



TMG Conducting Pre-Election Observation

(November 14, 2014 - February 7, 2015)

Background

Access to timely and reliable information about the status of electoral preparations and to early warning signs of the outbreak of electoral violence is expected to help mitigate or reduce the spread or escalation of violence. Such information would allow citizens and local communities, security agents, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), international and Nigerian non-governmental organizations, and others to take preventative measures and to adapt electoral preparations and activities to a rapidly changing environment.

The Transition Monitoring Group pre-election observation project leverages the presence of one locally recruited TMG election observer in each of the 774 local government areas (LGAs) of Nigeria to gather systematic information about the 2015 pre-electoral environment, including early warning signs of electoral violence. The observers will gather regular data on developments in their LGAs including during such critical electoral events as the conclusion of voter registration and the collection of permanent voters cards, the conduct of political party primaries, and the campaign period. TMG is Nigeria's premier domestic election observation group with membership in all geopolitical zones and all states plus the Federal Capital Territory.

TMG's nonpartisan citizen observers are recruited from within the communities that they observe. Because of their familiarity with the local context and situational awareness, these observers are well-positioned to gather data to help other electoral actors mitigate and respond to instances of electoral violence.

Expected Outcomes

During the course of the project, TMG will generate a series of six reports on the pre-electoral environment that will be released between December 9, 2014 and February 14, 2015 and will be made publicly available on TMG

online media platforms including the TMG website (www.tmgng.org) and Facebook account (www.facebook.com/tmgng). On an as-needed basis, TMG will issue press releases to speak to important pre-election trends. TMG will use the dataset to develop regular infographics that visualize emerging trends, and which will be shared via the TMG social media platforms.



PREO
will collect
over
185,000
data points
in just the
pre-election period.

Methodology

TMG's network of election observers in each of Nigeria's 774 LGAs sends reports once every other week on a fixed checklist of questions, which includes questions about political party or candidate violence, voter education and information initiatives by the Independent National Electoral Commission, the National Orientation Agency, and civil society organisations; political party rallies; and identity-based or gender violence. The LGA-level election observers and an additional 148 TMG state-level observers also transmit critical

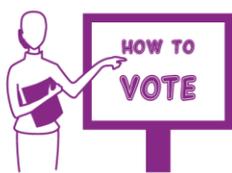


incident reports in real time through coded text messages. TMG observers report both on events that they **observed directly/witnessed** - meaning events that they personally witnessed - and events that they **observed indirectly/heard of** - meaning events that were conveyed to them by a credible third party. These credible third parties may include media outlets or other members of the community. Before reporting on an incident as **observed indirectly**, TMG observers first seek to verify the event using a four-step process. First, TMG observers assess whether the source of the information is reliable, credible and objective. Second, the observers evaluate the plausibility of the reported event. Third, observers seek to corroborate the report with other sources whether media, other citizens or police. Lastly, and if possible, TMG observers are encouraged to gather physical evidence to support their reports. Although **indirectly observed** reports should be understood to be

qualitatively different from **directly observed** reports, reporting on credible second-hand reports enables TMG observers to provide a more comprehensive picture of events taking place in their LGAs during each reporting period while also providing a higher degree of security and anonymity by not requiring observers to send first-hand accounts of crisis situations.

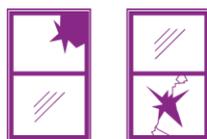
Unlike the TMG Quick Count methodology (<http://www.tmgowards2015.org/about.html>), TMG does not rely on sample-based observation to carry out its pre-election observation efforts. The reported data is therefore not statistically representative of the country as a whole, but does provide an indication of general emerging trends nationally and within geopolitical zones. **TMG encourages end users of its reports and data to independently corroborate and respond appropriately to any trends identified and discussed in these reports.**

Some Things TMG Will Monitor in the Pre-Election Period



VOTER EDUCATION WORKSHOPS

Undertaken by INEC and civil society



VANDALISM AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

On candidate-affiliated locations



PARTY RALLIES

Where APC, APGA, Labour, PDP and other parties hold rallies



PARTY CAMPAIGNING

Where candidates of all parties campaign



BUYING/SELLING VOTER'S CARDS

Prior to the polls



DISPUTES AND VIOLENCE

On the allocation of polling units or between ethnic groups over resources



Key Findings of Reporting Period One

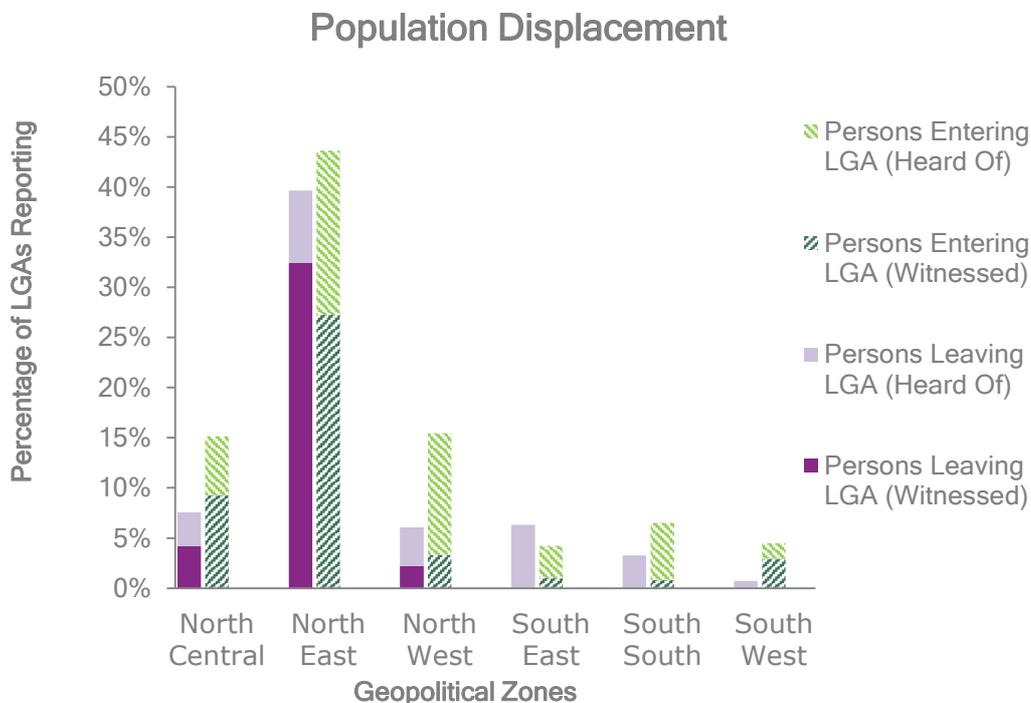
November 14 - 27, 2014

Summary and Recommendations

During this first reporting period from November 14-27, 2014, TMG focused on seven emerging trends that are likely to affect the electoral process and potentials for conflict: population displacement, voter information campaigns, political party rallies and activities, campaigning in government vehicles, buying and selling of voters' cards, attacks on and/or intimidation of candidates and their supporters, and inter-communal conflict. Specifically, TMG recommends that INEC and the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) identify internally displaced potential voters and partner to provide them with targeted voter education about how, where and why to participate in the electoral process. TMG also found that INEC voter information campaigns are occurring unevenly across states, and would encourage INEC to undertake an assessment of where voter outreach is taking place and intensify efforts in areas that are relatively uninformed. TMG found that political party rallies and activities are occurring throughout the country, primarily organized by the Peoples Democratic Party and the All Progressives Congress. TMG encourages all candidates and parties to adhere to the electoral framework, discourage violence amongst their supporters, and desist from such illegal practices as the use of government vehicles to campaign or buying and selling voters' cards. Lastly, TMG urges relevant security actors to respond in a timely and appropriate manner to ongoing intercommunal or resource conflicts.

Population Displacement

Demographic pressures are often an important early signal of conflict. Conflict situations and insecurity often increase the mobility of populations in affected regions. Significant demographic changes can also create new triggers for conflict or exacerbate pre-existing tensions as groups compete for increasingly scarce resources. For the purposes of the pre-election observation, TMG asked observers to monitor significant movements of people (defined as the movement of 100 persons or more) into or out of the LGA during the reporting period either in apparent efforts to influence voting patterns or due to conflict or natural disaster.



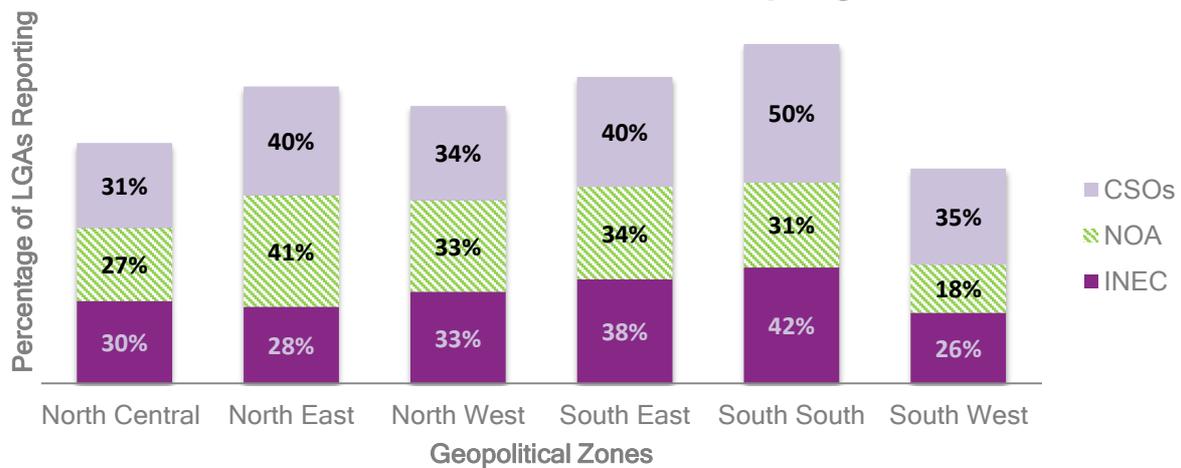
During the first reporting period, TMG observers witnessed population displacement largely within the North East geopolitical zone. Observers personally witnessed significant numbers of individuals moving between LGAs in North East Nigeria. This suggests that most internally displaced persons in North East did not travel outside the geopolitical zone, but relocated to another LGA or state nearby. Outside of North East, more than 50 percent of observers in Nasarawa state in North Central personally witnessed large numbers of individuals entering their state to take up residence. In other parts of the country (particularly North West, South East and South South) observers more frequently reported secondary accounts of population displacement within their LGAs. Although the data does not enable TMG to comment on the magnitude of displacement in any area observed, this may perhaps suggest that displacement occurred on a much larger and therefore more visible scale in North East. State-level maps of the geographic concentration of displaced persons based on percentage of observers reporting population movements in their LGAs can be found in Annex 1.

Voter Information Campaigns

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the National Orientation Agency (NOA) have a mandate to inform Nigerian citizens about the electoral process and are assisted by independent efforts undertaken by civil society organizations. For purposes of pre-election observation, TMG defined voter information campaigns as sensitisation or awareness programmes on radio or television; distribution of materials such as handbills; road shows conducted by INEC, NOA or civil society organisations; or town hall meetings about the elections. TMG's observers found that exposure to voter information campaigns remains generally low, and is highest in urban areas. INEC and NOA conducted the fewest reported

campaigns in the South West zone with less than 20 percent of observers in Osun and Ogun States reporting positive exposure to campaigns by INEC and NOA respectively.

Voter Information Campaigns



According to TMG’s observer reports, exposure to INEC voter education campaigns varied significantly across states. At the state-level in North Central, between 0 percent (Kwara State) and 52 percent (Niger State) of observers indicated exposure to INEC campaigns. In North East, between 9 percent (Gombe State) and 63 percent (Taraba State) of individuals at the state-level reported exposure to INEC campaigns. In North West geopolitical zone, state-level responses ranged from 7 percent (Zamfara State) to 84 percent (Kano State) exposure to INEC campaigns, while in South East responses ranged from 14 percent (Anambra State) to 71 percent (Abia State). In South South, state-level responses ranged from 17 percent (Cross River) to 58 percent (Akwa Ibom). In South West, while 15 percent or less of respondents from Ondo, Osun and Oyo states indicated exposure to INEC voter education campaigns, 80 percent of respondents from Lagos State reported exposure.

Political Party Rallies and Activities

According to the INEC electoral calendar, the official campaign period for presidential and National Assembly races began on November 16, 2014. With the campaign period underway, TMG observers found that political parties are organising rallies across the country. Most activities are being carried out by the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC). For the purposes of the observation effort, TMG observers used a broad definition of rallies to include both party or candidate rallies and ward congresses organized within electoral districts. Nationwide, 64 percent of observers reported witnessing or hearing of APC rallies in their LGAs, 12 percent of observers reported witnessing or hearing of rallies for the All Progressives Grand Alliance, 13 percent reported witnessing or hearing of rallies for the Labour Party, and 71 percent of observers witnessed or heard of PDP rallies in their LGAs. Maps of the geographical concentration of party rallies by state based on percentage of observers reporting rallies in their LGAs can be found in **Annex 2**.

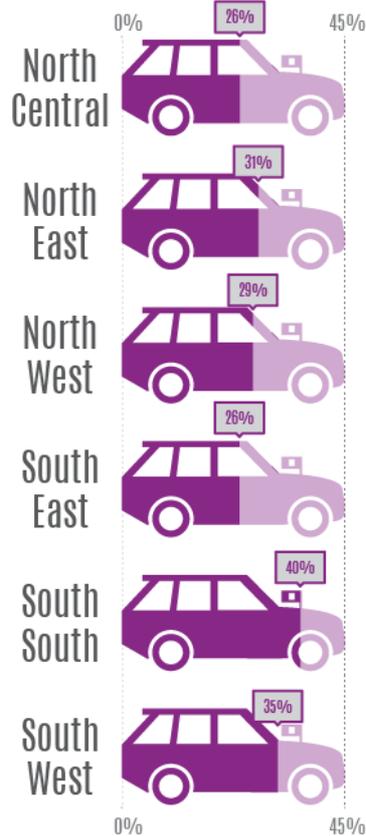
Campaigning in Government Vehicles

TMG observers also reported significant instances of the misuse of government property to organize political party or candidate rallies. During the reporting period, TMG observers were instructed to indicate whether government vehicles had been used to organize rallies, including to transport materials to or from a rally site or for candidates to travel and make campaign speeches. Positive responses indicate a violation of the electoral code and an abuse of elected office. Nationwide, 23 percent of TMG observers

reported witnessing or hearing of such misuse of government vehicles with more than 40 percent of observers reporting such abuses in Plateau, Adamawa, Taraba, Katsina, Zamfara, Jigawa, Ebonyi, Delta, Akwa Ibom, Edo Ogun and Oyo States.

Use of Official Government Vehicles to Conduct Party or Candidate Rallies

By percentage LGAs in which it was witnessed or heard of by observers



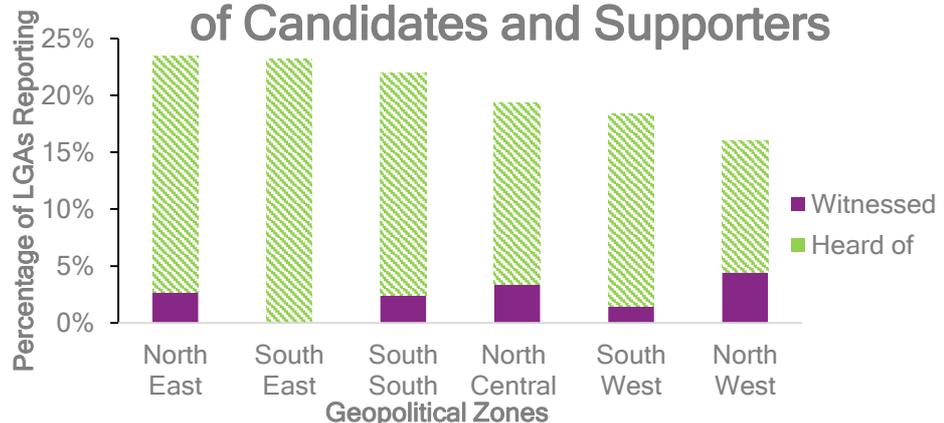
Buying and Selling of Voters' Cards

Credible secondary reports surrounding the buying and selling of voters' cards are emerging in the pre-electoral period. In the pre-election period, TMG asked its observers to report on the buying and selling of voters' cards as orchestrated by candidates, political parties and private individuals. Fifteen percent of TMG observers nationwide reported that they heard plausible reports of voters' cards being sold or bought in their LGAs, particularly in North West and South East. More than 30 percent of observers in the FCT, Kano, Adamawa, Imo, Edo, and Ogun states reported witnessing or hearing of such practices. However, only 1 percent of TMG observers nationwide reported that they personally witnessed voters' cards being sold or bought (primarily in Kano, Delta and Edo states) suggesting that such acts are taking place covertly rather than in the public space. Nevertheless, widespread reports of such practices suggest that information about the buying and selling of voters' cards is circulating freely and may be expected to undermine citizen confidence in the electoral process if unaddressed. In addition to encouraging parties and private citizens to desist from illegal activities, TMG would recommend that INEC conduct an information campaign to better inform citizens about such measures in place as the use of the permanent voters' card and electronic card readers, which are designed to deter illegal voting.

Attacks or Intimidation of Candidates and Supporters

During the reporting period, few TMG observers reported eyewitness accounts of political candidates or their supporters being targeted for attack or intimidation. However, significant numbers of observers across the country reported hearing about such attacks from secondary observation. The frequency of these secondary reports indicates a widespread citizen perception of the pre-electoral political space as highly polarized and potentially violent. In Nasarawa, Plateau, Adamawa, Taraba, Ebonyi, Imo, Cross River, and Lagos states 30 percent or more of

Reports of Attacks on/Intimidation of Candidates and Supporters



observers reported second-hand accounts of such attacks. In Kano, Taraba and Benue states more than 10 percent of observers reported personally witnessing attacks on candidates or their supporters.

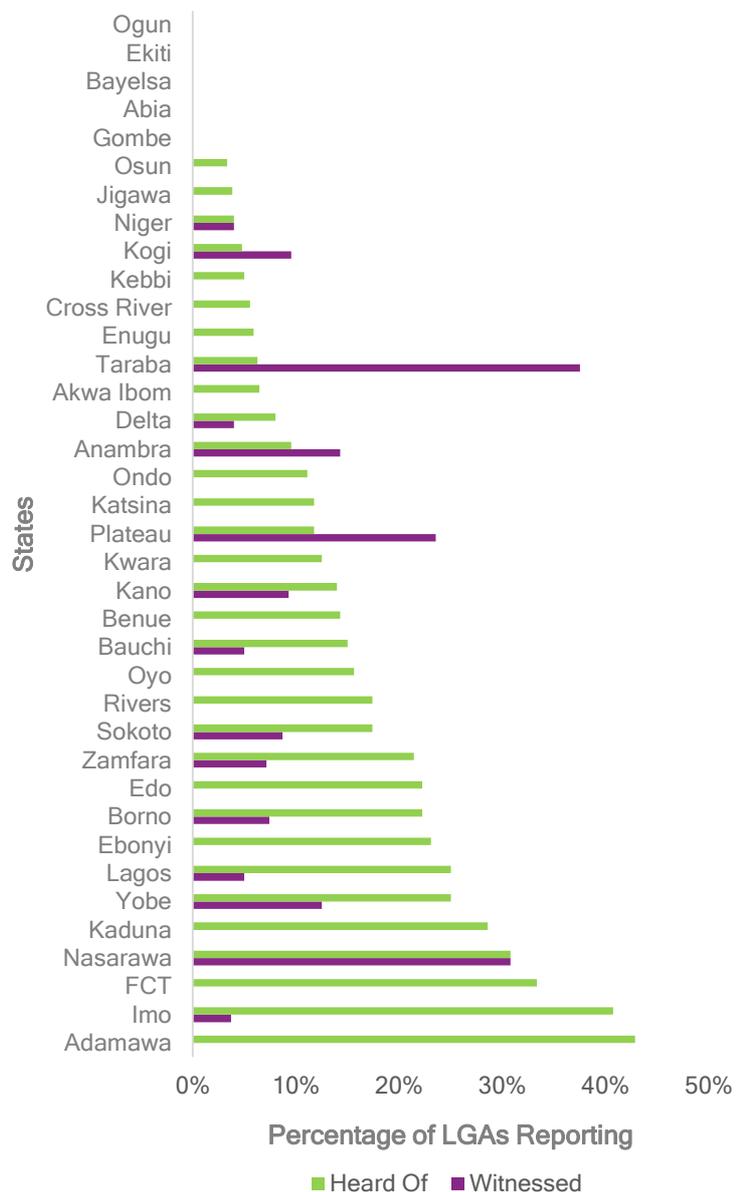
Inter-communal Conflict

Pre-existing inter-communal conflicts are often exacerbated or escalated by electoral events. Inter-communal conflict can also have a more direct effect on electoral outcomes due to displacement or by creating a climate of insecurity that deters individuals from voting or campaigning in the affected areas.

To track instances of inter-communal conflict, TMG asked its observers to report on both pre-existing and new inter-communal conflicts between different ethnic, regional or religious groups who might be fighting over the same land, water, cattle, grazing rights, access to roads or any other such resources.

Although TMG observers reported significant levels of inter-communal conflict nation-wide, most conflicts occurred in North East and North Central zones. More than 40 percent of observers deployed to Imo, Taraba, Nasarawa and Adamawa states either witnessed or heard of inter-communal conflicts in their LGAs. First-hand accounts of inter-communal conflict were most prevalent in the states of Kogi, Taraba, Plateau and Anambra, possibly suggesting that conflict was taking place on a more visible scale in these locales. In Ogun, Ekiti, Abia, Bayelsa and Gombe states, TMG observers reported no instances of inter-communal conflict during the two-week reporting period; neither witnessing nor hearing of inter-communal conflicts in these locales.

Reports of Intercommunal Conflict



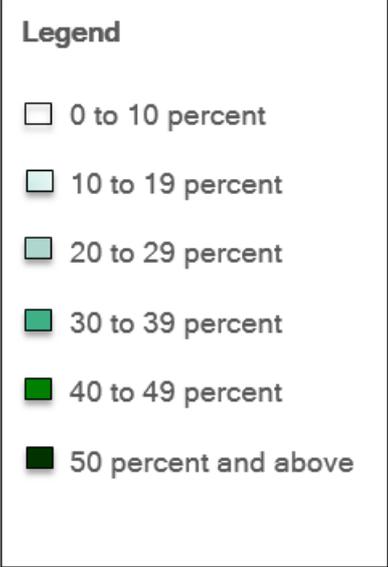
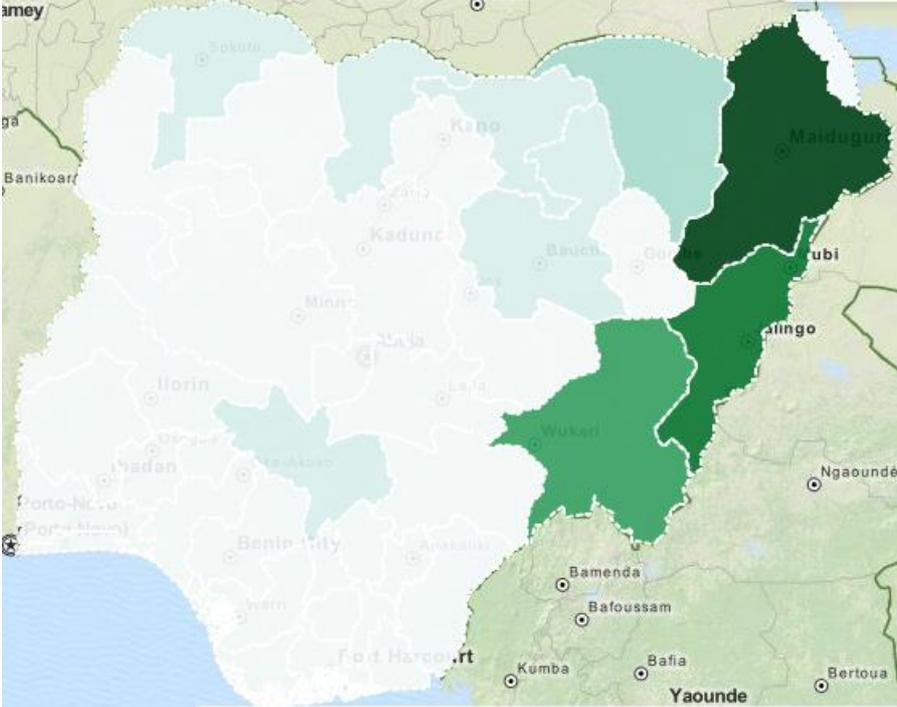
Critical Incident Reports

During the reporting period, TMG observers also texted in a total of 41 verified critical incident reports to identify crises necessitating a response in real time. Reports confirmed through a call-back process have been visualized on the Nigeria Electoral Early Warning System 2015 (NEEWS2015 CrowdMap at: <https://neews2015.crowdmap.com/>). Most confirmed reports related to clashes between party supporters and within a party or tensions around the voter registration process.

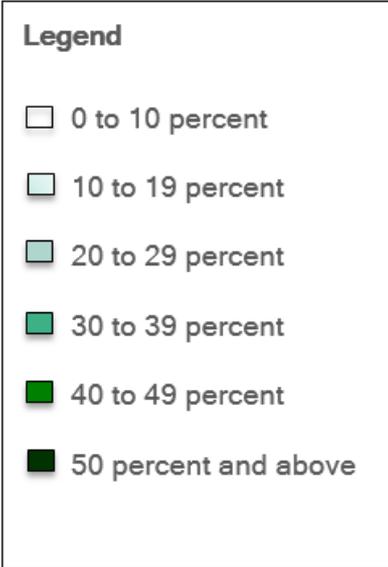
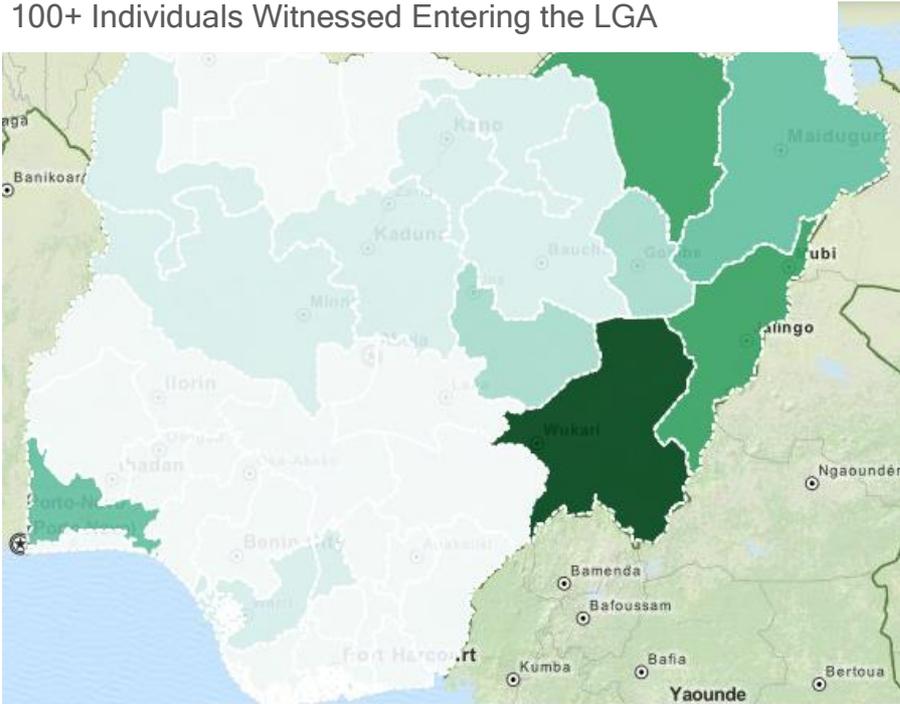
Annex 1 – Population Displacement Maps by State

Disclaimer: Data obtained at the state-level is not statistically significant and should be treated as anecdotal evidence

Population Displacement
100 or More Individuals Witnessed Leaving the LGA



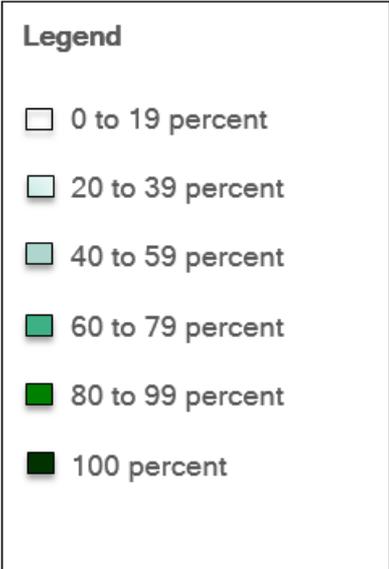
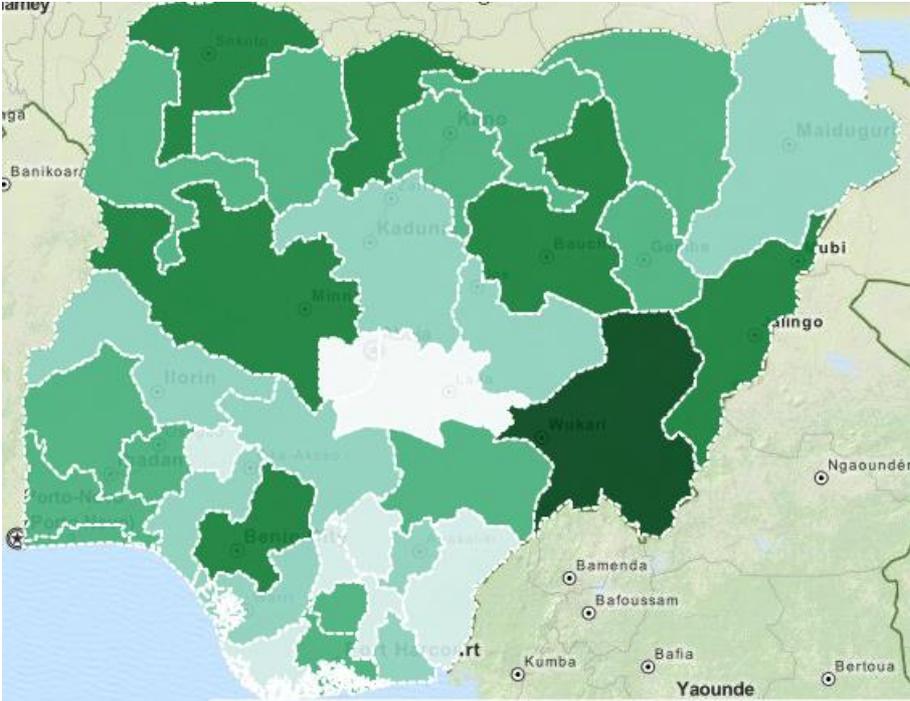
Population Displacement
100+ Individuals Witnessed Entering the LGA



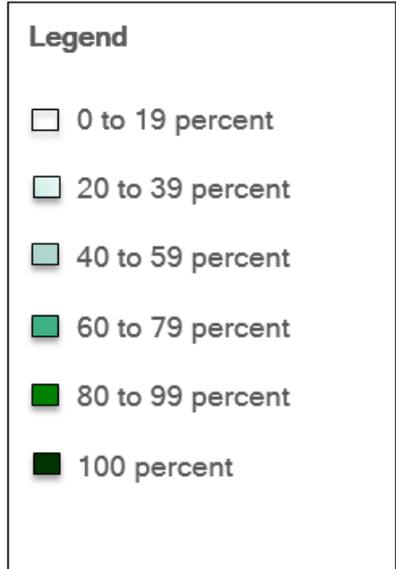
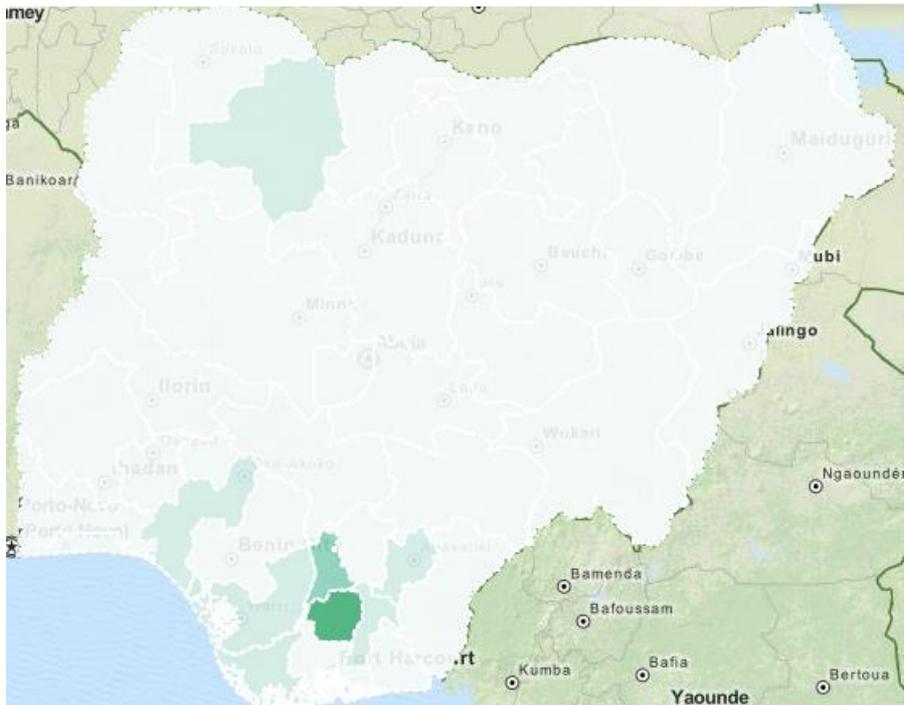
Annex 2 – Party Rally Maps by State

Disclaimer: Data obtained at the state-level is not statistically significant and should be treated as anecdotal evidence

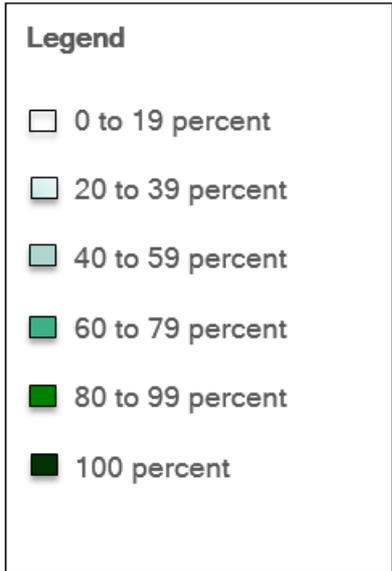
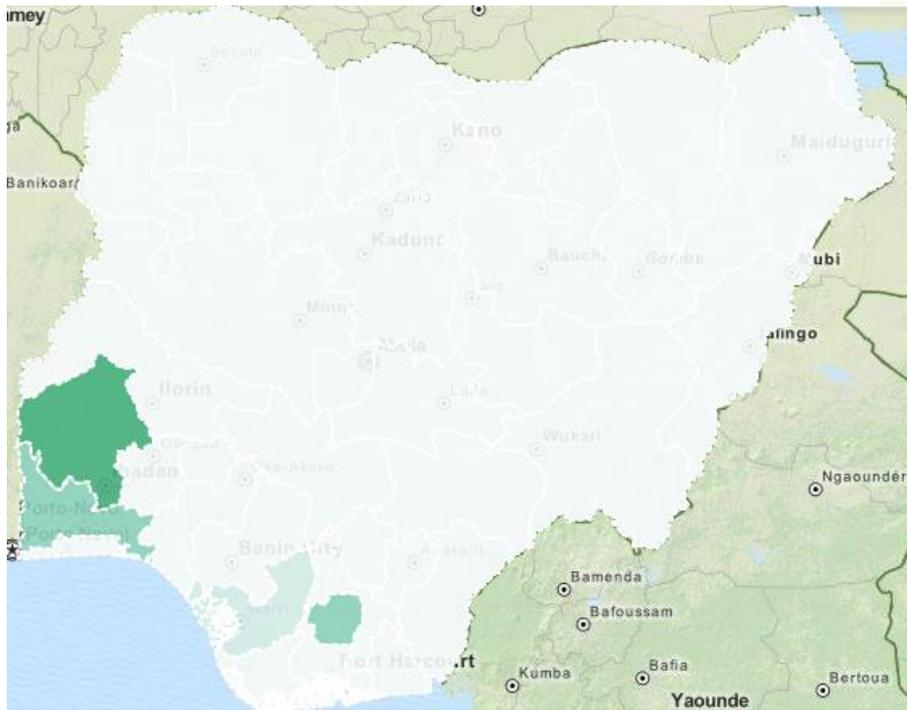
APC Party Rallies by Percentage of LGAs Reporting



APGA Party Rallies by Percentage of LGAs Reporting



Labour Party Rallies by Percentage of LGAs Reporting



PDP Party Rallies by Percentage of LGAs Reporting

