



Key Findings of Reporting Period Eight

20 February - 5 March 2015

Summary and Recommendations

The Transition Monitoring Group (TMG)'s observations in the eighth reporting period reflect increased signs of tension and heightened risk for politically motivated or electoral violence in South East Nigeria. In Abia, Ebonyi and Imo states in particular, TMG observers report attacks on candidates and their supporters, attacks on party rallies, destruction of candidate property, candidates inciting supporters to violence, attacks on journalists and media outlets and hate speech in more LGAs than elsewhere in the country. This suggests that these problems are becoming widespread in Abia, Ebonyi and Imo and merit close observation. TMG observers also reported on the status of political party campaigning by the All Progressives Congress, All Progressives Grand Alliance, Labour Party, and Peoples Democratic Party. TMG also reported on the nation-wide increase in reports of buying voters' cards as Election Day approaches. Lastly, TMG observers corroborated reports circulating in many Nigerian and international dailies that nation-wide fuel is becoming more difficult for the average Nigerian consumer to purchase. Mounting economic pressures on Nigerian consumers in advance of the polls may contribute to increased popular dissatisfaction or tension on Election Day and should be closely monitored.

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

- Peace and security actors should take immediate steps to mitigate risks for violence in Abia, Ebonyi and Imo states, including through the robust, nonpartisan supervision of political party rallies and large public gatherings in the days leading up to the elections.
- The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), National Orientation Agency (NOA) and CSOs should undertake intensive civic and voter education - particular in Abia, Ebonyi and Imo - focused on peaceful political participation and mechanisms to legally resolve electoral grievances in the post-election period.
- Candidates standing for office, especially in South East Nigeria, should publically denounce hate speech and acts of violence and should commit to campaigning on issue-based platforms. Candidates should furthermore hold their own supporters or party rank and file members responsible for engaging in violence or hate speech.
- To mitigate risks of vote-buying, particularly in the states of Nasarawa, Sokoto, Ebonyi, Imo and the FCT, INEC and NOA as well as relevant CSOs should intensify voter education and information efforts to remind voters that permanent voters' cards are assigned to each voter individually and can only be obtained and used by the voter.
- INEC officials should exercise due diligence when distributing permanent voters' cards and should distribute them only to the intended cardholder.

Period 1: 14 - 27 Nov. 2014

Period 2: 28 Nov. - 12 Dec. 2014

Period 3: 13 - 22 Dec 2014

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Period 6: 23 Jan. - 5 Feb. 2015

Period 7: 6 - 19 Feb. 2015

Period 8: 20 Feb. - 5 March 2015

Early Warning Signs of Violence

Mounting Tensions in South East

Over time, TMG observers have reported on several concerning trends in South East that indicate rising tensions and a growing risk of widespread politically motivated or electoral violence. Based on the state-level analysis provided in the table below, TMG urges peace and security actors to pay particular attention to risks for violence in Abia, Ebonyi and Imo states and to provide robust, nonpartisan supervision of political party rallies and large public gatherings in the weeks leading up to the elections. Candidates standing for office in these states should publically denounce hate speech and acts of violence - most especially acts of violence or destruction carried out by their own supporters -- and should commit to campaigning on issue-based platforms. Moreover, TMG calls upon INEC, NOA and relevant civil society actors to undertake an intensive civic and voter education campaign in these states emphasizing the importance of peaceful political participation and outlining mechanisms that will be available to peacefully resolve electoral disputes in the post-election period.

Signs of Tension in South East in Period 8

By percentage of LGAs Reporting (both directly and indirectly)

	Abia	Anambra	Ebonyi	Enugu	Imo	National Average	Average for SE
Attacks on Party Rallies	35%	10%	62%	6%	48%	21%	32%
Destruction of Candidate/ Supporters' Property	47%	19%	85%	6%	48%	26%	39%
Candidates Inciting Supporters to Violence	24%	0%	54%	6%	37%	13%	23%
Attacks on Candidates/Supporters	41%	19%	85%	12%	59%	27%	42%
Attacks on Journalists/Media	18%	0%	8%	0%	33%	5%	14%
Gender-based Hate Speech	41%	29%	54%	18%	70%	17%	44%
Region of Origin-Based Hate Speech	65%	24%	69%	18%	70%	28%	49%
Age-based Hate Speech	53%	19%	38%	18%	67%	23%	41%
Disability-based Hate Speech	29%	14%	8%	12%	30%	11%	20%
Religious-based Hate Speech	71%	19%	31%	6%	63%	29%	40%

Violations of the Electoral Code

Increased Reports of Buying of Voters' Cards

Over time, TMG observers have reported a steady increase in the buying of voters' cards nation-wide. Since early February, these reports have been more prevalent in northern Nigeria than in the south. The PREO reports do not provide information about how frequently cards may have been bought or in what quantities; they only indicate where geographically this behaviour has been observed. Particularly in the states of Nasarawa, Sokoto, Ebonyi, Imo and the FCT (where such reports have been especially

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Period 3: 13 - 22 Dec 2014

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Period 5: 9 Jan. - 22 Jan. 2015

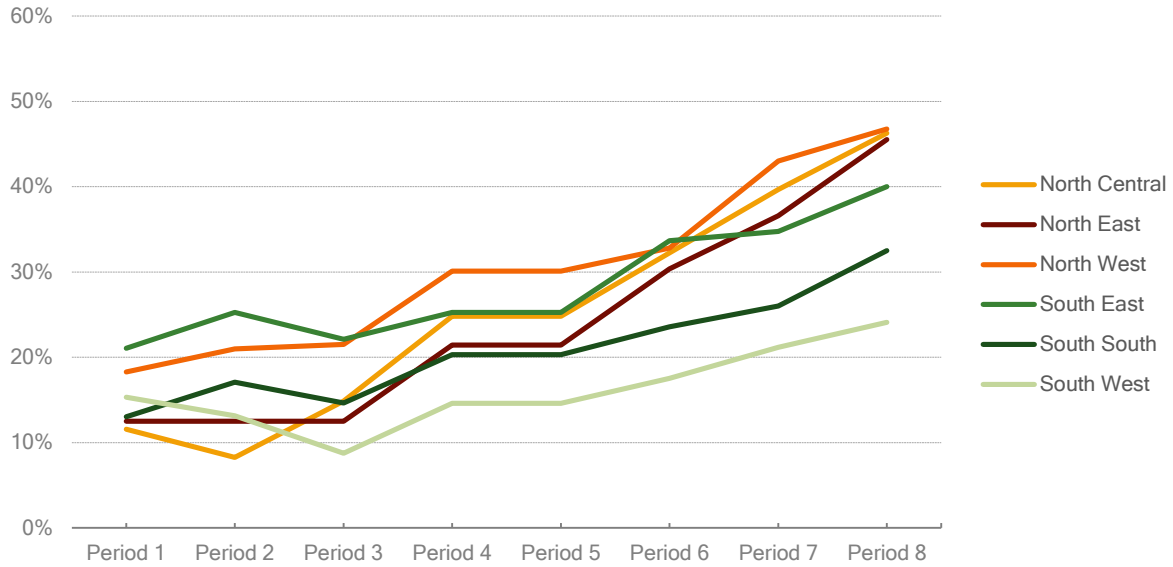
Period 6: 23 Jan. - 5 Feb. 2015

Period 7: 6 - 19 Feb. 2015

Period 8: 20 Feb. - 5 March 2015

widespread), TMG calls upon INEC to remind voters that voter cards are assigned to each voter individually and can only be obtained and used by the voter. TMG also urges INEC to remind their officials that they should strictly adhere to their guidelines.

Observed Buying of Voter Cards
Directly and Indirectly by Zone Over Time

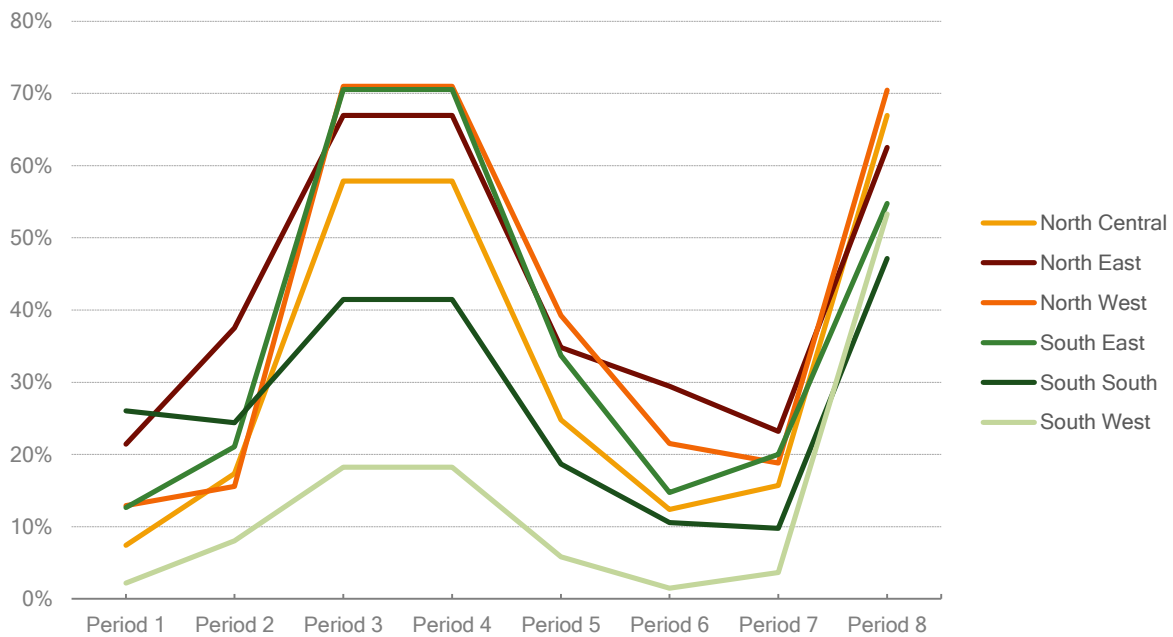


Economic Factors

Increased Difficulty of Purchasing Fuel

In the eighth reporting period, TMG again witnessed a sharp nation-wide increase in the difficulty of

Difficulty to Purchase Fuel in Nigeria
By zone over time



Period 1: 14 - 27 Nov. 2014

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Period 5: 9 Jan. - 22 Jan. 2015

Period 6: 23 Jan. - 5 Feb. 2015

Period 7: 6 - 19 Feb. 2015

Period 8: 20 Feb. - 5 March 2015

purchasing fuel at the pumps. PREO observers reported that in period eight it became harder to purchase fuel in more than one half of Nigeria’s LGAs. The reports indicate that it may be slightly more difficult to purchase fuel in the North, but that shortages were wide-spread throughout the country. TMG’s reports align with reports carried in many major Nigerian and international dailies, which suggest that the sharp devaluation of the naira against the dollar, tighter credit, and unpaid government subsidies on gasoline have resulted in a situation where Nigeria is exporting crude oil at relatively cheaper prices, but must import refined gasoline at relatively higher prices. As Nigeria prepares for elections, these mounting economic pressures on the average consumer may contribute to popular dissatisfaction and heightened tensions. TMG will continue to monitor the situation closely.

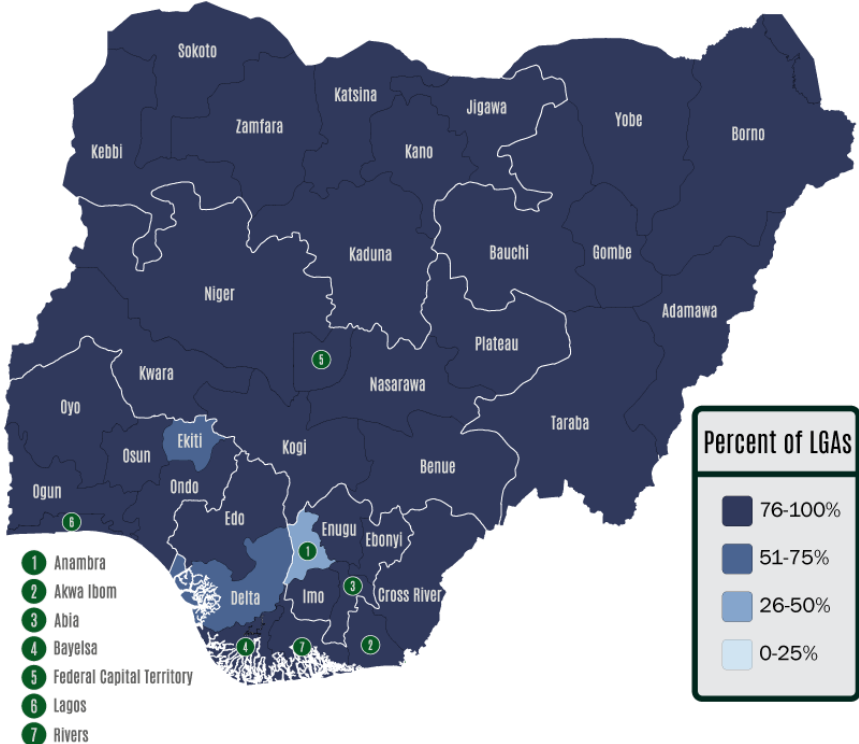
Electoral Preparations

Political Party Campaigns in Period 8

Political parties are continuing their campaigns in anticipation of the rescheduled election date. The accompanying maps provide an indication of where each of the four parties mentioned above may be concentrating their campaign efforts. For the purposes of the PREO observation, TMG observers considered a rally to be any public gathering of party supporters. As a result, the reported rallies may reflect local level gatherings and not only rallies organized by the central party authorities. Nor do the maps indicate which APC, APGA, Labour or PDP candidates (gubernatorial, senatorial, presidential, etc.) the rallies were intended to support.

APC Party Rallies in PREO Period 8

By percent of LGAs that directly and indirectly observed rallies associated with the APC party



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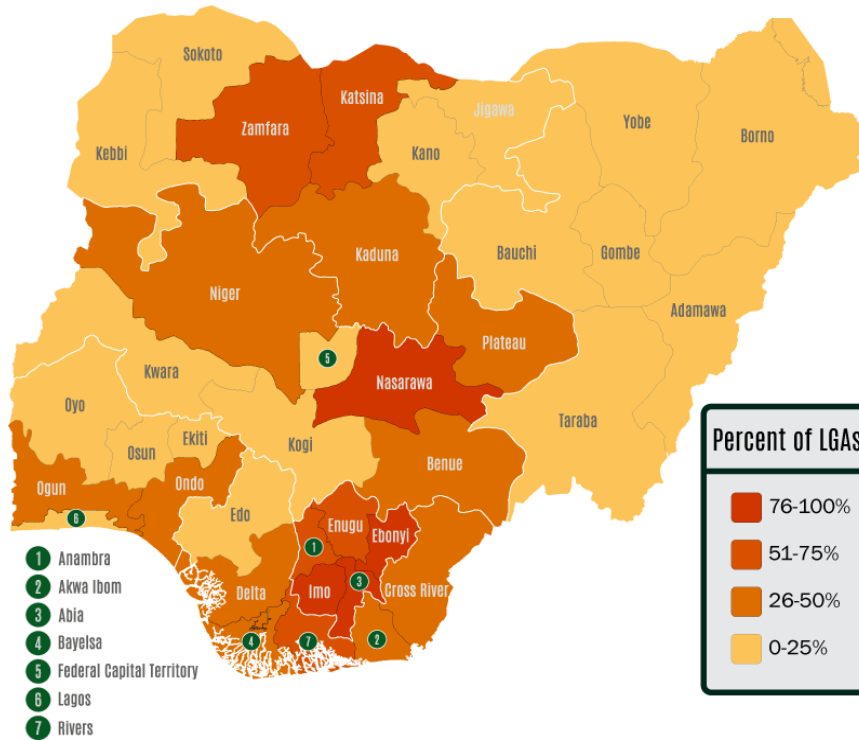
Period 6: 23 Jan. - 5 Feb. 2015

Period 7: 6 - 19 Feb. 2015

Period 8: 20 Feb. - 5 March 2015

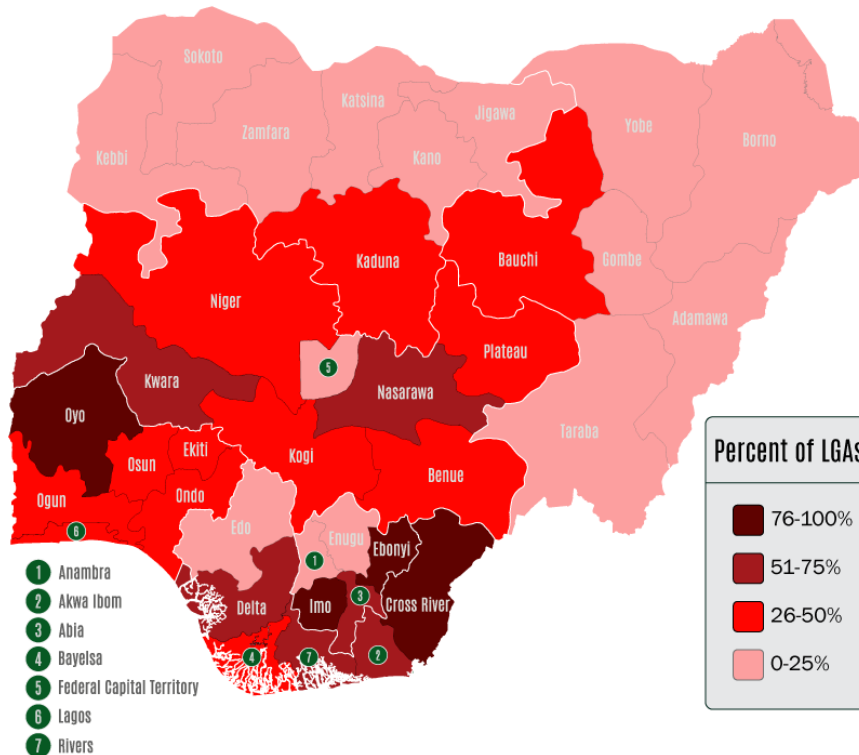
APGA Party Rallies in PREO Period 8

By percent of LGAs that directly and indirectly observed rallies associated with the APGA party



Labour Party Rallies in PREO Period 8

By percent of LGAs that directly and indirectly observed rallies associated with the Labour party



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Period 5: 9 Jan. - 22 Jan. 2015

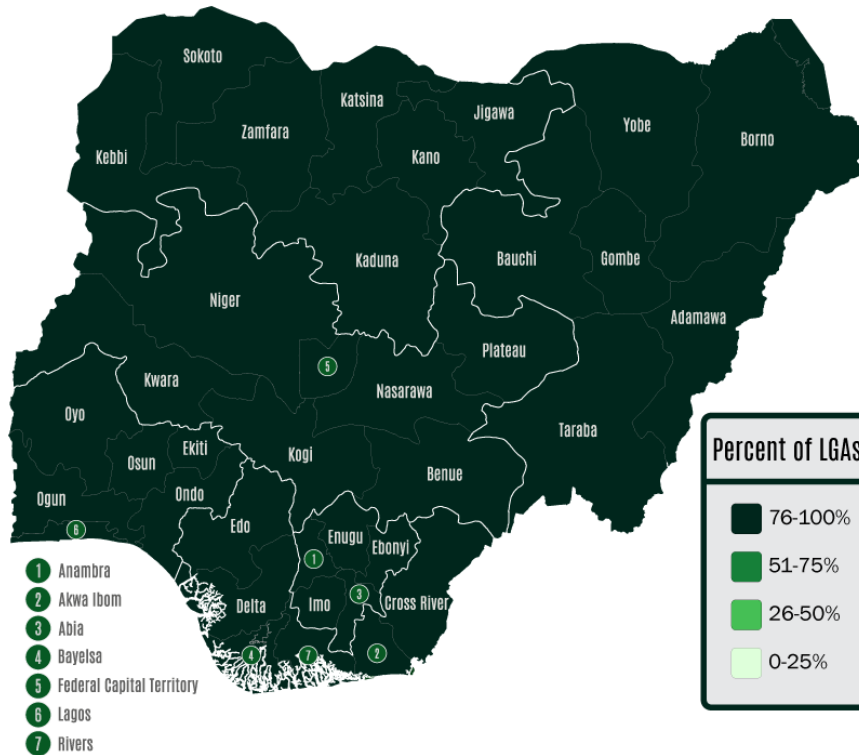
Period 6: 23 Jan. - 5 Feb. 2015

Period 7: 6 - 19 Feb. 2015

Period 8: 20 Feb. - 5 March 2015

PDP Party Rallies in PREO Period 8

By percent of LGAs that directly and indirectly observed rallies associated with the PDP party



Critical Incident Reports

During the seventh reporting period, TMG observers texted in nine verified critical incident reports: a decline from the 33 reports recorded in period six and the 20 reports received in period seven. 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/>). Unlike the previous period when reports came exclusively from the three northern zones, period eight reports came from observers spanning the country. Six of the reports involved attacks on rallies or on supporters and candidates moving to or from these events. This further emphasizes the need for party leaders and candidates to call on their supporters to refrain from violence and for nonpartisan supervision of party rallies.

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 March 16, 2015 and are releasing a series of nine reports on the pre-election environment from November 2014 to March 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

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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.**

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