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## Key Findings of Reporting Period Six

23 January 2015 - 5 February 2015

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### Summary and Recommendations

During the sixth reporting period, the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG)'s observations reflected signs of increased election preparations both by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and Nigeria's two major political parties. TMG also noted an increasingly volatile campaign environment with observers reporting: attacks on or intimidation of candidates in greater percentages of LGAs in North West Nigeria over time, increased destruction of candidate property nation-wide between periods five and six, and greater numbers of candidates nation-wide encouraging their supporters to commit violence between periods five and six. TMG also observed escalating violations of the electoral code, including the misuse of government vehicles to conduct election campaigns and reports of the buying of voters' cards.

Based on TMG's analysis of trends in the previous six 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.
- Candidates from across the political spectrum should conduct campaigns that are free from inflammatory language or language intended to incite violence. They should furthermore condemn any acts of violence or destruction committed by their supporters, including acts of reciprocal or retaliatory violence.
- Candidates should adhere to all provisions of the electoral code, including restrictions on the use of government property to carry out a political campaign.
- Police forces and security agencies should closely monitor trends in states where TMG observers in high percentages of LGAs have reported attacks on or intimidation of candidates and their supporters. Police forces and security agencies should take appropriate steps to maintain a campaign environment free from violence and intimidation for all candidates and political supporters.
- Traditional leaders 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.

### 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.

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

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

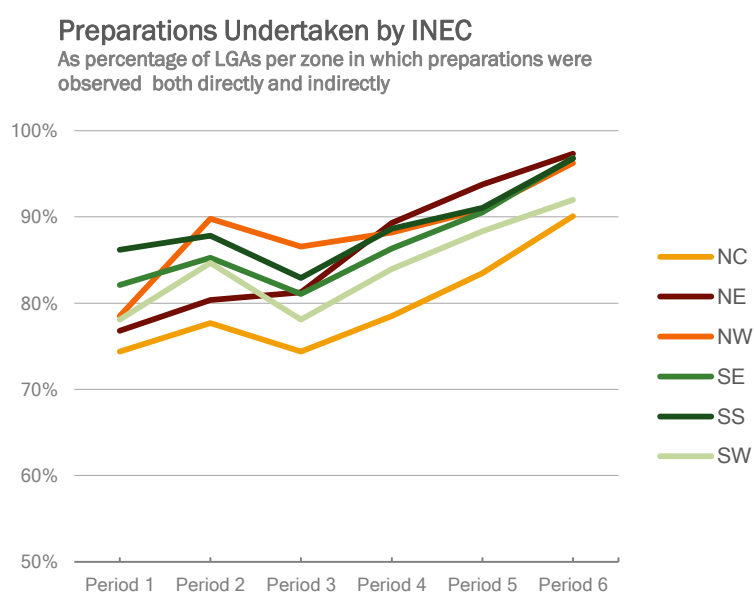
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TMG observers report both on events that they **observed directly/witnessed** (events personally witnessed) and events that they **observed indirectly/heard of** (events that were conveyed by a credible third party). These third parties may include 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](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.**

## INEC Preparing for Nation-Wide Elections

Over time, TMG has observed a steady increase in the number of LGAs reporting that INEC preparations<sup>1</sup> are taking place. In period six, just prior to the initially scheduled presidential and National Assembly election date of February 14, 2015, 95 percent of TMG observers reported that INEC had undertaken preparations for the elections in their LGAs. Between the first PREO period and the sixth, the percentage of LGAs observing INEC preparations nation-wide increased by 16 percent: from a base level of 79 percent to 95 percent in the sixth reporting period.



South South, South East and North East geopolitical zones recorded the highest levels of INEC preparations with 97 percent of observers in each zone reporting INEC preparations. Preparations in North West (96 percent), South West (93 percent) and North Central (90 percent) did not lag far behind.

## Early Warning Signs of Violence

### *Incitement to Violence and Destruction of Candidate Property*

In period six, a higher percentage of TMG observers in all six geopolitical zones directly and indirectly observed candidates encouraging their supporters to commit acts of violence. A higher percentage of TMG observers in all six geopolitical zones also directly and indirectly observed the destruction of candidate property. TMG calls upon candidates and their supporters to uphold the commitments of the Abuja Accord signed by all presidential candidates on January 14, 2015 and to reject inflammatory language and violence during the campaign period.

<sup>1</sup> TMG defined preparations broadly to include such activities as training election officials, organizing briefing meetings with stakeholders, or distributing election materials.

**Percent of LGAs Reporting Candidates Inciting Supporters to Commit Violence by Zone**

*Periods Five and Six*

Zone	Period Five	Period Six	Percent Change
North Central	10%	12%	+2%
North East	8%	11%	+3%
North West	9%	18%	+9%
South East	17%	24%	+7%
South South	10%	12%	+2%
South West	7%	11%	+4%

**Percent of LGAs Reporting Destruction of Candidate and Supporters' Property by Zone**

*Periods Five and Six*

Zone	Period Five	Period Six	Percent Change
North Central	19%	23%	+4%
North East	23%	31%	+8%
North West	27%	36%	+9%
South East	31%	34%	+3%
South South	22%	27%	+5%
South West	11%	15%	+4%

**Attacks and Intimidation of Candidates and Supporters**

In period six, TMG observers reported attacks and/or intimidation of candidates and their supporters in 28 percent of LGAs. Over time, TMG has noted increasing levels of violence and intimidation directed against political candidates and their supporters in North West geopolitical zone, in particular, where 9 percent of observers directly observed and 26 percent of observers indirectly observed attacks or intimidation in period six. In South West, by contrast, where TMG has observed low levels of attacks and intimidation over time, only 17 percent of observers reported attacks and intimidation in their LGAs in period six (2 percent through direct observation and 15 percent through indirect).

In period six, outlying states in all geopolitical zones except North Central recorded high levels of attacks and intimidation in over 35 percent of LGAs reporting. TMG calls upon police forces and security agents in these states to take appropriate measures to maintain a campaign environment that is free of violence and intimidation for all political contestants in these states.

**States Where More than 35 Percent of LGAs Reported Attacks/Intimidation of Candidates and Supporters – Period Six**

State	Direct Observation	Indirect Observation	Total Observed
Ebonyi	0%	69%	69%
Taraba	0%	63%	63%
Imo	0%	52%	52%
Rivers	4%	43%	47%
Kano	23%	23%	46%
Lagos	0%	45%	45%
Delta	12%	32%	44%
Sokoto	13%	30%	43%
Adamawa	5%	38%	43%
Jigawa	4%	33%	37%
Kaduna	9%	26%	35%
Bauchi	5%	30%	35%

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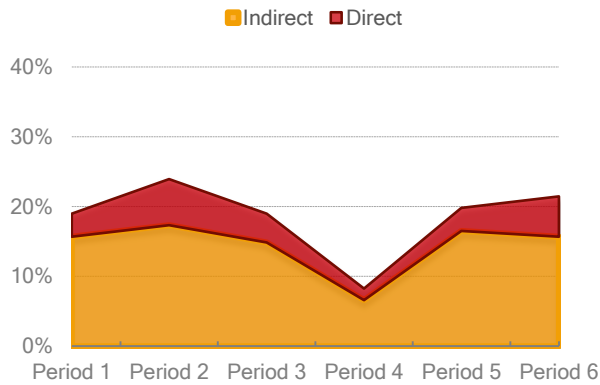
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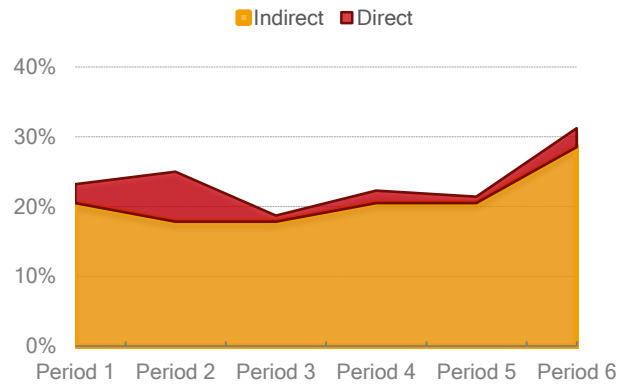
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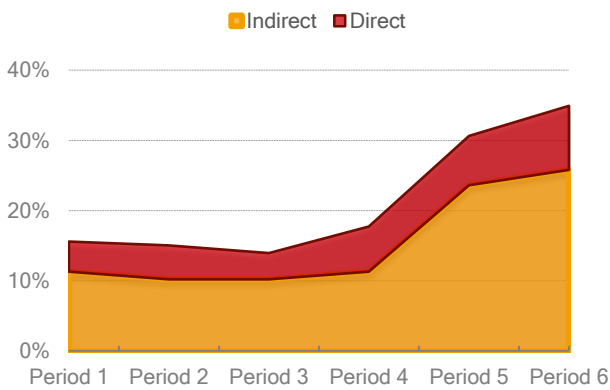
**Observed Instances of Attacks on or Intimidation of Candidates or Supporters in North Central**



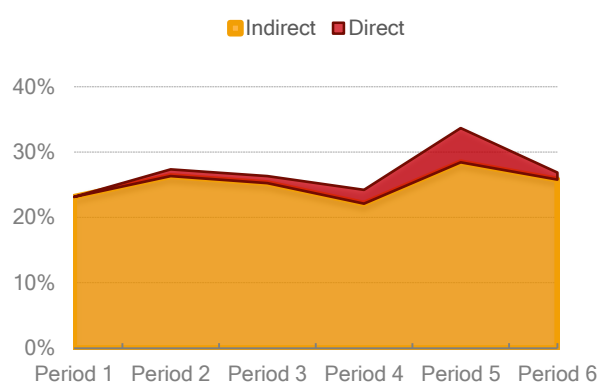
**Observed Instances of Attacks on or Intimidation of Candidates or Supporters in North East**



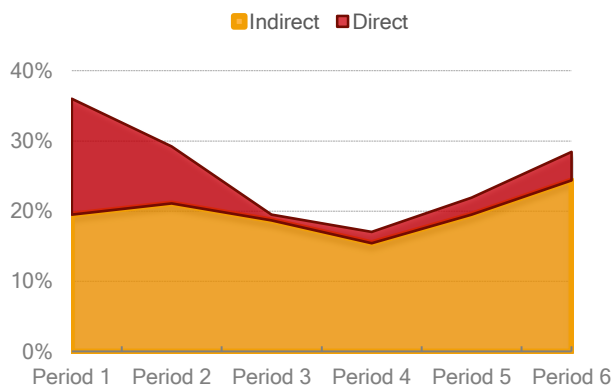
**Observed Instances of Attacks on or Intimidation of Candidates or Supporters in North West**



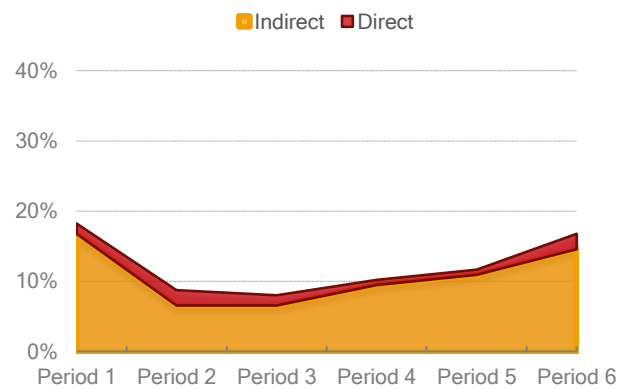
**Observed Instances of Attacks on or Intimidation of Candidates or Supporters in South East**



**Observed Instances of Attacks on Intimidation of Candidates or Supporters in South South**



**Observed Attacks on or Intimidation of Candidates or Supporters in South West**



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# Violations of the Electoral Code

## Campaigning in Government Vehicles

Campaigning in official government vehicles was observed in

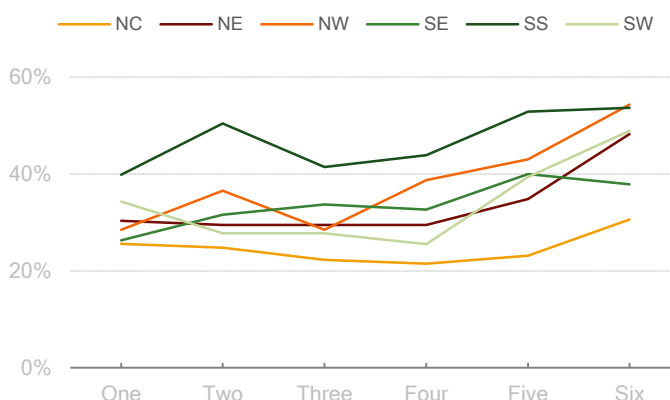
**47%**

of LGAs during PREO period six.

indirectly observed individuals campaigning in official government vehicles in their LGAs as compared to 40 percent in period five. In both periods, reported levels of campaigning in government vehicles were above the national observed average in South South and North West. In period six only, South West and North East also recorded levels of campaigning in government vehicles above the national observed average. TMG reminds all candidates that the use of government property in support of a political campaign is a violation of the electoral code.

In the previous reporting period (January 9-22, 2015), TMG observers reported an increase in the misuse of government property to organize political party or candidate rallies nation-wide. In the sixth reporting period, campaigning in government vehicles continued to increase in all geopolitical zones excepting South East (where TMG observers witnessed a modest decline from 40 percent of LGAs reporting to 38 percent of LGAs reporting) and South South, which remained constant at 53 percent of LGAs reporting. Nation-wide, 47 percent of observers reported that they either directly or

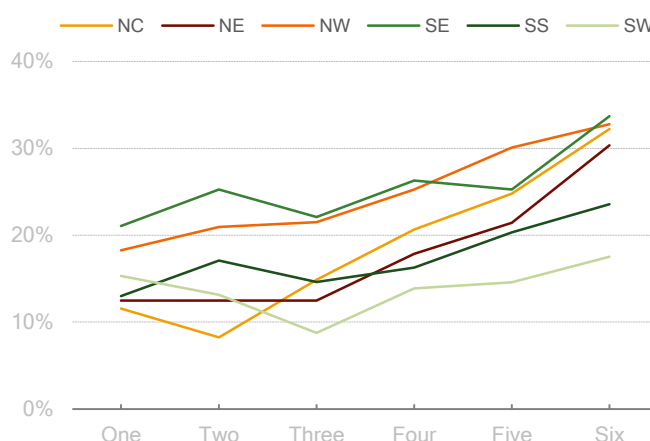
**Campaigning in Official Government Vehicles**  
By percentage of LGAs observing directly and indirectly



## Reports of Buying of Voters' Cards

TMG has both directly and indirectly observed the buying and selling of voters' cards over time. In the sixth reporting period, 2 percent of observers nationwide directly witnessed the selling or buying of voters' cards. In addition, 26 percent of TMG observers nationwide reported indirect observations of voters' cards being sold or bought in their LGAs: a 4 percent increase nationally over the previous reporting period. In PREO reports one and two, reports of the buying and selling of voters' cards were more common in Southern Nigeria. Starting in PREO period three, the trend has become increasingly widespread. In addition to encouraging parties and private citizens to desist from illegal activities, TMG reiterates that INEC and other electoral actors engaged in voter education and outreach should intensify information campaigns to advise citizens about measures in place to deter illegal voting, including the use of the permanent voters' card and electronic card readers.

**Buying of Voters Cards**  
By percentage of LGAs observing directly and indirectly



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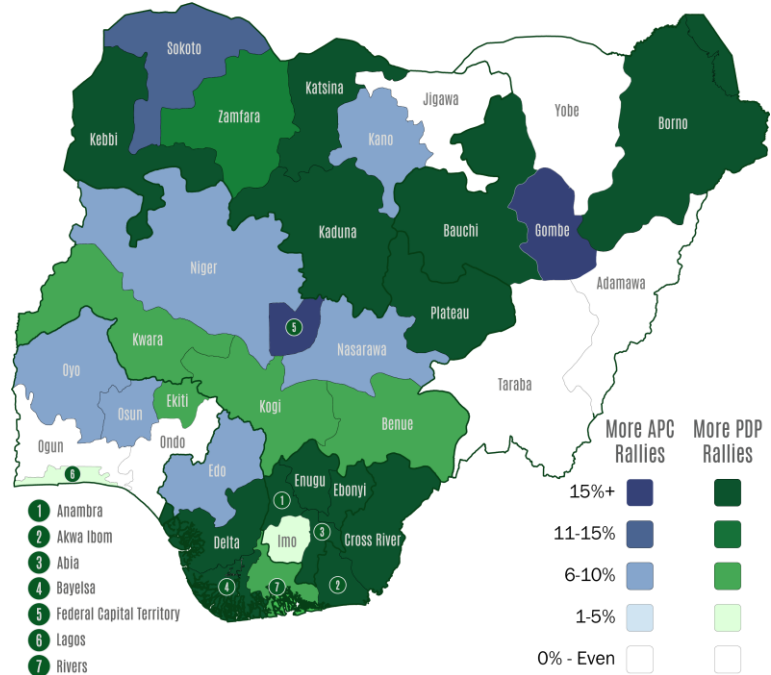
## Political Party Rallies

TMG observer reports on the presence of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressives Congress (APC) party rallies<sup>2</sup> indicate how campaigns by Nigeria's two major parties have evolved over time. The accompanying maps visualize the percentage difference between observed APC and PDP rallies in each state in reporting period one as compared to the current period. The TMG observers only indicated the presence, 'yes' or 'no,' of APC and PDP rallies in their LGAs, and did not indicate how many rallies for each party were organized, (i.e. one rally for party X and ten rallies for party Y in a given LGA would be given an equal score of 'yes, rallies for party X occurred' and 'yes, rallies for party Y occurred.'). These maps show the geographical scope of each party's campaigns but do not show which party has conducted more rallies overall.

In period one, TMG observers in nearly all states reported that rallies for one of the two parties predominated. By period six, most states reported a more balanced distribution of rallies. A higher percentage of LGAs reported APC rallies in some states in the North West, South West and Middle Belt, while a higher percentage of LGAs reported PDP rallies most notably in South South, South East, and North East. By period six, TMG observers reported APC rallies in 100 percent of LGAs in 13 states<sup>3</sup> and PDP rallies in 100 percent of LGAs in 15 states.<sup>4</sup> In all six reporting periods, higher percentages of LGAs (14 percent more on average) reported PDP rallies versus APC rallies in Borno.

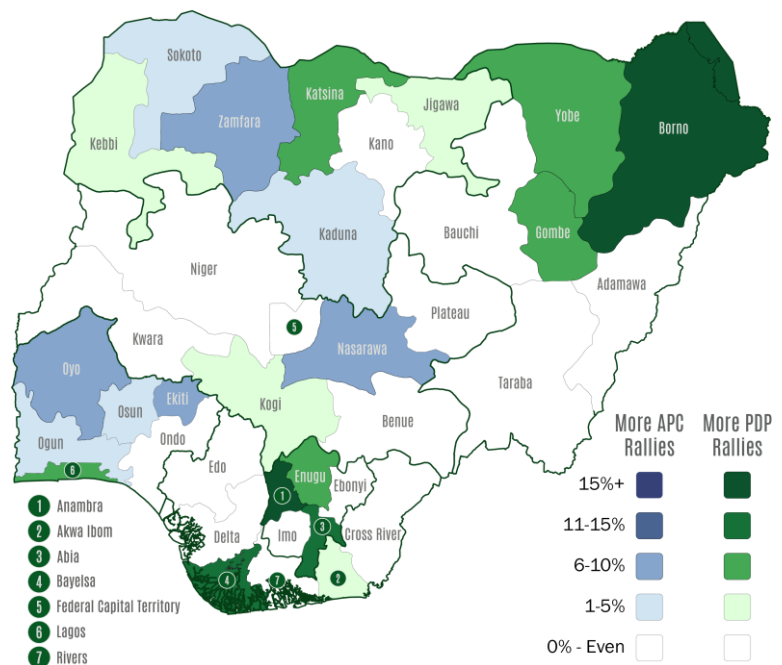
## PREO Period One Party Rallies

By percentage disparity of rallies observed in LGAs directly and indirectly by the APC and PDP parties in PREO period one.



## PREO Period Six Party Rallies

By percentage disparity of rallies observed in LGAs directly and indirectly by the APC and PDP parties in PREO period six.



<sup>2</sup> TMG observers used a broad definition of rallies to include both party or candidate rallies and ward congresses organized within electoral districts.

<sup>3</sup> Adamawa, Bauchi, Ebonyi, Edo, FCT, Imo, Kano, Nasarawa, Ogun, Plateau, Rivers, Taraba, and Zamfara

<sup>4</sup> Adamawa, Bauchi, Bayelsa, Cross River, Ebonyi, Edo, FCT, Jigawa, Kano, Kebbi, Imo, Lagos, Plateau, Rivers, Taraba

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## Critical Incident Reports

During the sixth reporting period, TMG observers texted 33 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/>). Nearly two thirds of the reports (61%) came from five states in the North West zone (Sokoto - 9, Kano-4, Jigawa-3, Katsina-2, Zamfara-2). The nine reports from Sokoto came from six different LGAs and chronicled the destruction of properties such as tearing and defacing candidates' posters and billboards as well as throwing stones and torching party offices. The reports from Sokoto also detailed violent clashes between party supporters, particularly on the way to and from rallies.

As in the previous period, the critical incident reports from across the country involved the destruction of property (23 reports), attacks on candidates and supporters (19 reports), and attacks on rallies (5 report). A growing trend seen across the country is fighting between party supporters sparked by the destruction of party posters and billboards. Ten of the cases reported instances where the destruction of posters or billboards resulted in an escalation of violence involving the reciprocation of violence from the other side or clashes between supporters. Similarly, an increasing number of critical incident reports detailing attacks on rallies, candidates or supporters also indicated that the supporters for the attacked party also responded with violence including destroying property and attacking opposing supporters.