South East also registered a significant increase from 25 percent in period one to 36 percent in period five. Across all five reporting periods, the highest levels of campaigning in government vehicles by percentage of LGAs reporting have occurred in South East. In South West, initially recorded levels of 18 percent in period one increased modestly to 22 percent in period five. In several states in particular TMG observers witnessed campaigning in government vehicles in more than 40 percent of LGAs. These included: Zamfara, (64 percent), Akwa Ibom (61 percent), Taraba (56 percent), Jigawa (48 percent), Abia (47 percent), Ebonyi (46 percent), Delta (44 percent). TMG reminds all candidates that the use of government property in support of a political campaign is a violation of the electoral code.

### Use of Official Government Vehicles to Conduct Party or Candidate Rallies

By percentage LGAs in period five in which it was witnessed by observers



### Reports of Buying of Voters' Cards in North West

Throughout all five reporting periods, TMG observers have reported on the buying and selling of voters' cards as orchestrated by candidates, political parties and private individuals. In the fifth reporting period, two percent of observers nationwide directly witnessed the selling or buying of voters' cards. In addition, twenty-two percent of TMG observers nationwide reported indirect observations of voters' cards being sold or bought in their LGAs: a seven percent increase nationally from reporting period one, when TMG first reported on this trend. Both direct and indirect observations of the buying and selling of voters' cards are particularly elevated in North West with 3 percent of observers in this zone directly observing the buying and selling of voters' cards and 28 percent of observers indirectly observing such activity. In addition to encouraging parties and private citizens to desist from illegal activities, TMG reiterates its recommendation from the first reporting period that the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and other electoral actors engaged in voter education and outreach intensify information campaigns - particularly in North West -- to advise citizens about measures in place to deter illegal voting, including the use of the permanent voters' card and electronic card readers.

## Internal Displacement

PREO reports over the five periods suggest that persons in the North East geopolitical zone continue to be displaced. Observers in Borno state, in particular, reported the mass movement of persons away from the LGA in 81 percent of local government areas (when direct and indirect observations are

Period 1: 14 - 27 Nov. 2014

Period 2: 28 Nov. - 12 Dec. 2014

Period 5: 9 Jan. - 22 Jan. 2015

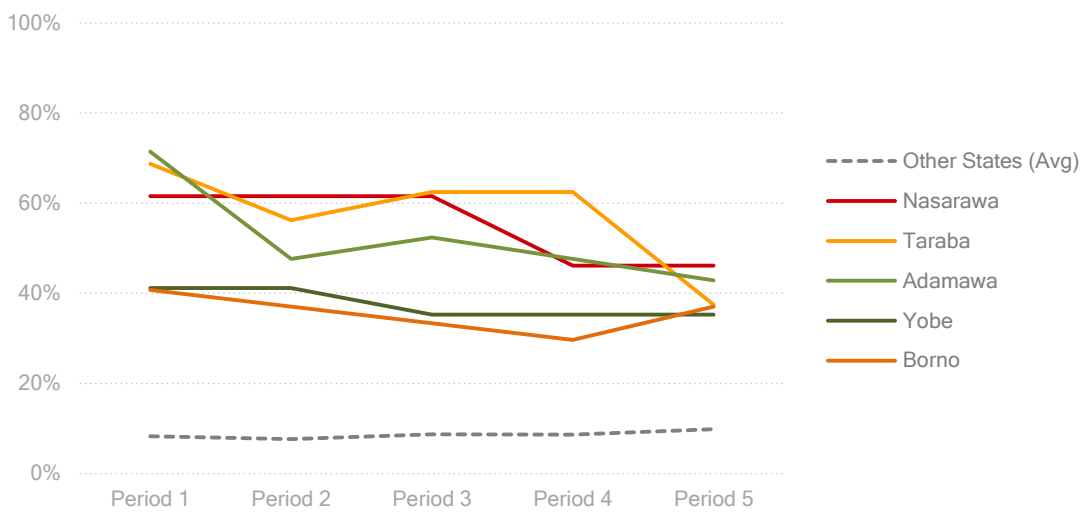
Period 3: 13 - 22 Dec 2014

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

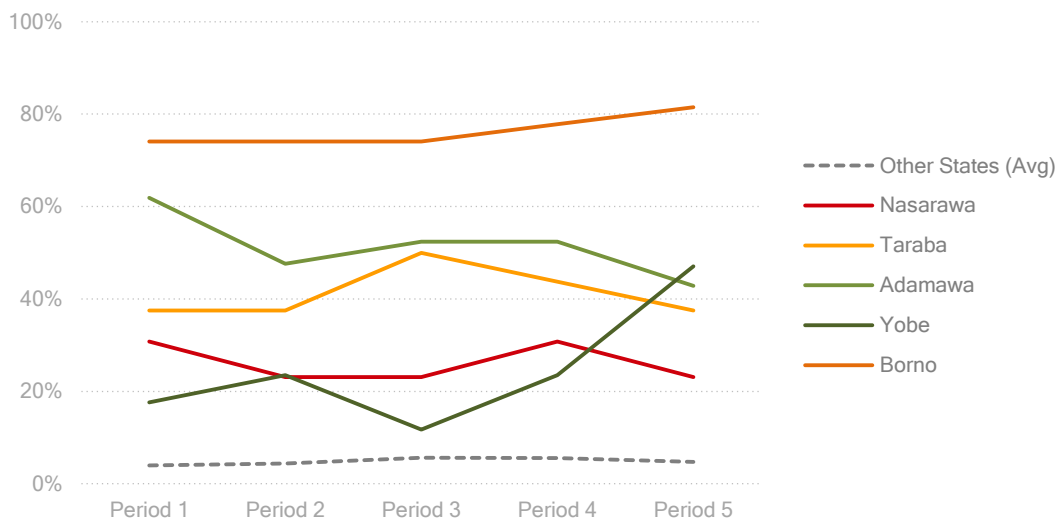
combined). During period five, Yobe state also saw a substantial increase in the number of LGAs reporting mass migration, with observers in 23 percent of LGAs reporting the migration of one hundred or more individuals away from the LGA during the reporting period. (when direct and indirect observations are combined).

The five states of North East Nigeria (Nasarawa, Taraba, Adamawa, Yobe and Borno) have seen consistently above-average rates of entry and exit from LGAs, starting in the first PREO reporting period. Civil unrest and pervasive acts of domestic terrorism in the northeastern states is likely the driving force behind these migrations. Such high numbers of internally displaced persons raise concerns about the efficacy of INEC to organize secure elections in these states.

**Movement of People Into LGAs in North East**  
Percentage of LGAs per state observing 100+ persons entering the area



**Movement of People Away from LGAs in North East**  
Percentage of LGAs per state observing 100+ persons leaving the area



**Period 1:** 14 - 27 Nov. 2014

**Period 2:** 28 Nov. - 12 Dec. 2014

**Period 5:** 9 Jan. - 22 Jan. 2015

**Period 3:** 13 - 22 Dec 2014

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

## Critical Incident Reports

During the fifth reporting period, TMG observers texted 25 verified critical incident reports. Reports confirmed through a call-back process have been visualized on the Nigeria Electoral Early Warning System 2015 (NEEWS2015 CrowdMap at: <https://neews2015.crowdmap.com/>). As in the previous period, the highest number of reports came from Jigawa state including the destruction of candidate posters, banners and billboards in three LGAs as well as stone throwing at a rally in Ringim LGA. Observers also reported stone throwing at candidates during rallies or party conveys in Gombe, Katsina, Kano and Taraba states. A number of confirmed critical incident reports from across the country also involved attacks on rallies (seven reports from Gombe, Kano, Jigawa, Katsina, Sokoto and Zamfara states), attacks on or between candidates and their supporters (11 reports from Ebonyi, Kano, Kogi, Katsina, Sokoto, Taraba, and Lagos states), and destruction of party or candidate properties including posters, billboards, vehicles and offices (13 reports from Jigawa, Plateau, Lagos, Rivers, Taraba, Zamfara, Katsina and Gombe). Further confirming the trends identified in the checklist reports, TMG observers in the North East reported the mass movement of citizens out of communities in Borno and Yobe states after attacks by Boko Haram.