



# **Report on Nigeria's 2015 General Elections**





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28 March & 11 April 2015

## Situation Room

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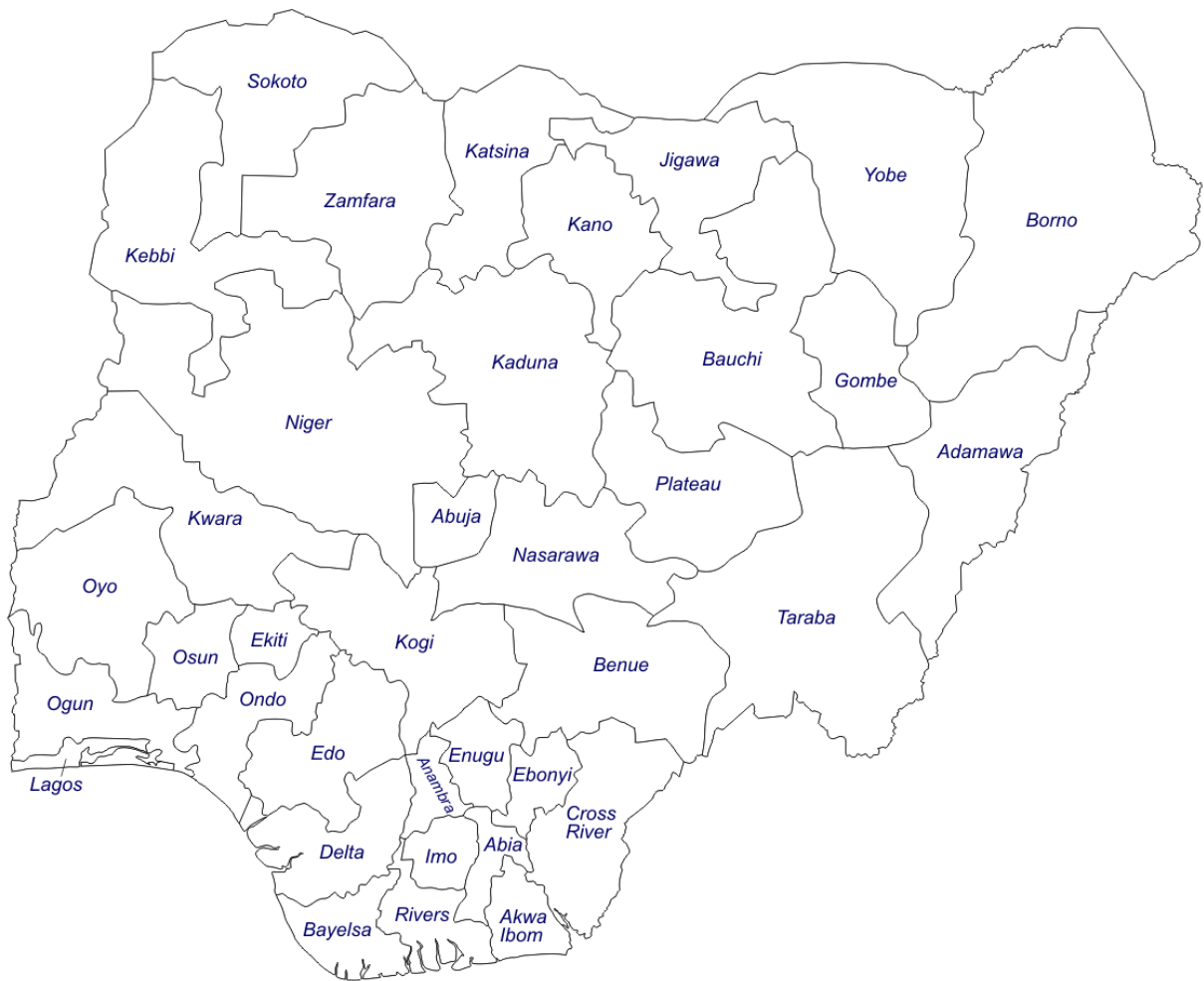
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Acknowledgment</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>Foreword</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Executive Summary</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Part I – Introduction</b>	<b>5</b>
The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room	
Context of the 2015 General Elections	
Outcome of the 2011 Elections	
Build up to the 2015 Elections	
<b>Part II – Polling Preparations</b>	<b>17</b>
Legal Framework for 2015 Elections	
Governmental Institutions and Electoral System	
Election Management	
Constituency Delimitation and Reorganization of Polling Units	
Voter Registration	
Political Parties and Candidates	
Election Campaign	
Campaign Finance	
<b>Part III- Polling, Counting and Results</b>	<b>37</b>
28 March 2015: Presidential and National Assembly Elections	
11 April 2015: Gubernatorial and Houses of Assembly Elections	
Election Results	
Security and Election-related violence	
<b>Part IV – Recommendations</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>Picture Gallery</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	<b>57</b>



## FOREWORD

The 2015 Nigeria General elections represented a milestone in Nigeria's democratic development. For the first time in Nigeria's history the main opposition candidate, General Muhammadu Buhari won the presidential elections defeating incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan who conceded defeat and congratulated Buhari on his victory.

Elections in Nigeria are often controversial, even disputed. In the 2015 general elections, the two main parties - APC and PDP had fought a hard and divisive campaign full of intemperate language. The campaigns leading up to the elections brought to the fore the divisiveness of Nigeria's politics especially along ethnic, religious and regional lines. It was also very expensive. The role of key actors in the electoral process particularly the Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Situation Room) and the International Community contributed in no small measure to dousing some of the main concerns.

Situation Room's interventions were very critical. In January 2015, Situation Room hosted former UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan to a dialogue session where he spoke about the importance of Nigeria's elections to the African Continent and the need to avoid conflict and degeneration to any sort of conflagration. Former Secretary-general Kofi Annan also met in the same period with key political stakeholders including then incumbent President Jonathan, his challenger General Muhammadu Buhari and other opposition parties. He preached the message of peace to all political contestants.

The uncertainties that surrounded the holding of the 2015 general elections including that of violence ahead of the elections was a special concern for Situation Room. When it seemed that the Nigerian Government was going to interfere with the conduct of the 2015 general elections through "forced pre-retirement leave" of INEC Chair, Prof. Attahiru Jega, Situation Room led civil society challenge of this. Situation Room was also able to rally public support for INEC that enabled it implement a programme of distribution of Permanent Voters Cards (PVCs) that was used in the elections. A game changer in the elections was the introduction of Smart Card Readers (SCR). The politicians and candidates were unfamiliar with and even afraid of the Card Readers, as they had not learnt how to manipulate it. Thus, extent of their ability to rig the elections became limited.

The 2015 general elections have proved to be very positive for Nigeria's democracy. It delivered credible elections, renewed citizens' confidence in the electoral process and has offered fresh possibilities for improvement in better election delivery in the country. Expectations are however high amongst Nigerians that the new government will respond to the challenges of development and governance confronting Nigeria. Situation Room would continue the important role of engaging Nigeria's democratic process to achieve needed reforms.

**Clement Nwankwo**  
*Executive Director, PLAC*  
*Convener, Nigeria Civil Society Situation*  
*Room*

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Nigeria's 2015 general elections were the fifth elections since the country returned to civil rule in 1999. The elections were originally scheduled for the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 28<sup>th</sup> of February, however, these dates were changed following security concerns raised by the National Security Adviser, Sambo Dasuki. The elections subsequently took place on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March (for the presidency and the National Assembly) and on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April (for state governors and State Houses of Assembly).

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room, a broad platform of civil society groups seeking to provide a more effective response to electoral failure in the country, was actively involved in observing the elections. The Situation Room, whose secretariat is hosted by the Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC), provided a platform for sharing information among civic groups, real-time analyses of field reports by election observers, objective insights into the challenges of the election management body, rapid response to emergencies - especially election violence - and constructive engagement between civil society and other election stakeholders, including the Independent National Election Commission (INEC).

The 2015 elections provided an opportunity for Nigeria to consolidate the gains it made during the 2011 elections, which had been hailed by observers as the freest and fairest in the country since 1999. However, competing claims to the presidency by northern and southern politicians, a keenly-contested campaign smeared by inflammatory messages, the grave security threat posed by the Boko Haram insurgency, allegations

of a politically-motivated postponement of the elections, and gaps in electoral preparations, posed serious obstacles to the smooth conduct of the elections.

Although several amendments aimed at improving the legal framework for the 2015 general elections were proposed, the National Assembly could not complete the amendment process before the elections took place. The National Assembly only submitted the bills seeking to amend the Constitution and Electoral Act to President Goodluck Jonathan for his assent in mid-March 2015, a few days before the elections. In the end, the existing legal framework proved an adequate basis for the conduct of the elections in accordance with international democratic principles and with the international instruments ratified by the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

As part of preparations for the 2015 elections, INEC implemented several reforms including a comprehensive restructuring of its bureaucracy, the development of new communications and gender policies, and an overhaul of its operational and logistics strategy through the introduction of three core innovations: the Election Project Plan (EPP), the Election Management System (EMS), and the Business Process Review (BPR). The extent to which the implementation of these reforms helped to improve election management during the 2015 elections has not been determined, but the myriad challenges faced by INEC in conducting the 2015 elections raise doubts about their effectiveness.

The presidential and National Assembly elections held on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March were conducted

in a generally peaceful and orderly manner with enthusiastic voters committed to patiently attend the accreditation and voting process from early in the morning. However, voters endured severe difficulties during the elections due to several operational and logistic lapses which led to the late opening of poll stations across the country. This was compounded by the difficulties experienced in the use of card readers for the voter accreditation process. Malfunctioning card readers in several polling units led to further delays stretching the voting process in some places to very late into the night. The seriousness of the card reader failure forced INEC to change elections guidelines and allow election officials to manually accredit voters. Though this response was intended to expedite accreditation, it removed the safeguard of electronically checking for authentic PVCs and opened the process to possible manipulation.

As is usual with elections in Nigeria, the counting and collation process is often the most fragile stage of the election. Although there were disturbing reports that politicians attempted to use national security apparatuses to fiddle with the collation process, the Situation Room observed that INEC and other relevant authorities kept a close watch on the process. The Situation Room's network of observers and partners did observe evidence of systematic manipulation of the process.

In many respects, the conduct of the gubernatorial and State House of Assembly elections represents a notable improvement in election management, especially in terms of the timely arrival of electoral officials and materials as well as the functionality of card readers. However, the elections were marked by a deterioration of security following attempts by politicians and their supporters to manipulate the electoral process.

The Situation Room observed that in spite of INEC's undoubtedly genuine attempts to deliver exemplary elections, in some states deep-rooted political animosities and fierce competitions for power erupted in violence and threatened to subvert the electoral process.

In the face of a difficult security environment, logistical and operational challenges, and many other adversities, the Situation Room assessed that INEC managed to safeguard the voting rights of Nigerian citizens. Throughout the elections, especially when faced with challenges, the commission consulted widely with political parties, civil society organisations and other stakeholders in an effort to promote inclusiveness in its decision-making processes and the transparency of the elections. In spite of the progress that the 2015 elections represent, the Situation Room believes that a number of reforms and improvements are required to ensure that the achievements of the two past elections are consolidated.

The Situation Room therefore offers the following recommendations for consideration and possible implementation by various stakeholders in the Nigerian electoral process:

1. Amend the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to bring Resident Election Commissioners (RECs) under the control and direction of INEC Headquarters through appointments of State Directors of elections to replace RECs.
2. The executive and legislative arms of government should resolve the disagreement over proposed amendments to the Constitution and ensure that proposals seeking to improve the electoral process receive the attention they deserve.
3. Extend the period for conduct of a re-run

- election from 7 days to 21 days.
4. Any future amendments to election legislation should be enacted sufficiently in advance of elections to provide political parties, candidates and voters adequate time to be informed of the new rules of the election process.
  5. INEC should immediately commence arrangements to reorganize constituencies and polling units in Nigeria, as this is long overdue.
  6. INEC should make thorough planning a key priority; it should ensure the full implementation and strict adherence to both its Election Project Plan (EPP) and its Election Management System (EMS). INEC should also take any other necessary measures to strengthen its procurement, logistics and operational capacity.
  7. INEC should ensure greater compliance with election procedures at all levels and introduce measures to reduce inconsistency in their implementation.
  8. INEC could address its operational challenges by improving the capacity of its staff through robust learning programmes and timely training.
  9. To further improve the transparency of the collation process, INEC should publish official results that are broken down to the polling unit level.
  10. INEC should devise a swifter and more robust internal result verification mechanism to be put in place before the official proclamation of election winners.
  11. INEC should continue with the positive action of engaging with its partners – holding periodic consultative meetings with stakeholders, particularly political parties, candidates and CSOs at the federal and state levels.
  12. INEC should develop and implement timely and clear procedures for accrediting domestic observers and journalists.
  13. INEC should improve the voters register by devising a transparent and systematic system of eliminating dead registrants.
  14. INEC should ensure that it conducts Continuous Voter Registration before future elections, and that it closes the update of the voters' register 30 days before the election date, in line with the Electoral Act.
  15. INEC should ensure that the voters' register is made readily available to political parties, other election stakeholders, and the general public.
  16. INEC should ensure the mandatory use of serialized seals to further protect ballots in ballot boxes.
  17. Political parties should be allowed to accredit only one agent per polling unit to help reduce the widespread interference of party agents in the voting process.
  18. INEC should provide clear instructions to Collation Officers regarding the correction of calculation errors to eliminate the arbitrary handling of numeric inconsistencies in result sheets.
  19. People involved in election-related violence, as well as those involved in election offences, should be promptly prosecuted to deter future offenders and address impunity in electoral offences.
  20. Amendments to the Electoral Act particularly Section 31(4) of the Act to allow for greater internal democracy in the parties.

# PART I





## INTRODUCTION

### THE NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATION ROOM

Prior to the 2011 general elections, Nigeria had a reputation for the poor management of its elections. In particular, the 2007 general elections left a major dent on the credibility of the country's electoral process due to the magnitude and severity of irregularities recorded during the process. The widespread condemnation of those elections prompted both the government and civil society groups in Nigeria to initiate and implement measures that could improve the conduct of future elections and restore the credibility of the country's electoral process.



**Unveiling of the 2015 Election Situation Room - Jude Ilo of OSIWA, Tunji Lardner of WANGONET, Catherine Weiss of DFID, Clement Nwankwo of PLAC, INEC Chair Prof. Attahiru Jega and the PRO of Nigeria Police, Emmanuel Ojukwu**

In the past, Nigerian civil society could not properly coordinate and apply its resources to achieve effective intervention in the country's electoral process. Civil society groups were individually involved in traditional election observation but this did not have much impact on the quality of elections in the country. As election

observers, these groups often watched helplessly as the preferences of the voters are thwarted and the popular mandate brazenly stolen. Although the groups would observe and document irregularities in the country's electoral process, their reports always came in retrospect, when all harm had already been done and the offenders had had their way.

In the build-up to the 2011 general elections there was a decision by key actors in the Nigerian civil society to adopt a new and more effective approach to addressing the challenge of election failure in Nigeria. This decision gave rise to the establishment of the Nigeria Civil Society Election Situation Room<sup>1</sup>. With the support of the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), a broad platform of civil society groups in Nigeria collaborated to provide a more effective response to electoral fraud and violence, the key threats to the country's electoral process. The Nigeria Civil Society Election Situation Room was to later evolve and become the Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (the Situation Room). The word "Election" was dropped from its name to reflect a wider focus extending to other governance issues and concerns. The Situation Room, which is made up of over 60 civil society groups, is hosted by the Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The first meeting of the civil society groups that eventually evolved as the Nigeria Civil Society Election Situation Room was called by PLAC on 30 September 2010.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix for a list of member organizations of the Situation Room.

The Situation Room provides a forum for sharing information among civic groups, real-time analyses of field reports by election observers, objective insights into the challenges of the election management body, rapid response to emergencies - especially election violence - and constructive engagement between civil society and other election stakeholders, including INEC. The group seeks to strengthen the mechanisms that coordinate the activities of civil society to engage with Nigeria's elections, undertake regular analysis and dissemination of information on major developments and events in the preparations and conduct of elections, facilitate civil society engagement with key government actors and agencies on major findings and observations from its analysis, and foster collective action by civil society to promote accountability throughout the electoral process.

The effectiveness of the Situation Room is based on its relationship with INEC and other election stakeholders. In the past, INEC and other government agencies have been cautious in their relationship with civil society organizations (CSOs) due to their perception that CSOs were overly critical. With this in mind, the Situation Room ensured that it placed its focus on achieving credible elections, and not just to criticize the election management agencies. Consequently, the Situation Room was able to cultivate a constructive relationship with INEC and other government agencies that have roles in election management. During the 2011 elections, the Situation Room held meetings with INEC on the eve of each stage of the election to review their level of preparedness and get civil society perspectives on the election. Members of INEC's technical team were sometimes part of the Situation Room's

deliberations helping to clarify points or bringing necessary information to help their analysis<sup>3</sup>. This provided an opportunity for very constructive and fruitful exchanges.

The 2015 General elections in Nigeria was a watershed experience for the Situation Room platform. The Situation Room served as an example of civil society effort and collaboration on governance and democracy. In the lead up to the 2015 general elections, Situation Room carried out extensive advocacy aimed at improving governance in Nigeria. Organisations that form the Situation Room platform work in variety of fields such as anti-corruption, civic education, human rights, development and democracy. These organisations collaborated during the 2015 elections and forge a common message.

During the 2015 general elections, Situation Room pooled the resources of various civil society groups. This enabled the group to gather and share information, plan for anticipated problems during elections, and respond rapidly when problems occur. A Central Command Centre was established to coordinate the plans and activities of the Situation Room during the elections. The Situation Room through its engagement with INEC worked to maintain public confidence in the ability of the Commission to deliver on credible elections. The group engaged in back channel advocacy, and interacted with local and international leaders to flag potential flash points for conflict. The Situation Room held several discussions with various stakeholders including former Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Annan, Cardinal John Onaiyekan, Bishop Matthew Kukah, and the representative of the UN, Under-Secretary General on Political Affairs, Jerry Feltman.

<sup>3</sup> See Udo Jude Ilo, Bronwen Manby and Chidi Odinkalu, *Making Elections Count: A Guide to Setting up a Civil Society Election Situation Room*. Dakar: Open Society Initiative for West Africa, 2012, p. 12.



UN Under Secretary-General on Political Affairs, Jerry Feltman and his delegation visiting the Situation Room Secretariat prior to the 2015 general elections

The Situation Room carried out advocacy visits to different election Stakeholders including advocacy visits to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Rt. Hon. Aminu Tambuwal, Inspector-General of Police and the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) to challenge the attempt to subvert the electoral process through the postponement of the elections and removal of the INEC Chair before his exit date. The Situation Room also continuously invoked the International Criminal Court to keep people away from subverting the electoral process including the Nigerian courts and judiciary through its press statements.

The atmosphere in the Situation Room on the day of the presidential and National Assembly elections was electric. Several Situation Room members, analysts, international observers, development partners, diplomats, journalists and technical crew converged at the Nassarawa/Ogun Halls on the 02 floor of the Transcorp Hilton Hotel. There was a flurry of activities, conversations going on in one section of the room among the analysts who were receiving reports from the

technical team positioned at another end of the room. That end of the room comprised the team working the phone, scribbling on post-it cards and posting their notes on the walls of the hall, which had been converted to information boards. Everyone was busy, the tea and coffee section of the room had already started its brewing by 7am and there was constant back and forth between the different ends of the room and the tea/coffee end. Energy levels were high and everyone poised for action.

The set-up of the Election Day Situation Room was structured into three sections: 1) the Expert/Analyst Chamber, 2) the Technical Team, and 3) the Field Observers. The technical room received reports and verified from the field observers deployed by partner organisations across Nigeria, interfaced with the INEC Situation Room and used the social media optimally to keep Nigerians and the wider world up-to-date on the progress of the votes as well as to



Information board in the technical room with reports received from the field

flag incidents of concern. The technical room was also the liaison for collaboration with other groups domiciled in the hotel including CASE 2015 of Yar'adua Foundation and the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG). Equally in the room was the Amplified Radio, a terrestrial Radio Station, which carried live broadcasts, reporting and interviewing Situation Room members. The verified information received from the technical room fed into the analyst room for discussion, interpretation and intervention.



**British High Commissioner, Sir Andrew Pocock and Head of DFID Nigeria, Ben Mellor visits the Situation Room**



**Situation Room visited by the Ambassadors of Norway, Brazil, Australia & Turkey**

Visitors received in the Situation Room included a delegation of the British High Commission led by the British High Commissioner, Andrew Pocock; a delegation of the UN led by the UN Special Representative on the Nigerian 2015 elections, Mohammed Ibn Chambas, African Union Election Observation Mission led by former President of Liberia, Amos Sawyer; Ambassadors of Norway, Australia, Brazil and Turkey, Representative of the World Bank and Representative of UNICEF. The Director-General of the National Orientation Agency, Chairman of the National Human Rights Commission, a delegation from the UN Women Situation Room, NDI and IFES also visited the Situation Room.



**IFES Delegation visit the Situation Room**

The night of March 28, 2015 – the National Elections Day - was a sleepless one. The Situation Room members kept vigil and the Room was abuzz all through till the next morning. A few tired members took time off to nap. By the evening, voting was completed and collation was underway. It became a waiting game. Situation Room was following up with telephone calls to its partner groups across the country, receiving reports, checking out and verifying information received. The waiting game for the election results to be announced extended to March 31<sup>st</sup> and then drama played out live at the National Collation Centre at the International Conference Centre (ICC) in Abuja.



**Delegation of the ECOWAS Observation Mission visit the Situation Room**



**Delegation of the UN Women Situation Room visit the Situation Room**



**Dr. Mike Omeri, D.G. National Orientation Agency, visits the Situation Room during the 2015 elections**

Elder Peter Godsdoy Orubebe, a former Minister of Niger Delta and key President Jonathan loyalist, confronted the INEC Chair Prof. Jega. Orubebe sought to disrupt the final collation of the Presidential results. For more than 15 minutes he ranted, shouted and held the collation process to a standstill. He accused the INEC Chair, who is chief returning officer of the presidential elections of bias and partisanship. He also said he had delivered a protest letter to Jega’s office and demanded that he stop the collation and move back to his office to attend to the letter. The country was held in suspense as this played out live on national television.

At the Situation Room, Prof. Jega’s Personal Aide sent out a message expressing fears about Jega’s safety. The Situation Room also received another frantic phone call from another of Jega’s aide raising similar fears. Officials of the Situation Room were quick to act, contacts were made with diplomats, international observers and the media raising fears that the election collation was in serious danger of being scuttled. These concerns appeared to have been escalated immediately. After a while the situation at the ICC de-escalated. Orubebe calmed down from his ranting and disruptive demeanor. Throughout his ranting, INEC Chair, Jega remained calm refused to take the bait and squabble that would have resulted where he to have entered into a fray with

Orubebe. Jega had his final word on the incident. This is what he said to Orubebe “Mr Orubebe, you are a former minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and a statesman in your own right and so, you must be careful about what you say or about the allegations you make on certain issues and certainly you should be careful about your public conducts”.

On April 1<sup>st</sup> 2015, Prof Jega announced the candidate of the APC as the winner of the Presidential elections. A few hours before the results were officially announced President Jonathan called General Muhammadu Buhari and congratulated him on his election. History was made; Nigeria recorded its first democratic change of government from a ruling party to an opposition party. The Situation Room exploded in victory shout and applause for Nigeria’s democracy and Situation Room’s pivotal role in this moment of history.



**Victory shouts and applause when the news broke of President Jonathan’s congratulatory phone call to General Buhari**



**Amplified Radio in the Situation Room**

## CONTEXT OF THE 2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS

The 2015 general elections is the fifth consecutive elections held since Nigeria's transition from military to democratic rule in 1999<sup>4</sup>. They followed the 2011 polls which were hailed by observers as the freest and fairest in the country since 1999 and which signified a major progress in the country's electoral and democratic development<sup>5</sup>. The evolution of electoral democracy in Nigeria has been protracted and difficult. Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, the country has organized nine general elections and numerous regional/state/local elections<sup>6</sup>. Of these elections, the 1979, 1993 and 1999 polls were conducted by military regimes to allow for the transition to civil rule, while the other elections (held in 1964, 1983, 2003, 2007, 2011, and 2015), were conducted by incumbent civilian regimes to consolidate democratic rule.



INEC Official explaining the Voting Process to voters on Election Day

Elections organized by incumbent civilian regimes have been very problematic in Nigeria. With perhaps the exception of the 2011 elections, these elections have been characterized by deliberate attempts by the ruling parties to monopolize the electoral space, engineer grand-scale electoral fraud, or otherwise deliberately move the process in their favour. This pattern was reflected in the 'stimulated landslide' victories recorded by the ruling parties in the 1964, 1983, 2003 and 2007 elections<sup>7</sup>.

The 1964 federal election was contested by the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) - a coalition of the predominantly southern parties National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), Action Group (AG) - and the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) - an alliance between the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) with support mostly in Northern Nigeria. The NPC and its allies in the NNA took advantage of their control of the federal government to gain a controversial victory that year<sup>8</sup>. A similar story took place in the 1983 general elections when the

4 For an overview of Nigerian elections since 1999 see, Cyril Obi, "Taking Back our Democracy? The Trials and Travails of Nigerian Elections since 1999." *Democratization*, 18(2): 366-387, 2011; Ademola Oshodi, "Return to Civilian Rule in Nigeria: Problems of Electoral Culture and Transparency over the Past Three Nigerian Elections (1999 - 2007)." *The Round Table*, 96(392): 617 - 630, 2007.

5 See Sylvester Akhaine, "Nigeria's 2011 Elections: The 'Crippled Giant' Learns to Walk? *African Affairs* 110(441): 649-655, 2011, Peter Lewis, "Nigeria Votes: More Openness, More Conflict." *Journal of Democracy*, 22(4): 60-74, 2011.

6 Ahmadu Kurfi, *Nigerian General Elections, 1951-2003: My Role and Reminiscences*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 2005.

7 On stimulating landslides in Nigeria see, Okechukwu Ibeanu, "Stimulating Landslides: Primitive Accumulation of Votes and the Popular Mandate in Nigeria." In: Isaac O. Albert, Derrick Marco and Victor Adetula eds. *Perspectives on the 2003 Elections in Nigeria*. Abuja: IDASA-Nigeria, 2007.

8 Billy Dudley, *Instability and Political Order: Politics and Crisis in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1973; Kenneth Post and Michael Vickers, *Structure and Conflict in Nigeria, 1960-1966*. London: Heinemann, 1973.

National Party of Nigeria (NPN), which won the presidency and gubernatorial elections in seven out of the 19 states in 1979, attempted to extend its political power throughout the federation. The allegations of vote manipulation in the 1983 elections triggered violent protests in some parts of Nigeria<sup>9</sup>.

The 2003 and 2007 general elections were also allegedly manipulated<sup>10</sup>. In particular, based on the magnitude of the electoral offences committed, some observers concluded that the 2007 elections were the most fraudulent in Nigeria's history<sup>11</sup>. The outcome of the elections severely dented Nigeria's image, but it also led to a great deal of soul-searching among the Nigerian leadership. Even the then president, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, publically acknowledged that the election which brought him to office was fundamentally flawed.

This posture allowed for a deep reflection on Nigeria's electoral process among members of the Electoral Reform Committee, a body inaugurated by the federal government to suggest measures that would improve the conduct of elections, restore electoral integrity and strengthen the quality of democracy in Nigeria. Some of the committee's recommendations were reviewed and included in the amended Electoral Act and the 2010 amendments to the Nigerian Constitution. Furthermore, the federal government tried to restore the integrity of elections in the country

by appointing leadership which was widely regarded as credible for INEC. On its part, INEC embarked on a series of internal reforms such as the compilation of a credible voters' register, fine-tuning of the system of accreditation and voting, and modifying of the process of collation of election results<sup>12</sup>. These measures partly account for the relative success achieved during the 2011 general elections<sup>13</sup>.

### Elections in Nigeria since 1960

Organized by Military Regimes	Organized by Civilian Regimes
1979 elections	1964 elections
1993 elections	1983 elections
1999 elections	2003 elections
	2007 elections
	2011 elections
	2015 elections

### Outcome of the 2011 elections

Goodluck Jonathan, candidate of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), won a decisive victory in the 2011 presidential election with 59.6 percent of the vote in the first round and a majority of the vote in 23 out of the country's 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory. Jonathan's closest rival was Muhammadu Buhari, candidate of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), who won 32.3 percent of the vote, gaining a majority in 12

9 Christopher Hart, "The Nigerian Elections of 1983." *Africa*, 63(3): 397-418, 1993; Dare Babarinsa, *House of War: The Story of Awo's Followers and Collapse of Nigeria's Second Republic*. Ibadan, Spectrum, 2003.

10 Peter Lewis, "Nigeria: Elections in a Fragile Regime." *Journal of Democracy* 14(3): 131-144, 2003; Daren Kew, "The 2003 elections: Hardly Credible, but Acceptable." In: Robert Rotberg ed. *Crafting the New Nigeria: Confronting the Challenges*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rinner, 2004; Rotimi Suberu, "Nigeria's Muddled Elections." *Journal of Democracy* 18(4): 95-110, 2007; Ben Rawlence and Chris Albin-Lackey, "Nigeria's 2007 General Elections: Democracy in Retreat." *African Affairs* 106(424): 497-506, 2007; Jean Herskovits, "Nigeria's Rigged Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* 86(4): 115-130, 2007.

11 Jibrin Ibrahim and Okechukwu Ibeanu, *Direct Capture: The 2007 Nigerian Elections and Subversion of Popular Sovereignty*. Lagos: Centre for Democracy and Development, 2009.

12 Kehinde Bolaji, "Toward Institutionalizing Credible Elections in Nigeria: A Review of Reform Measures by the Independent National Electoral Commission." In: Cordenillo, Raul ed. *Improving Electoral Practices: Case Studies and Practical Approaches*. Stockholm: International IDEA, 2014.

13 ICG (International Crisis Group), *Lessons from Nigeria's 2011 Elections*. Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2011 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/-/media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/B81%20-%20Lessons%20from%20Nigeras%202011%20Elections.pdf>.

states. The candidate of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Nuhu Ribadu, won 5.5 percent of the vote and gained a majority in only one state. In the National Assembly elections, PDP also prevailed, winning 205 out of 360 seats in the House of Representatives and 73 out of 109 seats in the Senate.

Goodluck Jonathan's victory was decisive, but also controversial. Until the 2011 elections, the PDP, which had won all the presidential and National Assembly elections held in Nigeria since 1999, implemented an informal zoning arrangement under which candidates for the presidency would alternate between southern and northern (and apparently between Christian and Muslim) politicians. Jonathan, a Christian from the southern state of Bayelsa, had been vice-president under President Umaru Yar'Adua, a Muslim from the Northern state of Katsina. Yar'Adua, who had won the presidency with a PDP ticket in 2007, had succeeded President Olusegun Obasanjo, a southerner who had served two terms in office from 1999 to 2007. When Yar'Adua died in 2010 midway into his first term, Jonathan took over as president, as provided for under the Nigerian Constitution.

However, many northerners in the PDP viewed Jonathan's presidency strictly as a temporary arrangement and insisted that it should be the north's turn to hold the presidency again in 2011. Goodluck Jonathan's decision to stand in the 2011 presidential election – having originally said that he would not – aroused much consternation and created the perception that the north had been systematically out-manoeuvred and disempowered<sup>14</sup>. The 2011 presidential

election was therefore marked by a serious sense of resentment among northern Muslims who felt that their 'turn' at leadership had been usurped. However, the breakdown of the PDP's informal zoning arrangement in 2011 did not block Jonathan's personal prospects in the elections. A deeply divided northern political elite enabled him to build alliances with some of its members and helped him to win the popular vote in the presidential election.

Nonetheless, Nigeria emerged from the 2011 election extremely polarized between north and south. Regardless of the significant improvement in administrative credibility and fairness of the 2011 polls, there was a major outbreak of violence in several northern states immediately after the result of the presidential election was announced. It was the worst post-election violence in decades, leading to the death of at least 800 people and the displacement of more than 65,000 others<sup>15</sup>. As the dust settled, it seemed as if Nigerians had moved on, yet many of underlying grievances that triggered the 2011 violence remained unaddressed, constituting a major concern ahead of the 2015 polls<sup>16</sup>.

### Build up to the 2015 elections

Two major developments set the context for Nigeria's 2015 elections, namely the emergence of a strong national opposition party and rising insecurity in the country. In February 2013, four major opposition parties in Nigeria - the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), and a faction of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) - merged

14 Leena Hoffmann, *Who Speaks for the North? Politics and Influence in Northern Nigeria*, London: Chatham House, 2014.

15 Nkwachukwu Orji and Nkiru Uzodi, *Post Election Violence in Nigeria: Experiences with the 2011 Elections*. Abuja: Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre, 2012.

16 Nkwachukwu Orji, "Nigeria's 2015 Election in Perspective." *Africa Spectrum*, 49(3): 121-133, 2014.

into a new party: the All Progressives Congress (APC)<sup>17</sup>. Between November 2013 and January 2014, internal crisis in the ruling PDP led to the defection of five state governors, 11 senators, 37 members of the House of Representatives, and several other notable politicians to the APC<sup>18</sup>. The mass defection left the PDP without a majority in the House of Representatives for the first time since 1999. To make matters worse, a letter from former President Obasanjo to President Jonathan in which Obasanjo warned that the country was in danger of breaking up if Jonathan stood again, was leaked<sup>19</sup>. The failure of the PDP to address questions around the breakdown of its zoning arrangement, the lack of democratic process within the ruling party, and poor governance by the Jonathan administration strengthened the nascent APC.

However, during the first half of 2014, President Jonathan and the PDP leadership had some success in stemming the adverse political tide. The PDP was able to prevent any more high level defections and even managed to contrive some defections to its direction. In August 2014, it pulled off a major political coup by persuading the prominent politician and former anti-corruption Commission head, Nuhu Ribadu to abandon the APC, which was by now experiencing growing internal divisions of its own, for the PDP<sup>20</sup>. PDP also co-opted other prominent APC members, including Tom Ikimi, Ibrahim Shekarau, and Ali Modu Sheriff. In addition, the PDP allegedly

instigated moves to impeach a number of APC governors; it succeeded in Adamawa State, where it retained considerable influence. The defeat of the APC in the Ekiti State gubernatorial election of June 2014 marked a major breakthrough for the PDP and a low point for the opposition party.

In August 2014, the APC managed to steady the ship in Osun State, one of its strongholds in the south-west, where it defeated the PDP in elections for state governor. In late October, the APC was boosted further by the defection of the PDP's speaker of the House of Representatives, Aminu Tambuwal<sup>21</sup>. The opposition challenge to the PDP intensified following vicious attacks by the Islamist group Boko Haram. The APC criticised the PDP's approach to the Islamist insurgency as complacent, and highlighted the economic decline that followed the fall in global oil prices as further indication of PDP's ineffectiveness and poor performance.

The threats posed by the Boko Haram insurgency and other security challenges in Nigeria cast doubt on the possibility of holding the 2015 elections. In the build up to the 2015 elections, terrorist activities, generally attributed to the Boko Haram insurgents spiralled especially in the northeast. In other parts of the north, there was an upsurge in communal clashes and violent confrontations between farmers and herdsmen. In the south, the activities of armed bandits continued unabated. There were fears that politicians would exploit the poor security situation in the country

17 Remi Latinwo, "INEC registers APC." Punch, 31 July 2013, <http://www.punchng.com/news/inec-registers-apc/>.

18 "In Political Earthquake, 5 PDP Gobs Defect to APC." This Day Live, 27 November 2013, <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/in-political-earthquake-5-pdp-gobs-defect-to-apc/165332/>; "Nigerian PDP governors defect to opposition APC." BBC News, 26 November 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-25109513>.

19 "OBJ Letter to Jonathan: Before it is too late", Punch, 12 December 2013, <http://www.punchng.com/news/a-letter-to-president-goodluck-jonathan/>.

20 Nigeria former anti-graft tsar defects to scandal-hit, ruling PDP, Reuters, 19 August 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/08/19/uk-nigeria-politics-idUSKBN0GJ1P020140819>.

21 Tambuwal defects to APC, This Day Live, 28 October 2014, <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/tambuwal-defects-to-apc/192510/>.

to stoke violence during the elections. In addition, observers feared that minor disputes over the integrity and/or outcome of the 2015 elections could lead to bloodshed.

In late 2014, the question of whether the security situation will permit the conduct of elections topped the agenda. INEC had initially expressed concerns that it would not be possible to hold elections in the northeast, especially in Borno and Yobe states<sup>22</sup>. The commission later changed its outlook, maintaining that elections would be held in the region. A few months before the elections were to hold, however, it was clear that securing polling stations would be an uphill task, especially if Boko Haram or any other militant group decided to disrupt the process. But failure to conduct elections in the northeast would badly dent the legitimacy of the polls and raise serious constitutional questions.

In Nigeria, the entire federation is treated as a single constituency for the presidential election and the successful candidate must win “not less than one-quarter of the votes cast at the election in each of at least two-thirds of all the states in the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory,

Abuja”<sup>23</sup>. Informed analysts argued that not holding elections in some states could lead to fierce legal battles over the results, and in a worst-case scenario, create political chaos and a rejection of the final results<sup>24</sup>. The leadership of the opposition APC, which largely controlled Borno and Yobe states, expressed its suspicion that the ruling PDP and President Jonathan were trying to keep people from voting in the region<sup>25</sup>.

There was also talk of postponing the 2015 general elections entirely. This view received attention when Senate President David Mark declared on the floor of the Senate that “there is no question of election, it is not even on the table. We are in a state of war”<sup>26</sup>. Opposition politicians immediately condemned the statement, arguing that Mark was suggesting a possible tenure extension for the Jonathan administration. Concerns about his comments re-emerged in January 2015 when the prospect of postponing the 2015 elections became real. Overall, it is to the credit of all Nigerians that the 2015 elections indeed took place, though in the midst of a difficult political and security environment.

22 2015: No Elections in North-East if... – INEC, Vanguard, 17 December 2013.

23 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999, Section 134, Subsection 1(b).

24 Nkwachukwu Orji, “Nigeria’s 2015 Election in Perspective.” p. 126.

25 ICG (International Crisis Group), Nigeria’s Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence. Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2014, p. 39.

26 “Boko Haram Crisis: 2015 Elections Not on the Table” - Mark, Daily Trust, 17 September 2014.

## PART II





# POLLING PREPARATIONS

## LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR 2015 ELECTIONS

**E**lections in Nigeria are regulated by the 1999 Constitution and the Electoral Act adopted in 2010, as well as regulations and guidelines issued by INEC. Nigeria's legal framework for elections has passed through remarkable transformations since they were introduced in 1999. The 1999 Constitution was amended by the First Alteration Act in July 2010 and by the Second Alteration Act in December 2010 to reflect recommendations made by the 22-member Electoral Reform Committee (ERC).

The ERC was established in August 2007 in response to the widely discredited general elections of 2007. The committee was mandated to "examine the entire electoral process with a view to ensuring that we raise the quality and standard of our general elections and thereby deepen our democracy"<sup>27</sup>. In its report, the ERC commented on several shortcomings which were impacting the quality and credibility of elections in the country. It noted the weaknesses of the constitutional and legal frameworks for elections, the lack of financial autonomy and administrative independence among electoral management bodies, the need to revise the provisions for independent candidature and establish intra-party democracy, and the need to address the prevailing atmosphere of impunity with regard to electoral offences.

Following the amendment of the Constitution, the Electoral Act 2006 was also amended to provide a stronger legal background for the 2011

general elections. The Electoral Act regulates the electoral process, including the nomination of candidates, the registration of political parties, and the regulation of party primaries, finances and electoral offences. The Electoral Act 2010 was further amended on the 29<sup>th</sup> of December, 2010, and on the 24<sup>th</sup> of January, 2011, in order to provide INEC adequate time for the conduct of voters' registration and polling.

While the amended Constitution and Electoral Act were improvements on previous laws, they left room for further improvements. In November 2012, INEC proposed further amendments to the legal election framework as part of preparations for the 2015 elections<sup>28</sup>. In the proposal, the commission identified 33 core issues in the Constitution and the Electoral Act that require amendments. These issues included voting by Nigerians in the Diaspora, the establishment of an Electoral Offences Commission and an Electoral Offences Tribunal, the nomination of candidates, campaign funding, the regulation of voting procedures, the right of the commission to disqualify candidates, women's participation in politics, and constituency delimitation.

The National Assembly considered and incorporated INEC's proposed amendments to the Constitution and Electoral Act, which were then submitted to the president for assent in mid-March 2015. The National Assembly adopted six election-related amendments to

27 Report of the Electoral Reform Committee, Volume 1 Main Report, December 2008, p. 6

28 See INEC proposal at <http://www.inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Amended-Electoral-Act.pdf>.

the Constitution. These included amendments which gave room for independent candidates to contest elective positions in state and national legislatures<sup>29</sup>, amendments which barred persons previously convicted for electoral offences from being elected into state and national legislatures<sup>30</sup>, amendments which extended the time for INEC to conduct run-off presidential and gubernatorial elections from 7 to 21 days<sup>31</sup>, amendments which empowered INEC to de-register political parties for breaching registration requirements and/or failing to win a seat in the National or State Assembly<sup>32</sup>, amendments that empowered the National Assembly to make laws for access to the ballot by political parties and independent candidates<sup>33</sup>, and amendments that expanded the scope of election tribunals to cover pre-election matters<sup>34</sup>.

The National Assembly also adopted 20 amendments to the Electoral Act. The amendments involved issues such as the tenure of office for the INEC secretary, the transfer of registered voters, the postponement of elections, the appointment of polling agents, access to election documents, the conduct of political rallies and processions, what to do in case of dereliction of duty by election officials, the timing for the constitution of election tribunals, clarifying the grounds for election petitions, and the naming of electoral officials as respondents in electoral petitions.

The adoption of the Constitutional (Fourth) Alteration Bill 2014 and the amendments to the Electoral Act only a few weeks before the 2015 general elections meant that the changes proposed in the laws were not applied to the elections<sup>35</sup>. In fact, developments after the 2015 elections cast doubts that the amendments proposed by the National Assembly would be signed into law.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 2015, President Jonathan formally informed the Senate that he would not assent to the Constitution Amendment Bill passed by the National Assembly. The major reason given by the president for withholding his assent was the Legislature's usurpation of executive power and the whittling down of certain powers inherent in the president's office<sup>36</sup>. The impasse triggered by this also affected the Electoral Act Amendment Bill, which was awaiting the president's assent.

To complete the electoral law reform the National Assembly started in 2010, the lawmakers had to respond to the challenge posed by the president's decision and they had three options before them<sup>37</sup>. The first was to step back and address the issues raised by the president as the basis for his withholding of assent. This would have involved returning the bill to the Senate and House of Representatives, the Conference Committee of the National Assembly as well as to each of the 36 State Houses of Assembly. This step amounted to basically starting the process afresh

29 Sections 65 (2) (2) (b), 106 (d), 131 (c), and 177 of the Constitution

30 Section 66 (1) (c) and 107 of the Constitution

31 Section 134 and 179 of the Constitution

32 Section 225 of the Constitution

33 Section 228 of the Constitution

34 Section 285 of the Constitution

35 Following delays in considering the proposed amendments INEC made an appeal to the National Assembly to expedite action on the proposal but the appeal did not yield any major result. See Chuks Okocha, INEC Urges National Assembly to Speed up Amendment to Electoral Act, This Day Live, 15 July 2013, <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/inec-urges-national-assembly-to-speed-up-amendment-to-electoral-act/153352/>.

36 See Azimazi Jimoh and Onochie Chiedu, "Why I declined assent to constitution review bill, by Jonathan". The Guardian, Lagos, 16 April 2015, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/why-i-declined-assent-to-constitution-review-bill-by-jonathan/>.

37 Dayo Benson, Constitution amendments: What options left for National Assembly? Vanguard, 23 April 2015, <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/04/constitution-amendments-what-options-left-for-national-assembly/>.

at the tail end of the 7<sup>th</sup> National Assembly. There was certainly no time for this.

The second option was to hand over the constitution amendment process to the incoming 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly. Doing so would likely nullify the whole exercise as it would likely be put aside by the new Assembly and the outgoing lawmakers did not want their efforts wasted. Perhaps to avoid any of the two options above, the National Assembly chose to override the president's veto, as provided in Section 58 Sub-section (4) of the Constitution. Some have argued that the National Assembly could not override the president's vote on matters relating to constitutional amendment and so the president sought the intervention of the Supreme Court through a suit instituted by the Attorney General of the Federation<sup>38</sup>.

It remains to be seen how this impasse between the executive and legislative arms of government will be resolved, in the meantime the Nigerian electoral system seems to be the most affected by dispute. The failure to address the gaps in Nigeria's legal election framework will continue to limit INEC's operational capacity as well as its ability to control electoral irregularities and violence in the future. It will also hinder the investigation and prosecution of breaches of the electoral law and limit popular participation in elections.

## GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS AND ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Nigeria runs a three-arm system of government – executive, legislature and judiciary – of which officials are only elected for the first two. The executive powers of the Nigerian Federation are vested in the president, who is the Head of State, the Chief Executive of the Federation and the

Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federation. The president is elected for a term of four years and must receive the plurality of votes, in addition to not less than one-quarter of the votes cast at the election in at least two-thirds of the states in the federation and the Federal Capital Territory. The president has to nominate an associate from the same political party to occupy the office of vice-president. The ministers of the government of the federation are nominated by the president, subject to confirmation by the Senate.

Nigeria is also divided into a three-tier structure comprising of the federal, state and local governments. Elections are conducted to fill executive and legislative positions in all three tiers of government. There are currently 36 states within the federation and a Federal Capital Territory as well as 774 local government areas. The executive powers of a state are vested in the governor of that state, who is elected to a four-year term and must receive a plurality of votes, in addition to not less than one-quarter of votes cast in at least two-thirds of all local government areas in the state. Both the president and state governors can hold office for a maximum of two terms.

Under the 1999 Constitution, the Federal Capital Territory does not have its own elected governor, the President performs that role. Today Nigerians informally divide the country into six geopolitical zones: northwest, northeast, north-central, southwest, southeast and south-south.

Nigeria operates a bicameral federal legislature comprised of a 360-member House of Representatives and a 109-member Senate. Members of both houses are elected for as many four-year terms as they desire. Legislation can

38 Ade Adesomoju, "FG seeks Supreme Court's injunction to halt constitution amendment." Punch, 27 April 2015, <http://www.punchng.com/news/fg-seeks-supreme-courts-injunction-to-halt-constitution-amendment/>.

originate in either house but must be approved by a majority in the house where it originates before it can be sent to the other house for approval. The bill is subsequently presented for presidential assent. If that is refused, the bill returns to both houses and can become law without presidential assent if it gains a two-thirds majority in both houses. Each of the 36 states has its own House of Assembly. They have between 20 and 40 members, depending on how many seats a state has been allocated in the House of Representatives. Under the 1999 Constitution, the Federal Capital Territory does not have its own elected House of Assembly. The National Assembly performs the role.

The Nigerian judiciary is organized based on the federal structure. At the federal level there is the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal, the High Court, the Sharia Court of Appeal, and the Customary Court of Appeal. At the state level, there are the High Court, the Sharia Court of Appeal, and the Customary Court of Appeal.

As the names of the courts suggest, three legal systems operate across Nigeria, often in parallel. The common law is derived from English law and was introduced during the colonial period, while customary law is derived from the principles and practices implemented by Nigeria's myriad ethnic groups and Sharia law applies to Nigeria's Muslims. Since Nigeria returned to civilian rule in 1999, 12 state governments in northern Nigeria have fully or partially introduced Sharia law for criminal offences. Sharia courts in these states were used mainly to address property, matrimonial and inheritance disputes; however in the period since 1999 they have also dealt with cases relating to criminal acts and public morality.

During Nigeria's 2015 general elections the posts of president, state governor and member of the

federal and state legislature were elected. The first elections held on 28 March 2015 were presidential and legislative vote to elect the president, all 360 members of the House of Representatives and 109 senators. State governorship and State Houses of Assembly elections were held on 11 April. Elections to each of the houses in the National Assembly and state Houses of Assembly are held under the first-past-the-post model.

## ELECTION MANAGEMENT

Election management is central to the success of the electoral process. It consists of critical activities such as determining who is eligible to vote; conducting voter registration and education, boundary delimitation, voter education, media monitoring and electoral dispute resolution; receiving and validating the nominations of electoral participants; conducting polling; counting the votes; and tabulating and announcing the votes.

In Nigeria, INEC is the body statutorily responsible for election management. INEC administers Nigeria's national and state elections. The constitution stipulates that INEC should have a chairperson/chief electoral commissioner, 12 National Electoral Commissioners, and a Resident Electoral Commissioner for each state and the FCT. The national commissioners include two persons from each of Nigeria's six geopolitical zones whom the president appoints, and whose selection must also be ratified by the Senate. In addition to administering elections, INEC registers and audits political parties, and regulates political campaigns.

In the past, INEC could not demonstrate the sufficient capacity necessary to manage the complexity of elections in Nigeria and this has led to electoral disputes. Its history of poor election

management had eroded public confidence in the country's electoral process. In some cases, the commission had been accused of outright bias and manipulation of the electoral process. In the 2007 elections, in particular, the actions of the commission provoked outrage, leading to the denunciation of the election by domestic and international election observers.

However, there has been a marked improvement in the management of elections in Nigeria since the appointment of Professor Attahiru Jega as chairman of the commission in 2010. Under Jega INEC earned national and international acclaim for its administration of the 2011 elections. INEC has since tried to institutionalize the gains it made then by adopting wide-ranging reforms aimed at improving its structure, planning and policy making capacities.

In August 2011, a few months after the elections, INEC inaugurated a committee of election experts - the Registration and Election Review Committee (RERC) - to conduct an evaluation of voter registration and the general elections in order to strengthen the commission's operations. It was also charged with enhancing INEC's organizational capacity through a better understanding of its strengths and weaknesses revamping its planning, coordination and execution capabilities, and further deepening its relationships with critical stakeholders in the electoral process. The RERC made far-reaching recommendations on the regulation of political parties, INEC's bureaucracy, constituency delimitation, and the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) tools in elections<sup>39</sup>. The recommendations laid the groundwork for the reforms adopted by INEC

from 2012.

The work of the RERC was followed by the articulation of INEC's strategic plan (2012–2016) through a process that involved many election stakeholders, including the Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room. The plan's broad objectives included providing electoral operations, systems and infrastructure to support the conduct of free, fair and credible elections; improving voter education, training and research; registering political parties and monitoring their operations; interacting nationally and internationally with relevant stakeholders; and reorganizing and repositioning INEC.

Based on its strategic plan, INEC implemented a comprehensive restructuring of its bureaucracy by reorganizing its departments from 26 to nine, recruited 1,500 new staff in 2012, expanded its existing personnel training programme, and updated its rewards and sanctions regimes to optimize the efficiency of its staff. It also developed a communications policy to ensure that communication was "well-co-ordinated, effectively managed, and responsive to the diverse information needs of the public".

INEC's Communication Policy defined the key question of who speaks for the commission by identifying the chairman as its chief spokesperson. It also allowed for any national electoral commissioner or other staff designated to represent the commission, as the circumstances may warrant. However, the major component of the policy was the establishment of the INEC Citizens Contact Centre (ICCC) responsible for direct, real-time contact with citizens on issues regarding the commission's work.

<sup>39</sup> Independent National Electoral Commission, Report of the Registration and Election Review Committee (RERC). Abuja: INEC, 2012, p. 20–35.

The ICCC is a modified Situation Room designed to work as a channel of continuous communication with the electorate and other stakeholders. The centre primarily utilizes the social media, but it also creates linkages with more traditional media platforms such as radio, television and newspapers in order to reach out to the public.

The main fulcrums on which INEC's reforms are based are three core innovations: the Election Project Plan (EPP), the Election Management System (EMS), and the Business Process Review (BPR). The EPP aims to institutionalize planning in the conduct of elections so that whenever a date for an election is announced, the timelines for electoral activities will be automatically activated.



Various stakeholders, including the Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room, have maintained that the scale of deployment that elections in Nigeria require calls for detailed technical work, including the clear specification of activities, timelines, costs, tools, business processes and operational manuals. It also requires personnel deployment and retrieval procedures, and risk management. With the EPP, every electoral activity at every level of INEC's organization is assigned to a department or an individual officer. This way, it is easy to identify the departments and

officials responsible for particular activities and hold them accountable.

The extent to which the implementation of reforms by INEC improved election management during the 2015 elections is not very clear. What is clear however, is that INEC faced enormous difficulties in conducting the 2015 elections and that the magnitude of these challenges pointed to gaps in the planning and implementation of constituency and polling arrangements as well as voter registration.

## Constituency delimitation and reorganization of polling units

The Nigerian Constitution requires INEC to review the boundaries of senatorial districts and federal constituencies at least every ten years<sup>40</sup>. The last review took place under a military regime in 1996. Given huge population expansion and the migration of citizens across the country since then, there was a consensus among several stakeholders that a new constituency delimitation exercise was necessary before the 2015 general elections. This would improve polling arrangements, especially in urban centres like Abuja and Lagos which had seen a massive influx of people in the last 15 years<sup>41</sup>. A review of constituencies and polling units would also enhance electoral representation.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of November, 2011, INEC constituted a Technical Committee on the Review of Electoral Districts and Constituencies (TCRED&C) to, among other things, review past efforts at the delimitation of electoral districts/constituencies in Nigeria, draw lessons from past experiences and make recommendations with respect to the future delimitation of electoral districts/constituencies undertakings. The committee's report, which was submitted to the commission in May 2012, formed the basis for the formulation of a work plan as well as the establishment of a Constituency Delimitation Committee<sup>42</sup>.

INEC's work plan for constituency delimitation envisaged four main phases: pre-delimitation planning, which involved the sensitization of key stakeholders; the delineation and mapping phase, which entailed the development of a delimitation database, the generation of provisional maps and reports, and the approval of provisional maps and reports; the public presentation and feedback phase; and finally the report presentation, approval and gazetting phase.

INEC began the sensitization phase with extensive stakeholder consultations in 2012 but could not proceed beyond that stage due to its inability to secure a consensus to carry on with the exercise before the 2015 elections. In addition, the Commission could not strictly follow through its own timelines which led to delays that made it impossible to implement the constituency delimitation exercise so close to the 2015 polls. In September 2014, INEC suspended its plan to delimit new constituencies and instead introduced a new scheme to create 30,000 new polling units to relieve the pressure on the existing approximately 120,000 units<sup>43</sup>.

INEC's polling unit reorganization plan was severely criticized based on allegations that the commission had disproportionately distributed the units in a way that favoured northern constituencies<sup>44</sup>. Because the exercise was introduced so close to the 2015 elections efforts by INEC to sensitize the public about its plans

40 Section 73, 1999 Constitution.

41 In 1996 when the current polling unit structure was established, Nigeria's population was about 110 million. In 2006, after a national population census, the population was 140 million. In 2011, when the voters' registration was undertaken, the population was estimated to be about 160 million. In 2014, Nigeria's population was estimated to be around 175 million. This represents nearly 60 percent rise in the population since 1996.

42 Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), INEC Activity Report 2011-2014. Abuja: INEC.

43 "Why and How INEC is Creating New Polling Units", Address by Hon. Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Professor Attahiru M. Jega, OFR, at a Press Conference on the New Polling Units Structure, Abuja, 10 September 2014.

could not convince many, forcing the commission to drop the plan altogether<sup>45</sup>. The controversies surrounding this called INEC's technical capacity into question. They negated the commission's emphasis on planning and early preparations, making it seem as if the commission had not devised any new strategies for addressing its operational challenges.



**The Permanent Voters Card (PVCs) and Smart Card Reader (SCR) were major innovations in the 2015 elections**

### Voter Registration

Following the compilation of a biometric voters' register in 2011<sup>46</sup>, INEC embarked on a Continuous Voter Registration (CVR) exercise to enrol new registrants in the voters' register<sup>47</sup>. The CVR exercise targeted five categories of registrants: 1) Nigerians who have turned 18 years since the conduct of the last registration exercise; 2) those who could not register during the last registration exercise; 3) those who registered during the last registration exercise but could not find their names on the existing voters' roll; 4) those whose names appeared on the voters' register without their photographs; and 5) those without any form of disability whose fingerprints were not captured

<sup>45</sup> "INEC suspends plan to create 30,000 new Polling Units." Premium Times, 11 November 2014, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/171023-inec-suspends-plan-to-create-30000-new-%E2%80%8Bp%E2%80%8Bolling-%E2%80%8Bu%E2%80%8Bnits.html>.

<sup>46</sup> INEC established a huge national asset of databases in each state of the federation and the FCT, as well as at the national level, with equally secure Disaster Recovery Centres for existing registered voters.

<sup>47</sup> CVR derives its process legitimacy from Section 10 of the Electoral Act.

during the last exercise.

A continuous nation-wide voters' registration exercise, the Continuous Voter Registration (CVR), opened in late 2014. The CVR exercise proceeded smoothly in many places, although in some states there were complaints that registration officials were not on site to attend to potential registrants. This slowed down the pace of the exercise and forced INEC to extend the deadline for the exercise.

INEC also began the issuance of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) to duly registered voters. The PVCs replaced the Temporary Voter Cards (TVCs) issued to registrants once they are enrolled in the voters' register. The PVCs, unlike the TVCs, had a microchip containing the machine-readable biometric data of each voter.

INEC had applied this biometric technology to ensure the credibility and transparency of the voter registration and electoral processes. The commission planned to deploy card reader machines at polling stations to authenticate the PVCs they issued and verify the identity of voters through their fingerprints. This was to help prevent multiple voting and reduce incidents of card theft and vote buying.

Unfortunately, the controversies that surrounded the process of PVC distribution revealed major gaps in INEC's operational and logistical arrangements. From November 2014 when the exercise began, the Nigerian press was abuzz with stories of tardy INEC officials, protesting registrants, insufficient PVCs, stolen

cards, and other irregularities<sup>48</sup>. By the 14<sup>th</sup> of February, 2015, the date originally scheduled for elections, only 76 percent of registered voters had received their PVCs. However, the postponement of elections allowed more time for registrants to obtain their PVCs, resulting in approximately 82 percent of PVCs to be collected by the 21<sup>st</sup> of March<sup>49</sup>.

Challenges with PVC distribution assumed a political dimension following the discovery that there was a significantly higher PVC collection rate in opposition strongholds in the north and southwest than in the southern regions where support for the ruling party was strongest. This triggered a call for the postponement of the election to enable all registered voters collect their PVCs. Many Nigerians and civil society groups feared that the extent of irregularities encountered in the PVC distribution exercise presaged problems with the administration of the elections itself.

## POLITICAL PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

The right of individuals to participate in public affairs - including the establishment of and free association with political parties, and campaign activities - is protected by international principles and fundamental electoral rights<sup>50</sup>.

Nigeria operates a multi-party system with two main parties. Over 20 political parties and more

than 7,801 candidates contested Nigeria's 2015 general elections<sup>51</sup> however, only two parties, the PDP and the APC, had the financial and human resources to compete in elections across most constituencies<sup>52</sup>. While the Nigeria's party system cannot be analysed based on the traditional "right wing/left wing" dichotomy seen in Western political systems, the country's political parties are distinguishable in terms of their ideological orientation, mode of formation, source of support and leadership style. A brief overview of Nigeria's two main parties will provide insights into the nature of the country's political parties.

48 Raymond Mordi, "Furore over INEC's PVC distribution." *The Nation*, 9 January 2015, <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/furore-inecs-pvc-distribution/>; "Hues and cries over PVC distribution." *Punch*, 6 February 2015, <http://www.punchng.com/politics/hues-and-cries-over-pvc-distribution/>; Kareem Haruna and Mohammed Ismail, "Controversy trails INEC's Claims on PVC Distribution in Borno, Yobe And Adamawa." *Leadership*, 15 February 2015, <http://leadership.ng/news/411878/controversy-trails-inecs-claims-on-pvc-distribution-in-borno-yobe-and-adamawa>.

49 European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM), *Nigeria General Elections 2015, First Preliminary Statement*, Abuja, 30 March 2015, p.6.

50 ICCPR, Article 25(a); International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), Article 5(c); CEDAW, Article 7(b).

51 14 candidates vied for presidency, 584 candidates for Senate, 1, 544 candidates for House of Representatives, 380 candidates for governorship, and 5,279 candidates for State Houses of Assembly.

52 APC and PDP fielded candidates in all states of Nigeria. In addition, the two parties presented 1, 979 candidates (APC 989 and PDP 990 contenders) out of the total 5,279 candidates that contested for State Houses of Assembly seats.



PDP Presidential Campaign in Lokoja

### The People's Democratic Party (PDP)

The PDP was established in 1998 during the closing days of military rule in Nigeria through a “top-down integration of the national elite”<sup>53</sup>. At its formation, the PDP was framed as a political vehicle for a diverse range of politicians and retired military figures who were opposed to Nigeria’s last military leader, General Sani Abacha. The party was put together through a union of the G-34, a group of ex-military officers, and political groups denied registration by General Abacha’s regime.

The key factor in the PDP’s formation was not ideology but the establishment of ethnic coalitions of regional political leaders or “godfathers” who could secure party registration and capture power at the federal level<sup>54</sup>. It was these godfathers who were responsible for establishing the state and local branches of the party:

*“At the early stage of the PDP’s development, each godfather in the party was expected to deliver his own constituency, wherever it was and however the network beneath him was constructed, whether it was by traditional or by financial loyalties”<sup>55</sup>.*

Over the years, several of the political godfathers who “midwived” the birth of the PDP’s state and local branches have lost their influence and the local coalitions that gave the party its initial foothold have been re-formed.

Since the dawn of Nigeria’s Fourth Republic in 1999 the PDP has been the dominant party in the country’s politics. The party supported the candidacy of former military general Olusegun Obasanjo and won a decisive victory in the 1999 presidential and parliamentary elections. The

54 Brandon Kendhammer, “Talking Ethnic but Hearing Multi-Ethnic: The Peoples’ Democratic Party (PDP) in Nigeria and Durable Multi-Ethnic Parties in the Midst of Violence.” *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 48(1): 48-71, 2010, p. 57.

55 Jibrin Ibrahim, Fabian Okoye and Tom Adambara, *Nigeria Country Report based on Research and Dialogue with Political Parties*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2006, p. 10.

56 Daren Kew, “The 2003 elections: Hardly Credible, but Acceptable.” p. 144.

party went on to win the elections in 2003, 2007 and 2011. It has also continuously controlled the majority of state governorships, Senate seats, and - with a brief exception from December 2013 to February 2014 - House seats. Before the 2015 elections, the PDP was the only party that came close to representing all parts of the country, although it was not quite as popular in the southwest and the far north, and has never monopolised power at all levels of government<sup>56</sup>.

Although the PDP's policy platform tends towards the centre-right, focusing on social conservatism and economic liberalism, these guiding principles have not always been followed in practice<sup>57</sup>. The PDP generally follows a centralising policy, which stifles any efforts to enhance the power of the 36 states<sup>58</sup>. The party has also been more oriented towards patronage politics than developing any ideological programme for its government, leading some to view it as essentially an electoral machine<sup>59</sup>. It has accommodated reformers in the past but they often ultimately found themselves out of favour.

At various times – including in recent years – it has seemed possible that factional rivalries might destroy the party. However, bolstered by the benefits of political incumbency, the party managed to maintain itself as a formidable electoral machine<sup>60</sup>. The party built its electoral strategy on

the principle of “zoning”, where political positions at the federal level were attributed based on geography or ethnic composition. This promoted ethnic-based election campaigning and power sharing, both of which were more conducive to a centralised system.

The PDP's main support base has been the Christian communities of the southeast and south-south regions. The party's presidential candidate for the 2015 elections was President Goodluck Jonathan who was born in 1957 in Otuoke, in the Ogbia Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. A Christian from the Ijaw ethnic group, Jonathan entered into politics in the late 1990s and became governor of Bayelsa State in 2005. A supporter of former president Olusegun Obasanjo, he was picked as the party's vice-presidential candidate in the 2007 elections. He became president in 2010 following the death of President Umaru Yar'Adua, who was from the northern region. Some PDP members believe that by standing in 2011, he negated the principle of “zoning”, the keystone of the PDP. Jonathan's perception as one who “usurped” the presidency, together with his particularly poor reputation as a leader, created basis for the stiff opposition faced by PDP in the 2015 elections.

56 Jibrin Ibrahim, “The Dynamics of Competitive Party Politics,” in Jibrin Ibrahim, Musa Abutudu, and Kelechi C. Iwuamadi, eds., *Elections and the Management of Diversity in Nigeria*, African Governance Report III, Abuja: Centre for Democracy and Development, 2011.

57 The PDP often describes the private sector as the engine of economic growth but also emphasizes the importance of public-private partnerships.

58 Leena Hoffmann, “Fairy Godfathers and Magical Elections: Understanding the 2003 Electoral Crisis in Anambra State, Nigeria.” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 48(2): 285-310, 2010.

58 On the concept of electoral machine, see James C. Scott, “Corruption, Machine Politics, and Political Change.” *American Political Science Review* 63(4): 1142–1158, 1969.

59 Jon Lunn and Daniel Harari, *Nigeria 2015: Analysis of Election Issues and Future Prospects*, Research Paper 15/02. London: House of Commons Library, 2015.



APC Presidential Campaign during the build-up to the 2015 elections

### The All Progressives Congress (APC)

The APC was formed in February 2013 as a coalition of four opposition parties: the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), and part of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA). The APC describes itself as a leftist, progressive party, although it includes diverse geographical and political constituencies reflecting its founding parties' bases. The ACN's base was the southwest<sup>61</sup>, while the ANPP and the CPC had their bases in the north<sup>62</sup>, and APGA's base was primarily the southeast states of Anambra and Imo<sup>63</sup> where it initially controlled the governor seats.

After its formation, the APC attracted many discontented PDP members including former Vice President Atiku Abubakar who defected to the ACN in 2006 and became its candidate for his unsuccessful 2007 presidential bid. Other APC defections capitalized on the discontent with President Jonathan and his perceived disruption of the PDP's zoning strategy. In November 2013, five governors, four of them from the north, defected from the PDP to the APC<sup>64</sup>. Numerous legislators, primarily from these states, also followed suit: 37 representatives left the PDP for the APC in December 2013. These defections gave the APC a plurality in the House (roughly 174 APC members, 171 PDP members, and 15 other) until February 2014, when five APC representatives defected to the PDP. In October

61 In 2011, the ACN consolidated its control over all six governorships in the South West region although the South West states voted for Jonathan in the presidential contest.

62 The ANPP has held governorships in North West states like Kano (2003–2011) and Zamfara (1999–2008, 2011–present) and North East states like Borno (1999–present) and Yobe (1999–present). The CPC broke away from the ANPP in 2009. Buhari ran on the ANPP ticket in 2003 and 2007, but switched to the CPC in 2011. The CPC captured one governor's seat in the North Central zone—Nassarawa—in 2011.

63 The Anambra APGA is aligned with the PDP. Imo Governor Rochas Okorocha leads the APGA faction that joined the APC.

64 Abdulfatah Ahmed of Kwara (North Central), Rotimi Amaechi of Rivers (South South), Rabiu Kwankwaso of Kano (North West), Murtala Nyako of Adamawa (North East), Aliyu Wamakko of Sokoto (North West).

2014 Aminu Tambuwal, Speaker of the House of Representatives, joined the APC and in January 2014, 11 Senators also joined the APC.

The APC anchored its 2015 elections campaign on anti-corruption, job creation and the restoration of internal peace and security. The party framed its campaign around the personality of its presidential candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, who was known for his personal probity and strong leadership. Born in 1942, Buhari is a devout Muslim from Daura in the northwest state of Katsina. Buhari had a career in the army, becoming Head of State after a military coup in December 1983. In 1985, he was toppled by a rival army faction led by General Ibrahim Babangida. His time in power was remembered for both its human rights abuses and his strong stance against corruption. Buhari unsuccessfully stood for the presidency as a civilian three times (in 2003, 2007 and 2011).

The APC strategy in the 2015 elections focused on drawing the majority of its support from the northern parts of Nigeria, where Buhari was most popular and had considerable grassroots support<sup>65</sup>. The strong support for Buhari in the north, and more recently in the southwest, was predicated on the APC's commitment to federalism, as opposed to the centralism of the PDP. Voters in the north and southwest preferred a federalist party that would protect their regional identities and allow them greater control over the implementation of economic policy.

### Minor Parties

Although the PDP and the APC had the most realistic prospects for success in the 2015 elections, several other parties also stood for the

elections. These parties could not make any major impression in the framing of the debates during the campaigns nor could their candidates organize a substantial constituency. Considering that most of the minor party selected their presidential candidates from southern Nigeria, it was expected that these candidates could threaten the PDP, but this never happened.

### Candidates of the Minor Parties by Region of Origin

	Candidate	Party	Primary Region
1	Tunde Anifowose-Kelani	Action Alliance (AA)	South
2	Rafiu Salau	Alliance for Democracy (AD)	North
3	Ganiyu Galadima	Allied Congress Party of Nigeria (ACPN)	North
4	Mani Ibrahim Ahmad	African Democratic Congress (ADC)	North
5	Ayeni Musa Adebayo	African People's Alliance (APA)	South
6	Sam Eke	Citizens Popular Party (CPP)	South
7	Ambrose Albert Owuru	Hope Democratic Party (HDP)	South
8	Comfort Oluremi Sonaiya	KOWA	South
9	Martin Onovo	National Conscience Party (NCP)	South
10	Allagoa Kelvin Chinedu	Peoples Party of Nigeria (PPN)	South
11	Godson Mgbodile Okoye	United Democratic Party (UDP)	South
12	Chekwas Okorie	United Progressive Party (UPP)	South

<sup>65</sup> Buhari's previous attempts at winning the presidency were centred on strong appeals to Northern voters and his previous parties (ANPP and CPC) were essentially overwhelmingly parties of the north.

## ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Campaigns for the 2015 elections commenced in mid-November 2014 with large-scale rallies in different states of the federation. As turnout in rallies is often seen as an indicator of a party's/candidate's level of acceptance in the Nigerian context, these rallies were attended by tens of thousands of supporters. There were also lively campaigns in the media, especially social media.

Each of the two main parties began their campaigns in places they perceived were their main electoral battlegrounds. The PDP flagged-off its campaign in the commercial city of Lagos, which is the hub of the southwest region, signifying the party's desire to capture voters in the city and the states in the region<sup>66</sup>. On the other hand, the APC lunched its presidential campaign in the oil city of Port Harcourt, the hub of the south-south region, indicating the party's intention to attract voters there<sup>67</sup>.

The two main parties adopted mainly negative tactics for their 2015 election campaigns employing fierce personal attacks on candidates and prominent party members<sup>68</sup> rather than appeals based on policy proposals. The PDP's main line of attack on Buhari was to question his

democratic credentials. The party contrasted his past as a former military leader with President Jonathan's experience as a "tested and trusted democrat", who emerged in the aftermath of the country's return to civilian rule in 1999<sup>69</sup>. Also a documentary titled "The Real Buhari" was aired in major national television stations, which draws on the APC candidate's years as a military leader and portrays him as a mean, highhanded, and sectional leader<sup>70</sup>.

The two parties tried to gain significant political capital out of the country's insecurity by accusing each other of manipulating the Boko Haram insurgency<sup>71</sup>. The PDP suggested that the APC was a "Muslim party" which was in not-so-secret sympathy with Boko Haram<sup>72</sup>, an allegation which the APC vociferously denied. In contrast, the APC accused the PDP of incompetence and complacency, insisting that President Jonathan had deliberately allowed the security crisis to fester because "he and his team saw it as their trump card for winning re-election in 2015 by currying local and global sectarian sympathy"<sup>73</sup>.

There were several examples of leading politicians in both parties making highly inflammatory speeches in the run-up to the

66 David Lawal, "PDP flags off presidential campaign in Lagos." The Nation Online, 8 January 2015, <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/pdp-flags-off-campaign-in-lagos/>.

67 Ernest Chinwo, "Buhari Flags off Presidential Campaign, Promises to Fight Insecurity, Corruption." This Day Live, 6 January 2015, <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/buhari-flags-off-presidential-campaign-promises-to-fight-insecurity-corruption/198523/>.

68 The PDP's campaign focused overwhelmingly on Buhari's health condition and educational credentials. In one instance, a false medical report indicating that the opposition candidate is suffering from prostate cancer and intending to dissuade voters from supporting him was circulated in the social media. In another instance, the PDP Governor of Ekiti state placed an advertisement in national newspapers insinuating that the APC candidate is old and unwell, and would die while in office if elected. President Jonathan, himself, said in a rally at Enugu that Buhari is too old that he cannot remember his own mobile phone number and as such is not in a position to transform Nigeria.

69 Taiwo Amodu, "Buhari'll bring back dictatorship –Mu'azu." Sun Online, 21 December 2014, <http://sunnewsonline.com/new/?p=96425>.

70 See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XAy6ADFRq3Q>

71 "How PDP, APC making political capital of Boko Haram sponsorship." Sun Online, 24 September 2014, <http://sunnewsonline.com/new/?p=83233>.

72 Henry Umoru, "PDP accuses APC of backing Boko Haram." Vanguard, 22 December 2014, <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/12/pdp-accuses-apc-backing-boko-haram/>.

73 "APC demands Jonathan's resignation; accuses President of allowing Boko Haram to fester." Premium Times, 24 February 2015, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/177444-apc-demands-jonathans-resignation-accuses-president-of-allowing-boko-haram-to-fester.html>.

elections. For example, Ibrahim Shema, the PDP governor of Katsina State, called his opponents “cockroaches of politics”<sup>74</sup>. Edwin Clark, a veteran Ijaw politician and a leading supporter of President Jonathan, suggested that the APC would be willing to kill the president in order to gain power in 2015<sup>75</sup>. In one of the most dramatic incidents, Patience Jonathan, the First Lady, stated that anyone who said “change” - the campaign slogan of the opposition APC - should be stoned<sup>76</sup>.

From November 2014 when electioneering commenced, reports of violent attacks by rival political groups began to rise<sup>77</sup>. In late November 2014, the APC charged the PDP with inciting state-sponsored violence after the State Security Service raided the party’s office in Lagos as part of an investigation into claims that it was illegally cloning voter’s cards<sup>78</sup>. In early January 2015, the APC accused the PDP of sending gunmen to shoot at supporters travelling to an election rally in Bori, in Rivers State<sup>79</sup>. A few days later, the PDP alleged that APC supporters had set fire to one of President Jonathan’s campaign vehicles in the city of Jos<sup>80</sup>. There were also reports of verbal attacks as politicians who were sponsoring young “internet warriors” to attack rivals online, would often deliberately peddle misinformation and use

inflammatory language<sup>81</sup>.

Of the two main parties, APC appeared more coordinated and coherent in its campaign. The party anchored its message of change and used it to consistently challenge the PDP’s nearly two decade-long hegemony in Nigerian politics. Based on the PDP’s failure to lead the country out of its governance and security predicaments, this message targeted the youth and the middle and lower classes. The APC were able to successfully pose corruption as the fundamental challenge to the PDP’s capacity to produce results. In this way the party could stage sustained attacks on the PDP’s credibility as a party and the effectiveness of its government.

## CAMPAIGN FINANCE

Standing for office is extremely expensive in Nigeria and parties and candidates devise various means to raise campaign funds. During the 2015 elections, the two main parties adopted two major approaches. The conventional approach involved parties raising a significant proportion of their funds from their own candidates, who were charged “eye-watering fees” to obtain nomination forms<sup>82</sup>.

74 Mohammed Lere, “Katsina Governor, Shema, caught on video urging supporters to “crush”, “kill” political opponents.” Premium Times, 19 November 2014, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/171411-katsina-governor-shema-caught-video-urging-supporters-crush-kill-political-opponents.html>.

75 Chuks Okocha, “Clark: APC Could Plot to Poison or Kill Jonathan.” This Day Live, 5 December 2014, <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/clark-apc-could-plot-to-poison-or-kill-jonathan/195849/>.

76 Patience Jonathan made the speech at a rally in Calabar on 4 March 2015, captured in a video available on YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PG4RgPuXCXE>, (accessed 13.04.2015).

77 National Human Rights Commission, A Pre-Election Report and Advisory on Violence in Nigeria’s 2015 General Elections, 13 February 2015, <http://citizenshiprightsinafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/PRE-ELECTION-ADVISORY-ON-VIOLENCE-2.pdf>.

78 “Nigerian opposition APC condemns Lagos office raid.” BBC News, 24 November 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30175988>.

79 Onyebuchi Ezigbo, “Shooting In Rivers State: APC Accuses PDP of Engaging In Violence.” This Day Live, 7 January 2015, <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/shooting-in-rivers-state-apc-accuses-pdp-of-engaging-in-violence/198594/>.

80 Chuks Okocha and Onyebuchi Ezigbo, “Presidency Condemns Burning of Jonathan’s Campaign Bus.” This Day Live, 12 January 2015, <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/presidency-condemns-burning-of-jonathan-s-campaign-bus/198968/>.

81 Adaobi Tricia Nwaubani, “Letter from Africa: Nigeria’s internet warriors.” BBC News, 23 September 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-29237507>.

82 Jon Lunn and Daniel Harari, Nigeria 2015: Analysis of Election Issues and Future Prospects, p. 9.

The candidates themselves then drew from various sources, including state coffers, to fund their campaigns. The divide between state and party expenditure, blurred at the best of times, became extremely fuzzy as the elections approached<sup>83</sup>.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of December, 2014, over ₦21 billion was raised in support of President Goodluck Jonathan's re-election bid during a fundraising dinner organized by the PDP<sup>84</sup>. Among the donors were business leaders, state governors and some anonymous individuals. The PDP fundraising dinner triggered public outrage, as some observers wondered why the president and the ruling party were raising such huge sums of money for the election in the midst of the country's insecurity and deteriorating socio-economic conditions. There were calls for an investigation, including a full disclosure of the identities of the anonymous donors and how well they were fulfilling their tax obligations<sup>85</sup>.

For others, the PDP fundraising event violated the provisions of the country's political finance laws. Nigeria has a fairly complex system for political finance regulation. Sections 225 and 226 of the 1999 Constitution, Sections 88-93 of the Electoral Act 2010, as well as other statutes including Section 38(2) of the Company and Allied Matters Act (Cap. 59, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990) all provide clear guidance on the issue of political finance. Part 1 of the Third Schedule of the 1999 Constitution confers on INEC the powers to monitor the organization and operation of political parties, including their finances. Section 90 of the Electoral Act 2010 empowers the commission to place limitations on the amount of money or other assets which an

individual or group can contribute to a political party. Section 91(9) of the Act stipulates that no individual or other entity can donate more than one million naira to any candidate. Section 38(2) of the Company and Allied Matters Act prohibits a company from directly or indirectly making "a donation or gift of any of its property or funds to a political party or political association or for any political purpose".

Though political parties and candidates require a significant amount of money to finance their routine operations and election campaigns, the country's political finance laws do not provide for public funding, and bans donations from Nigerian firms as well as from individuals and corporate bodies based abroad. In addition, the laws also place an unrealistic cap on election expenses. These restrictions have driven political finance activities underground through unreported illegal transfers.

Regulating private political donations all over the world is both a complex and imperfect activity. In the context of Nigeria's weak regulatory capacity, the task is even more daunting. The restrictive nature of Nigeria's political finance laws has meant that INEC and other regulatory agencies have been unable to control the use of money in politics, as donors and political parties have found innovative ways of circumventing these laws. With its well-conceived laws and regulatory institutions, Nigeria has not made any real progress in its fight against corruption. Bearing this in mind, it is highly doubtful that authorities in the country would prevent the spread of the cancer of corruption to the domain of political finance.

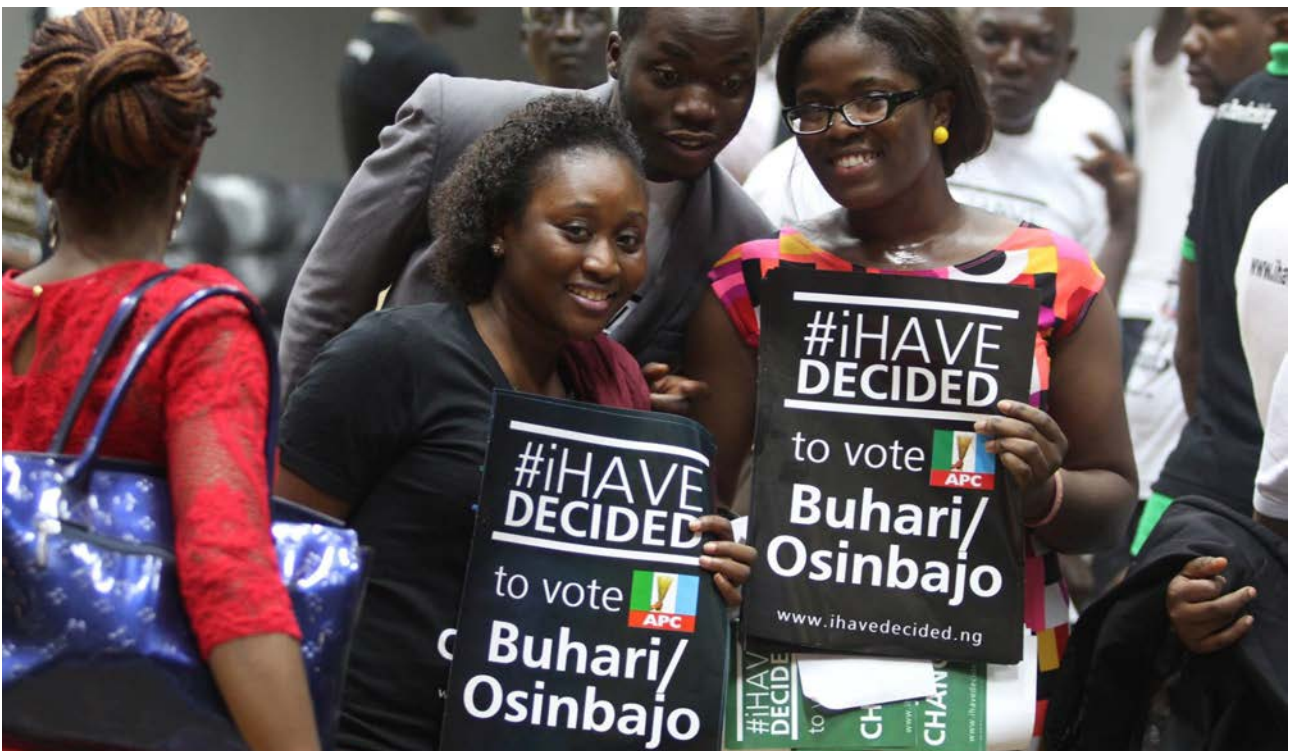
83 Ibid, p. 9.

84 Elizabeth Archibong, "Governors, businessmen, others donate N21.27bn for Jonathan campaign." Business Day Online, 21 December 2014, <http://businessdayonline.com/2014/12/governors-businessmen-others-donate-n21-27bn-for-jonathan-campaign/#.VLJUqyvF-So>.

85 "Jonathan's Campaign Fundraising." Sun News Online, 30 December 2014, <http://sunnewsonline.com/new/?p=97813>.

The current approach to campaign finance gives a small minority of wealthy individuals undue access to elected officials and political parties, and enables them to exercise an electoral influence greater than what a single vote can procure. This disempowers ordinary citizens and limits their influence on the political process since elected officials become more disposed to the interests of those wealthy individuals

To mitigate the adverse effects of money in Nigerian politics, there must be an amendment of the existing political finance laws. The parties themselves have to be actively involved in negotiating and formulating realistic regulations with high prospects of compliance. In addition, the capacity of INEC and other regulatory institutions to monitor and enforce compliance needs to be improved. In particular, INEC needs to invest more resources in developing the capacity of its Election and Party Monitoring arm.





## PART III





## POLLING, COUNTING AND RESULTS

Periodic elections are the essential means by which democratic states fulfil their obligation to provide for the free expression of their people. They must guarantee certain participatory rights for the process to accurately reflect their people's will. Foremost among these are the rights to vote, to participate in public affairs, and to enjoy personal security<sup>86</sup>. The state must take all necessary steps to ensure that such rights are fully protected for all citizens in an equal and non-discriminatory manner.

The voting process in Nigeria, from the opening to the closing of polling stations, reflected the myriad challenges that INEC have faced in administering the electoral process. From security challenges, to fierce political competition, inadequate infrastructure, and poorly-educated voters, the scale of the tasks facing the election management body at the national and state levels was immense. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of February, 2015, INEC postponed the elections which had been scheduled for the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 28<sup>th</sup> of February by six weeks. This was due to an advisory from the National Security Adviser which stated that security could not be guaranteed for the proposed election days as personnel were needed to conclude military operations against the Boko Haram insurgency during that time. The general elections were therefore shifted to the 28<sup>th</sup> of March for the presidential and National Assembly elections and the 11<sup>th</sup> of April for the gubernatorial and state Houses of Assembly elections.

INEC attempted to improve the integrity of the electoral process by strengthening its operational and logistic arrangements. For the 2015 elections, the commission provided 152,031 polling units and voting points to ensure ease of voting. It also deployed 608,124 polling staff, an average of four staff per polling unit. By the time INEC had closed the distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March, 56,431,255 registered voters (or 81.98 percent of the registered voters) had obtained their cards. On the eve of the presidential and National Assembly elections all appeared to be set<sup>87</sup>. In a statement issued by the Situation Room on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March, it noted that:

***“INEC has worked since the 2011 general elections to improve on its capacity to conduct credible elections... The Situation Room expects that these reforms will enable the Commission overcome perennial challenges to Nigerian elections such as late deployment of staff and materials, delayed opening of polling stations, omission of names of duly registered voters in the voters list as well as problems with counting and collation of votes<sup>88</sup>.”***

But the challenges experienced on the election days let down these expectations.

86 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Article 2, 9, and 25(a).

87 In a meeting with members of the Situation Room on 25 March 2015, the INEC Chairman, Attahiru Jega, assured that the Commission had done all that is within its means to ensure that the elections were successful.

88 Statement by the Nigeria Civil Society Election Situation Room on Preparations for Nigeria's General Elections Holding on 28 March and 11 April 2015 – Issued on 25 March 2015, [http://www.placng.org/situation\\_room/sr/statement-by-the-nigeria-civil-society-situation-room-on-preparations-for-nigerias-general-elections-holding-on-28-march-and-11-april-2015/](http://www.placng.org/situation_room/sr/statement-by-the-nigeria-civil-society-situation-room-on-preparations-for-nigerias-general-elections-holding-on-28-march-and-11-april-2015/).



## 28 MARCH 2015: PRESIDENTIAL AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

The presidential and National Assembly elections held on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March were the first set of elections for the 2015 general elections. Nigerian voters displayed a commendable commitment to fulfilling their democratic rights in a generally peaceful and orderly manner. As observed by the Situation Room: “the voters endured severe difficulties during the elections as a result of several operational and logistic lapses by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)”<sup>89</sup>.

Reports received by the Situation Room from its network of field observers indicated that officials and materials did not reach a significant number of polling stations across the country by the time of the poll openings. The Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), a Situation Room partner which deployed about 4,000 election observers, reported that only 43 percent of election officials arrived on time in 90 percent of the polling stations it

monitored<sup>90</sup>. This led to a continuation of the accreditation and voting process till late into the night in many places and subjected the voters, some of whom had arrived very early at the polling stations, to untoward delays.

INEC has not provided a sufficient explanation for this failure to distribute its materials. The commission has suggested that the decision of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) to pull out of its transportation arrangement with the INEC on the morning of the election caused the delays in Abuja. However, there have been no explanations for the challenges faced in other parts of the country.

89 Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room Preliminary Statement on the Conduct of the 2015 Presidential and National Assembly Elections on 28 March 2015 – Issued on 29 March 2015, [http://www.placng.org/situation\\_room/sr/nigeria-civil-society-situation-room-preliminary-statement-on-the-conduct-of-the-2015-presidential-and-national-assembly-elections-on-28-march-2015-issued-29th-march-2015/](http://www.placng.org/situation_room/sr/nigeria-civil-society-situation-room-preliminary-statement-on-the-conduct-of-the-2015-presidential-and-national-assembly-elections-on-28-march-2015-issued-29th-march-2015/).

90 TMG Preliminary Statement on the 2015 Presidential and National Assembly Elections, March 30, 2015, p.2

The late commencement of the presidential and National Assembly elections was compounded by the difficulties experienced in the use of card readers for voter accreditation. Although polling procedures were sufficiently followed<sup>91</sup>, card readers malfunctioned at several polling units. Based on reports by the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), card readers failed to function in 11 percent of the polling units monitored. In many more polling units the card readers were not able to consistently verify fingerprints<sup>92</sup>. The seriousness of this failure forced INEC to change the elections guidelines midway in the process, allowing officials to manually accredit voters in such cases. INEC tried to expedite the accreditation process, but in so doing, removed the safeguard of electronically checking for authentic PVCs allocated to that polling unit. Worried by the implications of this change, the Situation Room noted:

“The Situation Room fully supports the transition from manual to biometric accreditation of voters introduced by INEC. However, we are concerned by reports of challenges with the accreditation process resulting in the suspension of the use of card readers and reversal to manual accreditation. This failure has undermined the full benefit anticipated by the use of biometric technology and imposed unnecessary hardship on Nigerians. We call on INEC to make clear what guidelines will govern the accreditation process during the 11 April 2015 elections. We urge the Commission to make a clear

and definitive statement on these elections taken into account needs to correct its own deficiencies and inform the Nigerian public as to what to expect. We also call on INEC to intensify its outreach to the public providing full information on situations as they develop and guidelines for the conduct of the remaining aspects of the elections.”

INEC later announced that polling would be repeated within 24 hours in approximately 300 polling units where card readers had malfunctioned.

In Nigeria, the counting and collation process is the most critical stage of the election. According to reports from field observers, 96 percent of polling units monitored nationwide completed the counting and announcement of their results. However, at 17 percent of polling units in the south-south, the process was never completed<sup>93</sup>. In addition, the Situation Room received disturbing reports that politicians were attempting to use national security apparatuses to fiddle with election collation processes in some states. Based on these reports, the Situation Room issued a statement calling on INEC to “ensure that results that are announced reflect the true outcome of the votes cast by the Nigerian people”<sup>94</sup>. It also alerted other election stakeholders, including the international development community in Nigeria, of the nature of the reports it had received and together they engaged the relevant authorities to ensure that a closer watch was kept on the collation process.

91 For instance, TMG reported that poll officials asked every voter for PVC at 98 percent of polling units, poll officials made a tick against accredited voter’s names in the Register of Voters at 98 percent of polling units, poll officials marked a finger on the left hands of accredited voters with indelible ink, and at 72 percent of polling units poll officials gave accredited voters accreditation tags. See TMG Preliminary Statement on the 2015 Presidential and National Assembly Elections, p. 3.

92 Ibid, p. 3.

93 Ibid, p. 4.

94 Situation Room Warns Against Fiddling with Collation, 30 March 2015, [http://www.placng.org/situation\\_room/sr/situation-room-warns-against-fiddling-with-collation-issued-monday-30-march-2015/](http://www.placng.org/situation_room/sr/situation-room-warns-against-fiddling-with-collation-issued-monday-30-march-2015/).

Besides the problems posed by the delayed opening of polls and challenges with voter accreditation, other critical incidents and threats to the collation process were recorded by field observers. There were a relatively small number of incidents relating to shortages of materials, intimidation of poll officials, campaigning or campaign materials near polling units, attempts to bribe voters, refusals to allow eligible observers into polling units, the snatching of ballot boxes, and failures to post official results. However, none of these incidents were sufficiently widespread to undermine the credibility of the presidential and National Assembly elections.

At the end of the presidential and National Assembly elections, the Situation Room released a statement commending the Nigerian people, the two main presidential contestants, as well as INEC and all the stakeholders whose efforts led to the success of the elections. For the Situation Room, the “election represent[ed] a victory for democracy and the right of the people of Nigeria to determine who rules them”<sup>95</sup>. The group urged the president-elect to “work for the common good of all of the Nigerian people, especially the poor and vulnerable sectors of the population”<sup>96</sup>. The Situation Room reassured Nigerians that “civic groups will continue its work in defence of the democratic and human rights of all Nigerians and will hold the in-coming government to account, in line with constitutionally guaranteed rights entrenched under our laws and internationally recognized standards of good governance”<sup>97</sup>.

## 11 APRIL 2015: GUBERNATORIAL AND HOUSES OF ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

Nigerians returned to the polls on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April, 2015, to elect governors and members of the State Houses of Assembly. While governorship elections were only held in 29 states<sup>98</sup>, State Houses of Assembly elections took place in all the 36 states. The Situation Room considered state-level elections as very critical because “the successful conclusion of these elections is crucial to the consolidation of democracy in the country and should complement the already concluded presidential and National Assembly elections”<sup>99</sup>.

Overall, there was a marked improvement in election management, especially in terms of the timely arrival of electoral officials and materials. The group noted that 90 percent of polling units monitored opened on time and that accreditation proceeded smoothly with the card readers functioning with minimal hitches. Yet, the Situation Room identified the following problems:

- Several cases of electoral misconduct and disorderly conduct at polling units in Akwa Ibom, Katsina and Sokoto states;
- Many cases of process violations in Sokoto, Adamawa, Delta and Katsina states;
- Polling logistics problems in Akwa Ibom, Delta, Katsina, Rivers, Adamawa and Sokoto states;

95 Situation Room Congratulates Nigerians, Buhari on Presidential Elections, 1 April 2015, [http://www.placng.org/situation\\_room/sr/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/SR-Statement-of-Congrats-April-1-2015.pdf](http://www.placng.org/situation_room/sr/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/SR-Statement-of-Congrats-April-1-2015.pdf).

96 Situation Room Congratulates Nigerians, Buhari on Presidential Elections.

97 Ibid.

98 Situation Room Statement on Gubernatorial and State Houses of Assembly Elections – Issued on 11 April 2015, [http://www.placng.org/situation\\_room/sr/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/SR-Press-Release-on-Gubernatorial-and-State-Houses-of-Assembly-Elections.pdf](http://www.placng.org/situation_room/sr/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/SR-Press-Release-on-Gubernatorial-and-State-Houses-of-Assembly-Elections.pdf).

99 Seven states have off-cycle elections due to court rulings that upturned election outcomes after the 2007 general elections and changed their governorship election cycles. States with off-cycle Governorship elections include Adamawa, Anambra, Bayelsa, Cross River, Edo, Ekiti, Kogi, Ondo, Osun and Sokoto. In the Federal Capital Territory there are no elections for the Governorship and State House of Assembly.

- Cases of election-related violence in Akwa Ibom, Abia, Anambra, Delta, Imo, Rivers, Benue, Katsina, Sokoto and Kano states;
- Killings in Rivers State, where seven people were killed, as well as in Akwa Ibom, Delta, and Katsina states<sup>100</sup>.

The Situation Room also observed that the overall conduct of the elections in Rivers, Abia and Akwa Ibom states raised doubts about the credibility of the elections results in those two states. In many parts of Rivers State, deep-rooted political animosities played out in a violent manner and threatened to subvert the electoral process. There were also serious questions about the veracity of the results in Akwa Ibom and Abia states because of reports of active and direct partisan interference in the electoral process and multiple cases of irregularities.

Based on its observations, the Situation Room called on INEC to urgently cross-check the collated results from Rivers, Akwa Ibom and Abia states against the polling unit results and make a reasoned judgment about their validity. It felt that such a move would reassure the public that the integrity of the state elections was adequately protected. The Situation Room also condemned the role played by prominent public officials, politicians and some INEC officials in encouraging and organizing misconduct and disorderly behaviour. The group called for stern measures against individuals found to be culpable under the law.

## ELECTION RESULTS

The results announced by INEC indicated that APC's candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, won Nigeria's 2015 presidential elections with a polled total of 15,424,921 votes or 53.9 percent of the valid votes. His closest rival, President Goodluck Jonathan of the PDP, received 12,853,162 votes or 44.9 percent of the valid votes<sup>101</sup>. The margin between the APC and PDP candidates was 2,571,759 votes or 8.9 percent of the valid votes. The APC also won in 21 states (compared to the PDP's 16 states), and received at least 25 percent of the votes in 26 states (compared to the PDP's 25 states<sup>102</sup>). The other 12 candidates who took part in the race received a total of 309,481 votes or 1.0 percent of the valid votes<sup>103</sup>. The total number of votes cast in the 2015 election was the least since 1999, 25 percent less than the total votes in 2011<sup>104</sup>.

This was Muhammadu Buhari's first triumph after contesting in three previous presidential elections. Buhari received a sharp increase in his overall national support compared to his performance in the three previous elections. In 2003, he received 12,710,022 votes or 32.1 percent of the total valid votes. This declined to 6,605,299 votes or 18.6 percent of the total valid votes in 2007, and rose again to 12,214,853 votes or 31.9 percent of the total valid votes in 2011. Buhari unlocked "the battleground states" of southwest and north-central Nigeria where none of the two main parties were predominant.

100 Situation Room Final Statement on the Gubernatorial and State Houses of Assembly Elections – Issued on 13 April 2015, [http://www.placng.org/situation\\_room/sr/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Final-Statement-on-the-State-level-elections.pdf](http://www.placng.org/situation_room/sr/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Final-Statement-on-the-State-level-elections.pdf).

101 The PDP lost approximately 43 percent of the votes it had in 2011 (a decline from 22,495,187 votes in 2011 to 12,853,162 in 2015).

102 The PDP lost 15 out of the 31 states it won in 2011.

103 Support for the minor parties declined substantially - the two main parties increased their total number of votes from 90.8 percent in 2011 to 98.9 percent in 2015.

104 A total of 30,280,052 votes were cast in 1999; 42,018,735 votes in 2003; 35,397,517 in 2007; 39,464,484 votes in 2011; and 29,432,083 in 2015.

In the 2011 elections, Buhari received only 321,609 votes or 6.9 percent of the total valid votes cast in the south-west region. But in 2015, voters in the region gave him 2,433,193 votes or 57.1 percent of their votes. Buhari also experienced a change of electoral fortunes in the north-central region where his support increased from 1,612,999 votes or 31.3 percent of total valid votes in the region in 2011 to 2,411,013 or 55.7 percent of the total valid votes in 2015.

The APC's candidate also recorded marginal increases in his support even in southeast and south-south states where he had previously been very unpopular. Compared to 2011 when Buhari received only 0.4 percent and 0.7 percent of the votes in southeast and South-South, respectively, in 2015 support for the candidate increased to 7.4 percent and 8.8 percent, respectively. In particular, voters in Ebonyi, Imo and Edo states, who only gave Buhari 0.2 percent, 0.5 percent and 2.8 percent of their votes, respectively in 2011, moved significantly in support of the candidate. In 2015 they gave him 5.3 percent, 18.9 percent and 41.6 percent of their votes, respectively.

As expected, the mainly Muslim states of the northwest and northeast provided the backbone of Buhari's success. Collectively both regions gave the candidate a total of 9,963,877 votes or 82.3 percent of their votes. The northwest alone gave him 7,115,199 votes, that is, nearly half of his overall national vote<sup>105</sup>. Buhari's big win in the far north was Jonathan's major loss in the region. In 2011, voters in the northwest and northeast gave Jonathan over 31 percent of their votes - a support which was essentially the lifeline of Jonathan's candidacy in 2011. However, in 2015, support for Jonathan in the far north dipped significantly to 17.6 percent of the votes in the region.

The overall voter turnout for the 2015 presidential election was 43.6 percent - the lowest turnout in Nigeria since 1999 (52 percent in 1999, 69 percent in 2003, 57 percent in 2007 and 54 percent in 2011). Compared to the 2011 elections, voter turnout declined in all the geopolitical zones, except in the South-West where it rose from 32 percent to 40 percent.

A state by state breakdown of the turn-out figures shows that two-thirds of Nigerian states (that is, 24 out of 36 states) had voter turnout of less than 50 percent. The hotly-contested south-south state of Rivers had the highest turnout figure of 71 percent, while the keenly-contested state Lagos in the southwest had the lowest turnout figure with only 29 percent of registered voters casting their ballots. Four states in the south-south region (Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Delta, and Rivers States), each of which gave President Jonathan more than 90 percent of its votes, recorded turnout figures of more than 64 percent, that is, 20 percentage points higher than the nationwide average, despite the very low turnout in Edo State (36 percent).

Several southern states, including Lagos, Ogun, Abia, Edo, Anambra and Ebonyi, which were considered relatively peaceful had a lower turnout than many northern states, including those contending with the Boko Haram insurgency<sup>106</sup>. This questions the link between insecurity and political participation, and refutes the view that the Boko Haram insurgency would affect the 2015 elections by discouraging participation.

According to the election results announced by INEC, out of the 109 seats in the Senate, the APC won 60 Senatorial Districts (55 percent) while the PDP won 49 (45 percent). The PDP has been experiencing a progressive decline in its control of Nigeria's Senate. In 2011, the party lost

<sup>105</sup> The aggregate votes from the northwest exceeded the votes from the southeast and the south-south.

<sup>106</sup> The only exception is Borno State which had lower voter turnout than most southern states.

14 seats sliding from 87 Senate seats in 2007 to 73 seats in 2011. Of the 360 seats in the House of Representatives, the APC won 225 (62 percent), while the PDP won 125 seats (35 percent), while three other political parties, Labour Party, the All Progressives Grand Alliance and the Accord Party, share a balance of 10 seats (3 percent). The 2015 election narrowed the number of parties in the Senate to only two and House of Representatives to five. This is a significant departure from the situation between 2003 and 2007 when at least six parties controlled seats in the National Assembly.

For the gubernatorial elections where only 29 out of the 36 positions were contested, the APC won 20 governorship positions while the PDP clinched the governorship in nine states. This gives the APC a total number of 22 state governors, while the PDP has 13 and APGA has one. The APC lost the vital governorship of Rivers State to the PDP, but successfully retained control of Lagos State and captured PDP strongholds like Plateau, Benue, Niger and Bauchi states. The PDP also won gubernatorial elections in most of the southeast and south-south states, except for Gombe and Taraba, limiting the party's spread to a few regions. Incumbent governors were re-elected in ten out of the 29 states where elections took place, while nine states elected new governors to their first terms. Anambra State is the only state in Nigeria where the governor is not a member of either the APC or the PDP<sup>107</sup>.

## SECURITY AND ELECTION-RELATED VIOLENCE

Reports from field observers revealed several incidents of violence before and during the 2015 general elections. At least 20 incidents of violence, which resulted in 19 deaths, were reported during the presidential and National Assembly elections<sup>108</sup>, while at least 30 people were killed in 28 incidents of electoral violence during the gubernatorial and House of Assembly elections<sup>109</sup>. This is in addition to 58 deaths from 60 violent incidents recorded during the pre-election period December 2014 to January 2015<sup>110</sup>.

There might possibly have been more incidents and casualties if not for the full deployment, diligence and professional conduct of the Nigerian security agencies. A few days before the 2015 polls, the Situation Room expressed worry that the elections are imperilled by threats of violence<sup>111</sup>. The group therefore urged “the security agencies to take all lawful actions to ensure that lives and properties of Nigerians are protected during and after the elections”<sup>112</sup>. During a meeting between members of the Situation Room and the leadership of the Nigeria Police on the 24<sup>th</sup> of February, 2015, the Inspector General of Police (IGP) provided assurances that the police was ready to provide security during the election.

During the presidential and National Assembly elections, there was a substantial police presence reported in most polling units. Field observers

107 Anambra state governor belongs to the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) which works very closely with the PDP.

108 European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM), Nigeria General Elections 2015, First Preliminary Statement, Abuja, 30 March 2015, p.11.

109 European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM), Nigeria General Elections 2015, Second Preliminary Statement, Abuja, 30 March 2015, p.10.

110 National Human Rights Commission, A Pre-Election Report and Advisory on Violence in Nigeria's 2015 General Elections, February 13, 2015.

111 Statement by the Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room on Preparations for Nigeria's General Elections holding on 28 March and 11 April 2015, [http://www.placng.org/situation\\_room/sr/statement-by-the-nigeria-civil-society-situation-room-on-preparations-for-nigerias-general-elections-holding-on-28-march-and-11-april-2015/](http://www.placng.org/situation_room/sr/statement-by-the-nigeria-civil-society-situation-room-on-preparations-for-nigerias-general-elections-holding-on-28-march-and-11-april-2015/).

112 Ibid.

affiliated with the Situation Room showed that 83 percent of the polling units monitored had at least two security personnel deployed. A significant majority of these personnel arrived promptly at their duty post: 63 percent arrived at the polling station before 8 am and 21 percent between 8 am and 9 am. Most (71 percent) of the security personnel remained at the polling units till they closed. Those who left (29 percent) for a short period during the polling had reportedly gone to refresh themselves<sup>113</sup>.

The strong presence of security personnel at the polling units probably led to the peaceful and orderly conduct of the voting process. In most polling units (82 percent), observers reported that the voting process was orderly. The process was only somewhat orderly in 15 percent of the polling units and not orderly at all in 3 percent of all the polling sites. At 96 percent of the polling units monitored, security personnel followed the instructions of the presiding officer. And at 91 percent of the polling units observers reported that there were no threats to security. These observations were reflected in the low number of use of force incidents by security personnel. Observers reported that security personnel used force in only 5 percent of the polling units monitored. And in the locations where force was used, it was considered necessary in 63 percent of the cases and proportionate in 79 percent of the cases. All of this point to the good conduct of security personnel at 89 percent of the polling units monitored<sup>114</sup>.

The performance of the security agencies did not differ on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April during the gubernatorial and State House of Assembly elections. Police presence was widespread – 82 percent of the polling units across the country had at least two security officials present, while the remaining 18 percent had at least one security personnel present. At 80 percent of the polling units, the security officials reported at their posts before 8 am. At 69 percent of the polling units, security officials remained at their posts throughout the day, while in the 31 percent of the units where officers left for a brief period, a majority of them (64 percent) went to refresh themselves.

Officers were described as impartial at 94 percent of the polling units. At the close of polls, security officials were reported to have provided an escort for the election materials to the collation centres in 90 percent of the polling units monitored. Observers reported that 89 percent of polling units were orderly. At 98 percent of the polling units, security officials complied with the instructions of presiding election officers. Use of force by security personnel was reported at 11 percent of the polling units, a 5 percent increase compared to the previous presidential and National Assembly elections. Security officials bearing firearms were also sighted in 11 percent of the polling units. Overall, the conduct of the security officials was adjudged by observers as good at 88 percent of the polling units observed<sup>115</sup>.

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113 CLEEN Foundation, Preliminary Statement on the Conduct of 2015 Nigeria Presidential and National Assembly Elections, 28 March 2015, <http://www.cleen.org/Preliminary%20Statement%20on%20the%20Conduct%20of%202015%20Nigeria%20Presidential%20and%20National%20Assembly%20Elections.pdf>.

114 CLEEN Foundation, Preliminary Statement on the Conduct of 2015 Nigeria Presidential and National Assembly Elections.

115 CLEEN Foundation, Preliminary Statement on the Conduct of the April 11th 2015 Gubernatorial and State Houses of Assembly Elections in Nigeria, 15 April 2015, <http://cleenfoundation.blogspot.de/2015/04/preliminary-statement-on-conduct-of-15.html>.

# PART IV





## RECOMMENDATIONS

The 2015 general elections have strengthened electoral procedures and democracy in Nigeria. The elections consolidated the progress made during the 2011 general elections. However, a number of reforms and improvements are required to ensure that future elections in Nigeria strengthen the achievements of the last few years. The following recommendations to improve the electoral process areas are offered for consideration and possible implementation by various stakeholders in the Nigerian electoral process.

### LEGAL FRAMEWORK

1. The Constitution should be amended to bring RECs under the control and direction of INEC Headquarters through the appointments of State Directors of elections to replace RECs.
2. The executive and legislative arms of government should resolve the disagreement over proposed amendments to the Constitution and ensure that proposals seeking to improve the electoral process get the attention they deserve.
3. Proposed amendments to the Constitution should include issues critical to the transparency, inclusiveness and accountability of the electoral process, such as allowing independent candidates to run for office, in conformity with international principles for democratic elections. An effective legal framework should be formulated for the Establishment of Constituency Delimitation, Political

Parties Registration and Regulation and for Prosecution of Electoral Offences.

4. Any future amendments to election legislation should be enacted sufficiently in advance of elections to provide political parties, candidates and voters adequate time to become informed of the new rules of the election process.

### ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

1. INEC should immediately commence arrangements to reorganize constituencies and polling units in Nigeria, as this is long overdue. The process of reorganization should be made as systematic and as transparent as possible and must be completed well before the 2019 elections.
2. Noting that logistic and operational lapses have been the greatest challenge to elections in Nigeria, INEC should:
  - Make thorough planning a key priority.
  - Ensure the full implementation of and strict adherence to its Election Project Plan (EPP) and Election Management System (EMS).
  - Take up other necessary measures to strengthen its procurement, logistics and operational capacity.
3. To address major gaps in its operations, INEC should ensure a much greater compliance with elections procedures at all levels and introduce measures to reduce inconsistencies in their implementation. The Commission should focus more

attention on ensuring institutional cohesion and sound communication among its employees.

4. INEC could address its operational challenges by improving the capacity of its staff through robust learning programmes and timely training. INEC should design and implement mock election exercises to practice procedures such as filling out results sheets. The commission should make its training manuals user-friendly to reflect the realities of election management and be widely available to staff and stakeholders.
5. The Situation Room has consistently noted that results collation is the weakest aspect of election management in Nigeria. To further improve the transparency of the process, official results should be broken down to the polling unit level and published accordingly. The Electoral Act should include provisions for the publication of results by polling unit, collation centre, ward and constituency. Such results should be available to the public using various means, including the INEC website. INEC should devise a more robust internal results verification mechanism to be put in place before the official proclamation of the winners.
6. INEC was effective in engaging with its partners during the 2015 elections – holding periodic consultative meetings with stakeholders, particularly political parties, candidates and CSOs. The commission should continue with this positive trend at the federal and state levels.

7. The accreditation of journalists, as well as domestic and international election observers, was a major challenge during the 2015 elections. To improve the process in future elections, INEC should develop and implement timely and clear procedures for accrediting observers and journalists.

## VOTER REGISTRATION

Achieving a credible National Voters' Register remains a key challenge to INEC in the conduct of elections. Constant writing up of a new voters' register or its updating has proved to be a daunting task for INEC. Reports during elections often indicate that several persons complained of their names missing on the voters' register. There is an important need to allow INEC focus on the key aspects of its work that is election management. The task of compiling a voters' register should be entrusted with the body nationally charged with data management for the country. It is proposed that the National Population Commission should be given the responsibility of extracting the national voters' register from its population database and be further charged with updating and including the names of persons that attain voting age. A system that will monitor and report on the integrity of a national voters' register created through this process will also need to be put in place. In the period that INEC has responsibility for keeping a national voters' register it should:

1. Improve the voters' register by devising a transparent and systematic system of eliminating dead and redundant registrants from the register.
2. INEC should ensure that it conducts a Continuous Voter Registration exercise

before future elections. The commission should ensure that it closes the update of the register 30 days before the elections date, in line with the Electoral Act.

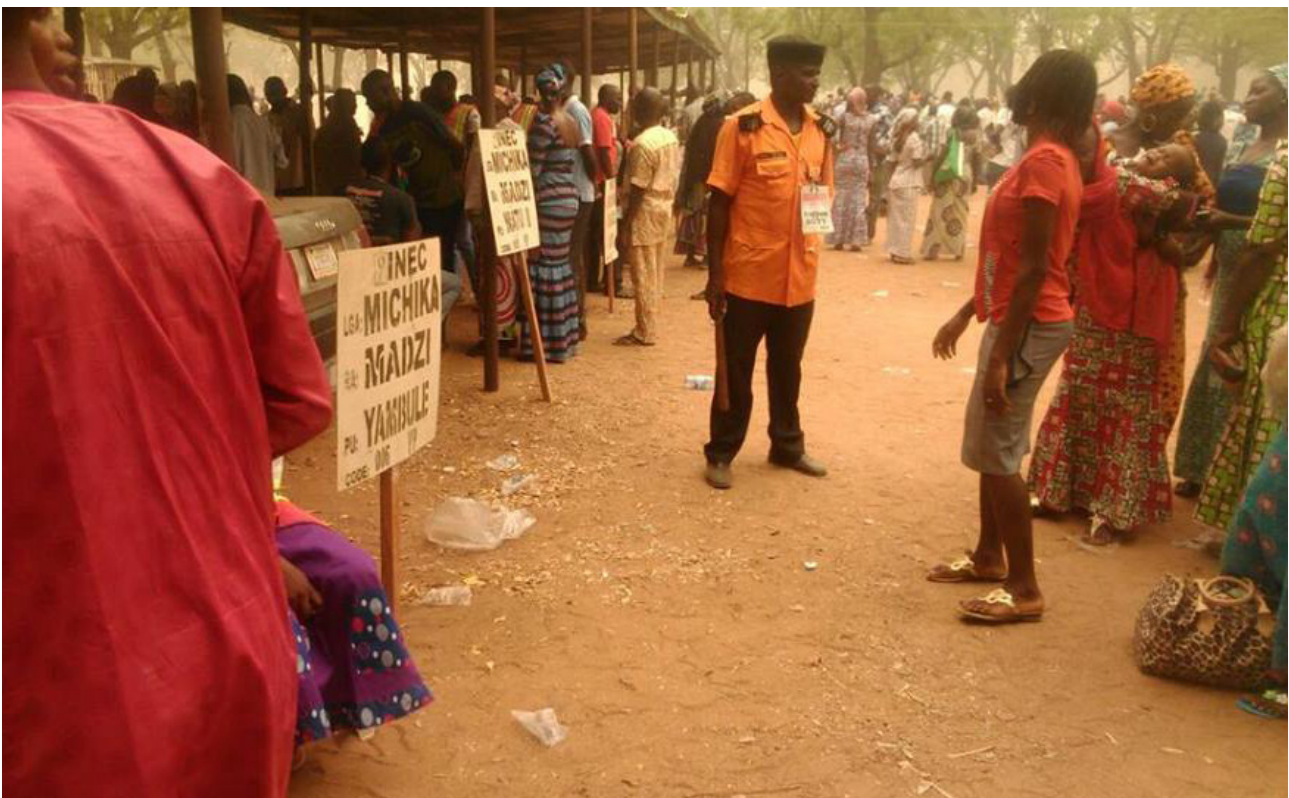
3. The voters' register should be made readily available to political parties, election stakeholders, and the general public.

### POLLING AND COLLATION

1. Clear directives regarding the opening and closing times for voting should be issued by INEC in order to make the election process more predictable for voters. This is in addition to clear instructions on the

restriction of movement on Election Day.

2. The presence of party agents can be a deterrent to possible manipulation of the electoral process as they provide information to their principals, thereby boosting the transparency of the electoral process. However, political parties should be allowed to accredit only one agent per polling unit to help reduce the interference of party agents in the voting process.
3. Clear instructions to Collation Officers regarding the correction of calculation errors should be provided to eliminate the arbitrary handling of numeric inconsistencies in the result sheets.



Voting in process for Internally Displaced Persons in Adamawa State

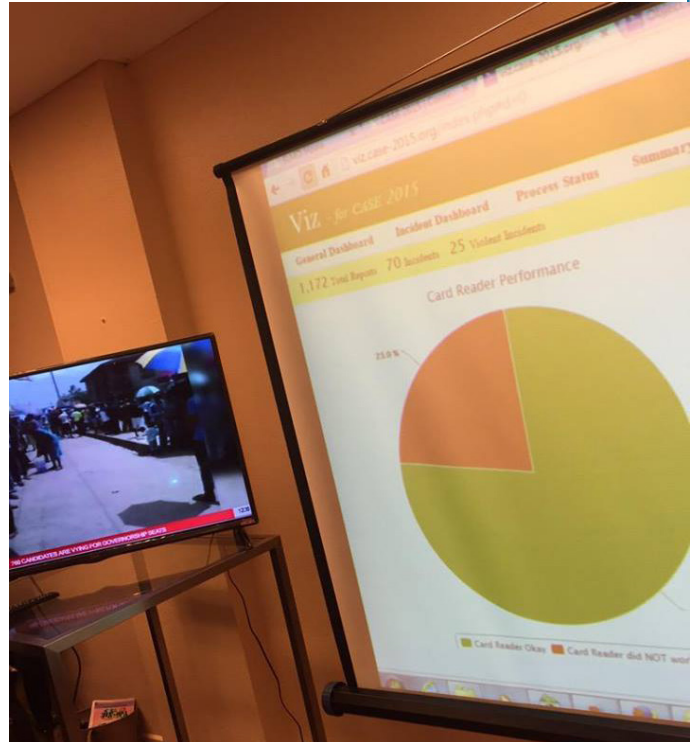


# SITUATION ROOM'S 2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS ENGAGEMENT

## PICTURE GALLERY



# NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATIONROOM



# NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATIONROOM



**LAW & SOCIETY**

The change of leadership at the centre, achieved at the last elections, resulted mostly from a combination of factors, including a vigilant citizenry driven by Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). ERIC IKHILAE examines the role played by one of such groups – Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room.

## How civil society, citizens contributed to 'change'

NIGERIA has been hailed globally for achieving a rancour-free change of leadership at the centre, with the displacement of the ruling party - the Peoples Democratic Party - through a near-perfect electoral process, which many have described as a work-in-progress.

The success achieved in the general elections has been attributed to a combination of factors, which included the existence of an electoral umpire with a focused leadership, a well-coordinated opposition forces and a vigilant citizenry, driven by observant civil society organisations (CSOs).

One of such CSOs is the Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Situation Room), a coalition of about 60 CSOs, which kept an eye on processes leading to the elections.

Led by the Executive Director of the Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC), Clement Nwankwo, the group's members monitored the electoral process, keeping Nigerians informed about developments through briefings at its situation room in Abuja.

In the build-up to the elections, it held discussions with major key players in the electoral process, including the Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Prof. Atahiru Jega; international figures, such as the ex-Secretary-General, United Nations, Kofi Annan, and notable religious leaders, such as Cardinal John Onaiyekan.

Some of the sessions examined issues, including INEC's preparations for the elections, how to ensure a rancour-free process and what should be done to ensure that the nation gets the electoral process right and avert chaos.

When the elections were suddenly postponed from the earlier dates of February 14 and 28, the group alerted the populace, through a statement on February 12, titled: "Situation Room: Nigeria's democracy imperiled," to an imminent danger.

It urged major stakeholders, particularly the courts, the security agencies and

religious organisations to be wary and desist from yielding themselves as tools to truncate the democratic process.

It noted: "the postponement of the elections following the stark refusal of the military authorities to guarantee security for the elections, while evoking dark memories of past military dictatorships, has thrown up various constitutional and political challenges that undermine and subvert our fledgling democracy."

"It has also shaken public credibility and confidence in the forthcoming elections, setting off a round of speculations and conspiracy theories about the real motivation for the shift of the election dates," it said, warning against any further tinkering with the election timetable.

"We believe the postponement of this election, for whatever reason, will undermine whatever modicum of legitimacy the electoral process still has and may ultimately be the trigger for massive unrest, violence and armed conflict, effectively setting the stage for civil unrest," it added.

At the conclusion of the first round of voting on March 28 the group, after a thorough assessment of the exercise, observed some lapses, including late arrival of electoral officers to polling centres, reported cases of the malfunctioning of the card reader machines, partisan conduct by some security personnel, among others.

In a statement it issued on March 29, the group stated that the failure of the card reader in some cases, which forced INEC to revert to manual accreditation, undermined the full benefit anticipated by the use of biometric technology and imposed unnecessary hardship on Nigerians.

It also warned about the threat posed to the process's credibility, where security agencies failed to prevent interference in the electoral process in some states. It urged the security agencies and officials to conduct themselves according to established standards of professional conduct, and asked

INEC to correct its own deficiencies and inform the Nigerian public as to what to expect," during the next round of elections.

On April 13, the group made public its assessment of the April 11 governorship and House of Assembly elections, querying the credibility of the outcome of the elections in Rivers, Akwa Ibom and Abia states.

The group, whose member organisations had election monitors throughout the country, said from reports submitted by members, it was concerned "about the overall conduct of the elections" in the three states because there are grounds to question the credibility of the elections results.

It urged INEC to take steps to authenticate the final collated results from the three states against the polling unit results and make a reasoned judgment about them.

The group noted that in Rivers, "historically deep-rooted political animosities played out in a brazen, violent and naked manner to subvert the electoral process in many local governments in the state."

"In Akwa Ibom, there were also serious questions about the veracity of the results because of reports of active and direct partisan interference with elections."

There are also concerns about Abia State, which recorded multiple cases of electoral misconduct," it said.

The group expressed concern about what it termed the weak oversight powers of INEC's national headquarters over the Resident Electoral Commissioners and state INEC offices in the management and conduct of elections, which it partly blamed for the situation in the three states.

"This makes it easy for compromised RECs and other state-level INEC officers to undermine the credibility of the election, sometimes with reckless impunity," it said.

Nwankwo dwelt on this perceived inadequacy in the administrative arrangement of INEC when he spoke with *The Nation* in Abuja. He stressed the urgent need for amendments to electoral law, to improve on the level of control INEC headquarters

should have over the conduct of its officials at the state level.

"That is the problem. There is a vacuum in the law that provides a hiding place for INEC headquarters to hide and refuse to cancel elections."

"The electoral law requires that INEC makes available all the needed evidences, if it gets to litigation. Should that be the case, as INEC has said it will not cancel announced elections, I think it becomes important that INEC provides all the necessary evidences needed to prosecute litigation should the aggrieved elect to explore the litigation option."

On his assessment of this year's elections, Nwankwo said "the 2015 general elections have seen a huge improvement on the part of INEC. We are not there yet. We think it is a long way to go and that there are improvements to be made. I am sure there will be recommendations on how to further improve the electoral system that need to be embarked upon."

He said the Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room has been in existence since 2010 and that it also observed the elections in 2011. "We think it (the Situation Room) has provided a good platform and mechanism for civil society organisations to closely follow the electoral process, observe it and make recommendations for improvement."

"So, by and large, yes, we are doing well in fulfilling the purpose for which this platform was created."

On the group's future engagements, Nwankwo said "We will do a review of this year's elections. We will come up with suggestions on improvement, and advocate these suggestions. We will also function in the manner of watching over the governance process."

"So, it is not just about elections, it is about the performance of government, the delivery of government and the monitoring of all the indicators of governance to ensure that the government fulfils the promises it has made to Nigerians."



\*From left: Nwankwo, Tunji Lardner of WANGONET and Ezenwa Nwagwu of Partners for Electoral Reform ... during one of Situation Room's sessions in Abuja

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room implemented a programme of robust engagement with Nigeria's democratic process and 2015 general elections, which culminated in the conduct of the most successful general elections in recent Nigerian history. Situation Room wishes to express profound appreciation to the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) for its wholehearted support of Situation Room's work on democracy and governance including observation of the 2015 general elections. Situation Room is also grateful to the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) for its support and involvement in the work of the Situation Room. Our gratitude further extends to The Ford Foundation for supporting the team of experts who joined in providing analysis of the election trend during the 2015 elections. Situation Room is also grateful to the individuals and experts that constitute the Steering Committee of the Situation Room, the organisations in the Situation Room platform and several of the other individual organisations and partners that support the Situation Room. We would also like to express sincere thanks to all the network of observers across Nigeria, experts, the media, volunteers and staff who devoted their time and knowledge to the success of the Situation Room's engagement of the electoral process. To our colleagues in the International community, we express our appreciation for the collaborative efforts and coordination of activities.

APPENDIX B:  
ABBREVIATIONS

ACN	Action Congress of Nigeria
ANPP	All Nigeria Peoples Party
APC	All Progressive Congress
APGA	All Progressives Grand Alliance
BPR	Business Process Review
CPC	Congress for Progressive Change
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CVR	Continuous Voter Registration
DFID	United Kingdom Department for International Development
EMS	Election Management System
EPP	Election Project Plan
ERC	Electoral Reform Committee
ICC	International Conference Centre
ICCC	INEC Citizens Contact Centre
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
NARTO	National Association of Road Transport Owners
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
NURTW	National Union of Road Transport Workers
OSIWA	Open Society Initiative for West Africa
PDP	Peoples' Democratic Party
PLAC	Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre
PVC	Permanent Voters Cards
REC	Resident Election Commissioner
RERC	Registration and Election Review Committee
SCR	Smart Card Readers
TCRED&C	Technical Committee on the Review of Electoral Districts and Constituencies
TMG	Transition Monitoring Group
TVC	Temporary Voter Cards
UN	United Nations

APPENDIX C:  
LIST OF SITUATION ROOM MEMBERS

**Situation Room’s Steering Committee** is made up of the following organisations:

- Action Aid Nigeria, Abuja;
- Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Abuja;
- Centre for Information Technology And Development (CITAD), Kano;
- CLEEN Foundation, Abuja;
- Community Life Project/Reclaim Naija, Lagos;
- Election Monitor, Akure;
- Human Rights Monitor, Kaduna;
- Institute for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law (IHRHL), Port-Harcourt;
- Partners for Electoral Reform (PER), Abuja;
- Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC), Abuja; and
- Responsible Citizens and Human Development Initiative (RECHDI), Gombe.

**Partner Organizations Of Situation Room**

ACTION AID NIGERIA
ADVOCATES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
AGENTS OF COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT (A-CODE)
ALLIANCE FOR CREDIBLE ELECTIONS
BORNO COALITION FOR DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS (BOCODEP)
CENTRE FOR CITIZENS WITH DISABILITIES (CCD)
CENTRE FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT (CDD)
CENTRE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION AND DEVT. (CEED)
CENTRE FOR HEALTH AND DEVT. IN AFRICA (CHEDA)
CENTRE FOR INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT (CITAD)
CENTRE LSD (AFRICAN CENTRE FOR LEADERSHIP, STRATEGY AND DEVELOPMENT)
CENTRE FOR WOMEN AND ADOLESCENT EMPOWERMENT
CITIZEN’S ADVOCACY FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE
CITIZENS CENTRE FOR INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL RIGHTS (CCISEDOR)
CIVIL SOCIETY LEGISLATIVE ADVOCACY CENTRE (CISLAC)
CLEEN FOUNDATION
COMMUNITY HEALTH AND DEVELOPMENT ADVISORY TRUST (COHDAT)
COMMUNITY LIFE PROJECT/RECLAIM NAIJA
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS PROJECT (CRP)
DEVELOPMENT DYNAMICS
DEVELOPMENT AND INTEGRITY INTERVENTION GOAL FOUNDATION (DIG)
EDO STATE CONFERENCE OF NGOS (CONGOS)

ELECTION MONITOR
ENOUGH IS ENOUGH NIGERIA
EQUITY ADVOCATES
FOUNDATION FOR ENVIRONMENTAL RIGHTS, ADVOCACY & DEVELOPMENT (FENRAD)
HABITAT CARE INITIATIVE
HUMAN RIGHTS ADVANCEMENT, DEVELOPMENT AND ADVOCACY CENTRE (HURIDAC)
HUMAN RIGHTS MONITOR
INITIATIVE FOR CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT FOUNDATION (ICADEF)
INSPIRE NIGERIAN YOUTH
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY
JUSTICE & PEACE (JDPC)/CARITAS NIGERIA
KIMPACT DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE
KOYENUM IMMALAH FOUNDATION
MAJESTY COMMUNITY RURAL DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION
NEXT GENERATION YOUTH INITIATIVE INTERNATIONAL (NEGYII)
NIGER DELTA BUDGET MONITORING GROUP (NDEMUBOG)
NIGERIA FOR CHANGE INTERNATIONAL
NIGERIAN INITIATIVE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT (NISD)
NIGERIAN WOMEN TRUST FUND
PARTNERS FOR ELECTORAL REFORM
PARTNERSHIP FOR JUSTICE
POLICY AND LEGAL ADVOCACY CENTRE (PLAC)
PROACTIVE GENDER INITIATIVE (PGI)
RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE (RECHDI)
RURAL YOUTH INITIATIVE
SOUTH EAST GOVERNANCE NETWORK (SEGON)
SOUTH-SAHARAN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION
SPACES FOR CHANGE
STAKEHOLDER DEMOCRACY NETWORK
UNIVERSITY OF MAIDUGURI'S CENTRE FOR PEACE, DIPLOMACY AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES (CPDDS)
WANGONET
WOMEN ADVOCATES RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRE (WARD-C)
WOMEN AND YOUTH EMPOWERMENT FOR ADVANCEMENT AND HEALTH INITIATIVE
WOMEN'S RIGHT TO EDUCATION PROGRAMME (WREP)
YOUTH ALLIANCE ON CONSTITUTION AND ELECTORAL REFORM (YACORE)
YAR'ADUA FOUNDATION
YOUTH FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT
YOUNG INNOVATORS OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING INITIATIVE
YOUTH INITIATIVE FOR ADVOCACY GROWTH & ADVANCEMENT (YIAGA)

APPENDIX D:  
ELECTION RESULTS

**Presidential Election Results**

CANDIDATE		PARTY	VOTES	
1	MUHAMMADU BUHARI	ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS	15,424,921	53.96
2	GOODLUCK JONATHAN	PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY	12,853,162	44.96
3	ADEBAYO AYENI	AFRICAN PEOPLES ALLIANCE	53,537	0.19
4	GANIYU GALADIMA	ALLIED CONGRESS PARTY OF NIGERIA	40,311	0.14
5	SAM EKE	CITIZENS POPULAR PARTY	36,300	0.13
6	RUFUS SALAU	ALLIANCE FOR DEMOCRACY	30,673	0.11
7	MANI AHMAD	AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS	29,665	0.10
8	ALLAGOA CHINEDU	PEOPLES PARTY OF NIGERIA	24,475	0.09
9	MARTIN ONOVO	NATIONAL CONSCIENCE PARTY	24,455	0.09
10	TUNDE ANIFOWOSE-KELANI	ACCORD ALLIANCE	22,125	0.08
11	CHEKWAS OKORIE	UNITED PROGRESSIVE PARTY	18,220	0.06
12	COMFORT SONAIYA	KOWA PARTY	13,076	0.05
13	GODSON OKOYE	UNITED DEMOCRATIC PARTY	9,208	0.03
14	AMBROSE ALBERT OWURU	HOPE PARTY	7,435	0.03
<b>INVALID/BLANK VOTES</b>			844,519	–
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>29,432,083</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>REGISTERED VOTERS</b>			67,422,005	
<b>SOURCE: INEC</b>				

**Gubernatorial Elections Results**

STATE	GOVERNOR	WINNER	PARTY	APC	PDP
1	ABIA	OKEZIE IKPEAZU	PDP		264,713
2	ADAMAWA	JIBRILLA BINDO	APC	205,576	46,519
3	AKWA IBOM	UDOM EMMANUEL	PDP	89,865	996,071
4	BAUCHI	MOHAMMED ABUBAKAR	APC	654,934	282,650
5	BENUE	SAMUEL ORTOM	APC	413,803	173,165
6	BORNO	KASHIM SHETIMA	APC	473,543	25,640

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

STATE	GOVERNOR	WINNER	PARTY	APC	PDP
7	CROSS RIVER	BENEDICT AYADE	PDP	53,983	342,016
8	DELTA	IFEANYI OKOWA	PDP	67,825	724,680
9	EBONYI	DAVE UMUAHI	PDP	27,853	289,867
10	ENUGU	IFEANYI UGWUANYI	PDP	43,839	482,277
11	GOMBE	IBRAHIM DANKWAMBO	PDP	205,132	285,369
12	IMO	ROCHAS OKOROCHA	APC	416,996	320,705
13	JIGAWA	BADARU ABUBAKAR	APC	648 045	479 447
14	KADUNA	NASIR EL RUFAI	APC	1,117,635	485,833
15	KANO	ABDUALLHI GANDUJE	APC	1,546,434	509,726
16	KATSINA	AMINU MASARI	APC	943,085	476,768
17	KEBBI	ATIKU BAGUDU	APC	477,376	293,443
18	KWARA	ABDULFATAH AHMED	APC	295 832	115 220
19	LAGOS	AKINWUNMI AMBODE	APC	811,994	659,788
20	NASARAWA	UMARU TANKO ALMAKURA	APC	191 463	114 674
21	NIGER	ABUBAKAR SANI-BELLO	APC	593, 702	239, 772
22	OGUN	IBIKUNLE AMOSUN	APC	306,998	201,440
23	OYO	ABIOLA AJIMOBİ	APC	327,310	79,019
24	PLATEAU	SIMON LALONG	APC	564, 913	520, 627
25	RIVERS	NYESOM WIKE	PDP	124, 846	1,029,102
26	SOKOTO	AMINU TAMBUWAL	APC	647,609	269,074
27	TARABA	DARIUS ISHAKU	PDP	275,984	369,318
28	YOBE	IBRAHIM GAİDAM	APC	334,847	179,700
29	ZAMFARA	ABDULAZİZ YARI	APC	716,964	201,938

**Elected Senators**

	STATE	STATE CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
1	ABIA	ABIA NORTH	MAO A. OHUABUNWA	PDP
2		ABIA CENTRAL	THEODORE AHAMEFULE ORJI	PDP
3		ABIA SOUTH	ENYINNAYA HARCOURT ABARIBE	PDP
4	ADAMAWA	ADAMAWA NORTH	BINTA MASI GARBA	APC
5		ADAMAWA SOUTH	AHMADU ABUBAKAR (MOALLAHYIDI)	APC
6		ADAMAWA CENTRAL	ABDUL AZİZ MURTALA NYAKO	APC
7	AKWA IBOM	AKWA IBOM NORTH-EAST	BASSEY ALBERT AKPAN	PDP
8		AKWA IBOM NORTH WEST	GODSWILL OBOT AKPABIO	PDP

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

STATE	STATE CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY	
9	AKWA IBOM SOUTH	NELSON ASUQUO EFFIONG	PDP	
10	ANAMBRA	ANAMBRA NORTH	STELLA ADAEZE ODUAH	PDP
11		ANAMBRA CENTRAL	UCHE LILIAN EKWUNIFE	PDP
12		ANAMBRA SOUTH	EMMANUEL ANDY NNAMDI UBA	PDP
13	BAUCHI	BAUCHI CENTRAL	ISAH HAMMA MISAU	APC
14		BAUCHI SOUTH	MALAM ALI WAKILI Mni	APC
15		BAUCHI NORTH	SULEIMAN MOHAMMED NAZIF	APC
16	BAYELSA	BAYELSA EAST	MURRAY- BRUCE BEN	PDP
17		BAYELSA CENTRAL	EMMANUEL PAULKER. IZIBEFIEN	PDP
18		BAYELSA WEST	OGOLA FOSTER	PDP
19	BENUE	BENUE NORTH EAST	BARNABAS ANDYAR I. GEMADE	APC
20		BENUE N/ WEST	AKUME GEORGE	APC
21		BENUE SOUTH	DAVID A.B. MARK	PDP
22	BORNO	BORNO NORTH	ABUBAKAR KYARI	APC
23		BORNO CENTRAL	AHMAD ZANNAH	APC
24		BORNO SOUTH	MOHAMMED ALI NDUME	APC
25	CROSS - RIVER	CROSS RIVER NORTH	ROSE OKOJI OKO	PDP
26		CROSS RIVER SOUTH	GERSHOM HENRY BASSEY	PDP
27		CROSS RIVER CENTRAL	JOHN OWAN ENOH	PDP
28	DELTA	DELTA CENTRAL		
29		DELTA NORTH	PETER NWABOSHI	PDP
30		DELTA SOUTH	JAMES EBIOWOU MANAGER	PDP
31	EBONYI	EBONYI NORTH	SAMUEL OMINYI EGWU	PDP
32		EBONYI CENTRAL	OGBA JOSEPH OBINNA	PDP
33		EBONYI SOUTH	SUNDAY OGBUOJI OJI	PDP
34	EDO	EDO CENTRAL	CLIFFORD A. ORDIA	PDP
35		EDO NORTH	FRANCIS ASEKHAME ALIMIKHENA	APC
36		EDO SOUTH	MATHEW A. URHOGHIDE	PDP
37	EKITI	EKITI NORTH	DURO SAMUEL FASEYI	PDP
38		EKITI CENTRAL	FATIMAT OLUFUNKE RAJI- RASAKI	PDP
39		EKITI SOUTH	BIODUN OLUJIMI	PDP
40	ENUGU	ENUGU EAST	GILBERT EMEKA NNAJI	PDP
41		ENUGU WEST	IKE EKWEREMADU	PDP
42		ENUGU NORTH	UTAZI GODFREY CHUKWUKA	PDP

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

	STATE	STATE CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
43	FCT	FCT SENATE	PHILIPS TANIMU ADUDA	PDP
44	GOMBE	GOMBE CENTRAL	MOHAMMED GOJE DANJUMA	APC
45		GOMBE NORTH	BAYERO USMAN NAFADA	APC
46		GOMBE SOUTH	JOSHUA LIDANI MOLTOBOK	PDP
47	IMO	IMO EAST	SAMUEL NNAEMEKA ANYANWU	PDP
48		IMO WEST	UZODINMA GOODHOPE ODIDIKA	PDP
49		IMO NORTH	ACHONU ATHANASIOUS NNEJI	PDP
50	JIGAWA	JIGAWA NORTH WEST	ABDULLAHI ABUBAKAR GUMEL	APC
51		JIGAWA SOUTH WEST	SABO MOHAMMED	APC
52		JIGAWA NORTH EAST	MUHAMMAD UBALI SHITU	APC
53	KADUNA	KADUNA NORTH	SULEIMAN OTHMAN HUNKUYI	APC
54		KADUNA CENTRAL	SHEHU SANI	APC
55		KADUNA SOUTH	DANJUMA LA'AH	PDP
56	KANO	KANO NORTH	BARAU I. JIBRIN	APC
57		KANO CENTRAL	MOHAMMED RABIU MUSA	APC
58		KANO SOUTH	KABIRU GAYA	APC
59	KATSINA	KATSINA NORTH	MUSTAPHA BUKAR	APC
60		KATSINA SOUTH	ABU IBRAHIM	APC
61		KATSINA CENTRAL	UMARU IBRAHIM KURFI	APC
62	KEBBI	KEBBI NORTH	YAHAYA A. ABDULLAHI	APC
63		KEBBI CENTRAL	MUHAMMAD ADAMU ALIERO	APC
64		KEBBI SOUTH	BALA IBN NA'ALLAH	APC
65	KOGI	KOGI WEST	DINO MELAYE	APC
66		KOGI CENTRAL	MOHAMMED ABDULSALAMI OHIARE	APC
67		KOGI EAST	ABDULRAHMAN ABUBAKAR	APC
68	KWARA	KWARA NORTH	MOHAMMED SHA'ABA LAFIAGI	APC
69		KWARA CENTRAL	ABUBAKAR BUKOLA SARAHI	APC
70		KWARA SOUTH	RAFIU ADEDAYO IBRAHIM	APC
71	LAGOS	LAGOS CENTRAL	OLUREMI SHADE TINUBU	APC
72		LAGOS EAST	BAREEHU OLUGBENGA ASHAFA	APC
73		LAGOS WEST	ADEOLA SOLOMON OLAMILEKAN	APC
74	NASARAWA	NASARAWA NORTH	PHILIP ARUWA I. GYUNKA	PDP
75		NASARAWA WEST	ABDULLAHI ADAMU	APC
76		NASARAWA SOUTH	SALIHU HUSSAIN EGYE	APC
77	NIGER	NIGER SOUTH	MOHAMMED A. GARBA	APC

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

STATE	STATE CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY	
78		NIGER NORTH	ALIYU SABI ABDULLAHI	APC
79		NIGER EAST	DAVID UMARU	APC
80	OGUN	OGUN CENTRAL	OLANREWAJU ADEYEMI TEJUOSO	APC
81		OGUN EAST	BURUJI KASHAMU	PDP
82		OGUN WEST	JOSEPH GBOLAHAN DADA	APC
83	ONDO	ONDO NORTH	ROBERT AJAYI BOROFFICE	APC
84		ONDO CENTRAL	DONALD O. ALASOADURA	APC
85		ONDO SOUTH	YELE OMOGUNWA	PDP
86	OSUN	OSUN CENTRAL	OLUSOLA ADEYEYE	APC
87		OSUN EAST	BABAJIDE CHRISTOPHER OMOWORARE	APC
88		OSUN WEST	ISIAKA ADETUNJI ADELEKE	APC
89	OYO	OYO CENTRAL	MONSURAT J. A. SUNMONU	APC
90		OYO NORTH	BUHARI ABDULFATAI	APC
91		OYO SOUTH	RILWAN ADESOJI AKANBI	APC
92	PLATEAU	PLATEAU SOUTH	JEREMIAH TIMBUT USENI	PDP
93		PLATEAU CENTRAL	JOSHUA DARIYE CHIBI	PDP
94		PLATEAU NORTH	JANG JONAH DAVID	PDP
95	RIVERS	RIVERS EAST	GEORGE THOMPSON SEKIBO	PDP
96		RIVERS SOUTH EAST	OLAKA JOHNSON NWOGU	PDP
97		RIVERS WEST	OSINAKACHUKWU T. IDEOZU	PDP
98	SOKOTO	SOKOTO EAST	IBRAHIM ABDULLAHI GOBIR	APC
99		SOKOTO NORTH	ALIYU MAGATAKARDA WAMAKKO	APC
100		SOKOTO SOUTH	IBRAHIM ABDULLAHI	APC
101	TARABA	TARABA SOUTH	EMMANUEL BWACHA	PDP
102		TARABA CENTRAL	MARAFI BASHIR ABBA	PDP
103		TARABA NORTH	ABUBAKAR SANI DANLADI	PDP
104	YOBE	YOBE EAST	BUKAR ABBA IBRAHIM	APC
105		YOBE NORTH	AHMAD IBRAHIM LAWAN	APC
106		YOBE SOUTH	MOHAMMED HASAN	PDP
107	ZAMFARA	ZAMFARA CENTRAL	KABIR GARBA MARAFI	APC
108		ZAMFARA NORTH	TIJJANI YAHAYA KAURA	APC
109		ZAMFARA WEST	AHMED RUFAI SANI	APC

**Elected House of Representatives Members**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
	ABIA	ISIALANGWA NORTH/SOUTH	DARLINTON NWOKOCHA	PDP
		IKWUANO UMUAHIA	SAMUEL IFEANYI ONUIGBO	PDP
		BENDE	ELENDU-UKEJE NNENNA L .I	PDP
		ABA NORTH/SOUTH	OSSY PRESTIGE CHINEDU EHIRIODO O OSSY	APGA
		AROCHUKWU OHAFIA	NKOLE UKO NDUKWE	PDP
		OBINGWA/UGWUNAGBO/ OSISIOMA	SOLOMON ADAELU EZINWA O.	PDP
		ISUIKWUATO/UMUNNEOCHI	ONYEJEOCHA NKERUKA CHIDUBEN	PDP
		UKWA EAST/WEST	ABONTA UZOMA NKEM	PDP
	ADAMAWA	GOMBI/HONG	YUSUF BUBA YAKUB	APC
		YOLA-NORTH/SOUTH/GIREI	LAWAL ABUBAKAR GARBA	APC
		MICHIKA/MADAGALI	ADAMU DAU USMAN KAMALE	PDP
		MUBI NORTH, SOUTH/ MAIHA	ABDULRAHMAN SHUAIBU ABUBAKAR	APC
		GUYUK/SHELLENG	PHILIP A GUTUWA	APC
		FUFORE/SONG	SADIQ IBRAHIM	APC
		NUMAN/DEMSA/LAMURDE	KWAMOTI BITRUS LAORI	SDP
		JADA/GANYE/TOUNGO/MAYO BELWA	ABDULRAZAK SAÁD NAMDAS	APC
	AKWA IBOM	ABAK/ETIM EKPO/IKA	EMMANUEL EKON	PDP
		IKOT ABASI/MKPAT ENIN EASTERN OBOLO	FRANCIS CHARLES UDUYORK	PDP
		IKOT EKPENEESIEN UDIM/ OBOT AKARA	EMMANUEL S AKPAN	PDP
		UKANAFUN/ORUK ANAM	EMMANUEL ISAAC UKOETE	PDP
		IKONO/INI	IBORO ASUQUO EKANEM	PDP
		ITU/IBIONO IBOM	HENRY OKON ARCHIBONG	PDP
		ETINAN/NSIT IBOM/NSIT UBIUM	SAMUEL OKON IKON	PDP
		UYOURUAN/NSIT ATAI/ EBESIKPO ASUTAN	MICHAEL OKON ENYONG	PDP

NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
		ORON/MBO/OKOBO/UDUNG UKO/URUEL OFFONG/ ORUKO	NSE BASSEY EKPENYONG	PDP
		EKET/ONNA/ESIT/EKET/ IBENO	OWOIDIGHE IME EKPOATAI	PDP
	ANAMBRA	AGUATA	EUCHARIA AZODO OKWUNNA	PDP
		NNEWI NORTH SOUTH/ EKWUSIGO	CHRIS EMEKA AZUBOGU	PDP
		IHALA	ANOHU CHUKWUEMEKA REGINALD	PDP
		ANAOCHA/NJIKOKA/ DUNUKOFIA	OKECHUKWU NNAMDI EZE	PDP
		ANAMBRA EAST/WEST	MADUBUEZE PETER OBIANO	APGA
		ORUMBA NORTH/SOUTH		
		IDEMILI NORTH/SOUTH	OBINNA-CHIDOKA	PDP
		AWKA NORTH/SOUTH	ANAYO NNEBE	PDP
		OGBARU	CHUKWUKA ONYEMA WILFRED	PDP
		ONITSHA NORTH/SOUTH	IDU EMEKA GODWIN OBIAJULU	PDP
		OYI/AYAMELUM	ONYENWIFE GABRIEL	APGA
	BAUCHI	ITAS/GADAU/JAMMARE	ISA HASSAN MOHAMMED	APC
		MISAU/DABAM	AHMED YERIMA	APC
		BAUCHI	SHEHU ALIYU MUSA	APC
		SHIRA/GIADE	GURAI ALHAJI ADAMU	APC
		NINGI/WARJI	SALISU ZAKARI NINGI	APC
		TORO	LAWAL YAHAYA GUMAU	APC
		DARAZO/GANJUWA	RT HALIRU DAUDA JIKA	APC
		ZAKI	TATA OMAR	APC
		GAMAWA	MOHAMMED GARBA GOLOLO	APC
		DASS/TAFAWA BALEWA/ BAGORO	SAINT KAIOR EDNA	
		ALKALERI/KIRFI	MUHAMMAD SANI ABDU	APC
		KATAGUM	IBRAHIM MOHAMMED BABA	APC
	BAYELSA	SOUTHERN IJAW	DANIEL HENRY OFONGO	PDP
		OGBIA	SODAGUNO A FESTUS OMONI	PDP
		NEMBE/BRASS	FOINGHA JEPHTER	PDP

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
		SAGBAMA/EKEREMOR	AGBEDI FREDRICK Y.	PDP
		KOLOKUNA OPOKUMA/ YENAGOA	DIRI DOUYE	PDP
	BENUE	KWANDE/USHONGO	BENJAMIN IOREMBER WAYO	APC
		K/ALA/UKUM LOGO	UDENDE, EMMANUEL MEMGA	PDP
		GBOKO/TARKA	JOHN DYEGH	APC
		BURUKU		
		GWER EAST/GWER WEST	MARK TERSEER GBILLAH	APC
		OTUKPO/OHIMINI	ADAJI AWULU EZEKIEL	PDP
		APA/AGATU	ADAMU OCHEKPO ENTONU	PDP
		ADO/OKPOKWU OGBADIBO	CHRISTIAN ADABAH ABAH	PDP
		OJU/OBI	SAMSON OKWU	PDP
		VANDEKYA/KONSHISHA	HEMBE HERMAN IORWASE C.	APC
		MAKURDI/GUMA	DICKSON DOMINIC T.	APC
	BORNO	JERE	AYUBA MOHAMMED BELLO	APC
		BIU/ KWAYA-KAWASHANI/ BAYO, SHANI,	MUKTAR BETARA ALIYU	APC
		KONDUGA/DIKWA/MAFIA	MAHMUD LAWAN MAINA	APC
		KAGA, GUBIO, MAGUMERI	MOHAMMED A SANDA	APC
		MARTE/MONGUNO/ NGANZAI	MOHAMMED TAHIR MONGUNO	APC
		MAIDUGURI (METROPOLITAN)	ABDULKADIRI RAHIS	APC
		BAMA/NGALA/BALA-BALGE	MOHAMMED NUR SHERIFF	APC
		GWOZA/DAMBOA/CHIBOK	ASABE VILITA BASHIR	APC
		KUKAWA/ABADAM/MOBBAR/ GUZAMALA	MALLAM BUKAR GANA	APC
		ASKIRA UBA/HAWUL	JIBRIN SATUMARI	APC
	CROSS RIVER	CALABAR SOUTH/ AKPABUYO/BAKASSI	ESSIEN EKPEYONG AYI	PDP
		ABI/YAKURR	BASSEY EKO EWAH	PDP
		OBUBRA/ETUNG	MICHAEL IROM ETABA	PDP
		BOKI/IKOM	CHRIS AGIBE NGORO	PDP

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
		BEKWARRA/OBUDU/ OBANLIKU	OCHIGLEGOR IDAGBO	PDP
		AKAMKPA/BIASE	DANIE ASUQUO EFFIONG	PDP
		YALA/OGOJA	JARIGBE AGOM JARIGBE	PDP
		CALABAR MUNICIPAL / ODUKPANI	EDIM ETTA MBORA	PDP
	DELTA	NDOKWA WEST/UKWUANI/ NDOKWA EAST	OSSAI NICHOLAS OSSAI	PDP
		IKA NORTH EAST/IKA SOUTH	VICTOR ONYEMACHI NWOKOLO	PDP
		ETHIOPE EAST/ WEST		
		UVWIE/OKPE/SAPELE	EVELYN OMAVOWAN OBORO	PDP
		BOMADI/PATANI	NICHOLAS MUTU EBOMO	PDP
		BURUTU	JULIUS G. PONDI	PDP
		ISOKO NORTH/SOUTH	LEONARD O OGOR	PDP
		WARRI NORTH/WARRI SOUTH WEST	DANIEL REYENIEJU O	PDP
		ANIOCHANORTH/SOUTH/ OSHMILI NORTH/SOUTH	ONYEAMAECHEI JOAN MRAKPOR	PDP
		UGHELLI NORTH/SOUTH, UDU LGA	AHWINAHWI SOLOMON	PDP
	EBONYI	EBONYI/OHAUKWU	NWAZUNKU CHUKWUMA	PDP
		OHAOZARA ONICHA-IVO	OKORIE LINUS ABAA	PDP
		EZZA NORTH ISHIELU	ANAYO EDWIN	PDP
		IZZI/ABAKALIKI	SYLVESTER OGBAGA	PDP
		AFIKPO NORTH/SOUTH	IGARIWEY IDUMA ENWO	PDP
		EZZA SOUTH/IKWO	OGBEE LAZARUS N.	APGA
	EDO	OWAN WEST	IRIASE ISUMAFE O PALLY	APC
		EGOR/IKPOBA O	JOHNSON E. AGBONAYINMAN	PDP
		ESAN CENTRAL	JOSEPH E EDIONWELE	PDP
		OVIAT NORTH EAST/OVIAT SOUTH WEST	OMOSEDE IGBINEDION GABRIELLA	PDP
		ESAN NORTH EAST/ESAN SOUTH EAST	OGUN SARGIUS OSEASOCHIE	PDP
		ETSAKOEAST/WEST/ CENTRAL	PHILIP SHAIBU	APC
		AKOKO EDO	PETER OHIOZOJEH AKPATASON	APC

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
		OREDO		
		ORIOWO/UHUMWONDE	PATRICK AISOWIEREN	APC
	EKITI	ADO EKITI/IREPODUN/ IFELODUN	AYODELE OLADIMEJI	PDP
		EKITI SW/IKERE/ ORUN/ISE	SEGUN ADEKOLA ALEXANDER	PDP
		EMURE/GBONYIN/EKITI EAST	AWODUMILA AKINYELE JULIUS	PDP
		IDO/OSI/MOBA/ILEJEMEJE	AINA THADEUS	PDP
		IJERO/EKITI WEST/EFON	ONI OLAMIDE JOHNSON	PDP
		IKOLE/OYE/NORTH	KEHINDE AGBOOLA EMMANUEL	PDP
	ENUGU	ENUGU NORTH/SOUTH	CHIME OJI AGU	PDP
		NKANU EAST/WEST	CHUKWUEMEKA UJAM	PDP
		UDENU IGBOEZE NORTH	AGBO DENNIS NNAMDI	PDP
		NSUKKA/IGBOEZE SOUTH	IKECHUKWU UGWUEGEDE	PDP
		UZO-UWANI/ IGBO ETITI	STELLA UCHENA OBIAGELI NGWU	PDP
		OJI RIVER/ANINRI, AWGU	TOBY OKECHUKWU	PDP
		UDI/EZEAGU	AMADI OGUERINWA DENIS	PDP
		ENUGU EAST/ISI - UZO	KINGSLEY SUNNY EBANYI	PDP
	GOMBE	AKKO	BARAMBU UMARU KAWAWA	APC
		KALTUNGO/SHONGOM	BINTA BELLO	PDP
		BALANGA/BILLIRI	ALI ISA JC	PDP
		DUKKU/NAFADA	AISHATU JIBRIL DUKKU	APC
		GOMBE/KWAMI/ FUNAKAYE	KHAMISU AHMED MAILANTARKI	APC
		YAMALTU/ DEBA	YUNUSA AHMAD ABUBAKAR	APC
	IMO	ISIALAMBANO/OKIGWE/ ONUIMO	ONWUBUARIA KINSLEY OBINNA	PDP
		EHIME-MBANO/ IHITTE UBOMA/OBOWO	CHIKE JOHN OKAFOR	APC
		AHIAZU/MBAISE/EZINIHITTE	RAPHAEL UZOCHI IGBOKWE	PDP
		OWERRI MUNICIPAL/OWERRI N/OWERRI WEST	EZENWA ONYEWUCHI	PDP
		ORLU/ORU EAST/ORSU		

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
		NKWERRE/ ISU/ NJABA,NWANGELE	CHUKWUDI VICTOR JONES ONYERERI	PDP
		OHAJI/EGBEMA ORU, WEST OGUTA	GOODLUCK OPIA NANAH	PDP
		MBAITOLI IKEDURU	NWAWUBA HENRY UGOCHUKWU	PDP
		IDEATO/NORTH/ IDEATO/ SOUTH	CHUKWUKERE AUSTINE IKECHUKWU O.	APC
		ABOH MBAISE/NGOR OKPALA	BEDE EKE UCHENNA	PDP
	JIGAWA	BIRNIWA-KIRI KASMA, GURI		
		KAUGAMA/MALLAM MADORI		
		GUMEL/MAIGARTARI/ SULETNKAR/GAGARAWA		
		GARKI/BABURA		
		HADEJA/KAFIN HAUSA/AUYO		
		KAZAURE		
		TAURA/RINGIM		
		MIGA/JAHUN		
		DUTSE/KIYAWA		
		GWARAM		
		BUJI/BIRNIN KUDU		
	KADUNA	SANGA/JEMA'A	SHEHU NICHOLAS GARBA	PDP
		KACHIA/KAGARKO	JAGABA ADAMS JAGABA	APC
		ZARIA	ABBAS TAJUDEEN	APC
		IGABI	MUHAMMED ABUBAKAR	APC
		JABA/ZAGON KATAF	SUNDAY MARSHAL KATUNG	PDP
		KADUNA NORTH	SAMAILA SULEIMAN	APC
		SABON GARI	GARBA DATTI MUHAMMAD	APC
		CHUKUN/KAJURU	UMAR YAKUBU BARDE	PDP
		KADUNA SOUTH	RUFAI AHMED CHANCHANGI	APC
		SOBA	MUHAMMAD MUSA SOBA	APC
		BIRNIN GWARI/GIWA	HASSAN ADAMU SHEKARAU	APC
		IKARA/KUBAU	YUSUF BALA	APC
		MAKARFI/KUDAN	MOHAMMED USMAN	APC
		KAURU	BARR SIMON Y ARABO	PDP
		KAURA	ARC GIDEON LUCAS GWANI	PDP
		LERE	LAWAL MUHD RABIU	APC

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
	KANO	DAWAKIN/TOFA/TOFA/RIMIN GADO	TIJJANI ABDULKADIR JOBE	APC
		KUMBOTSO	MUNIR BABBA DANAGUNDI	APC
		GWARZO/KABO	NASIRU GARO SULE	APC
		MUNICIPAL	DANBURAM ABUBAKAR NUHU	APC
		BICHI	AHMED GARBA BICHI	APC
		DAMBATTA/MAKODA	BADAMASI AYUBA	APC
		NASARAWA	NASSIRU ALI AHMED	APC
		DALA	ALIYU SANI MADAKI	APC
		GWALE	GARBA IBRAHIM MOHAMMED	APC
		KURA/GARVIN/MALLAM/MADOBI	MUKTAR MOHAMMED CHIROMAWA	APC
		TARAUNI	NASIRU BABALLE ILA	APC
		FAGGE	AMINU SULEIMAN	APC
		KIRU/BEBEJI	ABDULMUMIN JIBRIN	APC
		TAKAI/SUMAILA	GARBA UMAR DURBUNDE	APC
		ROGO/KARAYE	SHEHU USMAN ALIYU	APC
		RANO/BUNKURE/KIBIYA	SANI MOHD ALIYU RANO	APC
		BAGWAI/SHANONO	SULAIMAN ALIYU ROMO	APC
		MINJIBIR/UNGOGO	BASHIR BABALLE	APC
		KUNCHI/TSANYAWA	SANI UMAR BALA	APC
		DAWAKIN KUDU/WARAWA	MUSTAPHA BALA DAWAKI	APC
		AJINGI/GAYA/ALBASU	ABDULLAHI MAHMUD GAYA	APC
		GEZAWA/GABASAWA	MUSA ADO	APC
		DOGUWA/TUDUNWADA	ALHASSAN ADO GARBA	APC
		WUDIL/GARKO	MUHAMMAD ALI WUDIL	APC
	KATSINA	MALUMFASHI/KAFUR	BABANGIDA IBRAHIM	APC
		SAFANA/DANMUSA/ BATSARI	AHMED DAYYABU SAFANA	APC
		MASHI/DUTSI	SANI BELLO MASHI	APC
		MUSAWA/MATAZU	IBRAHIM DANMAZARI MURTALA	APC
		DANDUME/FUNTUA	MUNTARI DANDUTSE	APC
		BAKORI/DANJA	AMIRUDDIN TUKUR	APC
		DUTSINMA/KURFI	DANLAMI MOHAMMED KURFI	APC
		MANI/BINDAWA	AMINU ASHIRU MANI	APC

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
		KANKIA/KUSADA/INGAWA	AHMAD USMAN BABBA KAITA	APC
		ZANGO/BAURE	NASIRU SANI ZANGON DAURA	APC
		KANKARA/PASKARI/SABUWA	MURTALA ISAH	APC
		KATSINA CENTRAL	SHEIK UMAR ABUBAKAR	APC
		DAURA/MAIADUA/SANDAMU	SANI SAIDU FAGO	APC
		BATAGARAWA/RIMI/ CHARANCHI	KABIR SHAAIBU	APC
		JIBIA/KAITA	SULEIMAN SALISU SALISCO	APC
	KEBBI	ZURU/FAKAI, DANKO/ SAKABA/WASAGU	ALH ALIYU DANLADI	APC
		YAURI/NGASKI /SHANGA	MUHAMMED D DANTANI	APC
		KALGO/BUNZABIRNIN KEBBI	ABDULLAHI UMAR FARUK	APC
		ARGUNGU/AUGIE	MUNIR UTHMAN MOHAMMED	APC
		KOKO/BESSE MAIYAMA	SALISU GARBA KOKO	APC
		AREWA/DANDI	HUSSEINI SULEIMAN KANGIWA	APC
		ALIERO/GWANDU/JEGA	MUHAMMED UMAR JEGA	APC
		BAGUDU/SURU	ABDULLAHI HASSAN SURU	APC
	KOGI	LOKOJA/KOGI	UMAR BUBA JIBRIL	APC
		AJAOKUTA	LAWAL MUHAMMADU IISU	APC
		YAGBA EAST/WEST/ MOPAMURO	KARIMI SUNDAY STEVE	PDP
		ADAVI/OKEHI	AJANAH MUHAMMED KABIR	APC
		IDAH/IGALAMELA/IBAJIOFU/ ODOLU	EMANUAL M EGWU	PDP
		OKENE/OGORI MANGOGO	RT ABDULLAHI BELLO	APC
		KABBA/BUNU/IJUMU	YUSUF AYO TAJUDEEN	PDP
		ANKPA/OMALA/OLAMABORO	ALH HASSAN ATAYOMA OMALE	APC
		DEKINA/BASSA		
	KWARA	ILORIN WEST/ASA	RAZAQ OLATUNDE ATUNWA	APC
		EKITI/IREPODUN/ISIN/OKE- ERO	PRINCESS OLUFUNKE ADEDYOIN	APC
		PATIGI/EDU/MORO	ALIYU BAHAGO AHMAN PATEGI	APC

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
		IFELODUN/OFFA/OYUN	OLAYONU OLARINOYE TOPE	APC
		ILORIN SOUTH/ EAST	ABUBAKAR AMUDA- KANNIKE GARBA	APC
		BARUTEN/KAIAMA	MOHAMMED ZAKARI	APC
	LAGOS	SHOMOLU	DIYA OYEWOLE BABAFEMI	APC
		ALIMOSHO	OLUFEMI BANDELE ADEBANJO	APC
		APAPA	AYODEJI ADEBAYO JOSEPH	APC
		MUSHIN I	ABAYOMI DAUDA KAKO ARE	ACCORD
		MUSHIN II	BOLAJI YUSUF AYINLA	APC
		ETI-OSA	AKINLOYE BABAJIDE HAZEEZ	APC
		BADAGRY	BAMGBOSE JOSEPH H	APC
		IBEJU-LEKKI	(OTUNBA) A A ABDULKABIR	APC
		AMUWO-ODOFIN	OGHENE EMMA EGOH	PDP
		LAGOS ISLAND I	ENITAN DOLAPO BAU	APC
		LAGOS MAINLAND	JIMOH ABDULRAHEEM OLAJIDE	APC
		SURULERE I	OLUFEMI GBAJABIAMILA	APC
		SURULERE II	OLATUNJI SOYINKA	PDP
		LAGOS ISLAND II	BALOGUN YAKUB ABIODUN	APC
		OSHODI/ISOLO I	SHADIMU MUTIU A	PDP
		OSHODI/ISOLO II	NWULU TONY CHINEDU	PDP
		AJEROMI/IFELODUN I	BARR (MRS) RITA ORJI	PDP
		IKEJA	JAMES ABIODUN FALEKE	APC
		IKORODU	BABAJINMI ADEGOKE BENSON	APC
		IFAKO-IJAIYE	ELIJAH OLUWATAYO ADEWALE	APC
		AGEGE	ADARANIJO TAOFEK ABIODUN	APC
		KOSOFE	AGUNSOYE OLUWAROTIMI OJO	APC
		OJO	OBASA TAJUDEEN	PDP
		EPE	TASIR OLAWALE RAJI	APC
	NASARAWA	LAFIA/OBI		
		NASSAWARA/TOTO	MUSA BABA ONWANA	APC

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
		AKWANGA//WAMBAI/ NASARAWA EGGON	EMMANUEL DAVID OMBUGADU	PDP
		KEFFI/KARU/KOKONA	GAZA JONATHAN GBEFWI	PDP
		AWE/DOMA/KEANA	MOHAMMED OGOSHI ONAWO	PDP
	NIGER	AGWARA/BORGU	UMAR MUHAMMED ROFIA	APC
		SHIRORO/RAFI/MUNYA	ABUBAKAR CHIKA ADAMU	APC
		AGAIE/LAPAI	MOHAMMED ABDULKADIR MAHMUD	APC
		PAIKO/BOSSO	SALIHU ADAMU SHADAFI	APC
		GBAKO/BIDA/KATCHA	MUHAMMADU BALA FARUQ	APC
		WUSHISHI/MASHE/ GUKGORA/MARIGA	GARBA ABDULLAHI IIS	APC
		CHANCHAGA	MOHAMMED UMARU BAGO	APC
		RIJAU/MAGAMA	SHEHU SALEH	APC
		MOKWA/LAVUN/EDATI	AHMED ABU	APC
		SULEJA/TAFA/GURARA	ABUBAKAR LADO ABDULLAHI	APC
	OGUN	ODEDA/OWODE/ABK NORTH		
		ABEOKUTA SOUTH	SAMUEL OLUSEGUN WILLIAMS	APC
		ADO-ODO/OTA	JIMOH OLUSOLA OJUGBELE	APC
		EGBADO N/IMEKO-AFON	KAYODE OLADELE	APC
		EGBADO SOUTH/IPOKIA	ADEKUNLE ABDULKABIR AKINLADE	APC
		IFO/EWEKORO	ISIAKA AYOKUNLE IBRAHIM	APC
		IJEBU EAST/NORTH OGUN WATERSIDE	ADEKOYA ADESEGUN A.	PDP
		IJEBU ODE/ODOGBOLU/ IJEBU NORTH EAST	ODENEYE KEHINDE OLUSEGUN	APC
		IKENNE/SHAGAMU/REMO NORTH	ADEBUTU O OLADIPUPO	PDP
	ONDO	OWO/OSE	OLABODE O AYORINDE	APC
		AKURE NORTH/SOUTH	OLOWOOKERE AJISAFE	APC
		IDANRE/IFEDORE	BADERINWA BAMIDELE SAMSON	APC

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
		ONDO WEST/ONDOEAST	AKINLAJA JOSEPH IRANOLA	PDP
		ILEOLUJI - OKEIGBO / ODIGBO	AKINFOLARIN MAYOWA SAMUEL	PDP
		OKITIPUPA IRELE	MICHAEL ADENIYI OMOGBEHIN	PDP
		ILAJE/ESEODO	AKINJO KOLADE VICTOR	PDP
		AKOKO/NORTH EAST	OLEMIJA STEPHEN FRIDAY	APC
		AKOKO SOUTH WEST/AKOKO SOUTH EAST	BABTUNDE GABRIEL KOLAWOLE	APC
	OSUN	IREPODUN/OLORUNDA/ OSOGBO/OROLU	YUSSUFF SULAIMON LASUN	APC
		ODO-OTIN/IFELODUN/ BORIPE	ADEYINKA AJAYI	APC
		BOLUWADURO/IFEDAYO/ILA	OLUFEMI FAKEYE	APC
		AYEDA ADE/IREWOLE/ISOKAN	AYO HULAYAT OMIDIRAN	APC
		EDE NORTH/ EDE SOUTH/ EJIGBO	MOYEED OLUJINMI A ALABI	APC
		AYEDIRE/TWO/OLA-OLUWA	AKINTAYO GAFARU AMERE	APC
		ATAKUNMOSA EAST/WEST/ ILESHE E/W	AJIBOLA ISRAEL FAMUREWA	APC
		OBOKUN/ORIADE	BUSAYO OLUWOLE OKE	PDP
		IFE CENTRAL/ IFE EAST/ IFE NORTH	ALBERT ABIODUN ADEOGUN	PDP
	OYO	IBADAN NORTH	ABIODUN DADA AWOLEYE	APC
		OGBOMOSHO NORTH/ OGBOMOSO SOUTH /ORIRE	OGUNWUYI SEGUN	LP
		ISEYIN/ITESIWAJU/KAJOLA/ IWAJOWA	OLASUPO ABIODUN ADEOLA	APC
		OGO-OLUWA/SURULERE		
		OLUYOLE	SAMSON OLUSUNBO OLUGBENI	APC
		EGBEDA/ONA-ARA	AKINTOLA TAIWO MICHAEL	APC
		AKINYELE/LAGELU	OLATOYE TEMITOPE SUGAR	APC
		IBARAPA CENTRAL/IBARAPA NORTH	AYOADE OLUGBENGA OJOAWO	APC
		IBARAPA EAST/IDO	ADEPOJU ADEYEMI SUNDAY	APC

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
		IBADAN NORTH WEST/ SOUTH WEST	SAHEED AKINADE FIJABI	APC
		IBADAN NORTH EAST/ IBADAN SOUTH EAST	ADEDAPO LAM-ADESINA	APC
		AFIJO/ATIBA/OYO EAST/ OYOWEST	PRINCE AKEEM ADENIYI ADEYEMI	APC
		IREPO/ORELOPE/ OLORUNSOGO	OLADELE OLATUNBOSUN GEORGE	APC
	PLATEAU	PANKSHIN/KANAM/ KANKE	GOLU TIMOTHY S	PDP
		SHENDAM/MIKANG/QUA'AN- PAN	JOHNBULL T. SHEKARAU	PDP
		JOS NORTH/BASSA	SULEIMAN YAHAYA KWANDE	APC
		B/LADI/RIYOM	GYANG ISTIFANUS DUNG	PDP
		JOS SOUTH/JOS EAST	PWAJOK EDWARD GYANG	PDP
		MANGU/BOKKOS	ENGR SOLOMON B MAREN	PDP
		WASE	AHMED IIS	APC
		LANGTANG NORTH/ LANGTANG SOUTH	BENI BUTMAKLAR	PDP
	RIVERS	ABUA/ODUAL/AHOADA EAST	BETTY APIAFI	PDP
		AHOADA WEST/EGBEMA/ INDONI	UCHE NNAM OBI	PDP
		TAI/ELEME/OYIGBO		
		OBIO/AKPOR	KINGSLEY O CHINDA	PDP
		ANDONI/OPOBO/NKORO	AWAJI INOMBOK ABIANTE	PDP
		BONNY/DEGEMA	RANDOLPH ORUENE BROWN	PDP
		AKUKU-TORU/ASARI-TORU	BOMA GODHEAD	PDP
		PORT HARCOURT 1	KENNETH ANAYO CHIKERE	PDP
		PORT HARCOURT II	BLESSING NSIEGBE	PDP
		KHANA/GOKANA	DUMNA MENE RANSON DEEKOR	PDP
		IKWERRE/UMOHUA	EMEKENGWA BONIFACE, SUNDAY	PDP
		ETCHE/OMUMA	JEROME AMADI EKE	PDP
		OKRIKA/OGU-BOLO	GOGO BRIGHT TAMUNO	PDP
	SOKOTO	ISA/SABON BIRNI	AMINU SANI ISA	APC
		TANGAZA GUDU	ISAH SALIHU BASHIR	APC
		KWARE-WAMMAKO	ABDULLAHI M WAMAKKO	APC
		D/SHUNI/BODINGA/TURETA	ALIYU SHEHU A. A.	APC

NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY  
**SITUATIONROOM**

S/N	STATE	CONSTITUENCY	NAME OF CANDIDATE	PARTY
		BINJI-SILAME	SAADU M NABUNKARI	APC
		TAMBUWAL-KEBBE	ABDUSSAMAD DASUKI	APC
		ILELLA-GWADABAWA	ABDULLAHI BALARABE SALAME	APC
		WURNO-RABBAH	KABIRU MARAFA ACHIDA	APC
		SOKOTO NORTH/SOUTH	HASSAN BALA ABUBAKAR III	APC
		YABO/SHAGARI	AMINU SHEHU SHAGARI	APC
		GADA/GORONYO	MUSA S/ADAR KAFFE	APC
	TARABA	TAKUMA/DONGA USSA	RIMA M SHAWULU KWEWUM	PDP
		WUKARI/IBI	SHIDDI USMAN DANJUMA	APGA
		JALINGO/ YORRO/ ZING	AMINU IBRAHIM MALLE	APC
		ARDOKOLA/ LAU K/LAMIDO	BAIDO DANLADI TIJOS	PDP
		BALI/GASSOL	GARBA HAMMAN-JULDE CHEDE	APC
		GASHAKA KURMI SARDAUNA	DANASABE CHARLES HOSEA	PDP
	YOBE	MACHINA/ NGURU/ KASARUWA/YUSUFARI	SIDI YAKUBU	APC
		GULANI/GUJBADAMATURU/ TARMUWA	KHADIJA BUKAR A IBRAHIM	APC
		BADE/JAKUSKU	ZAKARIYAÚ M GALADIMA	APC
		NANGERE/POTISKUM	ALH SABO GARBA	PDP
		BURSARI/GEIDAM/YUNUSARI	GONI BUKAR LAWAN	APC
		FIKA/FUNE	ISMAIL AHMED GADAKA	APC
	ZAMFARA	ANKA//TALATA/MAFARA	LAWALI HASSAN ANKA	APC
		MARU/BUNGUDU	ABDULMALIK ZUBAIRU BUNGUDU	APC
		KAURA-NAMODA/BIRNIN MAGAJI	AMINU SANI JAJI	APC
		TSAFE/GUSAU	ISAH IBRAHIM	APC
		SHINKAFI/ZURMI	ABUBAKAR HUSAINI MORIKI	APC
		GUMMI/BUKKUYUM	MUÁZU LAWAL	APC
		MARADUN/BAKURA	YAHAYA CHADO GORA	APC
	FCT	KUJE/ABAJI/GWAGWALADA/ KWALI	ZAKARI ANGULU	APC
		AMAC/BWARI	JISALO B ZAPHANIA	PDP

APPENDIX E:  
SITUATION ROOM STATEMENTS ON THE 2015 ELECTIONS

**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATION ROOM RAISES ALARM ON THREATS TO THE  
ELECTIONS USING THE COURTS - Issued 3rd February 2015**

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Situation Room) welcomes the statement by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC), Fatou Bensouda on ICC's preparedness and willingness to observe the electoral process in Nigeria. We are particularly encouraged by the Prosecutor Bensouda's comment that "No one should doubt my resolve, whenever necessary, to prosecute individuals responsible for the commission of ICC crimes". The ICC by this comment is being proactive and progressive in supporting a climate of peace in Nigeria ahead of the elections. Coming on the heels of irresponsible and inciteful utterances by various political actors in Nigeria, the ICC is putting Nigerians on notice that conducts which trigger commission of mass crimes will not go unpunished. This comment also affirms the ICC's commitment to hold to account and prosecute all persons involved in subverting the conduct of free and fair elections in Nigeria and we believe it include officers who take on cases and issue judgments on the elections that subvert the constitutionally guaranteed powers and independence of INEC.

The Situation Room raises concern about the multiplicity of court cases on multiple issues apparently instigated and contrived by persons intent on disrupting the holding of elections already scheduled by INEC for February 14th and 28th 2015. While Situation Room welcomes the right of all persons to seek judicial intervention to protect their rights, it places on record that any attempt to use the courts to disrupt the elections might lead to unimaginable negative consequences such as upheaval that could result in violence across the country.

The Situation Room sees this call by the ICC as a lesson for the Nigeria judiciary. There are many allegations of effort by political interests to undermine the legitimacy of the Judiciary or to exploit the judiciary for selfish ends. We call on the Judiciary to defend its integrity at this time and ensure that any ruling or orders coming from it is rooted in impeccable constitutional grounds and must be for the greater good. The Judiciary should not allow itself to play again in Nigeria history the ignoble role it played in 1993, that led to that year's election impasse. It is important to mention that any act of judicial rascality that plunges this country into violence and mass destruction opens such a judicial officer up for war crimes charges.

The Situation Room will be monitoring and documenting all acts capable of triggering violence in Nigeria and will work with local and international groups to ensure accountability. The Situation Room will also pursue and work with the ICC to bring to account and prosecution at the ICC, all persons including

judicial officers who use the instrumentality of the courts to provoke violence and national crisis that lead to killings and mass unrest.

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## **SITUATION ROOM CALLS ON INEC TO RESIST MILITARY'S PRESSURE TO POSTPONE ELECTIONS - Saturday, 7th February 2015**

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Situation Room) has just come out of a meeting with the Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and all 12 National Commissioners in attendance.

At the meeting, INEC Chairman Prof. Attahiru Jega, conveyed that he had received a letter from the Security Services advising that he postpones the general elections on the grounds that the security agencies were engaged in a renewed battle against insurgency in the North-East that would require their full concentration. In the letter the Military was demanding a rescheduling of elections by at least 6wks in the first instance.

At the meeting, Situation room conveyed to INEC its disappointment with the letter from the security agencies pointing out that this amounted to the Military's abdication of its constitutional duties to provide security to citizens and to the Commission to enable it conduct elections and appeared contrived to truncate the democratic process in Nigeria.

Situation Room is further worried that the Military's position also aims to blackmail and arm-twist the Election Management Body away from its constitutional guaranteed function of conducting elections. Situation Room also condemns this advisory by security agents that they cannot guarantee the security of citizens, election officials and materials during the election.

The Situation Room calls for the resignation of military chiefs and security heads including the Police on account of their inability to exercise their constitutional responsibility to secure lives and property at all times including during the elections.

Situation Room also calls on Nigerians to be vigilant and be ready to protect this hard won democracy!

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## **SITUATION ROOM: NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY IMPERILED!**

**- Issued Thursday, 12th February 2015**

Ladies and Gentlemen, the Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Situation Room) has called this press conference out of serious concern that Nigeria and its elective governance is imperiled. We are presently faced with grave existential threats to our dear country with consequences that threaten the West African sub region as well as peace and security of Africa. Presently we are challenged by threats from a raging insurgency in the North East of Nigeria, grave fiscal uncertainty occasioned by the drop in oil prices and now this; a terminal threat to our democracy, acts of subversive impunity.

The postponement of the elections earlier scheduled for February 14th & 28th 2015, following the startling refusal of the Military authorities to guarantee security for the elections while evoking dark memories of past military dictatorships has thrown up various constitutional and political challenges that undermine and subvert our fledgling democracy. It has also shaken public credibility and confidence in the forthcoming elections, setting off a round of speculations and conspiracy theories about the real motivation for the shift of the election dates.

The Situation Room is committed to Nigeria's democratic process and wishes to state unequivocally that the elections of March 28th and April 11th 2015 must hold. It is our last bulwark of defense of elective governance and democracy. We believe that the postponement of this election for whatever reason will undermine whatever modicum of legitimacy the electoral process still has and may ultimately be the trigger for massive unrest, violence and armed conflict, effectively setting the stage for civil unrest.

Since the announcement of this dubious pronouncement, Nigeria has effectively been in a state of suspended animation. In the last few days alone, we have seen the effect of postponed elections on our economy, our politics, our society and our collective state of emotional and psychological well-being. The economic costs are mounting. Compounding drop in oil price, the Naira has lost 25% of its value going from N160:\$1 in October to N200:\$1 at the Interbank as of February 11th. The CBN spent \$5 billion in the last quarter to defend the naira but this is unsustainable, as our foreign reserves have dropped significantly in the last few months. As the CBN lacks the resources to defend the Naira, the naira will eventually be left in a free fall and for a country that is import dependent, all prices will go up which means the cost of living will go up, the value of earnings will reduce and inflation will rise. This will undoubtedly result in wide spread labour and industrial unrest.

Of all the threats, the most critical at this moment is the crisis of legitimacy. Section 132 (2) and 178(2) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) clearly states that an election shall be held "not later than thirty days before the expiration of the term of office of the last holder of the office." As such, elections cannot happen later than April 29th 2015. Therefore, the elections dates of March 28th & April 11th 2015 **CAN NOT** be moved. The current government has spent its electoral legitimacy and must renew its mandate with the people to ensure it can make appropriate plans to handle the security and fiscal crisis we have on our hands.

### Our demands:

1. Situation Room calls on the **National Assembly**, as the hub of democracy, to join in protecting our hard won democracy to ensure elections hold on March 28th & April 11th 2015 announced.
2. We call on all **Judges** to respect the Constitution and the wishes of the Nigerian people by maintaining their independence and integrity.
3. We call on the **security agencies** who are mandated to be non-partisan to respect the rights of **ALL** Nigerians, the decisions of INEC and ensure a fair playing field for all political players.
4. We call on all **political parties** to communicate clearly with their party faithful and supporters that Nigeria cannot afford to postpone the elections in our collective interest and they should maintain peace and order.
5. We call on the **media** to report without fear or favour and ensure their channels are not used to foster hate speech and create fear and distrust within the populace.
6. We call on **religious institutions** to encourage their members to peacefully participate in the electoral process and also lend their voices to the demand that elections must hold on the announced dates.
7. We call on Nigerian **citizens** who have shown great restraint with the postponement to resist any attempts to foster violence and use all legal means through pressure on political parties and their elected members of the National Assembly to unanimously demand that elections must NOT be moved.
8. For the avoidance of doubt, we reiterate the fact that the President of Nigeria has no constitutional power or authority to remove the Chairman of INEC.
9. We call on the **international community** to continue their support of Nigeria's democratic journey and use all diplomatic channels to impress on relevant stakeholders the importance of holding elections on the announced dates.

The Situation Room firmly holds that further electoral postponement will aggravate the damage already done to the economy and it is critical that we have a legitimately elected government that can push through tough decisions and rally the country to address these existential challenges to Nigeria. We ask that the broad spectrum of the Nigerian society work and support this effort of civil society to stand in stout defense of our democracy and common wealth.

Long live the Democratic Federal Republic of Nigeria!

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**STATEMENT MADE BY THE NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATION ROOM AT A MEETING WITH THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE SULEIMAN ABBA AT POLICE HEADQUARTERS, ABUJA – Tuesday, 24th February 2015**

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Situation Room) comprising more than 60 civic groups working in support of credible elections and good governance in Nigeria has requested this meeting with you to share our concerns over the forthcoming elections and re-state the expectations of civil society.

We note that the Nigeria Police is the key agency and institution responsibility for providing security during elections. This is a responsibility it has carried out over a long period. In our observations of recent governorship elections since 2011, the Situation Room has reported on the conduct, efficiency and effectiveness of security agencies.

In the most recent elections in Ekiti and Osun States, the Nigeria Police received commendation from the Situation Room for its professionalism and general conduct during elections. Of course, we reported few incidents of misconduct but overall the general impression is that the Nigeria Police has come some way in discharging its role during elections. This assessment came within a context where we also found that the militarization of these elections was excessive and not conducive to a poll where voters could conduct themselves without fear.

A specific concern for the Police that was raised is with regards to complaints from personnel who continue to insist that the Police authority do not make adequate arrangements of their welfare, with many complaining of unpaid allowances and poor working conditions.

The Situation Room calls on the Police authority to take these complaints seriously and address them as we move towards the March 28th and April 11th 2015 elections. The Situation Room notes that the general election earlier scheduled for February 14th and February 28th 2015 was postponed because of INEC's complaints that it would have security cover from the military for the elections.

It is our belief that the debate around the availability of military personnel has distorted the roles of the security services in elections. Both Nigerian law and the expectations of our society envisage elections as a civilian exercise where any involvement of the military should be strictly defined around specific risks and needs.

In coming weeks we hope that the Police can play a more visible role in reassuring Nigerians that it has made adequate preparations in its central role for security and good conduct at the polls. We hope this message will include clear commitments to normalize elections and reassure all concerned that your officers will be supporting electoral officials, party agents, observers and voters in playing their roles in a fair and constructive manner.

We note INEC's aspiration to provide an election that is fair to all sides and look to the police to create a secure but conducive and transparent environment from the polling unit through to collation centres.

The Situation Room is also worried about the issue of citizens' security and the violence surrounding elections. Nigeria has seen violence break out and persons killed in recent election related violence. We would like to see the Police play a more robust role in curbing election related violence and bring in perpetrators to account by prosecuting them in the courts.

We urge the Police to communicate regularly to the public, its efforts and plans for the elections and what it is doing to professionally and without bias carry out its role of assisting in the delivery of free, fair and credible elections in Nigeria.

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**SITUATION ROOM CONDEMNS CALLS ON REMOVAL OF INEC CHAIRMAN OR ANY  
PLANS TO – Issued Tuesday, 3rd March 2015**

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Situation Room) is worried about statements made by politicians and supporters of candidates vying for election calling for the removal of Prof. Attahiru Jega, Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in violation of S. 157 of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) guaranteeing the independence of INEC.

Situation Room advises against the attempt to remove Prof. Attahiru Jega or any of the National Commissioners ahead of the elections or their tenure and warns that such could pose grave threat to the 2015 general elections and survival of democracy in Nigeria.

Situation Room is reluctantly making this call because of the persistent personalized political attacks that have been made on the Chairman of INEC over the past four weeks. These attacks fall far outside the bounds of fair exchanges and we call on all political stakeholders to show appropriate respect for the role of INEC, its independence, and the channels for appropriate discourse. The Situation Room also notes that the postponement of the presidential and general elections had cast doubts on the independence of the INEC and advises that actions taken towards the election should be targeted at building citizens confidence on the independence of INEC.

Situation Room believes that the persistence of rumors of the Chairman's removal is damaging to the polity and public confidence that the entire national leadership of INEC is free from threat. There are other National Commissioners appointed at the same time as the Chairman and stories implying that the Chairman should proceed on terminal leave lead to an inevitable conclusion that INEC's leadership faces a threat at a time when no hint of interference should even be implied.

Situation Room calls on all political parties and stakeholders to respect the provisions of the Constitution that guarantee the sanctity and independence of INEC and avoid actions that could threaten as well as consequently endanger Nigeria's democracy.

We welcome the President's statement on Al Jazeera TV that he has no intention of removing the INEC Chairman and hope that he can extend this assurance to make it clear that no back door attempts to remove or undermine the leadership INEC will be tolerated by his administration.

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**STATEMENT MADE BY THE NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATION ROOM AT A MEETING WITH CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS BASED IN THE SOUTH-EAST GEO-POLITICAL ZONE – Issued Thursday, 5th March 2015**

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Situation Room) comprising more than 60 civic groups working in support of credible elections and good governance in Nigeria, as part of its consultation ahead of the 2015 general elections, met with Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) working in the South-East of Nigeria. The meeting reviewed current events in the South-East, analyzed reports from its CSO partners and interacted with some observers working on the electoral process.

The Situation Room therefore wishes to state as follows:

1. The Situation Room commends the increased political enthusiasm and participation amongst citizens and urges that this level of involvement be maintained ahead of the elections. We urge citizens to eschew violence and resist any political manipulation that will undermine the democratic process.
2. The Situation Room notes with concern the brazen use of public funds and institutions for partisan politics. We wish to emphasize that the use of public funds undermines the fairness of the electoral process and constitutes a clear breach of public trust and constitutional provisions.
3. We note reports of PVC buying by politicians and wish to condemn every act of PVC buying or bribing of voters. In many States in the South East, disturbing reports about public inducement of voters continue to raise concerns on the credibility of our political class. For avoidance of doubt, we wish to state that voters cannot vote with stolen PVCs and any attempt to illegally procure a PVC is an exercise in futility
4. We note with concern the growing political tension in various States of the South-East and the potential for tension to undermine the electoral process. These events require vigilance, impartiality and professionalism on the part of the security agents. We urge the security agencies to ensure that their fidelity to the constitution and the citizens is not in any way undermined by political considerations.
5. We also note that the current political crisis in Ebonyi State is fast spiraling out of control. political interests seem to have trumped any sense of decorum and respect for law and order. Without any credible attempt to resolve the constitutional and political crises, Ebonyi State may degenerate into anarchy. We urge that the resolution of these crises be done within the ambit of the law and that all parties to this conflict should respect the law of the land. Actions capable of further inflaming the situation must not be taken. We strongly advise that politicians whose actions lead to the violence or breakdown of law and order must be held accountable both within our municipal and under international justice.
6. We call on INEC to urgently improve its communication with citizens in the South-East and in particular educate citizens on the role and use of the card readers. We wish to emphasize that the use of the card readers is Nigeria's biggest hope for addressing election day malpractices.

7. We urge every citizen of Nigeria to work assiduously towards successful elections in March and April 2015.

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**STATEMENT BY THE NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATION ROOM ON THE MOCK ACCREDITATION/CARD READER DEMONSTRATION HELD ON SATURDAY, 7TH MARCH 2015 - Issued: 3.00pm, Monday, 9th March 2015**

Ahead of the 2015 general elections scheduled for March 28th and April 11th 2015, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) conducted a field test of the smart Card Readers in 225 Polling Units (PUs) and 358 voting centres across 12 States of Nigeria on Saturday, 7th March 2015. Although the Card Readers and PVCs had been demonstrated amongst various stakeholder groups, the most recent being the Chairman of the Commission on the floor of the Senate, this was the first time it was being demonstrated under 'election type' conditions.

The locations for the Card Reader demonstrations were Aguata (Anambra), Jama'are (Bauchi), Oshimili (Delta), Abakaliki (Ebonyi), Ado-Ekiti (Ekiti), Kumbotso (Kano), Bunza (Kebbi), Ikeja (Lagos), Kokona (Nasarawa), Shiroro (Niger), Port-Harcourt City (Rivers) and Gasso (Taraba). The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Situation Room) received field reports from its deployed observers and other election observer networks from Anambra, Delta, Ebonyi, Abakaliki, Ado-Ekiti, Kano, Kebbi, Nasarawa, Niger and Rivers States.

**General Observations:**

Our observations are listed below:

1. The exercise was conducted in a largely orderly and peaceful manner across the States.
2. In most PUs visited, the materials and INEC officials were deployed by 8am and the mock accreditation exercise started on time. However, there were few exceptions (in Nasarawa State for instance) where officials were late especially in the rural areas.
3. Presence of security agents and senior INEC staff in most PUs. The officials were also able to use the machine effectively and displayed sufficient level of understanding of the Card Reader.
4. There was a low turnout of voters for the mock accreditation exercise due to inadequate sensitization on the part of INEC. Community leaders were seen mobilizing people to come out. In Ekiti State, voters were initially scared to come out because of allegations of being arrested if the Card Reader could not verify their PVCs. Even people that had no reason to be scared were unwilling to verify their cards.
5. The Card Readers functioned properly with occasional connectivity issues and the verification process of the PVC was almost seamless except for one case of conflicting details on the PVC and Card Reader, this was in Niger State.
6. There were several reports of delays and challenges in the authentication of fingerprints. However, people were asked to fill incident forms, which did not stop them from being accredited but slowed the process.
7. In some communities, there were complaints by registered voters who had still not received their PVCs.
8. There were a few cases of acts of aggression towards INEC officials by some party agents in Niger State, however there were no acts of violence observed.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS:**

1. INEC should intensify its efforts on voter education and civic education program that fully educates the citizens as to why and how they must vote with the PVC. We implore INEC to use all the resources at its disposal for voter education and leverage on its access to phone numbers of registered voters and communicate directly with them via SMS. This must be regarded as high priority due to the low turnout of voters as most of them expressed their lack of knowledge of the functionality of the Card Reader and the essence of the mock accreditation exercise.
2. INEC should endeavor to make alternative Card Readers available and accessible on Election Day to avoid unnecessary delay in the accreditation process.
3. INEC should develop a process of dealing with the issue of discrepancies of details on the PVC and the Card Reader in a way that the Card Reader can be reconfigured in a timely manner so as to avoid disenfranchisement of any voter.
4. INEC should work on processes and options that will facilitate and fine-tune the biometric authentication process.
5. Adequate provision for transportation must be made for INEC staff especially in the rural areas as delay in deployment of staff and materials on Election Day will be unacceptable.

## **CONCLUSION**

INEC's demonstration of the use of the Card Reader and PVC passed the integrity test and must be commended. On the basis of the test and assurances of improvement, Situation Room calls on the full use and deployment of the Card Readers and PVCs for the 2015 Nigeria general elections. It should be noted that the exercise was fairly successful. INEC officials performed their duties and functions in a professional manner in collaboration with security personnel. No friction was recorded between INEC officials and the voters, and clearly, the voters fully embraced the card reader technology and cooperated with INEC officials.

The Situation Room calls on Nigerians to provide INEC with all the support it needs in order to secure Nigeria's democratic process and future in a free and fair election. Registered voters who have not collected their PVCs should also avail themselves of the extension of the PVC collection to 22nd March 2015 and do so.

The Situation Room also calls on political parties, faith based organizations, other civic groups and indeed all stakeholders to relentlessly continue in their implementation of programmes aimed at sensitizing their supporters and the public.

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**STATEMENT BY THE SITUATION ROOM ON THE VISIT OF THE UNDER-SECRETARY-GENERAL OF UN ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS – Tuesday, 17th March 2015**

The United Nations (UN) Under-Secretary-General on Political Affairs, visited the Situation Room Secretariat on Tuesday, 17th March 2015 and met with leaders of the Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Situation Room). He was accompanied on the visit by the UN Resident Representative in Nigeria, Daouda Toure, the Special Representative of the UN on West Africa (UNOWA), Mr. Ibn Chambas.

Mr Feltman said he was in the Country to meet with stakeholders in Nigeria especially on the general elections scheduled for 28th March and 11th April 2015. He stated that the elections were of great international significance. Mr Feltman said he will be meeting with officials of INEC, security chiefs, the police, political parties and government officials. He also said that the UN was concerned about the possibility of violence before, during and after the elections and that he will be urging all stakeholders to avoid electoral violence stating that the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) has the full support of the Secretary General.

Speaking on behalf of the Situation Room, Clement Nwankwo, Executive Director of the Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC) said that CSOs in Nigeria are holding the Nigerian government accountable to its commitment to support INEC to conduct the elections on March 28 and April 11 2015. He said that the country could not afford the fall out and constitutional crisis that would be created by a failure to conduct elections on the set dates.

Other Situation Room members present at the meeting include: Cynthia Mbamalu of YIAGA, Esther Uzoma of Proactive Gender Initiative and Agianpe Ashang of PLAC/Situation Room Secretariat, who all spoke on the work civil society is doing to promote civic awareness and mitigate violence.

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**STATEMENT BY THE NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATION ROOM ON PREPARATIONS  
FOR NIGERIA'S GENERAL ELECTIONS HOLDING ON 28 MARCH AND 11 APRIL  
2015 – Issued March 25, 2015**

Nigeria's general elections will be held March 28, 2015, after a six-week postponement. Fourteen candidates including the incumbent president, Goodluck Jonathan, will vie for the presidency, while 584 and 1,544 candidates will contest senatorial and House of Representatives seats, respectively.

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room comprising more than 60 civil society groups has been involved in regular engagement with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and other stakeholders in the electoral process, and has been actively observing preparations for the 2015 elections.

The Situation Room considers the current level of preparations as adequate to provide a basis for the successful conduct of Nigeria's general elections, despite some persistent challenges many of which could be addressed before the Election Day. The Situation Room appreciates the enormous efforts put into preparation for the elections especially by INEC, whose staff have worked under enormously harsh and insecure conditions in some states. In spite of these efforts, the Situation Room believes that there is room for the Commission to improve on several areas of its work including planning and logistics, voter education, internal communication, and staff training and supervision. It is critical that the operational and logistical lapses that occurred during the 2011 general elections and in most of the re-run gubernatorial elections do not repeat during the 2015 general elections.

### **Election Legal Framework**

The conduct of the Presidential, National Assembly, Gubernatorial and State Houses of Assembly elections are regulated primarily by the 1999 Constitution and the Electoral Act 2010. These laws are supplemented by other legal instruments such as the Civil Procedure Rules, the Police Act and Guidelines for the Conduct of Police Officers on Electoral Duty, Guidelines by INEC as well as the Nigerian Code of Advertising Practice and Sales Promotion (APCON) and the Nigeria Broadcasting Code. Overall, the legal framework for the 2015 general elections provides satisfactory basis for the conduct of democratic elections in accordance with international principles and Nigeria's international legal commitments. However, a number of gaps still remain mainly due to the failure of the government to implement legal reforms proposed by INEC and other election stakeholders suggesting, among other things, improvements in the process of appointment of INEC commissioners, candidate nomination, campaign funding, regulation of voting procedure, women's participation in politics, and constituency delimitation.

### **Preparations For Polling**

INEC has worked since the 2011 general elections to improve on its capacity to conduct credible elections. Among the notable reforms adopted by the Commission are creation of a biometric voter register and the introduction of the use of card readers for voter accreditation, the implementation of a comprehensive

restructuring of INEC's bureaucracy, development of a comprehensive election project plan, design of a comprehensive business process mapping, establishment of the citizen's contact centre and adoption of new gender and communication policies. These measures aim at boosting the Commission's operational and logistical capacities. The Situation Room expects that these reforms will enable the Commission overcome perennial challenges to Nigerian elections such as late deployment of staff and materials, delayed opening of polling stations, omission of names of duly registered voters in the voters list as well as problems with counting and collation of votes.

Generally, INEC's polling arrangement during the 2015 general election appears satisfactory. The Commission was able to conduct Continuous Voter Registration (CVR) in line with the electoral law, despite initial challenges and delays. The Commission has also been able to distribute substantial number of the Permanent Voters Cards (PVCs) after repeated extension of the deadline for the exercise. As at March 21, 2015 the Commission has distributed up to 56, 431, 255 PVCs, representing permanent cards for 81.98 per cent of registered voters.

Attempts by INEC to review the delimitation of constituencies and polling units faced strong opposition by some sections of the Nigerian public leading to the abandonment of the process by the Commission. During the 2015 general elections, voting will take place in 152, 031 polling units and voting points most of which were created before 1999 (more than 16 years ago). Part of the difficulties INEC encountered in its efforts to review constituency and polling arrangements was caused by late commencement of the exercise.

The Situation Room urges INEC to be forthright in discharging its constitutional mandate of reviewing constituency and polling arrangements and that the Commission to commence the process early enough, perhaps, immediately after the 2015 election in order to be able to deal with the concerns of different sections of the Nigerian public. INEC will deploy about 608,124 polling staff for the 2015 general elections. The process of recruitment and training of these polling staff has progressed satisfactorily. However, considering past experiences where INEC's adhoc staff were not provided with adequate training, leading to widespread breach of procedures, the Situation Room urges INEC to ensure that its adhoc staff are provided with hands-on training particularly on the use of the 182, 000 card readers procured by the Commission. The Commission should also strengthen its internal communication process and ensure that no confusion arise regarding the election procedure, particularly the use of Incident Forms during the voter accreditation process.

The Situation Room appeals to INEC to ensure that it adheres to the Communication Policy it developed as part its reforms. While strengthening its internal communication, INEC should devote more attention to voter education. Over the years, there has been a consistent failure to devote sufficient resources to voter education. Voter education efforts are often arbitrary and ill-timed. The Situation Room notes that voter education programmes for the 2015 general election did not commence on time. INEC did

not adhere to timelines in its Strategic Plan 2012-2016 which listed the inauguration and take off of the National Inter-Agency Committee on Voter Education (NICVE) as a key activity aimed at improving voter education. To avoid the recurrence of the situation during the 2011 general election in which large number of ballots were invalidated, INEC should mobilize its partners and election stakeholders especially the National Orientation Agency (NOA) and political parties to take up key role in educating the voters on the process and procedures. Effective voter education has been largely absent in the on-going campaigns by political parties. INEC should ensure that this is remedied. Arrangements put in place by INEC for voting by Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) should be publicized and detailed information should be provided to this target group.

Part of INEC's efforts to close gaps in its preparations should focus on addressing possible lapses in the counting and collation process. Previous statements issued by the Situation Room consistently expressed concerns about the counting and collation process. It is hoped that this aspect of the electoral process is carried out with utmost transparency and integrity.

In general, the Situation Room commends INEC on its efforts to improve its relations with its partners and election stakeholders. In particular, the Situation Room has enjoyed a warm, transparent and meaningful engagement with INEC since the 2011 general elections. This is commendable and the Situation Room urges INEC to continue to maintain this momentum and expand its collaboration with election stakeholders.

### **Security Arrangements**

The 2015 general elections are imperiled by threats of violence. A report by the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) suggests over 58 persons have been killed in pre-election violence as at February 2015. Civil society organizations carrying out election security threat assessment like the CLEEN Foundation have warned that many states in Nigeria are exposed to risk of breakdown of peace during the election, especially if efforts to mitigate violence are not put in place. The Situation Room is worried by these reports and therefore urges the security agencies to take all lawful actions to ensure that lives and properties of Nigerians are protected during and after the elections.

During its engagement with the Nigeria Police, the Inspector General of Police (IGP) provided assurances that the Police was ready to provide security during the election. The IGP disclosed that the Nigeria Police plans to pay its officers all allowances in advance of their deployment. The Situation Room welcomes these assurances and efforts by the Nigeria Police and urges the Nigeria Police to maintain the professionalism it has showed in previous elections.

In a recent statement, the Situation Room expressed concerns about the use of hate speech during electioneering campaigns. The Situation Room is encouraged that the international community has responded seriously to the sentiments expressed by the Situation Room and other civil society

organizations regarding the threat posed by use of hate speech in campaigns. Recently, the International Criminal Court Prosecutor, Fatou Bensouda, warned in strong terms that: “any person who incites or engages in acts of violence in the context of the upcoming elections or otherwise – including by ordering, inciting, encouraging or contributing to the commission of crimes that fall within ICC’s jurisdiction – is liable to prosecution; either by Nigerian Courts or by the ICC. No one should doubt my Office’s resolve to prosecute individuals responsible for the commission of ICC crimes, whenever necessary”. This message has been reiterated by the United Nations (UN) Under-Secretary-General on Political Affairs, Jerry Feltman, who noted during his visit to the Situation Room Secretariat on March 17, 2015, that the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) has the full support of the UN Secretary General. The Situation Room urges candidates and their supporters to exercise restraints and ensure that the violence that marred the 2011 general elections does not recur.

### **Conclusion**

In concluding this statement, the Situation Room urges Nigerians to go out en masse to exercise their franchise and defend their votes, and to do so peacefully. It is important for all Nigerians to recognize that beyond the partisan divisions and the outcomes of the electoral contests, the future of Nigeria is the main issue at stake. All Nigerians have a duty to ensure that they conduct themselves in ways that would not undermine the future of the country. The Situation Room recognizes that in the post-election period, Nigeria will continue to grapple with serious challenges including insecurity, economic decline, and the need for national reconciliation. Nigerians should begin to refocus attention to pressurizing and supporting the incoming administration to resolve these challenges.

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**STATEMENT BY THE NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATION ROOM ON THE CONDUCT  
OF SECURITY AGENCIES DURING ELECTIONS - Issued 26th March 2015**

Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room urges the Nigerian military and other security and law enforcement agencies to be mindful that global attention is focused on Nigeria at this critical point of the country's democratic process. All military and security agencies must refrain from sending wrong signals that may suggest attempts to muscle the media from reporting the elections. These agencies should also refrain from any action, direct or indirect, that would impinge on the rights of voters, observers and the media.

In this regard, the Situation Room is concerned about the recent report that the military has confined two Al-Jazeera journalists, Ahmed Idris and Ali Mustapha, to their hotel rooms in Maiduguri on the pretext that they were 'loitering' around areas of the on-going military operations in North East Nigeria. The military reportedly claimed that the two journalists were interfering with the ongoing military operations in those areas.

The Situation Room calls on military authorities to immediately release the two Al-Jazeera journalists. The military and all other security agencies should recognize that the media, both national and international, must be allowed to undertake their reportorial responsibilities unimpeded. The ability of the media to cover the electoral process without intimidation or any other form of restriction is critical to the conduct of transparent and credible elections in Nigeria. The Situation Room wishes to remind the military authorities that Nigeria has ratified a number of international and regional instruments protecting freedom of expression and media rights, which is also contained in the 1999 Constitution (as amended).

The Situation Room wishes to reassure the public that it is keeping a keen eye on every aspect of the electoral process to forestall any attempt at undermining the integrity of the process. The members of the public are requested to be vigilant, orderly and peaceful to ensure successful elections in Nigeria.

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**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATION ROOM WELCOMES THE REAFFIRMATION OF  
THE PEACE ACCORD – Issued 27th March 2015**

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room opened its election observation and analysis of the 2015 general elections with a statement welcoming the Peace Accord, signed by the Presidential Candidates of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP), President Goodluck Jonathan and the All Progressives Congress (APC), Major-Gen. Muhammadu Buhari by the National Peace Committee, headed by former military Head of State, Gen. Abdusalami Abubakar, less than 48 hours to the presidential and National Assembly election on Saturday, is timely. It is our hope that this latest Peace Accord reassures the country that political parties will refrain from mobilising groups to violently disrupt the elections. Reports suggest that organised violence, which are linked to the two leading political parties, have been engaged to cause mayhem in the country if the presidential candidate of their party loses at the polls.

The Situation Room believes that the new peace accord, coming after the first, signed by 14 political parties fielding candidates for the presidential poll in January, will reassure Nigerians that the parties and their presidential candidates are not involved in these rumoured plans to disrupt the elections. It therefore urges Nigerians, who are in the habit of spreading rumours through the social media and other means of communication, to stop such unpatriotic act and calls on all eligible voters to ignore the rumours and go out en masse to freely cast their votes for the candidates of their choice.

The Situation Room is also concerned by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) delay in distributing cards to all accredited domestic and foreign observers, including journalists to enable them observe the polls across the country. It notes the importance of election observation in the conduct of elections in a democratic country like Nigeria and urges INEC to provide the accreditation cards to these observers without further delay to enable them monitor the polls.

The Situation Room demands that security agencies should protect the rights of citizens, especially the voters and cooperate with other stakeholders to ensure free, fair and credible elections.

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**STATEMENT BY THE NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATION ROOM ON THE  
COMMENCEMENT OF THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY  
ELECTIONS - Issued 28th MARCH 2015**

**Introduction**

Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room welcomes the commencement of Nigeria's Presidential and National Assembly elections 2015, after a six-week postponement. It is of vital importance that all stages of the elections be conducted in a manner that will not only confer legitimacy on the elections but also generate confidence in the elections among the electorate. In this regard we wish to draw urgent attention to four areas of challenges: (1) late arrival of officials and election materials; (2) the process of accreditation; (3) logistical lapses; and (4) isolated security incidences.

**Late arrival of officials and election materials**

The Situation Room observes that logistics were a challenge in a number of places leading to relative late arrival of officials and election materials. Overall, there was delayed and slow commencement of the accreditation process.

**Accreditation process**

Accreditation of voters commenced in many polling stations, with minimum challenges. However, in some polling stations the accreditation process was delayed by difficulties in verification of voters using the card readers.

**Logistical lapses**

The Situation Room notes serious lapses leading to the postponement of elections into all of the 11 House of Representatives Constituencies in Jigawa State and one similar Constituency in Edo State, and the rescheduling of the elections already in progress in one local government area in Imo State.

**Security incidents**

The Situation Room received reports of numerous incidents of security breaches some of which involved a measure of violence leading to deaths.

The Situation Room calls on the public to remain patient and maintain their high level of commitment to participate the electoral process. We urge them to remain orderly and law abiding and to refrain from any actions that may further challenge the electoral process. We urge the public to cooperate with the relevant authorities and to report any action capable of undermining the electoral process to the appropriate authorities and civic organizations.

The Situation Room appeals to the security agencies to take measures to ensure that the electoral process proceed smoothly, and to do this with restraint. We expect the security officials to do their work within the ambit of the law and without bias.

The Situation Room calls on the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to commence immediate steps to rectify all operational and logistics lapses identified, and where elections have been postponed, these lapses should not be allowed to recur. We urge INEC and its staff to maintain the highest standards of professionalism in the conduct of the remaining parts of the general elections.

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**NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATION ROOM PRELIMINARY STATEMENT ON THE  
CONDUCT OF THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS ON  
28 MARCH 2015 - Issued 29th March 2015**

### **Introduction**

Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room commends the dedication and orderliness of Nigerians during the Presidential and National Assembly elections held on 28 March 2015. The diligence and sacrifice of Nigerians during the elections is a reflection and testimony of their deep commitment to democratic governance. We commend the courage of voters in Gombe state who persisted in participating in the election despite the terrorist attack. The Situation Room notes that the voters endured severe difficulties during the elections as a result of several operational and logistical lapses by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). In this regard, the Situation Room wishes to draw urgent attention to three critical areas of challenges: (1) late commencement of elections; (2) challenges with accreditation process; (3) performance of the security agencies; (4) use of social media.

### **Late commencement of elections**

The Situation Room considers as unacceptable the inability of INEC to deploy its officials and election materials on time to allow for a timely commencement of polls. Reports received by the Situation Room indicate that officials and materials did not reach significant number of polling stations by the time of poll opening. This delayed accreditation and voting led to continuation of polls till late into the night in many places. INEC's delays in commencement and closing of polls subjected the voters, some of whom arrived very early at the polling stations, to untoward experiences. The Situation Room insists that the experience of late commencement of polling will not recur and that INEC will not stretch the patience of the Nigerian voter beyond tolerable level in future elections.

### **Challenges with accreditation process**

The Situation Room fully supports the transition from manual to biometric accreditation of voters introduced by INEC. However, we are concerned by reports of challenges with the accreditation process resulting in the suspension of the use of card readers and reversal to manual accreditation. This failure has undermined the full benefit anticipated by the use of biometric technology and imposed unnecessary hardship on Nigerians. We call on INEC to make clear what guidelines will govern the accreditation process during the 11 April 2015 elections. We urge the Commission to make a clear and definitive statement on these elections taken into account needs to correct its own deficiencies and inform the Nigerian public as to what to expect. We also call on INEC to intensify its outreach to the public providing full information on situations as they develop and guidelines for the conduct of the remaining aspects of the elections.

### **Performance of security agencies**

The Situation Room is deeply concerned about the reports of interference in the electoral process in some states, especially Rivers and Imo States. Also, reports of failure by security agencies to prevent havoc

by non-state groups in some polling units were received. These developments raise concern that the collation of results may be compromised if appropriate actions are not taken to safeguard the credibility of the exercise. We appeal to political parties and politicians to exercise restraint and desist from the use of violence in the electoral process. We urge the security agencies and officials to conduct themselves according to established standards of professional conduct.

### **Use of social media**

The Situation Room notes with deep concern the growing use of hate and dangerous speech in the social media. At a time when INEC is carrying out the delicate task of collation of results, unrestrained comments and spread of hate in the social media can only trigger needless tension and anxiety across the country. We urge Nigerians to exercise restraint in their comments and desist from making comments that are capable of creating disaffection. We wish to reiterate that individuals who by their comments trigger violence or unrest will be held accountable.

### **Conclusion**

The Situation Room calls on the public to remain patient and maintain a high level of commitment to participating in the remaining aspects of the electoral process. We urge all Nigerians to remain orderly and law abiding and to refrain from any actions that may further challenge the electoral process. We urge the public to cooperate with the relevant authorities and to report any action capable of undermining the electoral process to the appropriate authorities and civic organizations.

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**SITUATION ROOM WARNS AGAINST FIDDLING WITH COLLATION - Issued on Monday,  
30 March 2015**

Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room is deeply concerned by reports of attempts across several states of the country to undermine the integrity of the collation of votes and outcome of the Presidential and National Assembly elections held on 28 March 2015.

The Situation Room received disturbing reports that politicians are attempting to use national security apparatuses to fiddle with the election collation process and pass off results that undermine the credibility of the elections and the sacrifice of millions of Nigerians, who against all odds trooped out to cast their votes on 28 March.

### **INEC**

The Situation Room calls on the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to ensure that results that are announced reflect the true outcome of the votes cast by the Nigerian people. Given the many concerns that have been raised and the investments that have been made towards the conduct of the 2015 general elections, INEC must ensure that its laudable efforts are not marred by a failure or abuse of the collation process and that all announced results are accurate and reflect the will of the Nigerian people.

### **Politicians**

The Situation Room is disappointed at the actions of politicians who are bent on plunging the country into chaos to achieve desperate political ends. Reported electoral fraud being sought to be perpetuated by political forces and security personnel negate the spirit of the Abuja Peace Accord voluntarily signed by the presidential candidates of the political parties, and threaten the peace and stability of the Nigerian nation.

### **Security Agencies**

The Situation Room calls on security personnel to note that they will be held to account and pursued for prosecution under various national and international laws if they undermine the elections.

### **Citizens**

Situation Room calls on Nigerians to be vigilant at this critical time of our national history and defend the course of democracy.

## **International Community**

Situation Room also calls on the international community to support the Nigerian people in defence of our right to democratically elect our leaders, without political subversion by politicians. Situation Room urges the international community to exert every effort in assisting the Nigerian people to hold political actors to account. Where necessary, needed sanctions should be activated and targeted against specific political actors and officials for their action in instigating crisis in Nigeria.

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### **GRAVE CONCERNS ABOUT JEGA'S SAFETY – Issued 31st March 2015**

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room has received disturbing reports of the security details of the Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Prof Attahiru Jega, being withdrawn in the last few minutes at the venue of the announcement of the collated results of the Presidential elections. Our reports also include a fear that the Chairman of the Commission may be abducted at this venue.

Situation Room is calling on President Goodluck Jonathan to take immediate steps to guarantee the security and safety of the Chairman of INEC, Prof Attahiru Jega, all of the National Commissioners and staff of the Commission currently carrying out the national duty of announcing results of the elections.

We call on all Nigerians to be calm and peaceful as Professor Jega has demonstrated in his conduct of proceedings this morning.

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**SITUATION ROOM CONGRATULATES NIGERIANS, BUHARI ON PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS- Issued April 1st 2015**

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room congratulates the Nigerian people for turning out to vote during Nigeria's national elections held on 28th March 2015, which produced Gen. Muhammadu Buhari as President-elect. The election represents a victory for democracy and the right of the people of Nigeria to determine who rules them. The Nigerian people showed a determination to exercise their democratic right despite several logistical challenges, delays and attempts by some politicians to frustrate the process.

Situation Room also congratulates the President-elect, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari and urges him to chart the course of steering Nigeria away from its present economic and political crisis and on to the path of recovery. The President-elect will be assuming office against a background of several challenges, including socio-economic downturn, rising poverty, insecurity and insurgency, unprecedented corruption and declining infrastructure. The President-elect should take steps to re-unify the country and heal the wounds of a very divisive campaign largely fought along ethnic, religious and regional lines.

We urge President-elect Buhari, to work for the common good of all of the Nigerian people, especially the poor and vulnerable sectors of the population. Civic groups will continue its work in defence of the democratic and human rights of all Nigerians and will hold the in-coming government to account, in line with constitutionally guaranteed rights entrenched under our laws and internationally recognized standards of good governance.

Situation Room commends the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) for conducting a credible election despite the challenges encountered. As INEC prepares to conduct the April 11 Governorship and State Houses of Assembly elections, Situation Room calls on INEC to take adequate steps to rectify the anomalies and issues associated with the card readers which should be used for the April 11 elections. The use of PVCs and card readers will need to be implemented in a more effective manner to ensure credible state level elections on April 11.

Situation Room also commends the Nigeria Police for their role in ensuring the peaceful and orderly conduct of the elections. As we approach the April 11 elections, all arms of the security services must work professionally and in a non-partisan manner to ensure the peaceful conduct of the elections

Situation Room congratulates President Goodluck Jonathan for his statesmanship in conceding defeat and congratulating President-elect Muhammadu Buhari. In the days ahead and leading up to the final set of elections on April 11, the Situation Room urges all Nigerians and political actors to continue to be restrained and ensure that there is no violence and that peace and calm prevails in the country.

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**SITUATION ROOM CONDEMNS OBA OF LAGOS'S HATE SPEECH**

**Issued 7th April 2015**

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room condemns the statement made by Oba of Lagos, Mr Rilwan Akiolu threatening Ibos in the State who may vote against his preferred candidate in the forthcoming April 11 State-level elections. The Oba's statement offends the constitutionally guaranteed rights of every citizen to vote for candidates of their choice in elections. His statement also constitutes an electoral offence as it constitutes threats of violence. In addition, it constitutes hate speech likely to provoke mass crimes in violation of international human rights laws.

Situation Room calls on the Oba of Lagos to immediately withdraw his statement, apologise for his hate speech and reiterate his respect for the right of all Nigerian citizens to freely and democratically express themselves in the State level elections on April 11 2015.

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**SITUATION ROOM STATEMENT ON GUBERNATORIAL AND STATE HOUSES OF  
ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS – Issued on Saturday, 11th April 2015**

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room is observing the State-level elections for the Governorships and the State Houses of Assembly. The successful conclusion of these elections is crucial to the consolidation of democracy in the country and should complement the already concluded Presidential and National Assembly elections on March 28th 2015. Reports reaching the Situation Room indicate that electoral officials arrived on time in most parts of the country. Commencement of accreditation also started on time. The Situation Room notes a number of issues of serious concern as the current elections unfold:

**Process violation:**

We note that in many polling units, INEC's electoral regulations were being flagrantly flouted. In most polling units, accreditation started on time. In Akwa Ibom State, there are reports of the accreditation

of voters without valid PVCs. In Wadata Polling Unit (011) in Taraba State, voting commenced without accreditation, while in Rogo Ward in the same State, accreditation and voting are taking place simultaneously. In Nasarawa State, there are reports of the inability of INEC ad hoc staff to operate the card readers. In a limited number of polling units, we have also received reports of mass ballot thumb printing, attempts to bribe electoral officials, and the use of security officials to subvert the electoral process.

### **Deaths & Violence:**

We have reports of election-related murders in Lagos, Delta, Rivers, Ebonyi, Katsina, and Akwa Ibom States. These killings form part of a wider pattern of politically-motivated violence, arson, and hijacking of electoral materials that our observers have noted. The resort to violence may not be unrelated to the higher interests at stake in these State level elections. In Owerri North of Imo State, there are reports of rival party clashes and violence.

### **General:**

We are concerned in particular about the deteriorating situation, such as the increasing use of violence in Imo, Akwa Ibom, Rivers, Lagos, and southern Kaduna States. We call on INEC to redouble its efforts at protecting the integrity of the electoral process by upholding its regulations. Where failures are established we call on INEC to seriously consider cancelling results from the affected polling units.

We call on the security forces to uphold their professional ethics, avoid partisanship, and protect lives and property. We call on all Nigerians to take advantage of these elections to choose leaders of their choice to conduct affairs in the states. We urge everyone to resist efforts at inflaming local passions with a view to instigating violence or perverting the electoral process.

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**SITUATION ROOM FINAL STATEMENT ON THE GUBERNATORIAL AND STATE HOUSES  
OF ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS**

**Issued: Monday, 13th April 2015**

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room, after observing the State-level elections for the Governorship and State Houses of Assembly, which held on Saturday, 11th April 2015, makes the following statement:

The Situation Room acknowledges and commends the significant improvements in the electoral process made by INEC. In the main, the elections went well across the country, notably with about 90% of polling stations opening on time and the Card Readers operating with minimal hitches. Turn out at the poll was however largely low.

Situation Room wishes to draw attention to the following concerns and reservations as observed during

the elections, which raise issues about the credibility of the elections in some States. Information obtained from our networks of field observers and partners indicate the following:

- Numerous cases of electoral misconduct – disorderly conduct at polling units – in Akwa Ibom (10 reports received), Katsina (17) and Sokoto (18);
- Many cases of process violations in Sokoto (15 reports received), Adamawa (6), Delta (7) and Katsina States (9);
- Polling logistics problems in Akwa Ibom (14), Delta (9), Katsina (8), Rivers (11), Adamawa (6) and Sokoto (12) States;
- Cases of election related violence in Akwa Ibom (18), Abia (9), Anambra (7), Delta (9), Imo (6), Rivers (16), Benue (6), Katsina (17), Sokoto (17) and Kano States (7);
- Killings in Rivers State where seven people (including a police officer) were killed as well as in Akwa Ibom (3), Delta (2), Katsina (2).

Situation Room is further concerned about the overall conduct of the elections in Rivers and Akwa Ibom States, where there are good grounds to question the credibility of the elections results in both States. In Rivers State, historically deep-rooted political animosities played out in a brazen, violent and naked manner to subvert the electoral process in many local governments in the State. In Akwa Ibom there were also serious questions about the veracity of the results because of reports of active and direct partisan interference with the elections. There are also concerns about Abia State, which recorded multiple cases of electoral misconduct.

We note that INEC has had to cancel elections in polling units in some States because of election-related violence and other irregularities; while in others it has commenced investigations.

The Situation Room hereby calls on INEC to urgently take steps to clinically scrutinise the final collated results from these three States (Rivers, Akwa Ibom and Abia) against the polling unit results and make a reasoned judgment about them. In our view INEC should concern itself with possible negative public perceptions of the elections in the three States and ensure that it takes every necessary step to protect the integrity of the elections in the States, as a way of strengthening the trust of the electorate in the voting process.

The Situation Room also notes and condemns in the strongest terms the leading role played by prominent public political officeholders and other politicians as well as some INEC officials in encouraging and actively taking part in organized misconduct and disorderly behaviour that violated the sanctity of the electoral process and calls that action be taken to investigate their activities with a view to prosecuting and sanctioning them, if found culpable, under the law.

In addition, Situation Room is concerned about the weak oversight powers of the national headquarters of INEC over Resident Electoral Commissioners and State INEC offices in the management and conduct

of elections. This makes it easy for compromised RECs and other State level INEC officers to undermine the credibility of the election sometimes with reckless impunity.

The Situation Room congratulates the Nigerian electorate for the collective determination to further improve our elections by turning out in their numbers to exercise their all-important franchise, thus proving themselves to be the real winners of these elections. We appeal to Nigerians to remain vigilant and protective of their democratic rights and feel free to cast their votes at every election.

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**STATEMENT BY THE NIGERIA CIVIL SOCIETY SITUATION ROOM ON THE  
SUPPLEMENTARY GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS HELD ON SATURDAY, 25TH APRIL  
2015**

Following from the April 11, 2015 governorship elections, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) declared the governorship elections in Abia, Imo and Taraba States as inconclusive and scheduled supplementary elections to hold on Saturday April 25, 2015.

INEC conducted supplementary governorship elections in the affected States as well as Senatorial and States Assembly elections in several of the States where elections did not take place due to irregularities.

In Abia State, supplementary governorship elections were conducted in 276 polling units across 9 Local Government Areas. In Taraba State, elections were conducted across 159 polling units in 10 Local Government Areas. Imo State also had elections in 259 polling units across 23 Local Government Areas. The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Situation Room) observed the said elections and received field reports from its deployed observers and other election observer networks from Abia, Taraba and Imo States. In this regard, we wish to make the following observations:

1. Situation Room wishes to commend voters in Abia, Imo and Taraba States for their effort in participating in the supplementary elections and reiterates that the dedication and resilience which has been the hallmark of citizen's participation in the 2015 general elections continued even in the supplementary elections.
2. We note that there was generally low voter turnout in Imo and Abia States. The voter turnout in Taraba State was relatively average.
3. We also note the inability of INEC to adequately communicate to the public the exact polling units where supplementary elections were being held due to its late release of the lists of polling units.
4. Across the three States, our observers reported late opening of polls and significant delays in the deployment of election workers and materials. However, accreditation started earlier in Taraba State in comparison to Imo and Abia States according to reports.
5. Situation Room's observations indicate that the Card Readers functioned relatively better in most polling units across the three States than in previous elections, although there were also many reported cases of inability of Card Readers to authenticate voters, including attempts by INEC ad hoc staff in PU001, REG Area: 07 Uvuru II, Umuokehie hall, Aboh Mbaise in Imo State to sabotage the Card Readers by not giving incident forms to people whose finger prints could not be verified and insisting to fill on behalf of the persons.
6. There was sufficient security presence in Abia, Taraba and Imo State. The military personnel deployed in Imo State were overly aggressive. They detained and restricted the access of domestic accredited observers and media personnel to polling unit across the three Senatorial zones. It is important to note that military personnel across the three Senatorial zones where the elections held in Imo State had no nametags making it difficult to identify officers. Some of the cars used by these officers have the following registration details NA 033B34 and NA 02234.
7. INEC deployed three National Commissioners and three Resident Electoral Commissioners to each of the three States as part of its commitment and effort to ensure credible elections. However the reliance on national commissioners to rectify election challenges underscores the latent inadequacies in the appointment of RECs and the operational framework within which the States offices of INEC operate.
8. Specific reports from Abia State indicate that there was a general atmosphere of fear, anxiety and discouragement.

In the light of the above, the Situation Room wishes to recommend:

1. That the perennial challenge of logistics management and late opening of polls have sadly become a permanent feature of our electoral system. There is an urgent need to review the logistic management of INEC and explore the possibility of partnership between INEC and logistics management companies as hybrid system to manage deployment of human and material resources during elections.
2. As earlier emphasized by the Situation Room, the involvement of the military in policing elections in Nigeria must be situated within a strict protocol of rules of engagement. The behavior of the military in Imo State supplementary election was brutish and unprofessional and the development of election protocols and training of military personnel is urgent for subsequent elections.
3. The Card Readers continue to elicit a lot of resistance from politicians who are constantly looking for ways to undermine the Card Readers. It is our view that the Card Readers must become a permanent feature of our elections but would require additional effort from INEC to address some of the lingering technical challenges with the Card Readers and to also optimize the benefit of the Card Reader as a tool for ensuring credible elections.
4. The appointment, control and oversight over the activities of RECs including their relationship with the national headquarters of INEC must be reviewed with a view to finding a smart balance that enhances oversight without undermining state effectiveness. The current arrangement has proved to be problematic. A lot is still left to the discretion of RECs and that discretion has been abused. The provisions of the Constitution and the Electoral Act in this regard will need to be reviewed and reformed.
5. There is need to improve the capacity of returning and collation officers to understand and implement the provisions of the Electoral Act, including the rules on the collation and cancellation of elections.
6. We conclude by again recognizing the commendable roles of citizens in the election process and call on all stakeholders to invest significantly in civic education as a recurrent process rather than ad hoc event around elections. That way, the momentum built up around these elections can be transformed into a desire for citizens' engagement with the governance process.
7. Overall, Situation Room commends INEC for improving on the earlier conduct of the elections in the three affected areas.
8. The Situation Room is made up of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) working in support of credible and transparent elections in Nigeria and includes such groups as Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC), CLEEN Foundation, Action Aid Nigeria, Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Enough is Enough Nigeria, Wangonet, Partners for Electoral Reform, JDPC and Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth & Advancement (YIAGA), CWAE. Others are Development Dynamics, Human Rights Monitor, Election Monitor, Reclaim Naija, Institute for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, Centre LSD, CITAD, Stakeholder Democracy Network (SDN), CISLAC, WREP, Proactive Gender Initiative and several other CSOs numbering more than Sixty.

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