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OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

PROJECT REPORT:
ELECTION RADAR (ERA)
NIGERIA GENERAL ELECTION 2023

Submitted by:
Speak Out Africa Initiative (SOAI)

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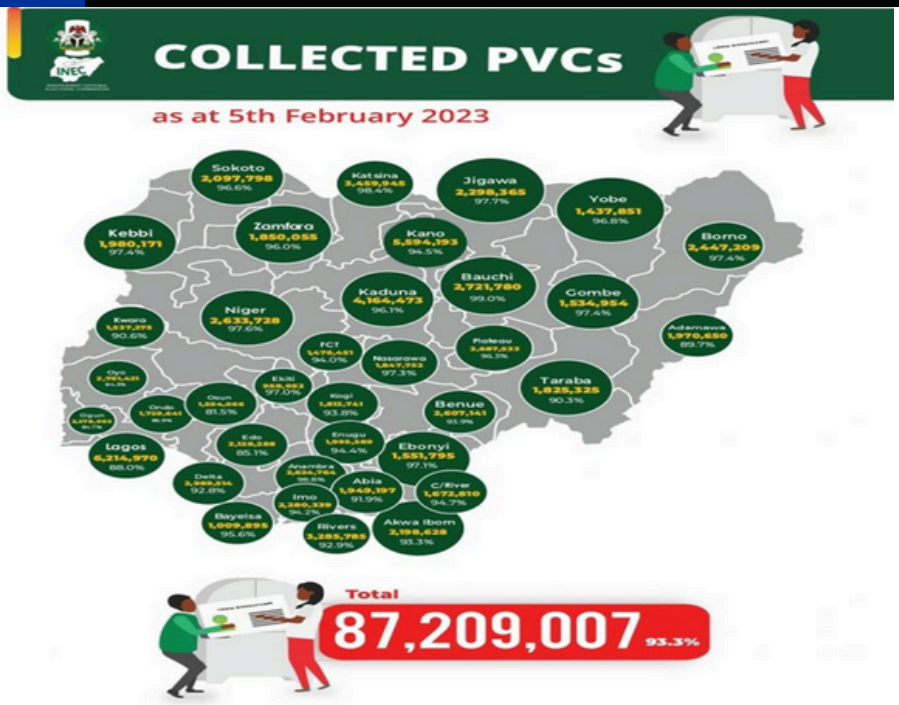
ACRONYMS AND MEANINGS

APC – All Progressive Congress
BVAS – Bimodal Voter Accreditation System
CC – Collection Center
CSO – Civil Society Organizations.
EFCC – Economic and Financial Crimes Commission.
EO – Election Officials
ERA – Election Radar
FCT – Federal Capital Territory
G.E – General Election
IReV – INEC Result Viewing
INEC – Independent National Electoral Commission.
LGA – Local Government Area
LP – Labour Party
NEC – National Economic Councils.
NYSC – National Youth Service Corps
PDP - People's Democratic Party.
PO – Polling Officers
POS – Point of Sale
PU – Polling Units
PVC – Permanent Voters Card.
PWD – People With Disabilities
REC – Resident Electoral Commissioner
SMS – Short Message Service
SOAI – Speak Out Africa Initiative
UEO - Umpire Election Observatory
UNEC – University of Nigeria, Enugu Campus.
VBD - Vote Buying Disruptor
VEP – Voter's Enlightenment on PVC collection
VP – Voting Points.
VPS – Voting Points Settlements.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



Nigeria, like many other countries, considers regular elections as a crucial aspect of its democratic traditions. The 2023 general election marked the nation's seventh consecutive general election, occurring within a 24-year span of consecutive democratic governance. This election served as a pivotal test of Nigeria's democratic integrity. The Presidential and National Assembly elections took place on February 25th, while the 28 out of 36 Governorship and State Assembly elections were originally scheduled for March 11th, but ultimately held on March 18, 2023 after a week's postponement by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

A new Electoral Act was enacted a year before the election, which empowered the Commission to implement advanced election technologies, including the electronic transmission of results. This new legislative framework allowed INEC to introduce innovative technologies for the general election, such as the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) and the INEC Election Results Viewing Portal (IReV). The Act also mandated the early release of election funds and [1]N305 billion was approved for the conduct of the 2023 general elections by the National Assembly. Ensuring a free, fair, credible, and inclusive election process was the priority for the 2023 general election in Nigeria and it stood out as one of the most meticulously planned electoral events since 1991. INEC even formulated a four-year strategic plan[2] and a comprehensive Election Project plan to ensure its success. With the introduction of the improved technology by the Commission, for both online pre-registrations, assumed accreditation and transmission of results, voters' interest in the election increased. The Commission also took on the task of creating new polling units (PUs) to combat overcrowding issues and locate the PUs nearby to voters for easy access.

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[1] https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/11/inec-to-spend-n355bn-in-2023/#:~:text=Yakubu%20had%20disclosed%20this%20when,elections%20by%20the%20National%20Assembly.
[2] https://inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/INEC-STRATEGIC-PLAN-8-1-1.pdf

The Electoral Act and the introduction of the INEC technology were to deal with amongst others, the problem of underage voting and overvoting- a persistent problem that had marred numerous elections, particularly in the northern regions of Nigeria where videos of underage children thumbprinting ballot papers surfaced and trended after the 2019 presidential election, the latest electoral Act stipulates the adoption of electronic voter accreditation. This represents a modernization from the employment of card reader technology that had caused considerable debate.

These new and positive developments leading up to the 2023 general election stirred hope and anticipation among the public, as they looked forward to free, inclusive, fair competition, and trustworthy results. In this period, we witnessed a resurgence of active citizenship, with the resilience and influence of young people taking center stage. Young citizens harnessed the power of technology and social media to shape political discussions, influence voter preferences, and promote transparency in the electoral process. The emergence of a 'third force' added excitement and competition to the electoral landscape, providing voters with multiple options[1]. Despite challenges like insecurity, currency redesign policies/cash scarcity, and fuel shortages, the citizens of Nigeria displayed remarkable determination in casting their votes and demanding accountable political leadership.

However, INEC took a proactive step by producing sensitive and non-sensitize materials such as ballot papers and results sheets in the country, aiming to avoid logistical hiccups that might necessitate rescheduling. This was a significant milestone, marking the first time since 1999 that sensitive materials were produced in Nigeria for general elections[2]. Meanwhile, INEC demonstrated unwavering institutional resilience, persisting with electoral preparations despite continuous attacks on its offices in certain regions. The successful nationwide deployment and high functionality rate of the BVAS for mostly voter accreditation during the February 25 and March 18 elections were shining achievements in the 2023 general election and should be further strengthened and maintained.

Although this recent election resulted to a more politically diverse National Assembly, it is important to acknowledge that the voter turnout was disappointingly low despite the initial enthusiasm and interest. It is very concerning that the election recorded the lowest voter turnout in recent memory. Despite this, it is encouraging to see that there is progress in Nigeria's democratic culture as aggrieved parties and candidates resorted to the courts to address electoral grievances. This shows that the Nigerian people are becoming more aware of their democratic rights and are taking steps towards improving the overall electoral process.

Speak Out Africa Initiative (SOAI), with the mandate to enhance democracy and promote effective governance and with support from Open Society Foundations (OSF) through the Election Radar (ERA) project pushed for an enhanced electoral process majorly by a three-facet approach which includes Voters' Enlightenment on PVC collection (VEP), Umpire Election Observatory (UEO) and Vote Buying Disruptor (VBD).

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[3] https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/595007-analysis-the-impact-of-a-third-force-on-nigerias-democracy.html
[4] https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/595007-analysis-the-impact-of-a-third-force-on-nigerias-democracy.html

From the observation derived from the VEP, there was the increase in PVC collection before the Presidential election[1], after SOAI and other collective efforts advocated for a both the PVC collection and its deadline extension[2].

From the actions of the UEO, despite the optimism and the VEP efforts that preceded the election, the Electoral Umpire, INEC and other electoral governance actors fell short of public expectations for the 2023 elections. INEC's extensive preparations and communication efforts had set the bar high, but regrettably, the Commission did not meet the expectations. The elections have proved to be a missed opportunity to an improved electoral integrity. Factors such as inadequate logistics during election day, particularly during the February 25th Presidential election, leading to the late arrival of polling officials and delayed openings of polling stations nationwide, the failure of the BVAS to upload Presidential results on the IREV, untransparent collation system, manipulation of the results during collation, tactical electoral violence, voter suppression, re-strategized vote buying, general non-compliance with the electoral law and guidelines have led to the lack of trust on the credibility of the process, the result, and the institution. Hence, a flawed process will inevitably produce results that may be queried. In some instances, Speak Out Africa Initiative observed that the adhoc staff were half baked, returning and collation officers demonstrated a poor understanding of the election guidelines and misapplied the rules. Also, in many collation centers, the collation officers and returning officers failed to verify and compare the results recorded on hardcopy results sheets (Form EC 8A) with those uploaded on IReV which led to various disparities. Security agencies, party supporters, and political thugs denied accredited observers access to the results collation centers. Thugs also attacked collation centers, and unruly party agents interfered with the collation process in states like Enugu, one of the focal states, Rivers, Abia, Delta, Ebonyi, and Gombe, where some of our Radar Officers were deployed.

In prior elections there have been instances of political party representatives and agents bribing electorates with money to vote for their candidates. This did not only raise our concern, but also the Electoral Umpire, Participants, Civil Society Organisations, and concerned Institutions. Speak Out Africa Initiative launched the VBD to curtail the reoccurrence of vote buying[3]. However, the CBN implemented a policy to redesign the Naira currency. According to the CBN, the motive was to help curb corruption, vote buying, and currency fraud, tackle the growing menace of kidnapping for ransom, lower inflation and address the problem of having too much money in circulation. The apex bank under the new monetary policy to stop vote buying in the 2023 elections fixed weekly cash withdrawals for individuals at N100,000 and corporate bodies at N500,000. Maximum cash withdrawal at POS terminals was also reduced to N20,000 daily. This policy was to help checkmate the incidences of vote buying, which was one the greatest threat to the fairness and credibility of elections[4].

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[5] https://nairametrics.com/2023/02/23/2023-general-election-inec-says-over-87-million-pvcs-collected-as-lagos-leads/
[6] https://www.vanguardngr.com/2023/01/pvc-collection-70-csos-urge-inec-to-extend-deadline/
[7] https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/571647-2023-group-launches-campaign-to-end-vote-buying.html
[8] https://tribuneonlineng.com/elections-monetary-policy-and-vote-buying/
[9] https://gazettengr.com/vote-buying-cbn-asked-to-track-bank-transfers-ahead-of-saturdays-polls/
[10] https://dailypost.ng/2023/02/24/presidential-election-cso-identifies-lagos-kano-six-other-states-as-high-risk-for-vote-buying-violence/
[11] https://twitter.com/officialEFCC/status/1628836513738792962

To ensure that Vote buying was mitigated, Speak Out Africa Initiative advised the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) on tracking bank transfers ahead of the election[5] and identified Lagos, Kano, Kogi, Kaduna, Delta, Rivers, Abia and Ebonyi as high-risk states for vote-buying, and voters' suppression[1]. However, SOAI observed a re-strategized form of vote buying as there was cash scarcity, this form of vote buying was the trading of votes for gifts and cash transfers by political actors. However, collaborating with Security agents, especially with the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), reporting cases of vote trading through the EFCC toll number[1]. SOAI recorded 11 cases of vote trading across the focal states.

When Presidential/ National Assembly election results were declared at the early hours of 1st March 2023 with the APC candidate emerging wit 37% of the total votes. While the other oppositions where PDP 29% and LP 25% amidst the electoral irregularities. The opposition parties rejected the results claiming it as the product of a flawed process, which suffered multiple technical difficulties owing to the introduction of new technology by INEC.

However, these setbacks remind us that our democratic processes are not perfect and underscore the need for continued engagement and improvement to ensure free, fair, credible and transparent elections.

THE 2023 GUBERNATORIAL/ STATE ASSEMBLY ELECTION

The Nigerian gubernatorial/state assembly 2023 election took place on the 18th of March 2023 in 28 out of 36 states in the country namely Abia, Adamawa, Akwa Ibom, Bauchi, Benue, Borno, Cross River, Delta, Ebonyi, Enugu, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Kwara, Lagos, Nasarawa, Niger, Ogun, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers, Sokoto, Taraba, Yobe, and Zamfara. The other 5 states were excluded because they are conducted off-season. As for the state legislatures, all 36 states were the home bases of thousands who competed for 993 State House of Assembly seats. Initially, INEC had scheduled the election for the 11th of March but was later postponed a week further due to the permission in reconfiguration of the Bimodal Voters Accreditation System (BVAS) to be used for the gubernatorial election[1]

The election was significant as it determined the political leadership of each state for the next four years and shape the national political landscape. The election had a total of 837 governorship candidates and 10,231 state assembly candidates from 18 political parties across the country of which INEC deployed the same technology for the Presidential election to states[2].

Meanwhile, in prior elections, the Gubernatorial/State assembly elections came first before the presidential but in 2023 general election, the Presidential came first which raised many questions. According to a partner organization, the Center for Democracy and Development acknowledged some improvement in the handling of local elections compared to the presidential polls, but also acknowledged the process was flawed overall.[3] The governorship/state assembly election was characterized by many challenges emanating from the public dissatisfaction with the Presidential election from the public; Increased voter apathy due to lack of trust on the Electoral Umpire, High voter suppression/Intimidation compared to the Presidential Election, Increased vote trading. Electoral violence, even attacks on journalists.

However, SOAI deployed 649 radar officers across the 36 states to monitor the gubernatorial/state assembly elections and it's worth noting that there was a noticeable improvement in the handling of election logistics during the March 18 governorship election. In this case, polling units opened promptly, ensuring that the accreditation and voting process began on time. Fortunately, during the governorship election, the results portal functioned optimally, allowing citizens to access and download polling unit-level results, thus contributing to greater transparency and trust in the electoral process. Throughout both elections, the BVAS, responsible for voter accreditation, performed admirably. Its efficient operation reduced the need for manual accreditation and the potential for padding votes.

[12]https://dailytrust.com/breaking-why-we-postponed-governorship-election-inec/
[13] https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/10/2023-elections-837-gov-candidates-to-slug-it-out-in-28-states-10240-vie-for-993-assembly-seats/
[14]https://www.voanews.com/a/civil-society-groups-protest-in-nigeria-over-election-outcome-/7025919.html

In totality, 26 States Governorship and 935 state constituency elections were conducted and winners declared.

ELECTION RADAR PROJECT OVERVIEW:

The Election Radar (ERA) Project is a comprehensive initiative aimed at fostering democratic consolidation in Nigeria, particularly in the 2023 general elections and beyond. The project's main objectives were as follows:

1. Voters' Enlightenment on PVC Collection (VEP): The VEP component of the ERA project focused on increasing awareness and participation in the electoral process by advocating for the collection of Permanent Voter's Cards (PVCs) among eligible voters. It addressed challenges such as the exclusion of over 26 million registered Nigerian students, unavailability of INEC staff at PVC distribution centers, missing PVCs, and low citizen turnout for PVC collection. The goal was to increase PVC collection by 60%, promote high voter turnout, and ensure the participation of women and youth.
2. Umpire Election Observatory (UEO): The UEO component was dedicated to the proactive monitoring, analysis, and support of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in its preparations for the 2023 general elections. It seeks to ensure that INEC conducted elections that are free, fair, and credible. This project identifies and addresses challenges and strengths in INEC's processes, emphasizing the importance of maintaining fairness and credibility throughout the electoral process.
3. Vote Buying Disruptor (VBD): VBD is an advocacy-led action aimed at disrupting and eliminating undemocratic practices related to vote trading - monetization of votes and PVC trading. It aimed to curtail vote buying and election-related violence through strategic campaigns. This component of the project was to promote electoral integrity and eliminate undemocratic practices during elections.

Rationale for the Project:

The ERA Project was based on the assumption that empowering young men and women to actively engage in governance and peace-building processes can address deep-rooted conflicts, grievances, exclusion, marginalization, inequality, and poverty. The project recognizes that the energy and voice of youth and women can promote good governance, reconciliation, reintegration, and community resilience. Thus, the project aims to address these issues by mobilizing and empowering these groups to participate in the democratic process.

Strategy and Approach:

SOAI implemented the ERA project using a people-to-people approach that is participatory and demand-driven. The strategy includes various methods, such as peer-to-peer influencing through campus PVC drives, road shows, social media dialogues, infographics, bulk SMS messages, policy advocacy briefs, and engagement with partner organizations.

Stakeholders Involved:
Key partner/stakeholders in the ERA project include the Student Union Government in Universities, the local Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), EFCC, the Nigeria Police Force, Market Women Association, National Union of Road Transport Workers, media organizations, and INEC itself.

Target Population:
The target population for the proposed project primarily includes women, students/youth, and people with disabilities (PWDs) residing in Oyo, Enugu, Kano states, and the Federal Capital Territory. Importantly, the project aims to have a nationwide presence, ensuring that its activities are spread across the country.

Definition of Success:
The success of the ERA project was defined by achieving several key outcomes, including increased PVC collection, higher voter turnout, a significant reduction in vote buying, and addressing issues that unfold during elections. Additionally, the project seeks to foster the creative energies and cohesion of women and youth, promoting their involvement in governance and peace-building processes and contributing to social cohesion and a culture of peace.

Project Alignment with Funder's Overall Goals and Objectives.
The Election Radar (ERA) Project aligned with the Funder's - Open Society Foundations for Africa's overall goals and objectives by promoting democracy, empowering citizens, emphasizing gender inclusion, contributing to conflict prevention and peacebuilding, and fostering social transparency and accountability. The project's activities and goals are in line with OSF-Africa's mission to promote positive change and sustainable development in West Africa, particularly in the context of Nigeria's electoral processes.

- Fostering Democracy and Good Governance: OSF-Africa's overarching goal includes promoting democracy and good governance in West Africa. The Election Radar (ERA) Project directly aligns with this goal by aiming to enhance democratic processes in Nigeria, particularly in the context of the 2023 general elections. The project served to improving the transparency, credibility, and inclusiveness of the electoral system, which is fundamental to good governance.
- Empowering Citizens: OSF-Africa objectives include empowering citizens to actively participate in governance and demand accountability. The ERA Project's components, such as Voters' Enlightenment on PVC Collection (VEP) and Umpire Election Observatory (UEO), focus on increasing citizen participation, advocating for transparency in the electoral process, and holding electoral institutions accountable. These efforts empower citizens to be actively engaged in the democratic process.

- ·Gender Inclusion: OSF-Africa emphasizes the importance of gender inclusion in its goals. The ERA Project addresses gender inclusion by promoting the influential participation of women and youths in governance and peace-building processes. The project aimed at removing prejudices and stereotypes, fostering greater involvement of women and youths in the electoral process, which is in line with OSF's commitment to gender equity.
- ·Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding: OSF objectives also include conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts. By supporting initiatives that enhance the credibility of elections, such as the Umpire Election Observatory (UEO), the ERA Project indirectly contributes to conflict prevention and peacebuilding. Credible elections are crucial for maintaining peace and stability in Nigeria.
- Social Transparency and Accountability: The ERA Project's focus on promoting transparency and accountability aligns with OSF's goal of fostering social transparency and accountability. The project aimed at empowering citizens with the right public information to demand good governance and hold institutions accountable through evidence-based advocacy.

ELECTION RADAR PROJECT REPORT

This is the breakdown of the project activities conducted before, during, and after the 2023 General Election using the tri-faceted approach in the focal states within the country – Oyo, Enugu, Kaduna and Federal Capital Territory.

A. Voters' Enlightenment on PVC Collection (VEP):

This component of the Election Radar (ERA) focuses mainly on enhancing awareness and improving the participation of electorates for the 2023 GE, by advocating for increased PVC collection among eligible voters.

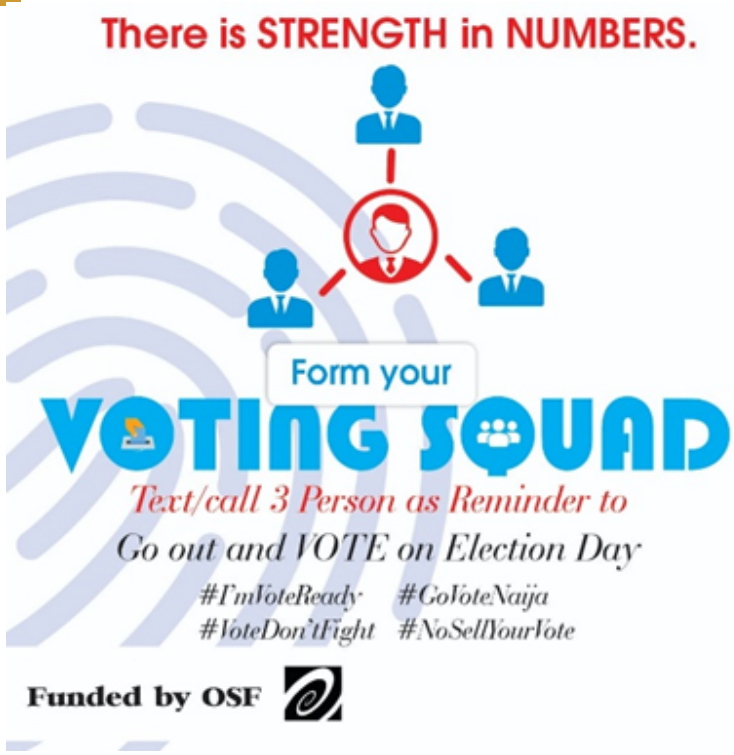
One of the motives behind this component was to mitigate the alarming challenge of the possible exclusion of over 26 million registered Nigerian student voters as then announced by the electoral umpire, INEC. Another was the missing PVCs, disaggregation of PVC collection centers which was new and unknown to many electorates, and the unavailability of INEC staff at collection centers (CC). The goal was to increase PVC collection by 60%, to curb disenfranchisement and voter apathy, and ensure high turnout and participation of vulnerable groups.

VEP Pre-election Activities

SOAI implemented the following activities before the Election Day to achieve VEP objectives:

1. Launch of the ERA[1] and VBD project[2] with the collaboration of media, kick-starting the project. Results can be seen in https://authorityngr.com/2023/02/24/cso-charges-inec-on-voter-education-before-accreditation/
2. Call for and training of 1,405 volunteers by an INEC ICT officer to become Radar Officers. It was a hybrid connecting and educating all volunteers from across the states and the FCT, on how to Access the INEC Status portal through https://cvr.inecnigeria.org revealing the voters registration status, PVC collection centers, and PUs which were in two ways either by the person's name and date of birth or by the person's Voter Identification Number (VIN). This was to train the trainers who were to take electoral information to the public.
3. Campus voter sensitization/drive at the University of Abuja, University of Ibadan, Kaduna State University, Institute of Management and Technology, Enugu, and UNEC. Sensitized students, and educated them on how to verify their registration, and locate PVC collection centers and polling Units (PUs) through the INEC, and the need for them to exercise their franchise.
4. Developed more than 65 infographics promoting PVC collection, voters' sensitization, and election awareness through the #65DaysOfCivicActionTo2023Election, strategically designed reaching millions of Nigerians from both mainstream and social media, and also strategic street campaigns

[15]https://sunnewsonline.com/2023-initiative-launches-1st-ngo-radar-room/
[16]https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/571647-2023-group-launches-campaign-to-end-vote-buying.html



5. Had a series of social media dialogues on the Election Radar to step up PVC collection and address emerging issues among women and youths/students.
6. Sent periodic bulk SMS stimulating messages sent to tertiary students targeting 500 persons per school.
7. Mobilized over 60 NYSC Corp members as youths and women during #YourVoteYourPower campaigns as canvassers.
8. Had series of road shows (over 15 road shows) at strategic community locations across the focal states of #YourVoteYourPower campaigns

VEP Election Activities

The following activities were implemented on Election-Day to achieve VEP objectives.

1. We extended our Election Radar Officers from focal states to other states. Deployed 1,235 Radar Officers as electionobservers across the 36 states of Nigeria,including the FCT.
2. Constituted an Elections Radar Situation Room (ERA-SR) to analyze the electoral, security, political, and media aspects of the entire election. We had the result of the first-hand observations of our foot soldiers at the pollingunits and had experienced political analysts in our situationroom for analysis.

3. Social media engagement e.g twitter space, zoom meetings on BVAS sensitization and PVC collection.
4. The Radar Officers helped intending voters locate their exact PUs as there were extensions of PUs having some congested and some scanty. This helped to reduce voter apathy due to lack of exact PU knowledge/location.
5. The SR worked with security agents and as well as INEC officials as middlemen in providing first-hand information on where security attention was needed and where there was a lack of INEC presence on Election Day.

B. Umpire Election Observatory (UEO)

This component of the ERA focuses mainly in the Electoral Umpire (INEC). It is our vigilant and engaged effort to ensure the integrity, fairness, and credibility of the 2023 general elections in Nigeria. It served as an independent but supportive observer, actively monitoring INEC's actions, highlighting strengths and weaknesses, and providing recommendations to enhance the electoral process. The ultimate goal was to ensure that the elections were conducted in a manner that upholds the principles of free and fair elections, which is essential for the democratic process in Nigeria. This UEO component is not merely an observer but a proactive civic action initiative. It actively engaged with INEC to provide feedback, suggestions, and solutions to challenges or issues that may affect the credibility and fairness of the upcoming elections.

UEO Pre-Election Activities:

These activities were carried out during the project timeline to achieve the objectives of the UEO component. They include:

1. The continuous and close monitoring of INEC's activities and decisions leading up to the 2023 general elections.
2. Observing and analysis of the PVC collection process and methods which led to the advocacy for extension of PVC collection deadline which was adhered to.
3. Assessing the application of the constitution and the electoral Act in election preparations, constantly supporting the umpire to uphold the BVAS and IREV.
4. As a support system for INEC, we assisted the Umpire in circulating information on social media, street, and campus campaigns, on how to locate PVC for collection and PU for election day.
5. Held several policy meetings with civil society, media and other stakeholders on how to improve support for INEC and reduce vote buying and other technicalities that may arose during election.

UEO Election Day:

These activities were carried out during the project timeline to achieve the objectives of the UEO component. They include:

1. Observing, monitoring and checkmating the Commission on time of opening of polls, procedures, methods, and voting preference for PWDs, the aged, and pregnant women.
2. Reporting and delivering first-hand information to the commission on current issues on election ground.
3. Watchful eye on INEC actions and decisions in the announcement of election results.
4. Recording, cross-checking, and documentation of election results from IREV, INEC ballots, and first-hand results from our foot soldiers.

C. Vote Buying Disruptor (VBD)

The component "Vote Buying Disruptor (VBD)," as popularly called, was a crucial aspect of the ERA Project. This component was a proactive and advocacy-led effort, focused on addressing and disrupting undemocratic practices related to vote trading and monetization of votes in Nigerian elections, with a specific focus on the 2023 general elections. It was implemented to promote electoral integrity, suffocate voter suppression enablers, and secure the democratic process against manipulation and undue influence, ultimately contributing to free and fair elections in Nigeria.

Campaign to disrupt vote buying

VBD Pre-election Activities:

These activities were carried out during the project timeline to achieve the objectives of the UEO component. They include:

1. Launched and raised awareness through social media engagements to disrupt and halt practices related to vote trading which includes the exchange of money or incentives for votes/PVC.
2. A "35DaysOfCivicActionTo2023Election," series of strategic campaigns conducted over a 35-day period leading up to the Election Day. These campaigns were designed to disrupt vote buying and other undemocratic practices.
3. Organised 2 policy round table discussions and reports on identifying and addressing the tactics used to discourage or manipulate voters and voting process with the intent to block all loopholes.
4. Mobilised actions (Corp members, Youth, and Women) to advocate against vote trading through the #StopVoteBuying campaigns.
5. Twitter engagements on dangers of Vote buying and how to mitigate it.
6. Voter education and sensitization of over 60 INEC ad-hoc staff (Corp Members) on the dangers of vote trading on their part to enable a free and fair election without compromise.
7. Organised several road shows (over 15 road shows) at strategic community locations across the focal states on #StopVoteBuying campaigns.
8. Encourage voters to report any attempts at vote buying or intimidation. Provide the public information on how to report vote buying or intimidation on election day and assure them of the confidentiality and safety of their reports.

VBD Election Day Activities:

1. SOAI Radar Officers stationed at polling stations, monitoring and documenting any suspicious activities related to vote buying, keeping eyes on individuals and groups offering money or any incentives in exchange for votes.
2. Established a reporting system (WhatsApp, hotline, and telegram) for observers to quickly report any incidents of vote buying in real-time.
3. Created a Situation Room (SR) for receiving real-time information and reports from the field and taking appropriate actions by reporting incidents/involving INEC and Election security Agents for intervention. real time
4. Collaborate in partnership with relevant law enforcement agencies (EFCC) to ensure that they take swift action in response to reports of vote buying especially in Kaduna.
5. Mounted across the focal states, over 50 banners and flyers outside polling stations, to create a visible presence emphasizing the importance of free and fair elections and the negative consequences of vote buying.

Targeted States:

The project had focal states for implementation. However, election day observation was done across the 36 states. The focal states include:

1. Oyo State – South West
2. Enugu State – South East
3. Kaduna state – North West
4. FCT – North central.
5. Bauchi State – North East.
6. All states for election day observation.

Target Population

The ERA project primarily focused on reaching, engaging and benefiting specific segments of the population in Nigeria. These segments include:

1. Students/Youths: The project was designed to actively involve Nigerian students and youth as INEC reported that over 26 million students were yet to receive their PVC, the project was geared towards mitigating the problem of possible voter apathy on election day. ERA project recognized the potential of young people to drive positive change and promote good governance and reached over 10,000 youths and students across the focal states.
2. Women: The project aimed to empowering and engaging women, recognising their importance in the electoral process and governance. The ERA project focused also on fostering the participation of women in the democratic process. During project implementation, over 7,000 women were reached and impacted.
3. People with Disabilities (PWDs): Ensuring inclusivity and access for people with disabilities in the electoral process was a key focus of the project. Therefore, we recorded the reach of over 500 PWDs across the focal states.

RESULTS AND IMPACT

The result achieved in from the ERA project in the focal states include:

- Capacity of 120 local CSOs built on voter education/awareness through the training of trainer's election education which was in turn expanded across communities in the project states.
- Increased capacity of 20 electoral staff across the project states, who worked alongside call for the decongestion of PUs.
- Capacity of 60 NYSC members (ad hoc staff) built on electoral awareness and #StopVoteBuying which drastically mitigated vote buying to the barest minimum in the presidential election.

- More enlighten youths which contributed to increase in new registered voters by over 9M having 76.5% as young voters, 40% were students. (INEC 2023).
- It contributed to the increased in PVC collection by 93.3% ahead of the February 25th Presidential and National Assembly elections. Increased voter PVC collection by extra 14M from 2019 to 2023 election.
- Higher voter turnout of women as against the 2019 election. We had 44.4milliom women eligible voters in 2023 GE as against the 39.6million in 2019.
- There was a significant rise in Youth turnout. Higer voter turnout of youths since 76% of registered voters were young people in the 2023 GE.
- As advocated, the result was glaring as the results for PWDs were disaggregated unlike previous years, having a total of 85362 PWDs.
- Through our advocacy for an extension, an extended date from the deadline of PVC collection was issued by the Commission which led to more collections of PVCs by eligible registered voters.
- Through our support to INEC, many persons were able to locate their PU for voting exercise.
- The key result from the VBD project was the disruption of undemocratic practices related to vote buying. The 2023 Presidential/National Assembly election had less or no vote trading.

Voters and PVC collection Result/Impact in focal states

Project Focal STATES	Registered Voters (2019)	Registered Voters (2023)	%) Growth	# of PVC collected (2019)	# of PVC collected. (2023)	(%) Growth	% of Collected PVC to RV (2023).
Enugu	1,944,016	2,112,793	**8.89%**	1,787,537	1,995,389	**11.62%**	**94.4%**
Delta	2,845,274	3,221,697	**18.23%**	2,470,924	2,989,514	**20.99%**	**92.8%**
Oyo	2,934,107	3,221,697	**9.80%**	2,176,352	2,761,421	**26.88%**	**84.3%**
FCT	1,344,856	1,570,307	**16.76%**	1,026,920	1,476,451	**43.77%**	**94.0%**
Kaduna	3,932,492	4,335,208	**10.24%**	3,648,831	4,164,473	**14.13%**	**94.5%**
Bauchi	2,462,843	2,749,268	**11.63%**	2,335,717	2,721,780	**16.53%**	**99.0%**

From the table, there were increase in registered voters in the focal states from the previous election year 2019 to the 2023 election. Also, the PVC collection rate which was more pertinent to the ERA project showed that in all focal states, as against short period of time given by INEC in collection of the permanent card. All the focal states had more than a 10% growth rate.

INEC recorded a 93.3% increase in collection of PVC across the states with a record of 87,209,007 collected PVCs from the total of 93,469,008. In the focal states, the following reflect the growth in PVC collection.

- Enugu with 94.4% collection rate leaving only 5.6% (117,404) as uncollected.
- Delta State with 92.8% collection rate leaving only 232,183 (7.2%) uncollected.
- Oyo State with grew to an 83.4% collection rate leaving 515,254 (15.7%) uncollected.
- FCT had a 94% PVC collection rate leaving just 93,868 (6%) not collected.
- Kaduna moved to 96.1% collected rate, having just 3.1% (170,735) not collected.
- Bauchi had almost everyone's PVC collected with 99%, having just 1.0% not collected.

Other Impacts:

The judiciary aired the PEPT live involving Nigerians and concerned citizens to participate and feel a sense of belonging. This was after Speak Out Africa Initiative advocated for the live airing of the Tribunal Hearing live for Nigerians to participate and feel a sense of belonging[1]. These led to many Nigerians following up to the adjudications of the tribunal.

[17] https://dailypost.ng/2023/03/09/guber-election-inec-csos-must-accelerate-efforts-against-voters-apathy-group/

2023 GENERAL ELECTION OBSERVATIONS

Actions That Shaped The 2023 Election:

The Electoral Act/Framework: The signing of the 2022 Electoral Act on February 25, 2022, was widely hailed as a victory for democracy and the 2023 general election marked a significant milestone as the first election conducted under the purview of the 2022 Electoral Act, a legislative response to over-longed citizen demands for electoral reform. Speak Out Africa Initiative was among the collective effort that advocated for the electoral reform and a new framework.

The Act introduced substantial revisions to the timelines governing election-related activities, including party primaries, the publication of election notices, public campaigns, and voter registration. Furthermore, the new legal framework outlined novel procedures for results management and voter accreditation.

The Commission issued new Regulations and Guidelines for the elections which expanded upon the provisions of the Electoral Act offering explicit procedures for the conduct of the election. Notable adjustments included specifying that the Presidential and National Assembly Election would take place on the third Saturday of February in any general election year, with the Governorship and State Assembly election scheduled two weeks after the presidential election. The guidelines made clear various aspects of the election process, from voter accreditation and voting scenarios to result collation, electronic transmission of results, making returns, and the application of the margin of lead principle. The new legal framework effectively addressed vulnerabilities that had previously been exploited to compromise the integrity of elections, fostering renewed public trust in the electoral process. Notably, the Act secured INEC's financial independence by mandating the release of all funds required for a general election no later than one year before the next general elections. Moreover, the Act mandated the provision of assistive devices for persons with disabilities, safeguarding the voting rights of this demographic. Undoubtedly, the new legal framework instilled public confidence in the electoral process leading up to the election. Many citizens believed that the 2022 Electoral Act contained provisions that enhance the integrity of elections and ensure the accuracy of the vote count.

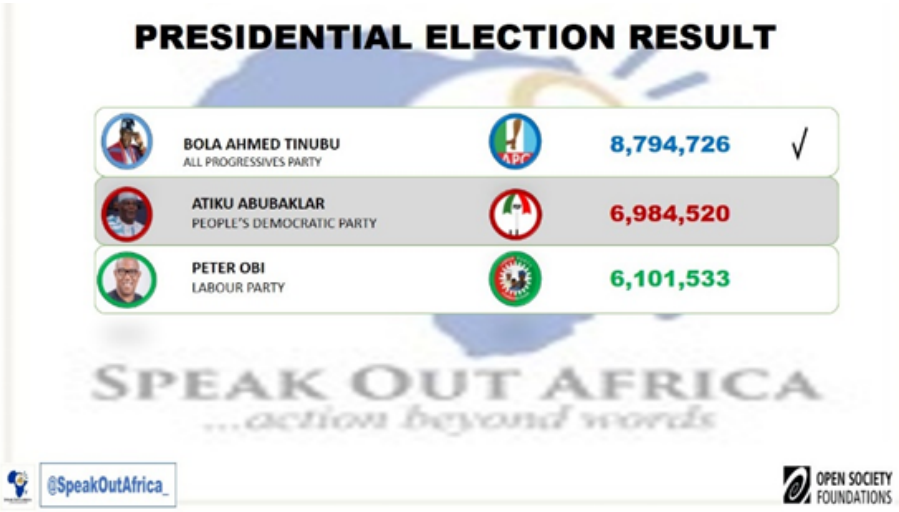
Electoral Technology: The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) of Nigeria introduced electoral technology to boost efficiency and improve citizen participation in the electoral process. The election technology includes the BVAS for voter accreditation through thumbprint or face recognition, and for electronic transmission of results by capturing images of the polling unit result sheet (Form EC8A) and uploading the image of the result sheet online; the IReV for uploading election results to facilitate public access to polling unit-level results. INEC's deployment of these technologies was met with opposition from some political actors, but the commission conducted nationwide testing of the devices on 11th of January in INEC headquarter in Abuja to be used in the general elections and the mock accreditation exercise held on 4th February 2023 in 436 polling units across the 36 states and the FCT. These technologies aim to enhance the transparency of election results and boost public trust in election result management.

Fuel and Cash Scarcity: As the nation prepared for the electoral process, a fuel scarcity crisis emerged, triggering widespread panic and disarray across the country. The repercussions of this crisis extended beyond private individuals, posing a severe threat to numerous small businesses due to the sharp increase in fuel prices.

While the populace was still recovering from the implications of this fuel scarcity, news regarding the redesign of the national currency, the naira, began to circulate. To compound matters, new and immediate deadlines were established for the mandatory exchange of old notes, leading to a state of upheaval and significantly increasing the demand for the new currency on extremely short notice. The ill-conceived and poorly implemented policy led to the scarcity of Naira in Nigeria's largely cash economy. The policy impacted INEC logistics preparations for the elections and security deployment for the election[1]. These situations made Nigerians see the polls as the viable way to make their agitations known, and their voices heard leading to the massive participation of young people.

Tribally and Ethnically Charged: Speak Out Africa Observed that this election was tribally, ethnically charged, and deeply polarized along religious lines. The political elite, as well as a section of the religious elite, pushed the election with religious, tribal, and ethnic sentiments. The country was almost close to the brink of national collapse through their actions[2].

Emerge on Minority Vote: This election produced a President elected on a minority vote. The combination of the result of the second and third candidates is higher than that of the winner. Recall that the winner (APC candidate) emerged with 8,794,726 votes while the second and third were PDP 6,984,520 and LP 6,101,533 votes. The combination of the 2nd and 3rd results will give 13,086,053 votes, signifying that majority voted against the elected President. From the total number of general vote casted which is 24,025,940, only about 37% voters voted for the elected President. In sense vein, only 10% of Collected PVC holders voted for the Winner and less than 10% (9.4% only) of total registered voters voted for the President. In other words, the result has revealed that out of every 10 persons, only about 3-4 persons are likely to be satisfied with the result, and out of every 20 persons, just 7 persons possibly will be okay with the result. This revealed for the first time in Nigerian's democratic history, a President was elected on a minority vote. Also, Speak Out Africa Initiative observed that the three leading Presidential Candidates won in 12 states each which was also a new development that shaped the 2023 general election.



[18] https://punchng.com/cash-scarcity-crippled-nigerias-economy-says-un/
[19] https://guardian.ng/opinion/2023-election-and-the-tribalisation-of-public-discourse/

The Good

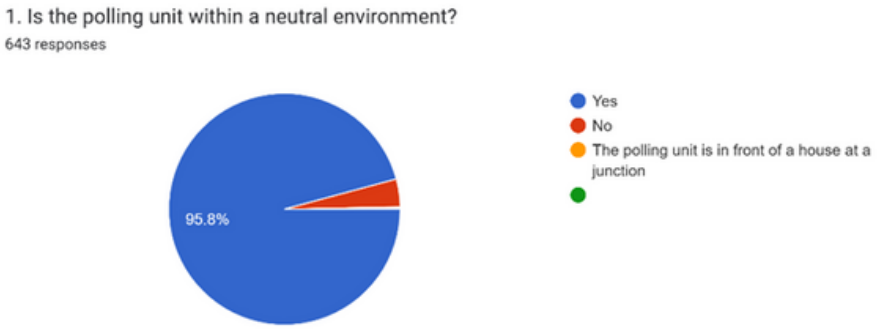
Increased Voter Registration: The current election witnessed an escalation of 11% in voter registration as compared to 2019. This trend has been continually upward since 2015. This clearly indicated the impact of the collective and collaborative voter education and sensitization. The voter registration moved from 84,271,832 in 2019 to 93,469,008 in 2023. This also depicts the increased enthusiasm regarding competent governance and electoral activities. We saw the surge in the interest of especially the youth on who governs them and such were ready to change the narrative intentionally. According to INEC, 37,060,399 registered voters representing 39.65%, are youth between the ages of 18 and 34; 33,413,591 representing 35.75% are middle-aged persons between the ages of 35 and 49; and 17,700,270 representing 18.94% are elderly voters between the ages of 50 and 69 while 5,294,748 representing 5.66% are senior citizens aged 70 and above[1]. In other words, youth still made up about 40 percent of the registered voters. An addition of 39.65% to the middle- age gave a total of 75.40 percent of the voting population in the election.

Speak Out Africa Initiative observed the participation of the urban-class citizens in the election. In previous elections particularly in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) and in Enugu Capital, it was a common occurrence that citizens in the urban area hardly participated in voting as the polling units in those areas were mostly empty and the ad-hoc are left with little or nothing to do but the 2023 general election changed the narrative as citizens in the urban area also came out to cast their votes.

[20] https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2023/02/22/youths-as-active-participants-in-2023-election

Active PVC Collection: Speak Out Africa Initiative Election Radar Project comprising the the VEP urged citizens to not only collect their PVC for voting but to also participate in voting and also protect their rights/votes. The message was clear: citizens must get their PVC, vote and protect their votes to create a fair and transparent electoral system. Speak Out Africa Initiative mobilised youths especially students which comprised of 26,027,481 (27.8%) of the youth between 18-34 years, through seminars, radio jingles, social media engagements/meetings, infographics and SMS notifications to register and collect their PVCs. INEC informed it recorded a 93.3 per cent Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) collection rate (87,209,007 out of 93,469,008 PVCs) ahead of the general election[21].

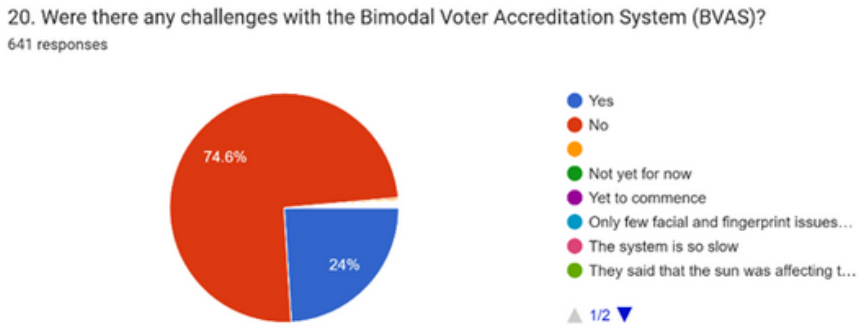
Polling Unit in Neutral Environment: About 96% of Speak Out Africa radar officers across the country observed that PUs were located in a Neutral environment, not in a religious place or a monarch place. Unlike the previous elections, PUs were located in places that could limit voters and influence their voting. The electoral umpire as promised, successfully removed 749 Polling Units from inappropriate locations e.g private properties, royal palaces, mosques, churches and shrines, to appropriate public facilities or open spaces in line with the Commission's policy to guarantee unencumbered access to Polling Units for all voters[1]. The 2023 election as observed had even the new additional PUs established in a neutral environment.



Effectiveness of the BVAS in Accreditation: From the observations of Speak Out Africa Initiative, about 75% of the BVAS machines were very effective in voter accreditation either by finger of

[21] https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2023/02/22/youths-as-active-participants-in-2023-election
[22] https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2023/02/22/youths-as-active-participants-in-2023-election

face. This is a good move from the Commission after confirming the efficiency of the BVAS machine during the mock accreditation exercise[1] prior to the general election.

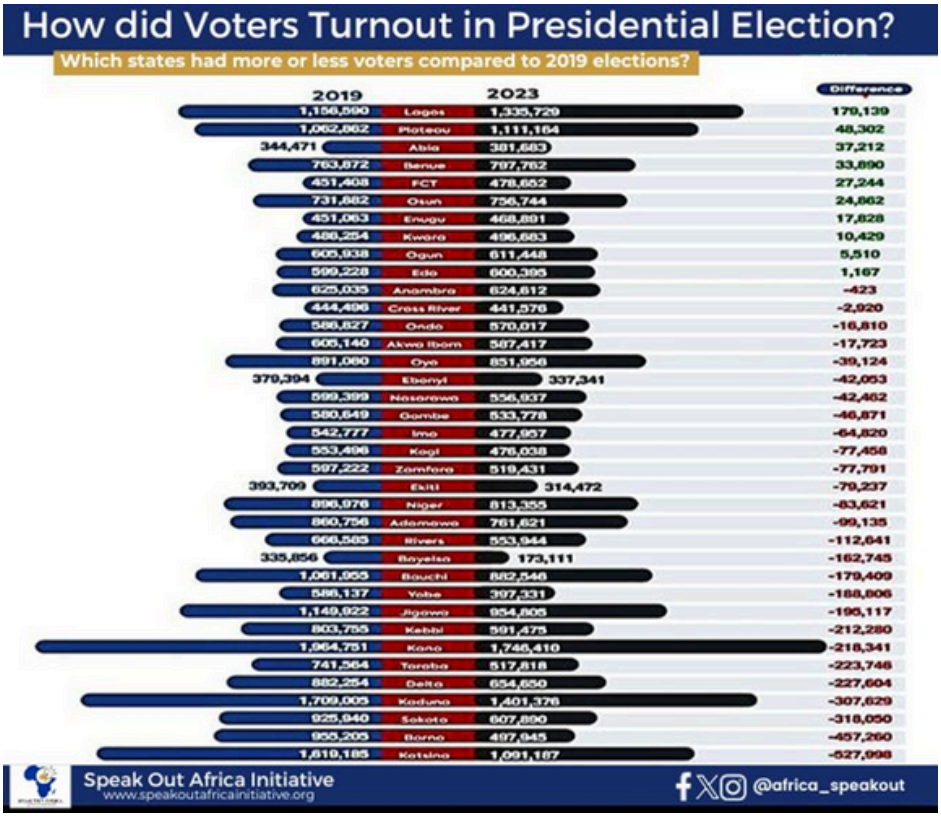


Priority Voting: Speak Out Africa Initiative had observed that priority voting was carried out in certain PUs across the country. such as Capville School, Dawaki Ward, PU 074, FCT and Big Cele Dawaki Ward, PU 76, FCT, PU 9, main market, Mail 2, Enugu State; PU 2, Abonuzu Public Square, Enugu State; PU 003 Primary School, Jemibewon Existing, Ibadan North, Oyo State; The vulnerable comprising of the elderly, pregnant women and persons with disabilities (PWD). Also, in PU 007 in Gamawa Bauchi State, the people protested over priority voting stating that the queues should be used instead; similarly, in PU 022 Durumi 2 Primary School, the voters had a disagreement over allowing the elderly and Persons with Disabilities (PWDs) to cast their vote first; However, in many PUs observed by SOAI, priority voting was implemented for the vulnerable expect the youths.

The Bad

Increased Registration, Decreased Votes: Over the years, there has been a persistent decline in voter turnout, as seen in the 2007 elections at 57% and the 2019 elections at 35%. The 2023 election recorded a 27% of voter turnout which was the poorest turnout recorded in history. The inconsistent turnout of the electorate as well as the voting pattern in the last four decades had always been a source of concern for political stakeholders, CSOs and international observers, but when the National Chairman of INEC, Prof. Mahmood Yakubu, established the idea of a Bimodal Voters Accreditation System and live transmission of results, he succeeded in raising the hopes of millions of Nigerians who expected a massive turnout of voters. Despite the highly-publicized awareness campaign and rush for collection of the permanent voter cards prior to the elections, the anticipated massive turnout did not materialize. Going by the number released by INEC, only 24 million people out of the registered 93 million registered voters and 87 PVC collected, voted. This puts the figure at 27%. This is to say, only 2.7 in every ten registered voters determined the outcome of the election. The worst since 2003.

[23] https://punchng.com/inec-says-bvas-wont-fail-conducts-mock-accreditation/



As much as numbers are a good yardstick, sometimes, it doesn't portray the whole picture. Specifically, during this election, we observed cases where voters were technically disenfranchised due to the inadequacies of the Commission. People reported being unable to vote because the electoral officials got to their polling unit very late. Some reported as late as 2-3pm while others couldn't vote due to malfunctioning of the BVAS[1]. SOAI observed that the shortage of cash and fuel scarcity affected the transportation not only for the voters which could possibly had resulted to voter apathy/low voter turn.

[24] https://punchng.com/inec-says-bvas-wont-fail-conducts-mock-accreditation/
[25] https://punchng.com/inec-says-bvas-wont-fail-conducts-mock-accreditation/

Kaduna South, Kaduna State, ward 9, Gidan liman kofan massalachi PU, and Old Naka Garage polling PU in Akpa ward, Markudi Benue State, INEC officials had not arrived the polling booth. In PU19, 31, 08, 013 in Kawaji/Jigirya ward, Nasarawa LGA, Kano State, voting did not commence until after 12:00 PM. Also, in PU 002, Ward 4, Urue offong/Oruku LGA in Akwa Ibom State, electoral officials arrived at 12:30pm as well as PU 184 in Tudun wada in Tudun wada ward, Jos North in Plateau State. In Aleyita Primary School Kabusa Ward, PU 012, FCT, voting commenced at 1:26 pm. Similarly, in Aleyita Primary Health Care, PU 107, FCT, voting commenced at 2:27 pm.

Speak Out Africa Initiative observed that there was massive involvement of the citizens in urban areas in the election. We observed the enthusiasm of the electorates, despite issues like late arrival of electoral officials, rainy weather, late night voting, and difficulty in locating polling units, the people were not deterred but were determined to cast their vote. For instance, in FCT, PU 0001 of Byazhin LEA Primary School, vote counting was on till 11pm; in Plateau State, Gyel B Ward, PU 015, voting was still going on at 9 pm; in PU 105 LEA primary school Chika, FCT, a voter volunteered and brought a generator to ensure that the voting process continued. While in FCT, AMAC LGA, Galadinma Model City Gate PU 096, some voters in the bid to protect their vote volunteered to convey and go with the electoral officials to the INEC office in Jabi.

Poor Performance of Ad-hoc Staff: Speak Out Africa Initiative observed that most of the ad-hoc staff possessed half-baked knowledge of their duties. For instance, at Ishi gate by Capital Gate (056), Enugu State, the electoral officials were instructed on the right procedure for conducting the voting process. Also, in FCT, Capville School, Dawaki Ward, PU 074, the Presiding Officers (POs) seem undertrained as they did not carry out their duties effectively. It was also observed that most of the most of the staff were ill-trained on the usage of the electoral technology which was a concern. Speak Out Africa Initiative alongside The Abuja School of Social and Political Thoughts urged the Commission to ensure the competence and integrity of ad-hoc staff as the quality and character of those who manage technology on election day mattered, to avoid politicians infiltrating the ad-hoc staff list to use the staff to manipulate elections[1].

Poor Institutional Strategic Management: Speak Out Africa Initiative observed poor institutional strategic management in the conduct of the election as it led to the delay in the distribution of materials, the arrival of electoral officials, and ultimately the late commencement of polls. SOAI observed instances of poor treatment melted on the ad-hoc staff where their welfare expectations prior to the elections were not met, rather they were treated poorly throughout the entire exercise[1]. For instance, many of the polls had no table or chair, the electorates had to provide some of these necessities for the ad-hoc staff. in PU Ado by Capital Gate (056), the cubicle was missing and a table was used instead. In Model City Gate 2 Ward, Galadima, PU 096, there was a shortage of ink. Moreso, there were instances were these staff lamented for unpaid allowances[2].

[26] https://www.vanguardngr.com/2023/02/2023-polls-why-inec-must-ensure-competence-integrity-of-ad-hoc-staff-cso/
[27] https://guardian.ng/news/election-oshodi-isolo-corps-members-decry-poor-treatment-threat-to-life/
[28] https://punchng.com/inec-ad-hoc-staff-lament-unpaid-allowances-in-lagos/

Ad-hoc staff on the election ground

Difficulty In Locating PUs: Speak Out Africa Initiative observed the presence of many PUs in a location due to the creation of new additional PUs by INEC to reduce congestion. The National Economic Council (NEC) endorsed the conversion of existing Voting Points (VPs) and Voting Point Settlements (VPS) to Polling Units (PUs)in the country. INEC created an additional 56,872 PUs across the country, with limited time for vote transfer and poor communication to voters regarding PU transfer. It resulted to many voters scatting for their exact PUs. Our radar officers were supportive in assisting voters in locating their exact PU. For instance, In Kano State, Murtala ward, Nasarawa LGA, had several different PUs with new ones and voters' registration transferred from their previous PUs to new ones. SOAI advocated for PU drive/awareness to increase voter participation.

Poor Technology Implementation: INEC's introduction of the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System, BVAS, and the IReV portal was another reason why people looked forward to the polls. INEC promised a free and fair elections by introducing new technologies such as the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) and IReV portal. These technologies reassured the populace that, for the first time in a while, we would have what seemed to be the closest to free and fair elections. The BVAS was designed to authenticate voters, eliminate malpractice and overvoting. Also, results were to be uploaded and published to the IReV portal was meant to ensure the transparency of the process.

Unfortunately, there were reports of how the BVAS machine failed to work, leading to further delays during the election. And up until the time when INEC announced the winner, barely 50 percent of the results had been uploaded to the IREV portal. And for those uploaded, there have been reports of discrepancies with the physical forms used at the polling units. Despite spending a considerable amount of money on these technologies, INEC underutilized them and practically ran the elections on a manual template. INEC had gained autonomy over the entire process, but poor implementation resulted in inefficient utilization of the technology that could have ensured free and fair elections to a large extent. Speak Out Africa Initiative observed that the Presidential

results were not uploaded to the IReV portal in the polling units. For instance, in Model City Gate Ward, Galadima, PU 096, FCT, the results were not uploaded to IReV as the electoral officials claimed that they did not have access to the login details to upload the results. Similarly, in Usuma Ward, PW Primary School II, PU 024, Kano State, results were not uploaded to the IReV due to technical issues encountered; results were not also uploaded to the IReV in many polling units including Angelwings Comprehensive College, Maroko, PU 033, FCT and in Tubulo PU 012, Bauchi State. In some cases, the electorate volunteered their mobile hotspots to upload their vote as complained technical issues by the ad-hoc staff. As of 2:00 pm on February 26 (the next day), only 37,577 PUs out of 176,846 PU results were uploaded to the IReV portal.

The Worst:

No Election Held: One of the worst actions observed in the 2023 election is the non-presence of electoral officials in some polling units. Speak Out Africa radar officers had reported non-presence of electoral officials in some PUs for instance, in PU 006, Umulolo ward, Okigwe LGA in Imo state had no INEC officials available to open booth for election and commence election. As of 3.27pm, INEC officials were yet to arrive at all five voting wards in Egbema community in the Ohaji/Egbema LGA of Imo State as accreditations were supposed to end by 2:30pm. Some of these irregularities were attributed to logistics challenges, insecurities and other uncertainties. This and others contributed to the low-level voter turnout of the 2023 general election which is the worst in the Nigerian electoral history.

Violence, Thuggery and Intimidation: Speak Out Africa Initiative reported cases of violence and thuggery in some PUs, LGA and States. One of the focal states, Kano was reported of violence and some of our foot soldiers in Lagos reported cases of thuggery and violence in some PUs. Peaceful, free and fair election had been a collective concern and it was expected to have a minimal violence or thuggery in this age and time, and in after several intense sensitization and collaboration with security agencies. Although compared to previous elections, where hundreds of persons lost their lives, this election had not been that horrendous. There were footages of thugs threatening voters to vote for a specific party which surfaced online and some video reports of the electoral process being disrupted by thugs, hijacking and stealing of ballot box, and the burning election materials. Violence and thuggery led to severe injuries on some electorates and in some cases fatalities. This was one of the causes of low voter turnout in previous elections. Intimidation was also observed as one of the means adopted to undermine the election. Intimidation/Voter Suppression was observed in Anambra state, Lagos, Bauchi, Kano where party agents were

standing close to the voting cubicle directing voters on how to cast their ballot in the presence of INEC ad-hoc staff[1] while some elderly were directed on which party to vote for.

Prior to the election day, SOAI observed cases of recorded fatalities. For instance, Mrs. Victoria Chintex, the Labour Party (LP) Kaduna women leader who was murdered by gunmen in her residence in her home town as well as her husband who was shot in the leg[2]. Also was the murder of the 60 years old PDP women leader, Mrs. Salome Abuh who was set ablaze in her home at Ochadamu in Ofu Local Government Area of Kogi State[3]. Throughout the pre-election period, there were consistent security challenges across multiple locations. The situation was further complicated by the widespread vandalism and destruction of properties belonging to political parties and candidates. Instances of vandalism and destruction of parties' campaign billboards and attacks on party supporters were reported in almost all 36 states and the FCT. A significant escalation in armed bandit and terrorist activities, as well as secessionist groups, was also observed. In the South East region, the secessionist group enforced a strict "seat-at-home" order every Monday, adding further tension to the already complex security situation.

Another instance during the gubernatorial election was the abduction and killing of Chief Chiosom Lennard in Ahoada West, Rivers State while struggling with hoodlums who stormed his PU to disrupt and steal ballot materials[4], and other cases where an ad-hoc staff Arumodum Julius Akoi, was shot and killed by political thugs in Ward 7 Abua Central, Abua-Odual LGA of Rivers State[5]during the governorship and House of Assembly election on Saturday, March 18, 2023. SOAI election radars observed and noted at least 135 critical incidents, including 8 reports of ballot-snatching, that undermined the legitimacy of the country's democracy.

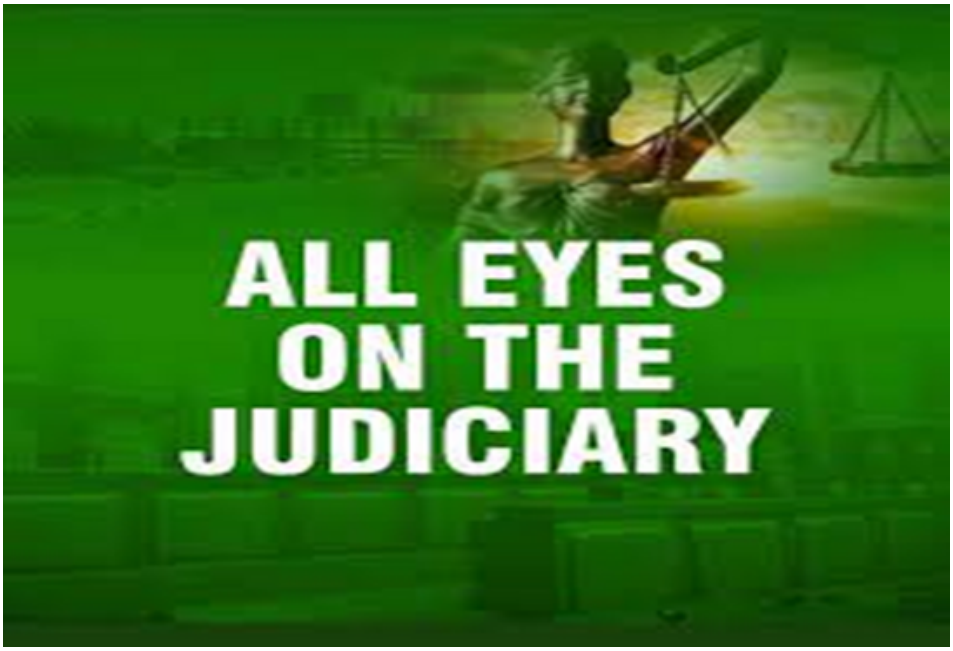
Vote Buying: Observations had it that there was re-strategized form of vote trading where political actors traded votes with materials like wrappers, foodstuffs, and online transfer of cash. This was a different method as attached to the usual “cash for vote”. Although the rate of vote buying was not as prevailing as the previous elections, but increased in the governorship election compared to the Presidential poll 2023.

Election Rigging: Observations has it that INEC failure to leverage technology led to rigging across different states especially in the case of the President election. Expectations had it that the advancement of technology would project the people’s voices and votes. Reports were recorded where people recorded and captured the results from their PUs before it was uploaded, and what was uploaded was different and/or doctored. Despite the early warning and red flag raised observed from the BVAS, by CSOs, INEC assured Nigerians of a credible election. It was presumed that the BVAS server was switched when it mattered most[6]. After the Presidential result was announced at the early hours of 1st of March 2023, with all the irregularities observed and INEC prompting the aggrieved parties to “go to court” appeared that the electoral umpire had relinquished their responsibility to the judiciary. Ideally, with the Electoral Act and technology involved, the elections should not have involved extensive judicial interventions, as it is the people’s right to elect their leaders through the ballot papers, rather than having judgments shape the outcome.

[29] https://www.thecable.ng/cdd-how-intimidation-suppressed-voting-in-lagos-anambra
[30] https://punchng.com/gunmen-kill-kaduna-lp-women-leader-party-fumes/
[31] https://dailytrust.com/inside-story-of-kogi-pdp-women-leader-killed-by-thugs/
[32] https://punchng.com/how-we-lost-our-loved-ones-to-election-violence-families/
[33] https://newsnownigeria.ng/inec-ad-hoc-staff-shot-dead-by-political-thugs-in-rivers/#:~:text=An%20Independent%20National%20Electoral%20Commission,Saturday%2C%20March%2018%2C%202023.
[34] https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2023/04/05/inec-deliberately-rigged-2023-general-election-amadi-alleges

THE POST-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT

The 2023 general election had been characterized by many irregularities as listed above. It was assumed that the antidote to many electoral problems is to adopt an electronic voting machine. However, INEC's new electoral technology appeared to have struggled to meet expectations and improve transparency in the results collation process. For the first time, the 2022 Electoral Act was implemented during a general election, a lot of gaps were revealed after the election that led to irregularities. Despite reasonably clear provisions, Speak Out Africa Initiative observed that the 2022 Electoral Act/ guidelines revealed some ambiguities during implementation on election day. The section of collating and transmitting results (section 60-65 of the ACT) are surrounded by ambiguities. This made the process vulnerable to mis-understanding and manipulation. The Act did not outline the specific procedure to review election results especially the one declared under duress.



After the presidential and national assembly elections following the declaration of the APC presidential candidate as the winnerof the presidential elections, many believed that the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) deliberately rigged the election for the ruling party, there were efforts to encourage protest, violence and resolve election disputes by both constitutional and unconstitutional means. Tension increased in the Nation as various spread of disinformation, antagonistic narratives, hate speech, ethnicity and tribalism provoking the political climate. Many demanding for interim governments. All these were prior to the inauguration of the newly President.

Speak Out Africa Initiative held a post-election review with policy analysts and election experts on the 7th of February 2023, to analyze the Presidential/National Assembly election and proffer sustainable solution for the Gubernatorial\State Assembly elections, urged that the INEC and pro-democracy groups should do everything possible to gauge voters' apathy.

We also launched the Nigeria Votebeat Survey (NVS) to boost democratic participation, by gauging, identifying, diagnosing & addressing the possible electoral deficits. Speak Out Africa Initiative also advised the commission to work toward redeeming its already broken trust in the minds of Nigeria electorates following the aftermath of the February 25 presidential and National Assembly Elections and urged the judiciary to air the presidential/National Assembly Appeal Court Tribunal Hearing live for Nigerians to participate and feel a sense of belonging[1]. Two major opposition political parties, the Labor Party and the PDP called for the cancellation of the 2023 presidential election results, citing that some of the processes were flawed including the delay in updating the INEC-IReV portal, as one reason for manipulating the process, taking their grievances to the Presidential Election Petition Court (PEPC) on March 21st 2023 in a bid to investigate and rule on the legitimacy of the results. However, the political parties and their candidates played a pivotal role in reducing tension and promoting "peace" in the aftermath of the election. They urged their supporters to eschew any form of protest, violence, or disturbances and be expectant of court verdict. This led to the campaign of "All Eyes on the Judiciary". The campaign was focused on emphasizing the importance of the independent judiciary in ensuring free and fair elections.

Observing the PEPT which was part of the post-election, SOAI launched a FixJustice.ng project to address the 2023 election court tracking, election tribunal monitoring, and perception poll survey amongst others[2]. The aim was to instill public trust and confidence in the judiciary, promote accountability in electoral justice.

The petition at the PEPT lasted for several months, during which witnesses were called and evidence was presented to the judges. Watching and observing the proceedings of the Presidential Election Petition Tribunal (PEPT), SOAI observed that INEC refused to afford the petitioners results from many polling centers despite the order of the PEPT, the burden fell on the petitioners to provide the copies of results from their agents. Meanwhile, some of the Political parties had not enough party agents to occupy the 176,849 PUs across the country. This made it difficult to for parties to provide all results from all PUs across the country. However, the INEC-IReV showed some blurred, faulty, and irregular results.

In the end, the PEPT upheld the election of Bola Ahmed Tinubu of the All Progressive Congress (APC) as the winner of the election, stating that there was no evidence of substantial electoral irregularities.

However, Speak Out Africa Initiative as well developed and distributed certificates to the SOAI foot soldiers and community advocates at their various centers in the various states, the Certificate of Election Radar on the 2023 General Election funded by Open Society Foundations for Africa.

[35]https://dailypost.ng/2023/03/09/guber-election-inec-csos-must-accelerate-efforts-against-voters-apathy-group/
[36] https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=gIDb8hC7y6w

CHALLENGES

The credibility of elections is crucial, and recent events have highlighted the need for greater transparency and openness in the electoral process. Speak Out Africa Initiative observed some challenges and feedback from the public and stakeholders on the Election Radar (ERA) project and the Nigeria Votebeat Survey (NVS) implementation as well as the 2023 General Election. These include:

- The challenge of encouraging people on voter education and importance of voting to canvass them for the Gubernatorial/State election after the Presidential/National Assembly election. Unlike during the presidential election where residents came out en-mass to cast their votes the reverse was the case in the governorship election as many residents seemed to be uninterested in the election. The outcome and irregularities of the Presidential election discouraged the citizens. It was a hard time encouraging and mobilizing the electorate at various strategic places to again, vote for their preferred candidate in the governorship election. This led to voter apathy in various states during the 2023 governorship election[1].
- The outcome of the Presidential election marred the quality of free, fair and credible election of the gubernatorial. There were intense public sale of votes, violence and intimidation as outcried by Center for Democracy and Development[2]. Vote buying was increased and made public where votes were traded for cash alongside other materials such as food items, wrappers and 'credit voucher,' and those items would be redeemed after the results. The citizens saw no reason to avoid vote-trading and still not get their votes represented in the electoral outcome.
- Increased election violence: Some of the challenges witnessed in the ERA project and NVS was increased thuggery, ballot snatching, intimidation, and general election violence in the gubernatorial election as compared to the Presidential. Speak Out Africa reported high electoral intimidation and violence mostly promoted by political actors/agents.
- Inconsistent judgment of court: Speak Out Africa observed the court giving conflicting judgments on same issue and problem. This was one of the challenge and feedback from monitoring the post-election. The inconsistency can be sighted amongst others in the tribunal verdicts, Enugu State which dismissed the suit filed by gubernatorial candidate of the APC against the victory of the PDP counterpart, the LP and APGA who came second and third respectively, challenging their constitutional qualification to vie for office, but upheld the suit filed on the basis of constitutional qualification by the PDP candidate for Enugu East/Isi-Uzo Federal Constituency, against the LP declared winner and even nullified his return. The same tribunal nullified the LP return, Federal House of representative member, Udi/Ezeagu constituency in favour of the PDP which filed on the basis of constitutional qualifications also which the appellate court had initially overruled as pre-election matters.

[37] https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2023/03/19/violence-apathy-voter-suppression-mar-governorship-state-assembly-elections
[38] https://punchng.com/gov-election-2023-cdd-reports-massive-vote-buying-thuggery-across-states/

Also in Delta State, the tribunal led by Justice A.Z Mussa, nullified the return of the elected LP candidate for Aniocha/Oshimili House of Representative Federal Constituency, in favour of the PDP candidate who filed on the grounds of constitutional qualification (not validly nominated by his party) despite the bounteous references to binding judicial pronouncements made by the appellate court which requires that where a petitioner is grounding his petition meddling in the internal affairs of another political party, is said to lacking locus standi and must be dismissed for lack of merit. But unfortunately, the tribunals did otherwise which makes the justiciability and authenticity questionable. There are inconsistencies in court judgments that has hindered effective governance, justice, and fairness post-2023 election.

Other challenges include:

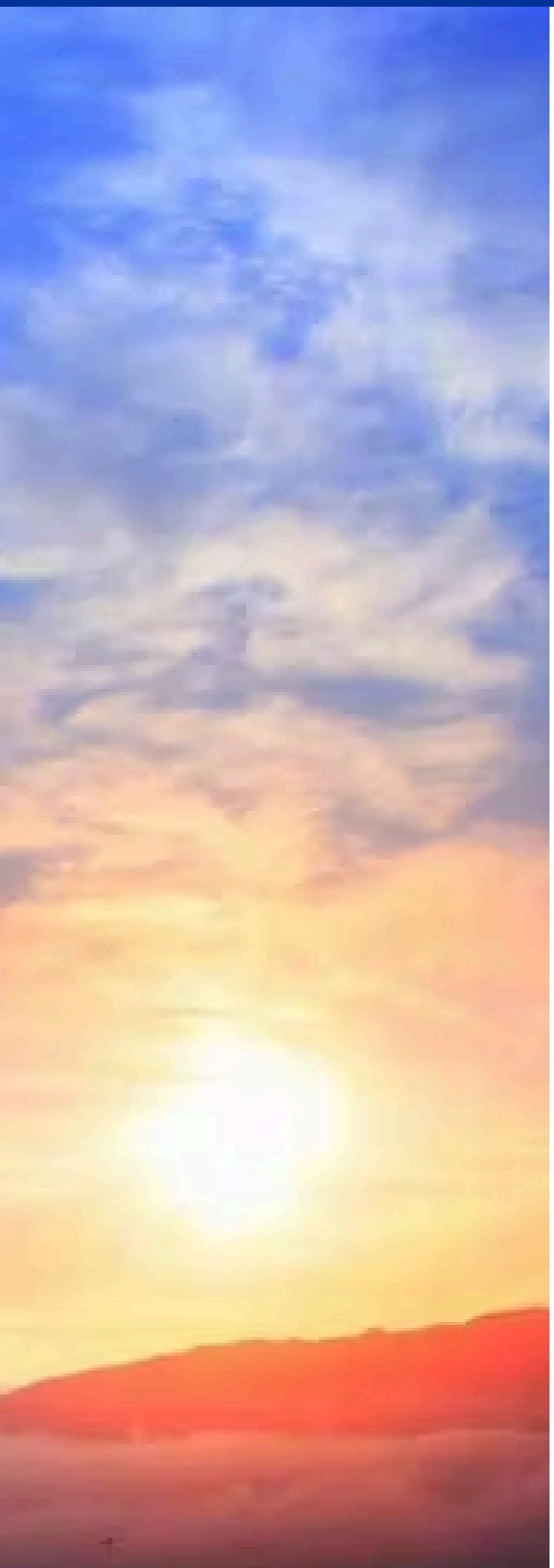
- Speak Out Africa Initiative and CSOs being denied access to collation centers to observe the process.
- Compromised and inaccessible EOs and RECs e.g. Sokoto and Abia State RECs who were later asked to step aside[1]; and incompetence of some Ad-hoc staff and POs in the last election[2].
- Non-equipped security agents, some compromised and "hands tied", to fight electoral thugs.
- Most observers were party members and not part of the CSOs.

[39]https://www.thecable.ng/inec-withdraws-abia-sokoto-recs-for-endangering-electoral-process
[40] https://www.channelstv.com/2023/03/04/elections-yakubu-orders-refresher-training-sack-of-negligent-inec-staff/

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are proposed recommendations to attain a better free, fair and credible elections subsequently from Speak Out Africa Initiative post-general election review, engaging intellectuals, Policy and Election Experts:

- The Commission should remove the ambiguities associated with the electoral Act, outline the specific procedures in simple clear terms for an effective electoral process and outcome.
- The Commission should adhere strictly to the provision of the 2022 Electoral Act, regulations, and guidelines especially on collation of results if electronically or other means. According to Section 64 of the Act, both collation officers and returning officers must compare the hardcopy result sheet and scanned images on the BVAS to verify the number of accredited voters and election results during collation. Not having discrepancies in the hardcopy result and the IReV.
- The mode of appointment/recruiting RECs, and Chairman should be reviewed and made public where qualified individuals can apply publicly, allowing more transparency and fair application processes.
- All elections should be hold on same day to address issues of voter apathy, logistics, insecurity and costs.
- Electronic voting machines should be adopted from accreditation through collation an it should be made transparent for not just political agents, buy CSOs, other observers and maybe the public for transparency and accountability.
- The Commission should not be quick to announce results until cross-checked where hardcopy tallies with online (in cases where hardcopy is available), and verified to avoid over dependence of the judiciaries on election outcome.
- INEC should adopt technological/online uploads of Certified True Copies of documents.
- All Electoral Officials down to the Ad-hoc staff should be on constant training of electoral procedures and other knowledge. The public should as well be educated on electoral knowledge and procedures.
- Corrupt or underperforming Electoral officers should be punished and maybe sacked from working in the commission to uphold the value system cum effective governance.
- INEC should include all diverse Nigerian languages in their platforms for effectiveness.
- The Commission should accommodate an independent audit to review its financial statements, transaction records, and internal processes.



TO THE GOVERNMENT

- All tribunal cases must be rectified before swearing-in. This will limit the power of the President and make the judiciary work more independently and effectively.
- The Judiciaries should not be dependent on any arm of the government. Their budget and salaries should not be subjected to the approval of the Executive arm.
- The NJC and legislatives should checkmate inconsistencies in court adjudications.
- Immunities of governors should be removed to ensure effectiveness of EFCC and other security agencies. One of the causes of electoral violence/insecurity and general corruption is the immunity placed of state governors.

TO THE SECURITY AGENCIES

Having security agents on ground on election day is good but having them fully equipped to disengage any form of violence or vote-buying is better.

GALLERIES

Launch of ERA Project

Press briefing/ launch of radar room

Press briefing/ launch of radar room

press briefing/ launch of radar room

NYSC reach on ERA Project

NYSC Reach at Old Parade Ground, Garki, Abuja

ERA Campus Reach

ERA Campus reach at University of Abuja

ERA Market outreach

Market drive on voter sensitization at Garki, Abuja

ERA Market outreach

Market drive at Garki, Abuja.

Market drive at UTC market, Abuja

ERA Market outreach

Market drive at Nyanya market, Abuja

Voter education on thumbprint, motor parks, Abuja.

Voter education on thumbprint, UNIAbuja.

Motor Park ERA Project on Voter Sensitization

Market drive in Ibadan, Oyo state

SOAI ERA team in Oyo state

Motor Park drive at Ibadan, Oyo State.

ERA Radio appearance at Radio Nigeria

ERA AIT Appearance

Kattan TV ERA media appearance

Arise News appearance on ERA project.

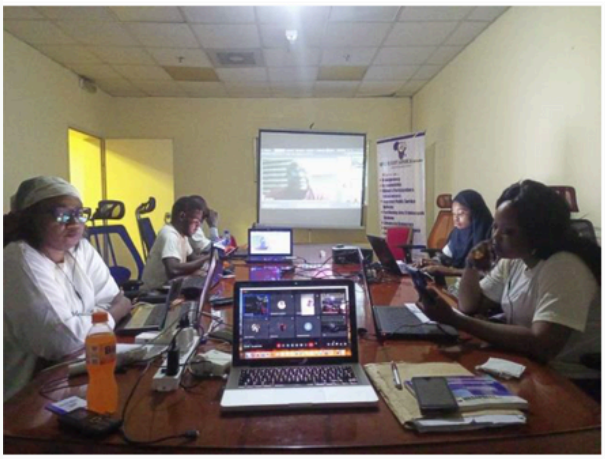
NEWS Hub appearance on ERA project

Newspaper appearance

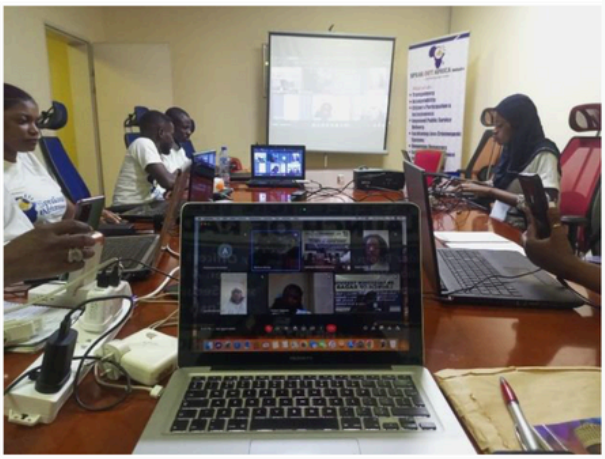
ERA Election Monitoring Team/Radar Room during Presidential and National Assembly Election:

Election monitoring room 1

OSF group visit to Election Monitoring Room.



Election monitoring room 2

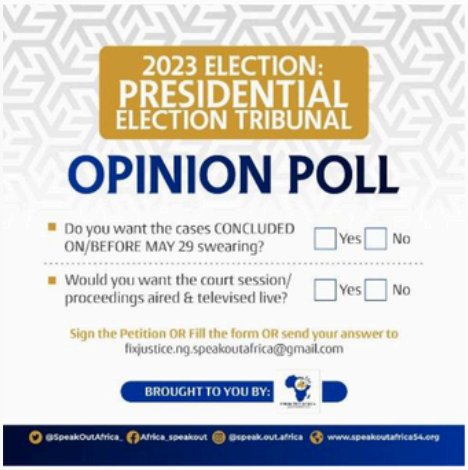


Election monitoring room 3

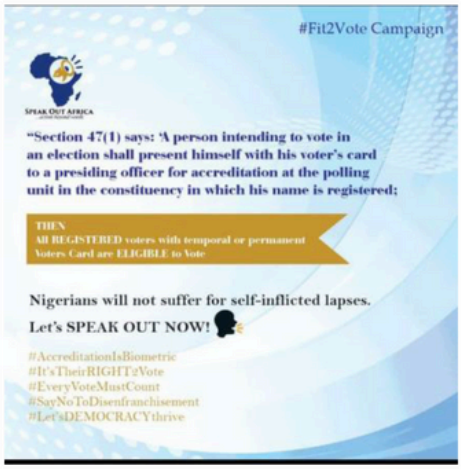
Radar Meeting

Some Radar meeting on ERA projects

ERA Infographics

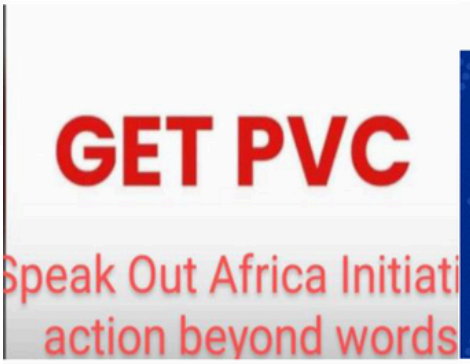


ERA Opinion poll Infographic



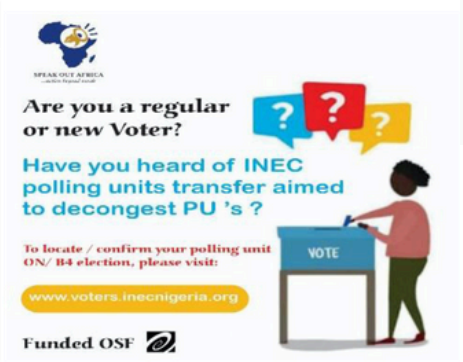
Eligible to vote Infographic

ERA official launch of FixJustice Infographic



Get PVC graphics

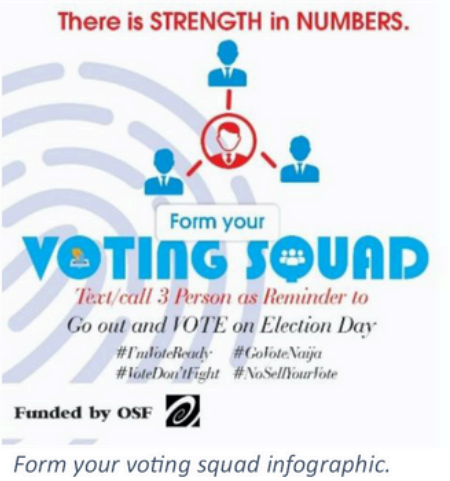
310DaysActiveCivicAction Infographic



Polling Unit Sensitization Infographic

Pre-election thermometer launch.

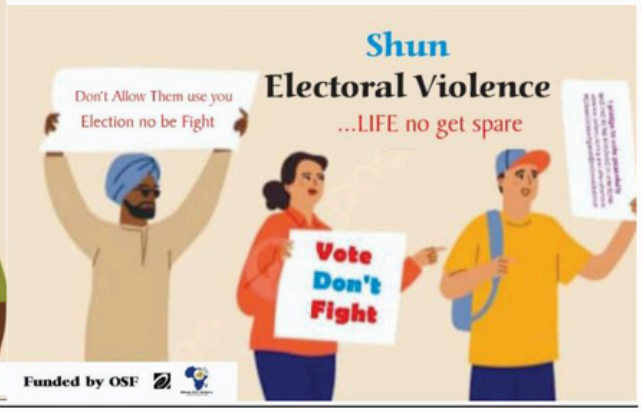
Your vote is your protest graphic.



Form your voting squad infographic.

Twitter Space for March Election

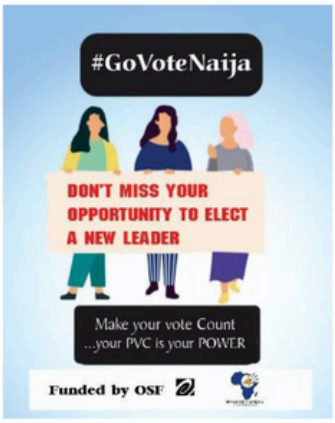
Say No to Vote Buying



Shun Electoral Violence

Twitter Conversation on ERA VoteBeat

Voting Procedure



GoVote Naija Campaign

70Days of Civic Action to the election

Say No to Disenfranchisement

Call for Volunteers

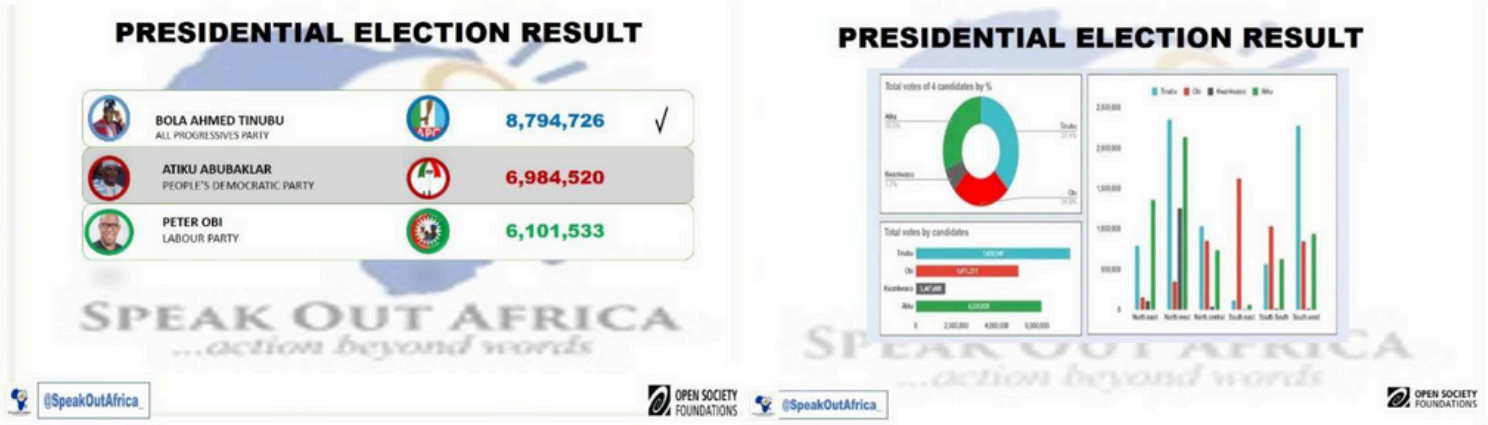
ERA Project Campus Drive Infographics

Campus drive for voter sensitization in pilot states

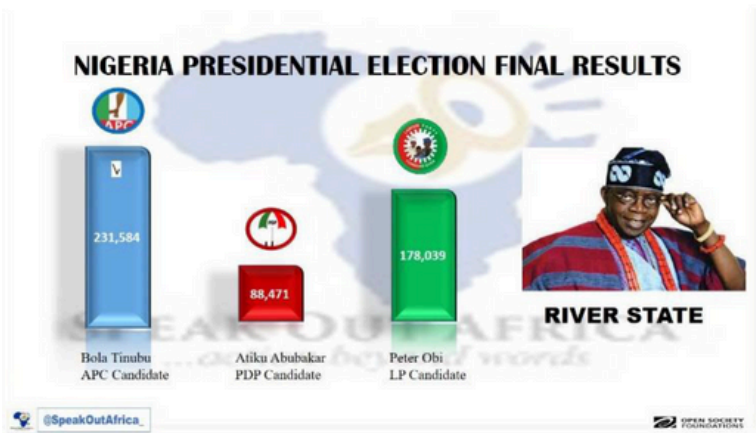
ERA Market Drive Infographics

ERA Motor Park Drive Infographics:

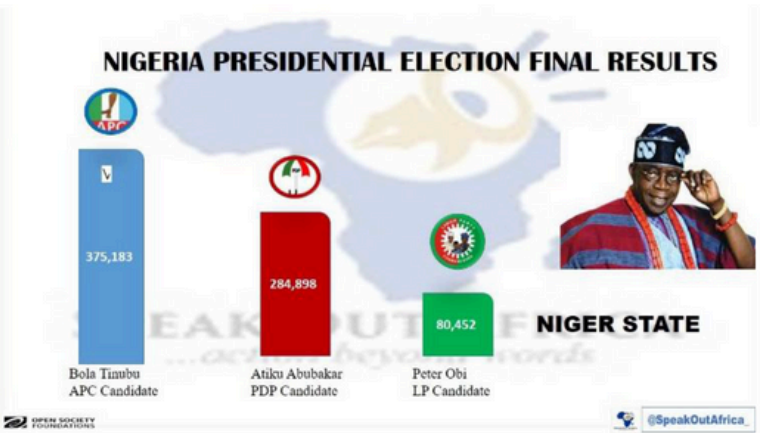
Presidential Results From Radar Officers:



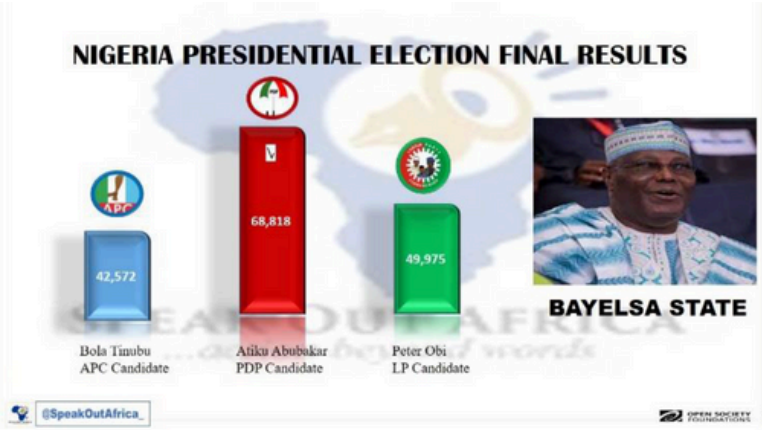
Final Presidential results.



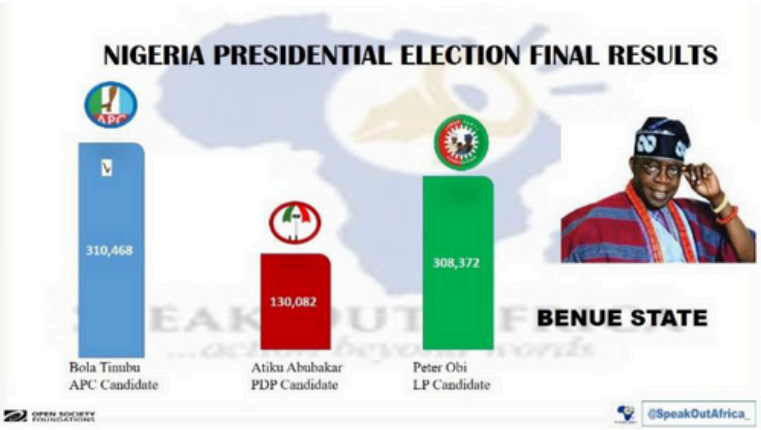
Rivers State Presidential Result



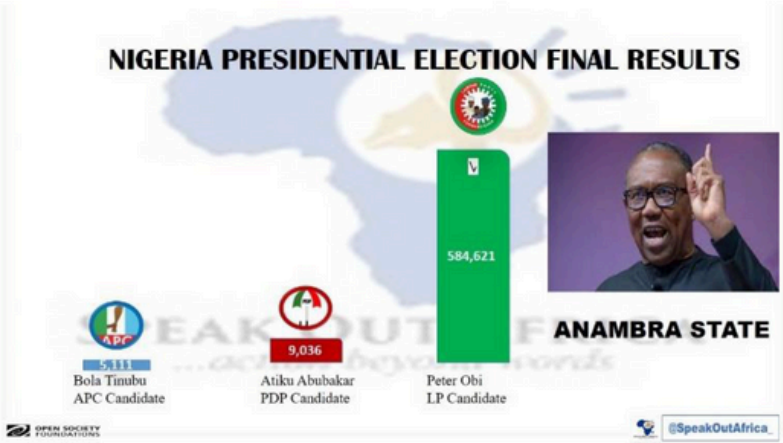
Niger State Presidential Result



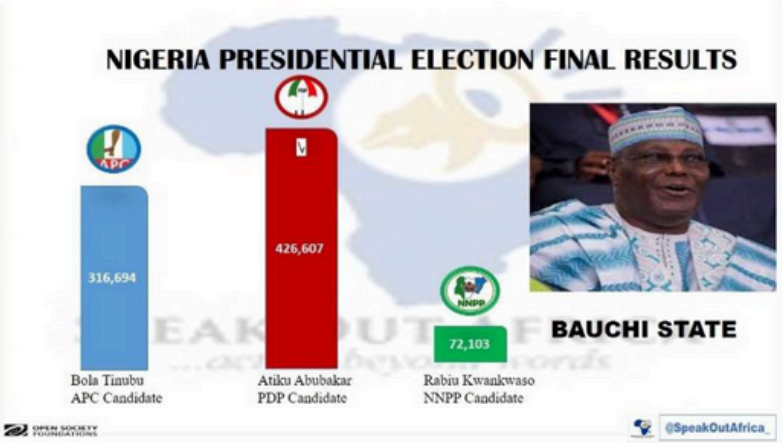
Bayelsa State Presidential Result



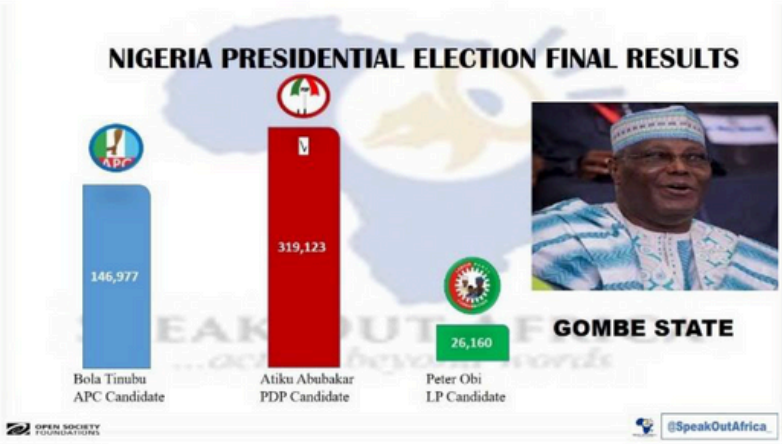
Benue State Presidential Result



Anambra State Presidential Result

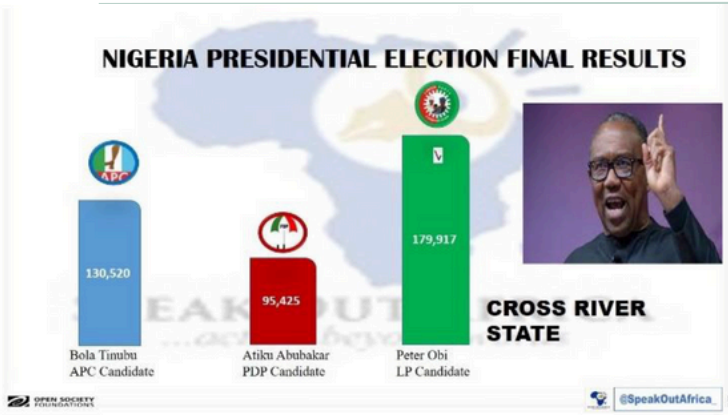


Bauchi State Presidential Result



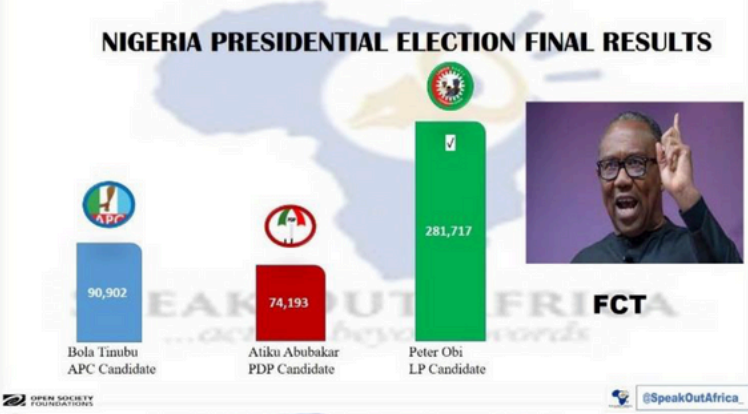
Gombe State Presidential Result

Niger State Presidential Result


NIGERIA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FINAL RESULTS
130,520
95,425
179,917
CROSS RIVER STATE
Bola Tinubu
APC Candidate
Atiku Abubakar
PDP Candidate
Peter Obi
LP Candidate
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FINAL RESULTS
66,171
30,044
352,904
ABIA STATE
Bola Tinubu
APC Candidate
Atiku Abubakar
PDP Candidate
Peter Obi
LP Candidate
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FINAL RESULTS
248,088
285,175
10,682
KEBBI STATE
Bola Tinubu
APC Candidate
Atiku Abubakar
PDP Candidate
Peter Obi
LP Candidate
@SpeakOutAfrica_


NIGERIA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FINAL RESULTS
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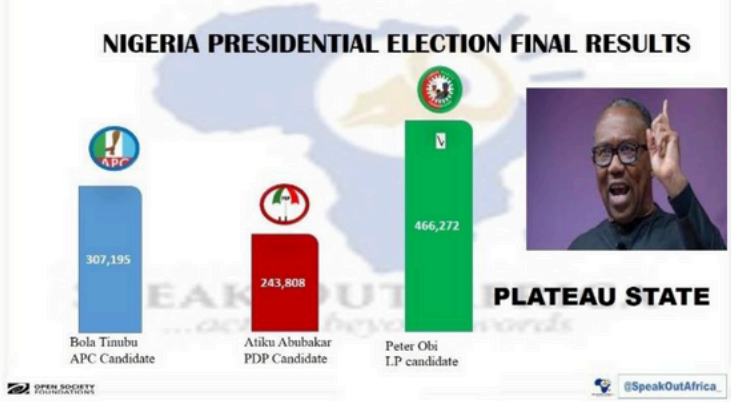
FCT
Bola Tinubu
APC Candidate
Atiku Abubakar
PDP Candidate
Peter Obi
LP Candidate
@SpeakOutAfrica_


NIGERIA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FINAL RESULTS
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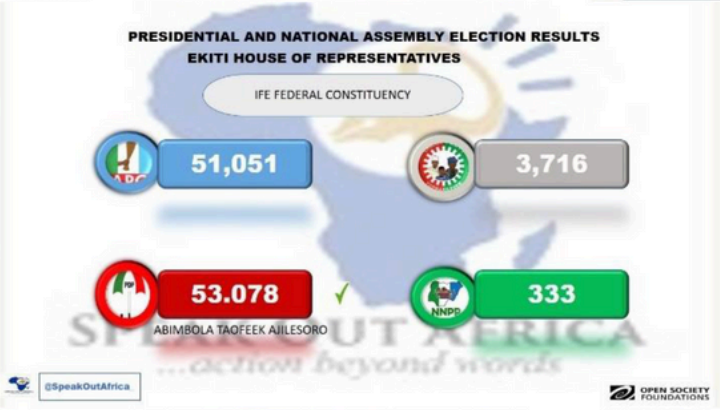
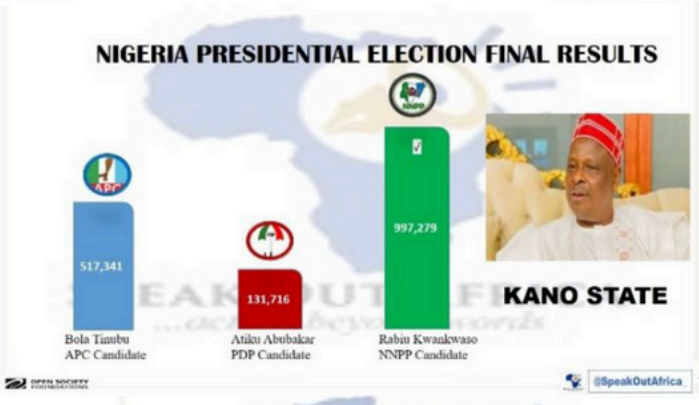
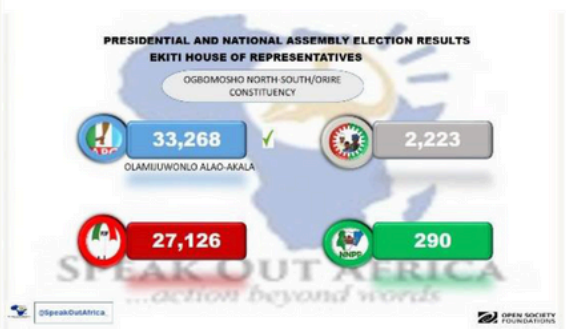
243,808
466,272
PLATEAU STATE
Bola Tinubu
APC Candidate
Atiku Abubakar
PDP Candidate
Peter Obi
LP candidate
@SpeakOutAfrica_


PRESIDENTIAL AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS
EKITI HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
IFE FEDERAL CONSTITUENCY
51,051
3,716
53.078
ABIMBOLA TAOFEEK AJILESORO
333
@SpeakOutAfrica
OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

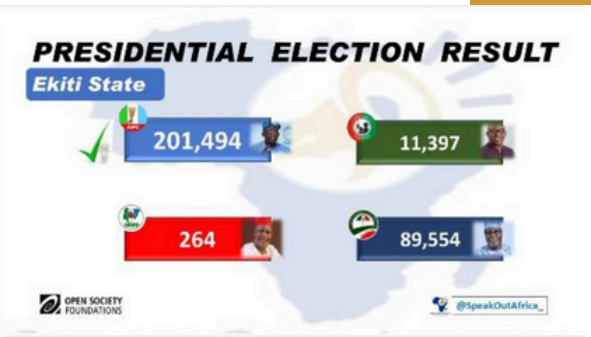

NIGERIA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FINAL RESULTS
517,341
131,716
997,279
KANO STATE
Bola Tinubu
APC Candidate
Atiku Abubakar
PDP Candidate
Rabiu Kwankwaso
NNPP Candidate
@SpeakOutAfrica_

PRESIDENTIAL AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS
EKITI HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
IFE FEDERAL CONSTITUENCY
51,051
3,716
53.078
ABIMBOLA TAOFEEK AJILESORO
333
@SpeakOutAfrica_
OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

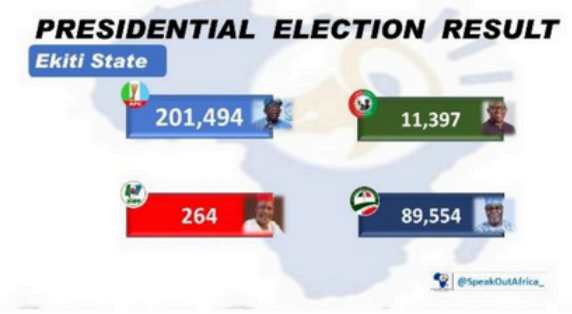
PRESIDENTIAL AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS
EKITI HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
IREPODUN/OLORUNDA/OSOGB/OROL
U FEDERAL CONSTITUENCY
58,992
1,930
71,677
ADEWALE MORUFU ADEBAYO
@SpeakOutAfrica
OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

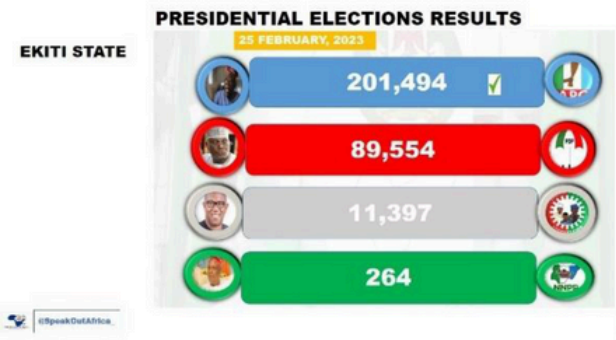

PRESIDENTIAL AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS
EKITI HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OGBOMOSHO NORTH-SOUTH/ORIRE
CONSTITUENCY
33,268
OLAMIJUWONLO ALAO-AKALA
2,223
27,126
290
@SpeakOutAfrica
OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

PRESIDENTIAL AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS
OSUN STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OSUN CENTRAL SENATORIAL DISTRICT
117,609
2,292
134,229
FADEYI OLUWOLE OLUBIYI
256
@SpeakOutAfrica_

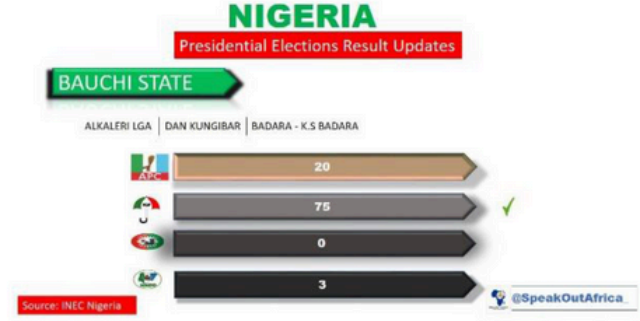

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULT
Ekiti State
201,494
11,397
264
89,554
OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS
@SpeakOutAfrica_

BAYELSA STATE
NIGERIA
NEMBE CREEKIS.S. COMPOUND
Ward: IGBETA-EWOAMA/FANTUO
LOA:- NEMBE
26
44
1
8
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULT
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_


PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULT
Ekiti State
201,494
11,397
264
89,554
@SpeakOutAfrica_


PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS RESULTS
EKITI STATE
25 FEBRUARY, 2023
201,494
89,554
11,397
264
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
BAUCHI STATE
ALKALERI LGA | DAN KUNGIBAR | TUDUN WADA - KOFAR SARKI TUDUN WADA
58
189
0
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica


NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
BAUCHI STATE
ALKALERI LGA | DAN KUNGIBAR | BADARA - K.S BADARA
20
75
0
3
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
BAUCHI STATE
ALKALERI LGA | DAN KUNGIBAR | DAN MAKARANTA - DAN PRIMARY SCHOOL
44
185
2
6
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
BAUCHI STATE
ALKALERI LGA | DAN KUNGIBAR | DAGUDI - DAGUDI PRIMARY SCHOOL II
69
154
0
1
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
NASSARAWA STATE
AWE LGA | RA | AZARAUNGWAN JAKI, KOFAR KOSA O/S
108
124
16
17
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
ONDO STATE
ODIGBO – ONIPARAGA - COMMUNITY GRAMMAR SCHOOL, KAJOLA
35
3
1
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
BAUCHI STATE
ALKALERI LGA DAN KUNGIBAR | AGUDI - DAGUDI PRIMARY SCHOOL II
69
157
0
1
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
BENUE STATE
OTUKPO - OTUKPO TOWN WEST - NO. 30, FEDERAL ROAD, UNDER A TREE
72
27
42
2
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
LAGOS STATE
OJO – SABO - OPEN SPACE AT IGBEDE NEW SITE JUNCTION ZONE 6
3
79
1
1
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
KATSINA STATE
KATSINA - WAKILIN GABAS I - K/SAURI KANTIN HUSSAINI M/SHAYI III
2
0
34
13
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
OGUN STATE
ADO ODO-OTA- OTA II - PRIMARY HEALTHCARE CENTER, ILOGBO ROAD. (OPEN SPACE)
97
52
4
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
NASARAWA STATE
AWE – RIBI - MANKPE
296
83
18
1
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
OSUN STATE
AYEDAADE – OBALUFON - ATOBA VILLAGE, ATOBA VILLAGE
18
1
14
1
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
OYO STATE
ORI IRE - ORI IRE I - ST. AGNES PRIMARY SCHOOL, ILUJU
72
30
61
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
JIGAWA STATE
KAFIN HAUSA LGA | SARAWA | ADARAUSHE PRI SCH
79
242
0
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
SOKOTO STATE
WURNO-MARAFA- SHIYAR DANWARAWA
87
0
78
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
OSUN STATE
ATAKUMOSA WEST – IFELODUN -EPE VILLAGE
2
1
179
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
OGUN STATE
IMEKO/AFON LGA | IMEKO | IGBOGBO, OSIRI
81
14
1
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
OSUN STATE
ILESA EAST –IJAMO- IJAMO MARKET AREA I
92
8
77
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
OYO STATE
OGBOMOSO SOUTH – ILOGBO ODE - OLOGBO/KOLARA II
68
14
59
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
IMO STATE
ISIALA MBANO LGA | OSU-OWERRE I | COMM. SCHOOL MBEKE
0
11
154
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
IMO STATE
OBOWO (OTOKO) LGA | EHUME | MBARA IHIE VILLAGE SQUAR
13
23
197
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
IMO STATE
OBOWO (OTOKO) LGA EHUME MBARA IHIE VILLAGE SQUAR
13
23
197
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Election Update Result
CROSS RIVER STATE
IKOM LGA – NNAM - PLAY GROUND NYARENKPO
53
0
32
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
ONDO STATE
AKURE SOUTH LGA | OWODE/IVIUAGUN | ST DOMINIC GRAM. SCHOOL - ST DOMINIC GRAM. SCHOOLSQUAR
94
17
49
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
FCT
MUNICIPAL | KARU JIKWOYI GAGADNAKMA NEW EXTENSION/OPP DIVINE HERITAGE CHURCH
1
1
41
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
Speakoutafrica

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
KATSINA STATE
KANKARA | KANKARA A&B | KOFAR AREWA I PRI SCHOOL
74
144
0
44
Source: INEC Nigeria
Speakoutafrica

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
BENUE STATE
OGBADIBO | AI-OODO II EPEILO I - MARKET SQUARE
2
53
41
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
Speakoutafrica

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
ONDO STATE
ESE-ODO | APOI II | METHODIST SCH GBELEJU-OKE
39
36
2
0
Source: INEC Nigeria
@SpeakOutAfrica_

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
EKITI STATE
159
32
8
0
Speakoutafrica

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
KATSINA STATE
KANKARA | KANKARA A&B KOFAR AREWA I PRI SCHOOL
74
144
0
44
Speakoutafrica

NIGERIA
Presidential Elections Result Updates
FCT
MUNICIPAL | KARU | JIKWOYI GAGADNAKMA NEW EXTENSION/OPP DIVINE HERITAGE CHURCH
1
1
41
0
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