



Key Findings of Reporting Period Three

December 13, 2015 - December 22, 2014

Summary and Recommendations

During the third reporting period, TMG began to analyse trends in observer data over time by comparing observations from the same pool of 774 trained observers across three reporting periods. Major findings outlined in this report include: outreach to voters by major electoral actors the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the National Orientation Agency (NOA), and civil society is increasing over time but is not taking place evenly across the country; major political parties are campaigning on an identifiable geographic basis; hate speech on the basis of age, gender, religion, origins or disability has remained relatively constant over time but the prevalence of each kind of hate speech varies by geopolitical zone; and nation-wide fuel became markedly more difficult to purchase during this past reporting period.

TMG reiterates many of the same recommendations that have emerged in previous reporting periods. TMG encourages electoral actors with a mandate to provide voter information to increase activities in those areas where voters are relatively uninformed. TMG encourages candidates, media houses and citizens to refrain from using incendiary language and to maintain a respectful campaign environment, particularly as election day approaches. Finally, TMG recommends that the recent upsurge in fuel prices and shortages be closely monitored as economic grievances could exacerbate tensions and serve as a catalyst for electoral violence.

Methodology

The TMG pre-election observation project leverages the presence of one locally recruited TMG election observer in each of the 774 LGAs of Nigeria to gather systematic information about the 2015 pre-electoral environment, including early warning signs of electoral violence. TMG pre-election observers will remain deployed between November 14, 2014 and February 7, 2015 and will release a series of six reports on the pre-election environment between December 8, 2014 and February 14, 2015.

TMG observers report both on events that they **observed directly/witnessed** (events personally witnessed) and events that they **observed indirectly/heard of** (events that were conveyed by a credible third party). These third parties may include credible media outlets or other members of the community. Before reporting on an incident as **observed indirectly/heard of**, TMG observers first seek to verify the event using a four-step process. Unlike the TMG Quick Count methodology (www.tmgowards2015.org/about), TMG does not rely on sample-based observation to carry out its pre-election observation efforts. The reported data is therefore not statistically representative of the country as a whole, but does provide an indication of general emerging trends nationally and within geopolitical zones. **TMG encourages end users of its reports and data to independently corroborate and respond appropriately to trends identified and discussed in these reports.**

Period 1: November 14 - 27, 2014

Period 2: November 28-December 12, 2014

Period 3: December 13 - 22, 2014

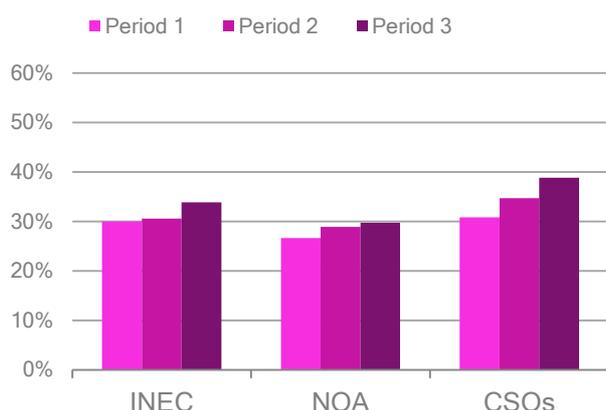
Voter Information by Geopolitical Zone and Actor

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. Accordingly, TMG observers monitored the presence of voter education workshops and voter information campaigns organized by each of the above actors. TMG’s observer findings suggest that overall levels of activity by all three actors and in all six geopolitical zones was generally higher in the third reporting period than in the first, reflecting an increase in activity to prepare Nigerian voters for the upcoming polls. However, TMG’s findings suggest that neither INEC, NOA nor civil society is conducting outreach to voters evenly throughout the country. The below illustration of observed voter information campaigns by geopolitical zone illustrates where each of the above actors was observed in greatest force during each reporting period. 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.

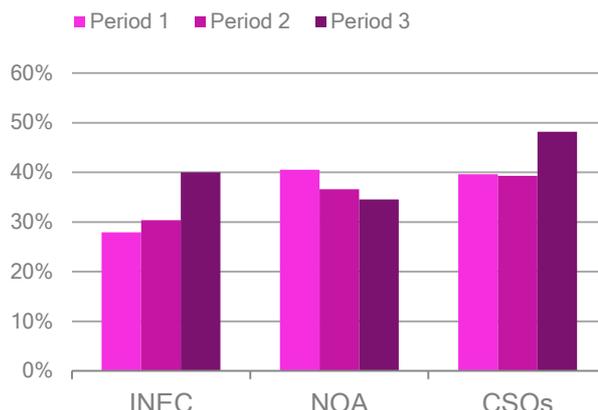
Observed Voter Information Campaigns by Geopolitical Zone

By percentage of LGAs reporting

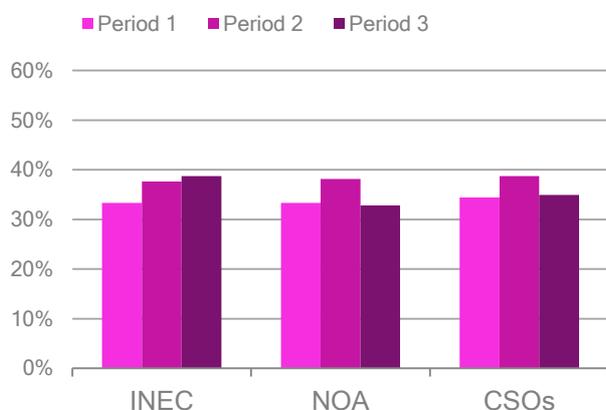
Voter Information in North Central



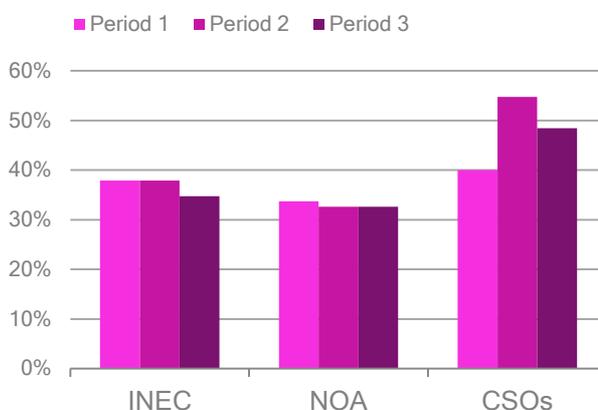
Voter Information in North East



Voter Information in North West



Voter Information in South East

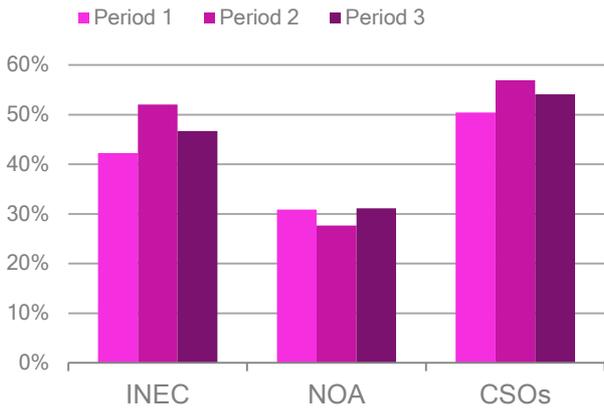


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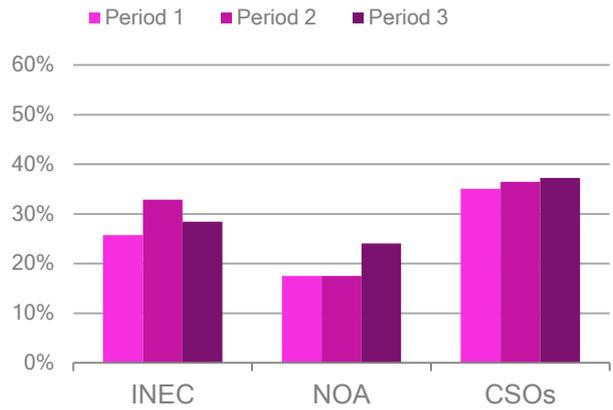
Period 2: November 28-December 12, 2014

Period 3: December 13 - 22, 2014

Voter Information in South South



Voter Information in South West



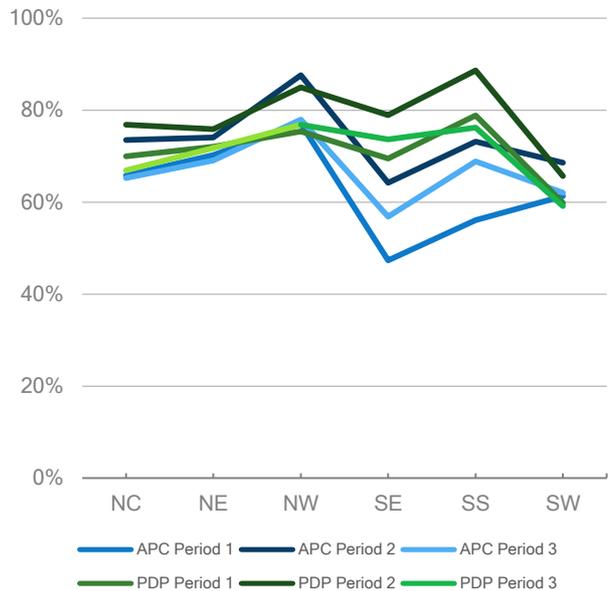
Political Party Campaigns by Geopolitical Zone

TMG observers monitored the distribution of political party campaigns throughout the country by reporting on the presence of party posters and party rallies in each local government area. TMG observers used a broad definition of rallies to include both party or candidate rallies and ward congresses organized within electoral districts. Overall, TMG observed a rise in the level of party campaigning across reporting periods, suggesting that political parties are intensifying their campaigns as the general elections approach.

APC and PDP Campaign Posters Observed

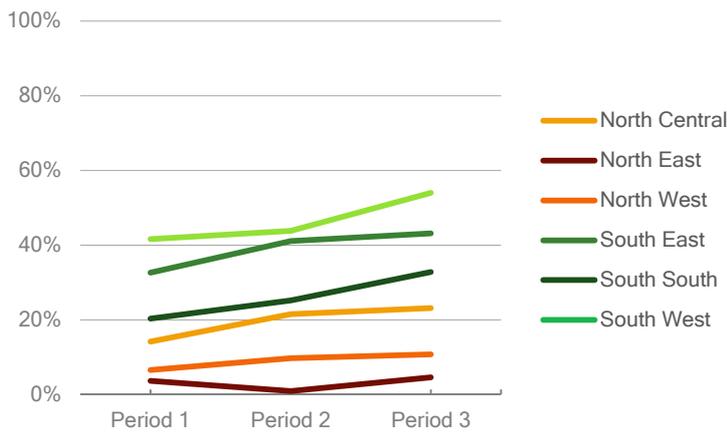


APC and PDP Rallies Observed

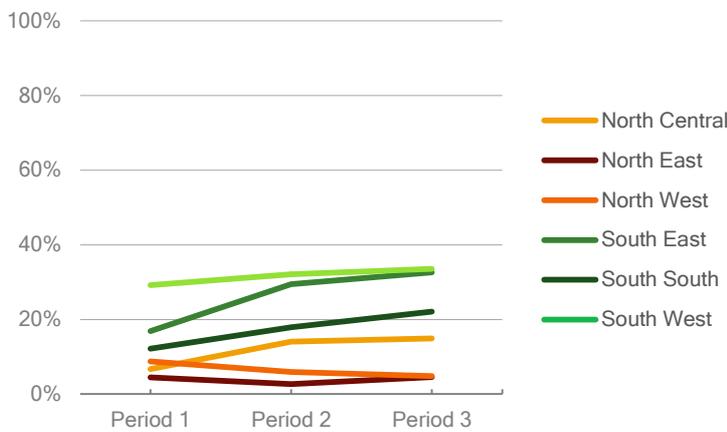


TMG also observed where the major parties contesting the 2015 elections have concentrated their campaign efforts. TMG did not differentiate between types of electoral campaigns when gathering this observation data. As a result, the data does not indicate where particular presidential, National Assembly, State Assembly, or other candidates are conducting their campaigns.

Labour Party Posters Observed



Labour Party Rallies Observed



Based on the observed presence of PDP rallies across all three reporting periods, TMG’s data suggests that the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) is campaigning most heavily in the South South geopolitical zone followed by North West and South East. Distribution of PDP posters was relatively equal across geopolitical zones for all three reporting periods. TMG’s observer data suggests that APC, by contrast, is campaigning most heavily in the North West geopolitical zone followed by North East then North Central/South West as indicated by both observed APC rallies and campaign posters.

By contrast, TMG’s observation effort indicates that the Labour Party has concentrated its campaigning on the South West and South East geopolitical zones. TMG observers witnessed very little Labour Party campaigning in the North West and North East zones. This trend was consistent across TMG’s observation of both Labour Party rallies and Labour Party posters.

Hate Speech by Geopolitical Zone and Target

Hate speech, which TMG has defined as the use of derogatory language to incite violence against a targeted individual or group, is concerning behaviour in the pre-election period as incendiary language can serve as an early warning sign for politically motivated conflict. In TMG’s PREO effort, observers directly and indirectly observe candidate rallies, political gatherings, media reports and statements by candidates and parties for inflammatory and divisive rhetoric directed at individuals based on age, their origins, gender, religion and physical disabilities.

TMG noted relatively consistent levels of hate speech in each geopolitical zone over time, with the exception of South West geopolitical zone where TMG’s findings indicate a decline in levels of observed hate speech over time. TMG’s findings also indicate a more modest downward trend in levels of observed hate speech in North Central zone, while levels of observed hate speech have remained relatively unchanged across reporting periods in North East, North West and South South zones. In South East, TMG observer findings show a slight upward trend in levels of observed hate speech. TMG observers were more likely to report hate speech in North East, South East and North Central geopolitical zones than in North West, South South or South West geopolitical zones.

Hate speech on the basis of one’s origins, which TMG defined broadly to encompass both ethnic and geographic origins, was the most prevalent form of hate speech in North East, North West, South South and South East geopolitical zones (although in South East it ranked evenly with gendered hate speech for two out of three reporting periods). In North Central, hate speech on the basis of origins and age

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Period 2: November 28-December 12, 2014

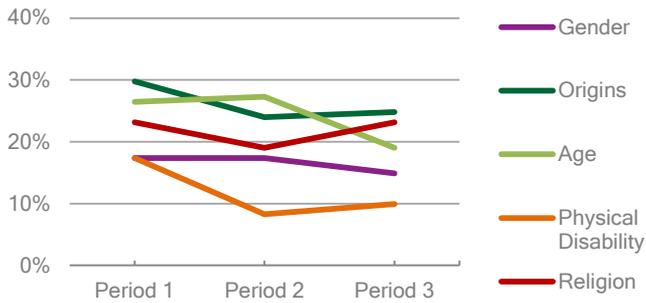
Period 3: December 13 - 22, 2014

where the two most common forms of hate speech, while religious hate speech was observed most frequently in South West. Across all six geopolitical zones, TMG observers consistently reported less hate speech directed against persons with disabilities than hate speech directed against individuals on the basis of any of the other categories observed.

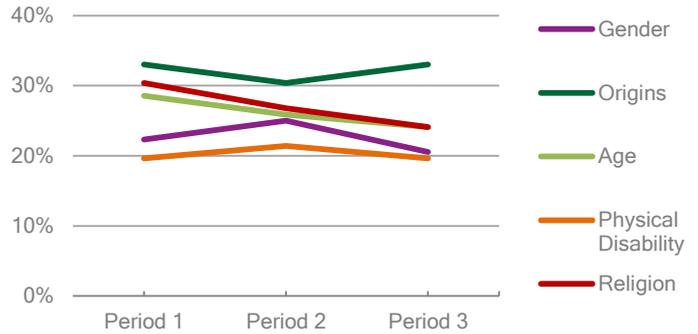
Observed Basis of Hate Speech in Each Geopolitical Zone

By percentage of LGAs reporting

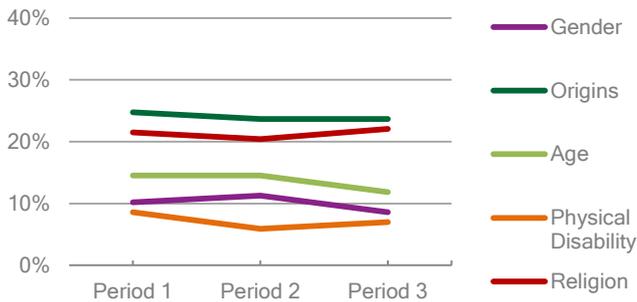
Hate Speech Observed in North Central Zone



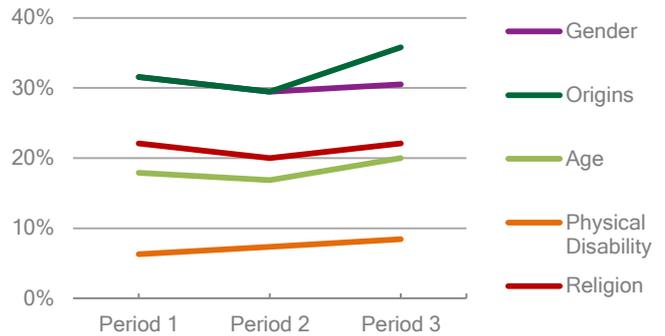
Hate Speech Observed in North East Zone



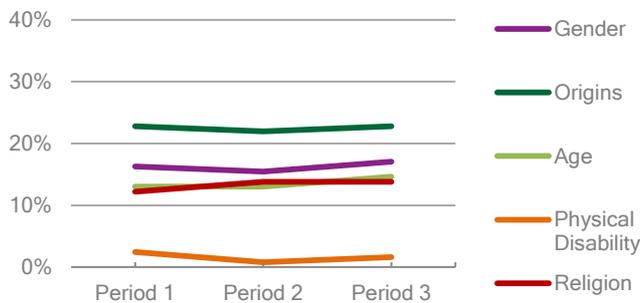
Hate Speech Observed in North West Zone



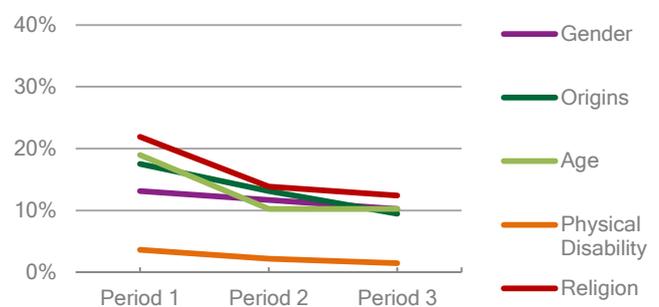
Hate Speech Observed in South East Zone



Hate Speech Observed in South South Zone



Hate Speech Observed in South West Zone



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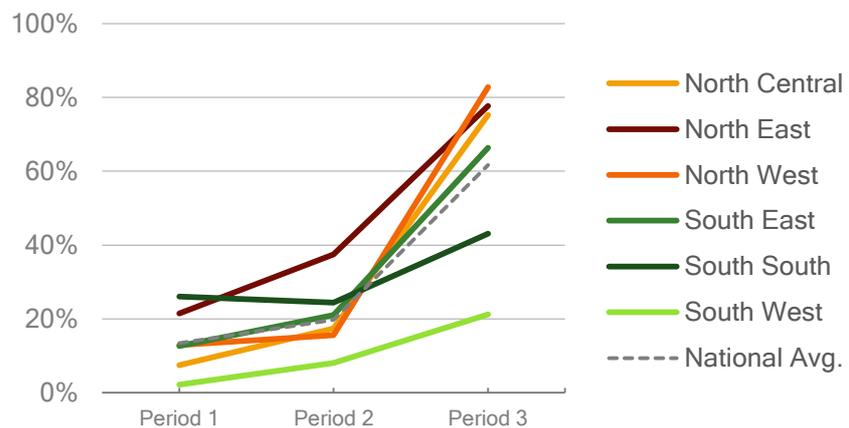
Increased Difficulty to Purchase Petrol in Reporting Period Three

As a proxy for economic pressures that could serve as catalysts for conflict, TMG asked its observers to report on any increased difficulty in purchasing petrol or a rise in petrol prices in their local government areas. During reporting period three, TMG observers witnessed a sharp rise in the price of petrol and/or increased difficulty purchasing petrol throughout the country. This spike likely reflects the December 15, 2014 nationwide strike declaration by the Nigeria Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria. Strikers protested the federal government's failure to carry out needed maintenance on Nigeria's four national oil refineries, to reduce prices of petrol at the pump despite the slump in global crude oil prices, and to prevent oil theft and pipeline vandalism within the country. TMG's findings align with news reports of fuel scarcity, which were carried in many Nigerian dailies around the same time.

Reports indicate that residents of Northern Nigeria were particularly affected by the increased difficulties of purchasing petrol, while residents of South South and South West geopolitical zones - although still experiencing increased difficulties - may have been less affected than the national average. TMG will continue to monitor this trend in coming reporting periods to assess whether the government's negotiations with the strikers resulted in a subsequent decrease in prices and/or difficulties in purchasing petrol.

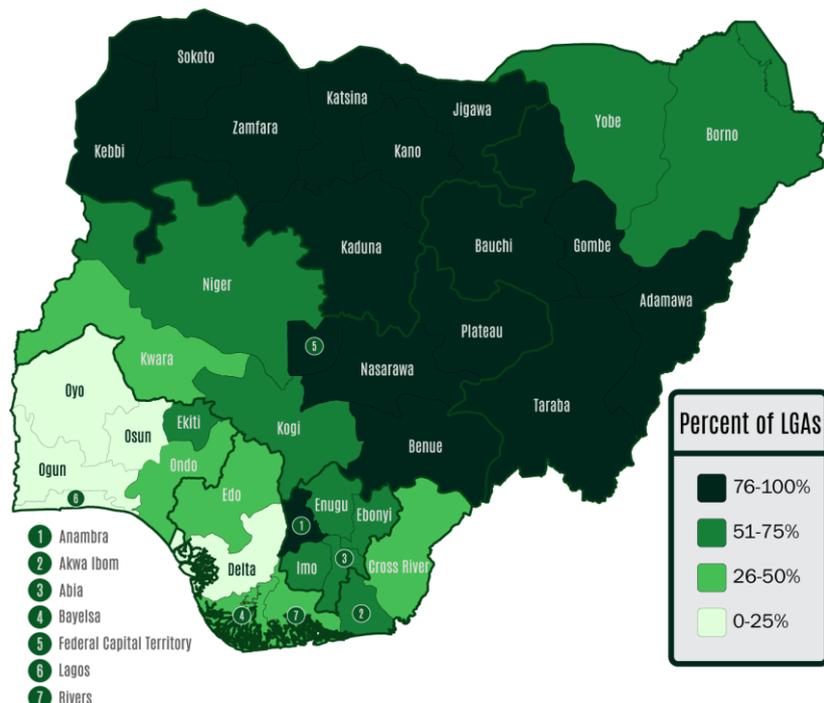
Difficulty to Purchase Petrol Over Time

Percentage of LGAs per zone reporting fuel becoming more difficult to purchase



Price of Petrol

States shown by percentages of LGAs that noted fuel becoming harder to purchase during period three (12 Dec. to 22 Dec.).



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