



International Republican Institute 2003 Nigeria Election Observation Report

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Final Report

IRI Election Observation

April 12, 2003 Nigerian National Assembly Elections

April 19, 2003 Nigerian Presidential/Gubernatorial Elections

I. Executive Summary

IRI has been operating in Nigeria since 1998 with the support of the US Agency for International Development (USAID). By having a field office and staff in Abuja, the Nigerian capitol, IRI was able to closely observe the political environment leading up to the 2003 elections. IRI received funding from USAID to send observer delegations to Nigeria for the April 12 National Assembly and the April 19 Presidential/Gubernatorial elections. IRI deployed seven teams of observers for the National Assembly elections, and 13 teams of observers for the Presidential/Gubernatorial elections. IRI's delegation for both elections totaled 55 individuals and included citizens of the United States, Kenya, Ghana, and South Africa. A full list of delegates with biographical information is attached as Appendix 3. All IRI observers were credentialed through the Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

IRI's National Assembly and Presidential/Gubernatorial election observers arrived in Abuja, Nigeria, on April 7 and April 14, respectively. The delegations underwent two days of intensive briefing in the capital before deploying to the field on April 10 and April 17. In Abuja, observers met with representatives of Nigerian political parties, Nigerian and international NGOs, Nigerian election officials and journalists, and representatives from the American Embassy and USAID. The day before each election IRI observers met with local party officials, election administrators, and representatives of the media and local NGOs. On the election days of April 12 and April 19 IRI's monitors traveled throughout their electoral units and observed the opening of polling stations, voting procedures, and ballot tabulation and reporting processes. Observers visited approximately 200 polling stations and collation centers in the course of the two elections.

The IRI delegation congratulates the people of Nigeria on their efforts to conduct peaceful and meaningful elections. The delegation also notes, however, that inadequate election administration, a tense political environment following a violence-wracked

campaign, and numerous deliberate acts of electoral fraud combined to undermine the foundations for a truly successful electoral process in certain parts of Nigeria.

Despite the many problems that they encountered, IRI does not believe that there is sufficient cause to doubt the announced electoral outcomes in most of the locations observed by our delegation. Under extremely challenging circumstances Nigerian voters and election administrators seem to have maintained the overall integrity of the balloting and tabulation processes. Their determination and commitment to the process embody the hope for Nigeria's democracy.

At the same time, however, IRI observers believe that a critical examination of voting procedures and of announced electoral results is warranted in at least three states – Cross River, Imo and Rivers. IRI also believes that a similar examination of electoral processes and reported results is also warranted in locations where domestic and international monitoring organizations other than IRI reported problems of similar scope and severity. Whether Nigeria's 2003 elections ultimately represent a step forward or a step back for the nation's democracy will depend largely on the willingness of its political and civic leaders to openly carry out this examination and, if necessary, take remedial actions.

INEC, a constitutionally mandated federal body responsible for administering the elections, faltered in meeting its responsibilities. A flawed voter registration process, related failures to meet statutorily mandated deadlines, and controversies pertaining to the certification of candidates and the design of the voting ballot undermined confidence in the process before the two elections. INEC also faltered in its management of election-related logistical preparations. Voting stations throughout the country were unprepared to receive voters on April 12 for the National Assembly elections. Both elections had significant procedural irregularities as officials failed to use critical balloting materials and election workers were not adequately trained. Procedural laxities in certain instances facilitated deliberate electoral abuses.

The threat of violence hung heavy over the elections, but a large Nigerian military and police presence kept most IRI-observed states relatively peaceful. The party primaries and general election campaign saw many instances of politically motivated violence. Within the parties, different factions fought over their preferred standard bearers in primary elections. During the general election campaign many party officials and candidates were injured or killed, and many party offices were destroyed. The Nigerian police rarely identified or arrested the perpetrators of these crimes. Such a climate of impunity may have dissuaded many Nigerian voters from participating in the elections.

Most troubling to IRI observers were the many directly observed instances of manipulation. Observers witnessed acts of deliberate malfeasance in five of the 13 states - Cross River, Imo, Katsina, Nassarawa and Rivers. These instances included actual and attempted ballot box stuffing, the destruction or diversion of ballots and ballot boxes after their removal from voting stations, and the falsification of election result forms.

II. Legal Framework and Administration

Consistent with its 1999 constitution, Nigeria's Electoral Act of 2002 established the administrative procedures for the 2003 National Assembly, Presidential and Gubernatorial elections.

Constitutional Framework

National Assembly Elections/April 12, 2003

Nigeria's National Assembly is comprised of the Senate, with 109 seats, and the House of Representatives, with 360 seats. Each of Nigeria's 36 states elects Senators from three Senatorial Districts. One Senator is elected from the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). Each of Nigeria's 360 Federal Constituencies, which are apportioned among the states and the FCT according to population, elects one member of the House of Representatives. Representatives and Senators are directly elected to a term of four years. All candidates for the National Assembly must be Nigerian citizens, members of a political party, educated at least to the extent of having received a "School Certificate," and at least 30 years old (House) or 35 years old (Senate). There are no limits to the number of terms that a Senator or Representative may serve.

Presidential Elections/April 19, 2003

Nigeria's President serves as Head of State, Commander in Chief of the Armed Services, and Chief Executive of the Federation. The President is elected to a four-year term of office and is limited to two terms. To be eligible to run for President, a person must be a Nigerian citizen, at least 40 years of age, and a member of a political party and sponsored in the election by that political party. Candidates must also have been educated at least to the extent of having received a "School Certificate."

Candidates from 20 political parties competed in the Presidential election. The Nigerian Constitution requires, in the case of a race in which there are more than two candidates, that the winner have the highest number of votes cast, and that he have at least 25 percent of the votes cast in at least two-thirds of the States in the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory. In the event that the April 19 election had failed to produce a winner, a run-off election would have been scheduled for April 26.

Gubernatorial Elections/April 19, 2003

Governors serve as the Chief Executives of the states in which they are elected. Governors are elected to a four-year term of office and are limited to serving two terms. Gubernatorial candidates must be Nigerian citizens, at least 35 years of age, a member of a political party and sponsored in the election by that political party. Candidates must also have been educated at least to the extent of having received a "School Certificate."

As in the Presidential election, the rules for declaring a winner vary with the number of candidates running in a gubernatorial race. In the event of an uncontested election, the single candidate must achieve a majority of “yes” votes as opposed to “no” votes. If two or more candidates compete, the winner must have the highest number of votes, and at least 25 percent of the vote in two-thirds of the state’s Local Government Areas.

Election Administration and Procedures

Administration

a.) Independent National Election Commission

National Assembly, Presidential and Gubernatorial elections are administered by a multi-tiered Federal administrative structure organized under the authority of the Independent National Election Commission (INEC). INEC is a constitutionally mandated body. The President of the Republic appoints the Chief Electoral Commissioner and 12 National Electoral Commissioners with advice from the Council of State. They cannot be members of any political party, nor can they vote. Among the responsibilities Nigeria’s 1999 Constitution gives INEC are the following:

- 1.) Organize, undertake and supervise all elections to the offices of the President and Vice President, the Governor and Deputy Governor of a State, and to the membership of the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the House of Assembly of each State of the Federation;
- 2.) Register political parties;
- 3.) Monitor the operation of parties, including their finances;
- 4.) Audit the funds and accounts of parties, and issue annual public reports on such;
- 5.) Register eligible voters, and maintain accurate voter registration lists for all elections;
- 6.) Monitor political campaigns and provide rules and regulations for such.

b.) Resident Electoral Commissioners

Next in line of Federal administrative authority are Nigeria’s 37 Resident Electoral Commissioners, each of whom is appointed by the President to exercise administrative authority over the electoral apparatus of the individual states with respect to Federal Elections and maintain custody over the State’s voter registry under the supervision of INEC. The REC appoints the State’s Senatorial District Returning Officers, Federal Constituency Returning Officers and Local Government Area Electoral Officers. The REC is responsible for announcing the winner of state gubernatorial elections and for forwarding the State’s presidential

vote tally to INEC.

c.) State Returning Officer

Each State has one State Returning Officer. They are responsible for collating gubernatorial and presidential ballot totals passed up from lower collation levels in the state. They announce the winner of State gubernatorial elections and forward the collated results of Presidential voting in their state to INEC.

d.) Senatorial District Returning Officers

Each state has three Senatorial District Returning Officers. The FCT has one. They are responsible for collating Senate ballots and announcing the winner of the Senate races in their respective Senatorial Districts.

e.) Federal Constituency Returning Officers

Each State has a number of Federal Constituency Returning Officers equal to the number of constituencies in that state. They are responsible for collating House ballots and announcing the winner of the races for the in their respective Constituencies.

f.) Local Government Area (LGA) Electoral Officer

Nigeria is divided into 774 LGAs, each with an Electoral Officer. The number of LGAs in each state varies. LGA Electoral Officers are appointed by and responsible to the Resident Electoral Commissioner in their State. They have custody over the voter register for their LGA under the supervision of the State's REC. They are responsible within their areas of jurisdiction for the organization of approximately 15 Electoral Wards and 150 Voting Stations, a responsibility that includes appointment of all election officers and polling station clerks at these levels. They are also responsible for overseeing the collation of the vote coming up from the individual polling stations through the electoral wards in their Area, and for the forwarding on of those collated election results.

g.) Supervising Presiding Officers

Supervising Presiding Officers will each be responsible for assuring that election materials are made available to clusters of about 10 Voting Stations, and for providing general oversight of those stations on Election Day.

h.) Presiding Officers

Presiding Officers are the officers in charge of individual Voting Stations on Election Day. The Presiding Officer's decisions on any matter relating to the marking of ballots or the declaration of results at the Voting Station are final,

subject only to review by the Federal Appeals Court or Electoral Tribunals.

Eligibility to Vote

All Nigerian citizens over 18 years of age are eligible *to register* to vote in elections. INEC is responsible for organizing and implementing the registration process, compiling and distributing the registration lists to states and localities, providing citizens with voter registration cards, and regularly updating the registration lists.

Voter Registration

INEC was charged with the task of creating a new computer registry of Nigeria's estimated 65 million eligible voters. INEC's voter registry serves as the basis for both national/gubernatorial and local elections in Nigeria, although the latter are under the administrative control of State Independent Election Commissions (SIECs) and not INEC. Creation of the registry was identified as a critically important step forward in the development of Nigeria's electoral system.

Balloting and Vote Tabulation Processes

a.) Voting Stations

Voting took place at approximately 120,000 Voting Stations around Nigeria. Voting was scheduled to begin at 8:00 a.m. and conclude at 3:00 p.m.

A Presiding Officer is in charge of each Voting Station, assisted by a Polling Clerk and a Polling Assistant. These officials are all appointees of the LGA Electoral Officer, and may not be members of any political party, nor can they vote. The Presiding Officer has overall responsibility for administering and maintaining order. He is most specifically charged with handling the distribution of ballots to voters, and personally conducting the sorting and counting of ballots, as well as the recording of results and forwarding of those results.

b.) Voter Identification

Voters were required to present identification in the form of either a voter registration card or a temporary voter registration document that they were issued when they registered.

c.) Ballots

Approximately 67 million ballots were printed and distributed for each election. Voters were to be issued separate ballots for each office being contested. During the National Assembly election, they received one ballot for the House of

Representatives and one for the Senate. Each ballot was numbered, and torn from a connected stack of ballots, thereby leaving a similarly numbered “counterfoil” behind for recordation.

Other than being identified as a House or Senate ballot, the ballots were identical. They contained an alphabetical list of the acronyms, beside a picture of the party symbol, of all 30 nationally registered political parties. The ballot contained the entire list of parties regardless of whether or not they all had candidates running in the Constituencies or Senatorial Districts where the Voting Station is located. Candidates’ names did not appear on the ballots. For the Presidential and Gubernatorial elections the same pattern applied.

d.) Tendered Ballots

In the event that a voter’s name is not on the registration list, or that the voter’s name has already been designated as having voted, provisions of Nigeria’s election law allow for the issuing of a “tendered ballot.” These ballots do not get counted when the votes are tabulated, although voters are not officially informed of this.

e.) Voting

Voters are required to use an inkpad and place their thumbprint beside the symbol of the party for which they wish to vote. They then fold their ballots and place them in the ballot box. Voters have their thumb marked with indelible ink prior to leaving the voting station.

f.) Vote Tabulation

Step 1.) Voting Station to Ward Collation Center

The Presiding Officer of the Voting Station is the responsible for counting the ballots and recording the results at his or her Voting Station, securing all unused voting materials, and delivering them, along with the protocol, to the appropriate Ward Collation Center (there are 8,800 electoral wards in Nigeria, each comprising about 15 voting stations). The Ward Collation Officer is responsible for collating the results from the Voting Stations in his Ward, and preparing a protocol with the collated information.

Step 2.) Ward Collation Officer to Local Government Area Collation Center

The Ward Collation Officer will deliver his protocol to the LGA Collation Center of which there are 774 in Nigeria, each comprising about a dozen Wards. The LGA Collation Officer will collate results from the Wards.

Step 3.) Senate Ballots: LGA Collation Officer to Senatorial District Collation Center

The Senatorial District Returning Officer collates Senate Ballots and announces the winning candidate.

Step 3.) House Ballots: LGA Collation Officer to Federal Constituency Collation Center

The Constituency Returning Officer collates House ballots and announces the winning candidate from the constituency.

Step 3.) Gubernatorial Ballots: LGA Collation Officer to State Collation Center

The State Returning Officer collates Gubernatorial ballots and announces the winning candidate.

Step 3.) Presidential Ballots: LGA Collation Officer to State Collation Center

The State Returning Officer collates Presidential ballots and delivers his protocol to INEC.

Political Party Registration and Candidate Filings

Overall, candidates from 30 political parties competed in the elections. Most of the 30 registered political parties were newly constituted and had not participated in an election campaign before. In 1999, the Nigerian government only recognized three parties. It wasn't until 2002 that INEC conferred recognition first on three additional parties and then, in December, on 24 others. To be officially recognized, parties must pay a fee equivalent to about \$800. The parties must also submit evidence that attests to their senior officers' identity and the fact that the officers were duly elected. The parties must have bylaws and a platform conforming to Nigeria's 1999 Constitution. They must also show evidence of membership and functioning office locations in at least 24 States.

Filing and Adjudication of Complaints

Nigeria's 2002 Election Law and the Federal Constitution establish the framework for bringing and resolving electoral complaints. Complaints regarding the result of the Presidential Election are under the jurisdiction of the Federal Court of Appeals.

Complaints regarding the results of National Assembly Elections are under the jurisdiction of National Assembly Election Tribunals. Furthermore, complaints pertaining to the results of elections for Governorships or state legislatures are under the jurisdiction of Governorship and Legislative Houses Electoral Tribunals. Electoral Tribunals must be constituted no later than 14 days prior to an election.

Only candidates in an election, or a political party which had fielded a candidate in an election, have standing to file an election petition. The petition must be filed within 30 days of the time the election result was declared. Grounds for bringing a complaint include: questioning the winning candidate's legal standing to have run in the election; allegations that the balloting and tabulation processes were not administered in compliance with the provisions of the election law; that the petitioner was validly nominated but unlawfully excluded from the election.

The Court of Appeals and Electoral Tribunals can nullify the results of an election and either declare a new winner (in the case where it can be established that the person had won a majority of the valid vote) or order a new election. The winning candidate against whom the Court or Tribunal declares has 21 days in which to file an appeal.

Campaign Financing

All registered political parties in Nigeria are entitled to receive public funding to support general operations and the costs of campaigning. For operating expenses, 30 percent of an annual grant is divided equally by each of Nigeria's 30 parties. The remaining 70 percent is distributed based on the percentage of seats held by the party in the National Assembly. For election campaigns, 30 percent of a grant is divided equally, and the remaining 70 percent is allocated based upon how many House and Senate seats the party actually wins in the election. Reliable information on the overall size of the campaign grant is not available.

Parties are not limited to public finance and the larger parties raise substantial sums from private contributors. Parties may neither raise nor hold funds outside of Nigeria.

Though there are no limits on fundraising, campaign spending is capped. No party may spend more than 20 naira (about 15 cents) times the number of names on the voter registration lists where the party is fielding candidates. Thus, if a party had a candidate running for a seat in the House of Representatives from each of Nigeria's 360 Federal Constituency Districts, and the nationwide total number of names appearing on the Voter Registry was 65 million, the party could spend no more than about \$10 million. The fine for overspending is 500,000 naira, (about \$3,750).

Parties are subject to annual audits by INEC, which also audits their election campaigns. The parties must make the information in these audits available to the public, including annual party operating budgets, campaign spending, and the names of all financial contributors and the sums they contributed. INEC has the authority to establish limits on the contributions of individuals and corporate entities.

Access to Media

Nigeria's news media is a mix of nationally, state and privately owned outlets combined with international (BBC and VOA) media. Reliable statistics are unavailable, but it is highly unlikely that more than 35 to 40 percent of the population have regular access to television. The largest government owned television station, NTA, claims a broadcast audience of 30 million. Radio reaches a much wider audience with the nationally owned station, FRCN, having the largest share. Private ownership is most prevalent in the print media.

All government owned print or electronic media must provide parties and their candidates

with equal access to a specified amount of free air time. All private print and electronic media is required to provide access for paid political advertising on a non-discriminatory basis.

Parties are prohibited in their campaign advertising from inciting violence or from making appeals for political support based on religious, tribal, or sectional bias, and from conducting any campaign advertising in the 24 hours before Election Day.

Election Observers

Nigerian election law provides that all registered political parties may have Polling Agents present in Voting Stations and Collation Centers on Election Day. Provisions allowing for the presence of international and domestic election observers were included in regulations issued by INEC. A draft document entitled *Guidelines for International and Domestic Election Observers* was presented by INEC on March 2. A Consultative Forum, made up of seven domestic and international organizations, including IRI, was given the opportunity to review and comment on the Guidelines. INEC issued a final document on April 4, 2003.

a.) Political Party Polling Agents

Upon prior written notification to the LGA Electoral Officer, any political party that has a candidate running for office in a constituency has the right to have one Polling Agent present at any Voting Station within that constituency. Polling Agents are required to carry letters of appointment/accreditation as the basis for entry into the Voting Station. IRI has conducted training for prospective Polling Agents. In conjunction with this training program, IRI published and distributed an illustrated “Polling Agent Handbook” to help guide the Polling Agents on Election Day.

b.) Domestic Observers

Several Nigerian domestic organizations, including the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), the Catholic Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC), the Labor Election Monitoring Team (LEMT), the Federation of Muslim Women Associations of Nigeria (FOMWAN) and the Muslim League for Accountability (MULAC), deployed election observers. The National Democratic Institute (NDI) organized training programs to help prepare these monitors.

c.) International Observers

In addition to IRI, several other international organizations responded positively to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ invitation to send observers to Nigeria for the National Assembly and Presidential elections. These included NDI, the European Union, the British Commonwealth and the African Union. (Approximately 350 international observers were present in Nigeria during the election period.)

III. IRI Delegation Findings

IRI delegates observed National Assembly election voting in six states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Abuja on April 12. Delegates traveled to Cross River, Gombe, Imo, Katsina Kogi and Lagos. IRI's National Assembly leadership team, headed by Ambassador Kenneth Brown, observed voting in the FCT. For the April 19 Presidential and Gubernatorial elections, a substantially enlarged IRI delegation of **43 monitors** deployed to 12 states and the FCT. IRI delegates observed balloting in each of the states mentioned above, plus Bauchi, Nassarawa, Ogun, Oyo, Rivers and Sokoto. Ambassador Robert Perry headed IRI's April 19 leadership team.

IRI observers concluded that the preparation and conduct of the two Nigerian elections left substantial room for improvement. The Institute based its conclusion on numerous briefings and interviews with Nigerian election administrators, political party representatives, civic activists and ordinary citizens, as well as their direct observation of approximately 200 voting facilities in 13 geographically disperse states. IRI condemns the politically motivated violence that took an appalling toll in human life and property in the months before the election. The government and the people of Nigeria nonetheless made a laudable effort to establish a peaceful and secure environment during the elections themselves.

The irregularities were not so severe as to invalidate results in most parts of the country observed by IRI's delegation. The observers did note serious and widespread administrative failings and procedural irregularities. A credible election requires consistent, well-articulated and properly implemented procedures. While the problems identified by IRI observers would not by themselves undermine the integrity of the April 12 and April 19 national elections, they had substantial impact on the perceived quality and transparency of the voting proceedings.

In some parts of the country, IRI observers witnessed severe irregularities and misconduct that may have altered the outcome of particular contests. These areas included Cross River, Imo, Katsina, Nassarawa and Rivers states. Observers witnessed intentional efforts to commit ballot fraud. This malfeasance likely influenced the reported margins of victory by the ruling party in Cross River, Imo and Rivers states.

The Pre-Election Environment

Few believed that Nigeria's 1999 elections, which followed two decades of corruption and military dictatorship, could approach accepted international standards for free and fair elections. Though the voting process left room for improvement, most observers concluded that the election had at least established a starting point for Nigerian democracy.

Nigeria's efforts to maintain stability and resolve any concerns over electoral outcomes through legal remedies will ultimately strengthen democratic consolidation in the country.

The 2003 elections were an important step on the continuing path to democracy. The improvements since 1999, however, did not go far enough. While relatively peaceful national party conventions provided some hope for safety and security at the polls, administrative failings and conflict-prone political campaigns contributed to a tense and apprehensive pre-election period. The general public's faith and confidence in the fairness of the electoral process undoubtedly suffered as a result.

This observation in itself should not call into question the legitimacy of the 2003 elections. Nevertheless, an open and transparent primary period is essential to a viable democracy. This process must improve before the 2007 elections.

Election Administration

Many Nigerians and international observers questioned the ability of INEC to accurately register tens of millions of voters, administer the 120,000 polling stations, and supervise and train the estimated half million election workers. INEC, though insufficiently funded until late in the process, nonetheless did not make adequate use of the four years since the last elections to improve voting proceedings. The Commission was forced to make up for lost time in early 2003, which by then was too late.

Voter Registration

INEC started late and poorly executed its most important task – establishing a computerized national register of Nigeria's estimated 65 million eligible voters before the election. A complete registry, which would serve as the basis for all elections in Nigeria, would have been a critical accomplishment in the development of that country's electoral system. Instead, allegations of manipulation and poor organization marred the registry used for the 2003 elections.

The registration process clearly stretched INEC's limited resources and administrative capacities beyond their limits. By the time of the first election on April 12, INEC had yet to compile a national voter registry that citizens could legally inspect to confirm their names were included. The absence of a complete registry delayed and disrupted the distribution of permanent voter registration cards. At the time of the National Assembly election, lawsuits against INEC for missing the legally-mandated February 12 deadline were still pending in Nigerian courts.

Confusion surrounding the initial registration process – a 10-day period in September 2002 – created room for both fraud and chaos. The government itself conceded that "serious malpractices" had occurred. Disorder, intimidation and theft of registration forms were all reported. Of the 80 million registration forms distributed to the 120,000 registration centers, only 67 million could be accounted for at the conclusion of the process. In late January 2003, citizens were offered an additional three days in which to

fill out registration forms at approximately 8,800 Electoral Ward offices around the country. Though the process was more orderly than earlier registration attempts, a failure to properly notify citizens about the new dates and registry locations limited its success. Many of the Ward Centers, for example, were too distant for many rural residents to reach.

Moreover, it did not appear that Nigerians had an opportunity to properly inspect the list. The few people who could find the lists reported that the display period was much shorter than required by law. In addition, display locations kept irregular hours, precluding many citizens from making complaints or corrections.

A poorly administered registration process may well have contributed to low voter turnout in many parts of the country on the election days. Anecdotal evidence gathered in the weeks prior to the elections suggested that a significant percentage of eligible voters did not register. In addition, IRI was told that the names of many of those who did register were not included on the final list. INEC's ultimate decision to use the original, handwritten registration forms as a backup to the computerized lists on election day appears to confirm the existence of these problems. INEC's decision may have represented a good faith effort to insure that as many eligible people as possible could vote. It also, however, threatened to further complicate administrative procedures at individual voting stations on the election days

Ballot Design

Election monitoring groups and Nigerian political parties voiced concerns about INEC's chosen ballot design. It appeared almost certain that voters would find the ballot confusing and difficult to fill out properly, thus raising the likelihood of being invalidated. Two basic problems were consistently pointed out. First, the ballots for each election were indistinguishable except for the name of the election printed at the top. Each displayed symbols for all 30 registered political parties even in areas where only a fraction of those parties were in fact fielding candidates. Many of the new parties ran candidates in relatively few states, Senatorial Districts and Federal Constituencies. A ballot marked for a party not running a candidate would obviously be invalid. Second, voters would be asked to indicate their preference by placing a thumbprint in a space that appeared far too small for an average size thumbprint to fit. The voter would then fold the ballot in a manner that would make it very likely that the thumbprint would smudge other portions of the ballot, thereby casting doubt on the voter's true intention.

The practice of using "tendered ballots" raised the concerns of election observers. These ballots are issued to voters whose names were not on the registration list or who were marked as having voted already. The tendered ballots are identical to regular ballots except for a notation made by the Presiding Officer. These ballots would *not* be included in the official count but would be separately recorded and stored. Nigerian election officials gave two explanations for the use of these ballots. First, they said that the record of the tendered ballots would provide useful information for evaluating and improving the computerized national voter registry. Second, they described the tendered ballot as a

“conflict resolution” device to reduce the chance of an unregistered voter becoming angry, disruptive or even violent. Observers questioned the very dubious rationale for this procedure. IRI noted that tendered ballots created a serious potential for fraud, as a simple notation by an unethical election official could invalidate an otherwise valid ballot.

Election Infrastructure

INEC had not fully developed the infrastructure necessary for a successful election. Poor management and the relative paucity of resources hurt the voter registration process, the training of personnel and the timely production and distribution of election materials. Late or insufficient production of critical supplies may have accounted for the fact that so many polling stations opened very late and without proper materials on April 12. Moreover, INEC’s budgeting and contracting procedures were almost completely opaque. This lack of transparency inevitably invited allegations of corruption, undermining even the most positive efforts put forward by the Commission.

INEC was supposed to assign nearly half a million individuals to positions of electoral responsibility by Election Day. INEC had implemented a “step-down” training program that was supposed to reach down to the level of workers at local polling stations. However, conversations with many poll workers suggested significant disparities in the quality and intensity of the training. This became a serious problem as many of those administering Voting Stations and Collation Centers had little or no previous experience.

Future training models could incorporate what IRI observers saw in the northeastern state of Gombe. Local INEC officials in this state required prospective voting station workers to undergo two days of training and pass a test before they could work on Election Day. Such training may account for the relative efficiency of the poll workers in Gombe.

Concerns regarding personnel were not confined to the administrative rank and file. Less than a week before the National Assembly election, INEC reassigned all 37 Regional Election Commissioners and announced the reassignment of many of the country’s 774 Local Government Area Electoral Officers. INEC described this as strategy for insuring a fair voting process by preventing election officials from becoming too cozy with state governments or local interests. Such a late reshuffling of upper echelon officials, however, invariably contributed to a less competent election administration. Federal funds needed to pay middle level electoral officers were not yet available one week prior to the National Assembly elections. This delayed the hiring and training of 10,000 individuals who comprised an essential middle tier of the administrative structure.

INEC announced several important procedural changes after it had already distributed training manuals based on out-of-date information. INEC announced that it might resort to distributing original registration forms filled out by voters to each of the nation’s 120,000 voting stations as a “back-up.” This indicated that Nigerian election officials did not have confidence in the completeness and accuracy of the electronic registration list. INEC also announced very late that it was making changes to the procedure for handling

the so-called “tendered ballots.” These two issues were neither minor nor technical and merited significant attention by INEC and training for field staff.

Finally, there has been complaint regarding the question of the administrative system’s political impartiality. INEC officials by law do not have a particular political affiliation. The Nigerian government maintains that they seek qualified, credible and unbiased members for appointment to the Commission. The absence of substantive input by all stakeholders in the Commission’s appointments, however, invites allegations of favoritism and bias. It is important to note that in the heated political environment of a campaign, the perception of impartiality can undermine even the most positive steps taken the government and the Commission. Only a week prior to the National Assembly Election, a high level meeting involving the President, his party’s leaders in the Assembly and Senate, and the Chairman and members of INEC drew the attention of the media and the political opposition. Though the President explained that the purpose of the meeting was to merely insure proper planning for a free, fair and peaceful election, the absence of any representatives of the political opposition drew criticism. The Commission should consider hosting multi-party forums and or creating an all party code of conduct to stem these criticisms and enhance confidence in their work. These efforts should be revitalized in the years prior to the 2007 elections and could serve to inform any necessary restructuring of the Commission during that time.

The Political Campaign

Nigeria has seen a progressive breakdown in public order over the last four years, with increased incidents of criminality, intra-communal strife and spontaneous acts violence. Kidnapping of businessmen, roadside banditry and other commercially motivated violent crime has surged. In the weeks immediately preceding the elections, major international oil companies operating in Nigeria evacuated all personnel from the country and shut-down nearly 40 percent of Nigerian oil production in response to attacks by armed bands of militant youths. These attacks continued despite the deployment of Federal troops. At the same time, Nigerian newspapers regularly reported on violence between small ethnic communities that resulted in significant loss of life. President Obasanjo himself declared 12 states to be “politically volatile” a month before the elections and ordered the deployment of Federal troops to maintain order.

Politically motivated violence remained the most pressing concern prior to the election. The assassination in early March of Dr. Marshall Harry, regional campaign coordinator of Nigeria’s largest opposition political party, shocked the nation and received intense media coverage. Dr. Harry’s death was just one of a string of politically motivated killings that occurred during the course of party primaries and the election campaign. During the primaries, party factions fought over their preferred standard bearers. Party offices were often destroyed, and feuding party members were frequently killed or seriously injured. Many party officials were attacked or killed during the subsequent general election campaign. Police rarely identified and arrested the perpetrators.

In response to the violence INEC, the Nigerian government, members of the diplomatic

corps in Abuja, and NGOs such as IRI pressured the leaders of at least 27 Nigerian political parties to sign an electoral Code of Conduct on March 30, 2003. The Code committed the parties to refrain from violence, incitement to violence and all other forms of intimidation during the campaign and election. That fact that the parties agreed to this Code was a positive step. The need for such an agreement, however, signaled the extent to which violence had influenced and marred Nigeria's political process.

Despite the inhospitable environment, the election campaign was nonetheless vigorously contested in many parts of the country. Parties broadly advertised using print and electronic media, though most opposition parties complained of biased treatment from state owned media outlets. IRI was unable to independently confirm these allegations. Parties and party candidates also organized numerous and well attended public rallies. Perhaps the best opportunity for most Nigerians to evaluate the parties and their leaders or major candidates came in the form of two rounds of political debates broadcast on Nigerian state television and radio. These debates represented an unprecedented public exchange of political views and were a welcome development in Nigeria's political history.

Election Day: Voting and Vote Tabulation

NOTE: Field reports submitted by IRI National Assembly and Presidential/Gubernatorial election observer teams contain detailed accounts of their findings in the states to which they were deployed. The following, while it does draw certain illustrative examples from those reports, is a summary of the delegations' cumulative findings.

Opening Polling Stations

The delegation noted a significant improvement in the punctuality of poll openings between the National Assembly election on April 12 and the Presidential Gubernatorial election on April 19. With the exception of the FCT in Abuja, the vast majority of IRI-observed polling stations on April 12 failed to open on time at 8:00 a.m. because they lacked essential materials such as ballot boxes and ballots. In many areas, polling stations opened two to three hours late, leaving voters waiting in long lines. A few polling stations did not open until early afternoon, if at all. The source of the problem lay in the inability of INEC, Regional Election Commissioners and Local Government Area Electoral Officers to receive and distribute materials in a timely or properly planned manner. INEC and its regional and local subordinate offices did make substantial improvements before the April 19 election. IRI observers reported that most voting stations did open on time or nearly on time for the Presidential/Gubernatorial balloting.

Balloting Process

IRI observers reported numerous administrative and procedural irregularities at voting stations in virtually all parts of Nigeria for both elections. There was marginal improvement between April 12 and April 19 after election observers and INEC's own assessment called attention to the deficiencies.

a.) Registration and Voter Identification

IRI observers reported relatively few problems directly related to voter registration lists and voter identification on the election days. Very few voters, it seems, were denied the opportunity to vote because they lacked either the temporary or permanent voter identification cards, or because their names were not on either the computerized registration or handwritten lists. "Tendered ballots" were rarely an issue.

It is nonetheless impossible to determine how many potential voters, having failed in their efforts to register, simply did not turn out to vote. Preliminary estimates for both elections placed average voter turnout nationally at about 40 percent to 50 percent (turnout varied substantially in different parts of the country). Several IRI observers saw apparent cases of underage voting as well as instances where citizens voted more than once with assent of permissive or intimidated voting station workers.

Many stations were significantly oversubscribed. Some had more than 1,000 names and others had more than 1,500 names on their voter registry. Given the nature of Nigerian voting stations, the complexity of the ballot, and the relatively short duration of the voting day, it seems unlikely that such large numbers of voters could have been accommodated.

b.) Voter Privacy

Despite some improvement between the elections, Nigerian voters generally did not receive the proper level of privacy to mark their ballots. Some polling station workers constructed shielded voting tables, but voters were still closely watched and encouraged by others as they voted. The best examples of successful privacy efforts were separate rooms or lean-to structures.

IRI observers saw numerous cases of polling agents, security officers or polling station workers appearing to "assist" voters. The most egregious example of such "assistance" was Kogi state on April 19, where observers saw party polling agents guiding and putting voters' inked thumbs on the ballot.

c.) Security and Order in and Around Voting Stations

The Nigerian government successfully suppressed the potential for violence during both elections. Tensions were particularly high following the National Assembly election. On April 16, Nigeria's major opposition parties collectively condemned the April 12 proceeding in a high tempered and nationally broadcast meeting. At the meeting they warned of unspecified dire consequences if the Presidential elections were not significantly better than the National Assembly

proceedings. A relatively calm atmosphere prevailed on April 19 and in the days that followed despite reports of widespread ballot fraud. A massive police and military deployment helped suppress any potential violent response.

d.) Election Observers

IRI delegates noted the nearly universal presence of political party polling agents at voting stations around the country. Most polling agents performed a valuable service and conducted themselves well. A significant number of agents appeared to have inappropriately provided “assistance” to voters. More significantly, some agents helped improperly remove uncounted ballots from voting stations at the end of the voting day (see below).

e.) Ballot Security

Inadequate ballot box security represents IRI’s greatest concern. IRI observers reported that very few election facilities used the ballot box security seals provided to INEC by USAID. In some cases IRI observers reported that ballot boxes were not even mechanically locked so they could be opened during the voting day to compress the cast ballots and make room for new ones.

In four states - Cross River, Imo, Katsina and Rivers – IRI delegates discovered direct material evidence of planned or executed ballot fraud related to both elections. During the April 19 election, IRI observers reported instances of ballot boxes being forcibly stolen from polling stations in the midst of voting. Prior to the April 19 election, IRI observers in Cross River and Imo states discovered pre-marked ballots and/or voting station results forms **in the possession of party officials**. And in Cross River and Nassarawa, IRI observers discovered clear indications of ballot box stuffing and gross falsification of results forms. In Katsina and Rivers states, IRI observers discovered direct material evidence that filled ballot boxes had been purposely destroyed after being taken from voting stations on April 12.

Polling Stations Closing and Vote Tabulation

IRI observers reported widespread and purposeful irregularities in the closing of polling stations and the tabulation of votes. In most cases, insufficient training and rudimentary working conditions could explain the irregularities. In the worst instances, however, IRI observers concluded that intentional fraud was a factor.

a.) Polling Station Closing Times

During both elections IRI observers reported that many polling stations did not close at the prescribed hour of 3:00 p.m. In most of these instances, polling stations closed late in order to fairly make up for a late opening.

In a more problematic development several voting stations closed early even though they opened late or on time. IRI observers noted that several stations

closed by noon while reporting 100 percent turnout for a single party. In the most problematic case, during the Presidential election in Nassarawa state, IRI observers reported that one polling station opened at 10:00 a.m. and closed at noon. The station recorded that 800 people had voted in less than two hours, a seemingly impossible feat. All 800 votes were for the ruling PDP party.

b.) Vote Tabulation, Recording and Collation

IRI delegates reported widespread procedural irregularities that in numerous cases appeared to be associated with electoral fraud.

The least troubling problems were principally of a technical nature involving the sequence of steps in the tabulation process, the packaging and securing of used and unused balloting materials, and the preparation of the voting station reporting forms. For the most part, IRI observers regarded these irregularities as benign and not linked to any deliberate attempt to commit fraud.

IRI observers reported that election officials did not use consistent criteria to determine the validity of individual ballots. The flawed ballot design created the potential for unusually high percentages of invalidated ballots. In fact, a significant percentage of ballots were deemed invalid because they were marked for parties that did not have candidates running in particular races or because of imprecisely placed or smudged thumbprint markings. At some voting stations, IRI observers reported that nearly 25 percent of the ballots cast had been invalidated for one or both of these reasons. Despite the high number of invalidated ballots, it was promising to note that in some instances, polling station workers and party poll agents used the INEC training manual to resolve disputes of the validity of individual ballots.

Ballot tabulation and collation processes were so highly irregular and inconsistent that they provided an enabling environment for fraud. IRI observers in at least four states - Cross River, Imo, Katsina and Rivers - reported widespread instances in which voting station workers entirely ignored their responsibility to count their ballots and record their results. Instead, filled ballot boxes were being delivered directly to Ward Collation Centers. In Imo state, a Ward level collation structure itself seems to have collapsed entirely, leaving hundreds of filled ballot boxes deposited on grounds adjacent to one of the state's Local Government Area offices. These events, when considered in the context of other observed irregularities, made it impossible for many of IRI's observers to have confidence that these ballots would be handled properly and recorded impartially. In at least one instance, in Cross River State, IRI monitors verified that results reported by a Voting Station had been deliberately manipulated at the Ward Collation Center.

IV IRI Delegation Recommendations

- INEC should receive budgeted funds in a timely manner. If INEC had sufficient funds early it may have avoided some of the more serious logistical problems during the elections.
- INEC should include the views and representatives of all political parties in its proceedings and decisions. This will pre-empt allegations of bias and allow all parties to buy-into the political process. In doing so, INEC should seek the input of parties and civil society.
- INEC ad-hoc staff should be given adequate training before they are deployed to the field.
- INEC should revisit the ballot design and consider listing candidates and creating ballots specific to each election.
- INEC parties, the National Orientation Agency and civil society should have more significant and sustained voter education programs. To facilitate these programs, INEC should publicly release ballot designs and voting regulations in a timely manner.
- INEC should examine the multi-tiered process of vote collation and reporting. The current process leaves room for manipulation at all levels.
- INEC poll workers should have adequate access to all necessary voting materials as well as adequate lighting, calculators and vehicles.
- The voters' register should be updated on an ongoing basis and should be made public. INEC should release the list to the political parties and display the list at polling stations before any general election. This will enable voters to identify their polling booths prior to the elections.
- The President of Nigeria should not be able to hire and fire the Resident Electoral Commissioners without the consent of the National Assembly.
- Any aggrieved parties should address their concerns to the appropriate legal institution. The Nigerian government should use all means at their disposal to investigate and prosecute those responsible for incidents of electoral malfeasance.
- Political parties should take appropriate measures to investigate and sanction any party member or candidate who engaged in acts of electoral malfeasance, violence, bribery or intimidation.

- Parties should revisit their own methods for candidate selection and convention procedures to create a more transparent and peaceful campaign process.

Appendix I

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**Nigeria National Assembly Election Observation Mission
Preliminary Statement
April 13, 2003**

Elections Generally Peaceful but Administration Must Improve

“We commend the Nigerian people for the serious and generally peaceful conduct of the National Assembly elections. However, IRI believes that the logistics and administration of voting procedures must improve before next week’s Presidential elections.”

– **Ambassador Kenneth L. Brown, IRI delegation leader**

BACKGROUND

The International Republican Institute (IRI) sponsored a delegation of 20 election observers for the April 12, 2003 Nigerian National Assembly Elections. They represented the first phase of a two-part election observation process that will include a subsequent, much larger IRI delegation to observe Nigeria’s April 19 Presidential and Gubernatorial elections.

IRI observers witnessed the balloting and ballot tabulation process in six Nigerian states - Cross River, Gombe, Imo, Katsina, Kogi and Lagos - and in the Federal Capital Territory. Prior to Election Day the observers participated in briefings in Abuja and in their respective states. They met with election administrators, leaders of Nigerian NGOs, representatives of national and local media, long-term international election monitors, and representatives of many of the major political parties taking part in the election.

It is important to stress that the following election assessment is *preliminary*. A comprehensive final report, evaluating the election process in its entirety, will be released in the weeks following the April 19 elections.

FINDINGS

The IRI delegation's mixed findings, and the relatively limited geographic scope of its mission, make it impossible for the Institute to reach any concrete overall conclusion regarding the adequacy of the election process or the credibility of the election result. The Nigerian people are commended for making a substantial effort to participate in this election under often difficult conditions. Based on what our delegates saw, the Institute believes the elections left substantial room for improvement. IRI's observers did not find evidence of widespread or systematic misconduct intended to favor particular parties or candidates. They did, however, witness serious lapses at critical levels of the election administration structure.

On a positive and very important note, the worst fears of the Nigerian public and the international community did not occur. While an unacceptable level of violence occurred in the period before April 12, Election Day related violence appeared relatively minor. While IRI observers did report minor occurrences of fighting and intimidation of voters, they were the exception rather than the rule. IRI observers also wish to acknowledge the professional courtesy that they were accorded by Nigerian election workers and officials at all levels.

The vast majority of polling stations observed by IRI failed to open on time on Election Day because essential materials such as ballot boxes and ballots were delivered well after 8:00 a.m., the time polls were supposed to open. Many did not open until early afternoon, or in some cases, the end of the day. As a result, a substantial number of citizens were either discouraged from voting or denied the opportunity to vote.

Shortages of ballots and permanent voter cards in several areas had the same effect, as did problems with ballot design and insufficient voter education. These problems resulted in a relatively high percentage of invalidated ballots being reported at several polling stations visited by IRI observers. Badly oversubscribed and poorly arranged voting stations slowed the balloting process and rendered it less than orderly. Many voters were forced to spend a very long time at the polling stations, resulting in frustration with the delays. The cumulative effect of these failings on the overall level of voter participation in the election is impossible to quantify precisely, but was certainly significant.

Significant procedural irregularities were also identified at practically all stages of the voting and vote tabulation process in the states covered by IRI observers.

There appeared to be a general lack of observance of the proscribed procedure for securing ballot boxes, for example, or for providing voters with a private space to record their vote. Irregularities were most dramatic, and also of greatest concern, in the vote tabulation and collation processes. Many of the voting station workers that IRI observers encountered during closing and tabulation had difficulty filling out and balancing their protocols. In notable instances, moreover, voting station teams did not even tabulate their own ballots at the end of Election Day, but instead delivered their filled ballot boxes directly to their Ward or LGA Collation Centers. In at least one instance, the Ward Collation Center level of the tabulation system appears to have collapsed entirely for want of senior level election officers, and many hundreds of filled ballot boxes were delivered directly to the LGA level. Important "checks

and balances” elements of the tabulation process were circumvented.

In addition, in many areas insufficient light existed to facilitate counting. It was also unclear as to how unused ballots would be accounted for and secured.

Consistent, well articulated and properly implemented procedures are essential to the credibility of any election. Though none of the administrative and procedural problems identified by IRI observers would by themselves call the integrity of the April 12 election process or the credibility of the result into question, their overall impact on the perceived quality and transparency of the election was substantial.

Looking ahead, IRI observers believe that the weaknesses observed during the April 12 election process, if not addressed and corrected, could damage the quality and efficiency of the April 19 Presidential and Gubernatorial elections. IRI observers urge Nigerian election administrators and political leaders at all levels to quickly assess and address the problems that were most evident on April 12.

RECOMMENDATIONS

IRI observers specifically recommend that:

- While providing appropriate security, INEC change its material distribution schedule to insure that all voting stations are prepared to open on time;
- Every voting station be provided with at least as many ballots for each election as there are names on the station’s registration list;
- INEC insure that all voting stations and collation centers are staffed with enough officials to reduce the long times taken to vote *and* to tabulate votes on April 12;
- Adequate transportation be provided for the transfer of election results from polling stations to collation centers;
- Oversubscribed voting stations be subdivided in order to avoid delays in the processing of voters;
- Polling places provide voters with greater privacy when marking their ballots.
- Adequate lighting be provided for after dark;
- Unused ballots be properly accounted for and secured;
- INEC clarify the “tendered ballot” process;

- Polling stations and collation centers receive calculators.

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**International Republican Institute
Nigeria Presidential and Gubernatorial Election Observation Mission
Preliminary Statement
Ambassador Robert C. Perry and George A. Folsom
April 21, 2003
Abuja, Nigeria**

Summary

IRI recognizes the Nigerian people are on a journey to perfect their democracy. The Institute compliments the Nigerian people for the patient and largely peaceful exercise of their right to vote. But clearly the political parties, the Administration and the National Assembly must make improvements to meet the increased expectations of Nigerians.

The April 19 presidential and gubernatorial election suffered in some parts of Nigeria as a result of numerous uncorrected administrative and procedural errors combined with many observed instances of obvious premeditated electoral manipulation.

In many other states, however, election administrators, political leaders, voters, and domestic observers deserve praise for conducting generally sound and well managed elections under difficult circumstances.

Nigerian police and national security agencies also appear to have maintained a generally well-ordered process that was relatively free of large-scale violence in states observed by IRI.

It is important to stress that this election assessment is *preliminary* and only addresses what IRI observers actually *saw* in 12 states plus the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). IRI is not making a conclusive judgment about the entire Nigerian election that involved 60 million voters in 36 states.

IRI Observer Deployment

The International Republican Institute (IRI) sponsored a delegation of 42 election observers for the April 19, 2003 Nigerian Presidential and Gubernatorial Elections. This was the second phase of a two-part election observation process that began with Nigeria's April 12 National Assembly Elections.

For the presidential election IRI observers witnessed voting and tabulation procedures in 12 Nigerian states – *Bauchi, Cross River, Gombe, Imo, Katsina, Kogi, Lagos, Nassarawa, Ogun, Oyo, Rivers, Sokoto* - and in the FCT (*Abuja*).

Based on IRI's observations of the April 12 National Assembly election, our delegates went to the field with a long and specific list of administrative and procedural problems needing remedy. They also deployed in the context of a deteriorating political environment, as Nigerian election administrators, security agencies and political leaders succeeded only partially in addressing these problems.

Presidential Election Observations

Our observations led us to place the twelve states and the FCT visited by IRI into three general categories that call for further examination by Nigerians and domestic and international observers. Turnout varied from very low in some states such as *Cross River* to a substantial turnout in others. IRI advocates that post election researchers should discover why there was such a variance of turnout.

Relatively Good Performers: *Bauchi, Gombe, Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Sokoto, FCT*

On Election Day, IRI observers noted significant but spotty improvements in the election administration process from a week earlier. Voting stations in most locations opened on time or nearly on time, and shortages of ballots were less frequently reported. Observers saw relatively few problems with the exchange of temporary for permanent voter cards, voters' registration lists and verification of their identification. Moreover, steps were taken to afford voters greater privacy while casting their ballots. Voting was generally orderly, which is a credit to the patience and dedication of the Nigerian people.

Despite the improvements cited above, IRI observed numerous and potentially significant procedural flaws. Measures to enhance ballot security, for instance, were given insufficient priority. IRI observers in every state and the FCT reported few properly sealed ballot boxes. Of particular note, polling stations rarely used the special green plastic security seals provided by INEC. Moreover, in *Bauchi* IRI saw underage, double and group voting, and instances where election officials used manual lists, instead of the computer generated, voter registration lists.

IRI urges careful scrutiny over the coming days if the numbers of votes reported to have been cast at polling stations differs significantly from the official results reported by INEC.

Improved with Irregularities: *Katsina, Kogi, Nassarawa*

In these states IRI observers saw administrative and logistic improvements such as those cited in the first category, but also witnessed some irregularities. Based upon observations by IRI delegates some polling officials appeared to have been compromised.

In *Katsina*, IRI witnessed systematic underage and multiple voting. In *Kogi*, IRI witnessed underage and multiple voting, inadequate privacy, and party agents

inappropriately assisting voters by, for example, putting voters' thumbs on the actual ballot. In *Nassarawa*, election officials provided insufficient privacy to ensure the secrecy of the ballot. At least one polling station opened late and closed early after merely two hours of operation producing 100% of the votes for one party. IRI also observed that four other polling stations closed before 1:00 p.m. with 100% of the votes going to one political party.

These three states merit further examination, particularly with regard to discrepancies uncovered between the conduct of the elections in urban versus rural areas.

Significantly Flawed: *Cross River, Imo, Rivers State*

Most disturbing to IRI delegates were incidents of outright or attempted fraud in these three states. These instances impugned the integrity of both the April 12 and April 19 electoral processes. Ballot tabulation and collation processes were highly irregular and created the opportunity for abuse. Many voting stations lacked the critically important results forms, as they were on April 12th. In areas of these states, voting station Presiding Officers delivered uncounted ballots to Ward or Local Government Area Collation Centers.

In the days immediately prior to the April 19 election, IRI observers came upon irrefutable evidence of deliberate ballot destruction and ballot diversion related to the National Assembly elections in Cross River, Imo and Rivers states.

In addition, IRI observers also discovered material evidence of planned and in some cases executed ballot fraud related to the Presidential and Gubernatorial elections. Pre-marked ballots and voting station results forms were discovered in these states early on in the Election Day. IRI observers found clear indications or direct evidence of ballot box stuffing and gross falsification of results forms. There were also incidences of ballot boxes being forcibly stolen from polling stations in the midst of the voting processes. In five LGAs there was such a breakdown of procedure as to undermine the integrity of the election results in those areas.

Conclusion

IRI recognizes the Nigerian people are on a journey to perfect their democracy. The Institute compliments the Nigerian people for the patient and largely peaceful exercise of their right to vote, but clearly the political parties, the Administration and National Assembly must make improvements to meet the increased expectations of Nigerians.

The Institute believes strongly that those adversely affected by electoral malfeasance should seek redress legally and peacefully. Pursuit of justice outside of the legal channels provided by the Nigerian Constitution and election law would be counter-productive and perpetuate disrespect for the law and for democratic processes. IRI recommends that the Nigerian government aggressively investigate and prosecute on a non-partisan basis those responsible for these acts, which undermine Nigerians' determination to consolidate

democracy in their country. Nigeria's citizens desire a functioning democracy that respects their votes and meets their aspirations for development.

About IRI

The International Republican Institute is a non-profit organization based in Washington, D.C., dedicated to advancing democracy, freedom, self-government and the rule of law worldwide. IRI programs are nonpartisan and adhere to the fundamental American principles of individual freedom, equal opportunity and the entrepreneurial spirit. IRI is working in over 50 countries in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Middle East.

About Ambassador Perry

Robert C. Perry most recently served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs at the U.S. State Department. He previously was the ambassador to the Central African Republic where he reopened the U.S. Embassy and supported UN peacekeeping and conflict resolution efforts. In a 34-year Foreign Service career Ambassador Perry served in Ethiopia, Bolivia, Mauritius, Mexico, Chile and Vietnam.

About George A. Folsom, Ph.D.

Dr. Folsom began as President and CEO of IRI in July 2001, formerly serving in the Departments of Defense and Treasury in the Reagan and Bush Administrations, and more recently as a Principal in The Scowcroft Group. He holds a Ph.D. from John Hopkins SAIS, an MA and JD from University of South Carolina, and a BA from the School of International Service at The American University.

IRI in Nigeria

IRI has been active in Nigeria since 1998, training political parties in grassroots political skills, conflict resolution, communications and women's participation. For Nigeria's 2003 elections IRI produced a widely distributed illustrated handbook to help polling agents from the political parties monitor the voting procedures.

IRI in Africa

In December 2002, IRI election observers also oversaw the Kenyan presidential election. IRI is currently involved in several African countries including Angola, Kenya, Liberia, Somaliland, South Africa, Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

Appendix II

IRI Delegation Field Reports

National Assembly Elections Presidential and Gubernatorial Elections

Nigeria National Assembly Election April 12, 2003 Field Reports

Team One: Federal Capital Territory

Pre-election environment

The FCT team visited INEC in an attempt to obtain candidate lists prior to elections. Though many of the staff made every effort to be helpful, some were unclear as to whether the information could be released to observers. The process was somewhat convoluted as various staff were responsible for particular lists and the lists themselves were at different stages of the approval process. After nearly three hours at INEC, the FCT team was obtained candidate lists for 4 out of the 6 states requested.

The team observed voter card exchange at various points around Abuja. The cards went largely uncollected, though INEC had yet to publicize that voters would be eligible to obtain their cards on Election Day. Temporary staff was responsible for the exchange of cards. Their procedure for tracking the collection ranged from noting the number collected throughout the day to recording at the end of the day, to not tracking the number. All staff met by the team was aware of the need to reconcile the number of cards distributed with the number of slips collected. Several temporary staff were not aware that the details of the number of registrants were printed on a sheet provided by INEC and attached to their bag. Furthermore, most exchange took place in informal location, often with a bench provided for the staff to sit on and another bench to hold the material. The voters' cards were generally divided into piles and secured by rocks. In several instances, non-INEC personnel were distributing the cards. In addition, several temporary workers were unsure when to close or whether they would be expected to return for additional days prior to election.

Poll Station Openings

IRI's FCT team arrived to witness poll station openings in Maitama at approximately 7:15 am. Voters were in orderly queues while INEC officials patiently awaited the

arrival of balloting material. The team did not witness any openings before 9:15 am.

INEC officials were all present at openings, as were party agents and domestic observers, primarily representing Labor. Despite the rainy conditions, voters came to the poll in large numbers.

Voting Process

The team noted the polling station was fairly organized, with voters able to exchange their voters slips if necessary, received their voter cards and cast ballots. INEC staff seemed well versed in the procedure. However, in most instances, there were no provisions for adequate privacy. In those stations where a separate room was available for voting, security agents, poll stations officials or domestic observers were providing assistance that may have compromised the secrecy of the vote. Nonetheless, the assistance seemed limited to helping voters fold their ballots to fit in the box and did not seem to unduly influence the process.

The boxes generally were not sealed, though they were locked. INEC officials would open the box periodically to compress the ballots and allow voting to continue. Each time this occurred the voting paused and the official announce the procedure was about to occur.

Queues were divided by gender and voting proceeded quickly. Security officials were present and unobtrusive. Party agents were present at each polling station visited, representing PDP, AD, ANPP, APGA and UNPP. JP and NDP agents were often present as well. Domestic observers, predominantly from Labor and JDPC were present as well.

Closing and Collation

The team witnessed the closing counting and recording of results along with party agents and domestic observers. Though the count proceeded well, INEC officials did not have access to transportation at the conclusion of the process. With no means of transportation or funding for taxis, polling station officials would be depended on security agents, party agents or international observers to transport sensitive material. After arranging for transportation, polling station officials found the original collation cite did not exist. After contacting police and attempting to make arrangements to secure the material, officials learned the collation center had been merged with a neighboring one and were finally able to deliver results to the next level.

Team Two: Lagos State

Pre-election Meetings

The team met with AD, PDP, PAC, NCP, NDP and ANPP, as well as with the state INEC and the Commissioner of Police. The consultations clearly suggested that the run up to elections in the state was quite tense, marked by incidents of inter-party conflict.

Parties

During the meetings, several parties alleged that they had been victims of harassment initiated by other parties, in particular AD. In the newspaper, AD alleged on Friday the 11th that PDP had appointed ad hoc INEC staff who were PDP members. PDP responded, claiming innocence, and alleging that AD had plans to engage in fraud. We also spoke to a Senatorial candidate on the AD ticket who claimed to have been beaten up by opposition party thugs.

The strongest contenders for the elections looked to be AD, PDP, NCP and PAC. It is worth noting that a great number of the PAC members in Lagos state are former AD members.

All parties seemed to agree that giving money to voters as a way to win their support was a widely practiced campaign technique in Lagos state.

The team was told that other observers had seen stacks of ballots and ballot boxes in the AD secretariat when they had visited on the afternoon of the 10th. The team visited the office twice but saw no evidence of this. (The observers also later noted that the ballots they saw were not similar to the ones used in the April 12 elections). The team concluded that it was likely that these ballots were the sample ballots, though no one could be sure what had occurred.

INEC

Visits to INEC gave the team an idea of the complexity of organizing elections in Lagos. INEC officials were running around, and we waited a good deal of time on Friday for them to finalize the list of candidates for us to have a copy. Election materials were scheduled to be delivered Friday evening.

Election Day

Opening

Stations opened late, around 9-9:30 on Lagos Island. Security was slow in arriving, but the presiding officers refused to begin voting until it had arrived. The rain did not stop citizens from queuing up to vote; big crowds were present even before stations were open (the streets were literally full of people). Area boys representing both the PDP and the AD were present, and we witnessed groups of both running up the street chanting. A Senator (former Senator?) in Lagos state, a PDP man, who was running for office again this year, was also present (his family home was located on this street). He was engaging with a number of the youths. Throughout the day we heard that most stations had opened even later, many voters complaining that the voting had not started until 11 or 12.

Though the team observed a number of problems with the organization of elections throughout the day, they saw only a few instances of direct influence of voting, and nothing indicated widespread or coordinated manipulation of votes. These observations led the team to conclude that the officials they encountered, were, for the most part, working hard under difficult circumstances, to make sure elections held. The team was very concerned, however about the shortage of ballots we witnessed in Oshodi-Isolo, as

this suggests that INEC was having tremendous difficulties with logistics, and because it resulted in the disenfranchisement of a large number of voters. Also worrisome were the allegations of fraud prior to elections and radio reports on the evening of the 12th implicating party agents and others in the stealing and stuffing of ballot boxes.

Areas of Concern:

- A shortage of Senatorial ballots throughout the ward in Oshodi-Isolo where we followed the vote count.
- Discrepancies in how the presiding officers claimed to be dealing with tendered ballots and voters who'd lost their registration cards, and the reports from polling agents and domestic observers.
- Ballot boxes were for the most part not locked.
- On Lagos Island, voters were voting in the open, at times with large crowds gathered around them, and at a number of stations with the poll agents directing them on how to vote. This caused a great deal of commotion when people began to complain. In other areas, however, this did not appear to be a problem.
- Security agents were not present at many of the stations.

Closing

- Most presiding officers showed up at the collation center not having recorded their results onto their forms. This made for a chaotic situation, though for the most part the ballots had already been counted and the numbers were generally being transmitted from the scratch paper to official forms.
- A lot of ballots were rejected because of ink smears; 61 out of 229 votes cast in the House of Representatives election in the counting process the team observed were determined to be spoiled and 10 of the 160 Senatorial votes. At this polling station, this was not an issue of contention for party agents, though the team did see instances of party agents and presiding officers disagreeing over whether ballots should count (these were conflicts that had begun at the polling station and continued at the ward collation center).
- At the ward level, results were recorded slowly with no party agents there to follow the count. The team left the ward collation center at 9:30 and only 10 of the 73 polling stations in the ward had had their results recorded at the ward level. Others were still counting in the schoolyard outside the building where the recording was going on.

Team Three: Cross River State

Pre-election Environment

Immediately upon arriving in Calabar, the team met with Cross River Resident Election Commission, Lady Beatrice Ahumibe. This meeting was also attended by the NDI team in Cross River. Ahumibe told the delegations that all “non-sensitive” materials had been received by the state office and that the “sensitive” materials would be arriving in time for the elections. These materials would be distributed throughout the afternoon and night of April 11th to the Local Government Area (LGA) Election Coordinators, who would distribute them to polling officials in the early-morning hours of April 12th.

Ahumibe was very welcoming to the international teams, as well as a domestic observer team that had met with her just prior.

On April 11th, the IRI team met with the political parties. The first party the team met was the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) at their state campaign headquarters. The Cross River State PDP had made t-shirts for their supporters to wear on Election Day. These were not campaign t-shirts, but “Say No to Violence” t-shirts with the slogan in writing and in an easily-understood symbol. The IRI team was impressed with this initiative, until it became clear during the later stages of Election Day that these t-shirts could be used as easy identifiers of PDP supporters at the LGA collation center.

IRI next met with the National Democratic Party (NDP) Calabar Municipal LGA leaders at the LGA office. The NDP officials held to the national party line that the elections should not take place due to the failure of INEC to meet legislatively-mandated benchmarks. NDP felt that the elections were going to be extremely fraudulent and that they did not expect the election tribunals to be any different.

The team then met with the United Nigeria Peoples Party (UNPP). The UNPP official held a more hopeful attitude than the official at NDP, while not as positive as that at the PDP office. He seemed to be taking a wait-and-see approach. It is important to note that the UNPP is not much of a factor in Cross River, while the NDP had a strong presence and high-profile gubernatorial candidate.

The final political party meeting IRI held was with the Progressive Action Council (PAC). PAC was not running any candidates for any of the INEC-run elections, so this was a very short meeting.

Despite several attempts at meeting with leaders of the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), the team was unsuccessful in securing a meeting. Neither the party’s state secretariat nor campaign headquarters was open throughout the day.

IRI’s final meeting of the day was with the LGA Election Coordinator for Calabar Municipal. The Coordinator was very accommodating and welcoming, giving the team samples of voter-education posters that were given to him to post on Election Day. His office was situated in the same building as the LGA collation center for Calabar Municipal and Calabar South LGA’s. Lists of polling stations for ea the two LGA’s were taped to the front of the building.

Following this meeting, the team stopped by the state INEC office to check on the distribution of election materials. When we arrived at the office, it was evident that materials were being moved – under police escort – to somewhere. When the team approached the building, we were greeted by NDP supporters who complained that every election officer was “a card-carrying member of the PDP.” All but one of the six NDP members swore that there would be violence on Election Day. Throughout the discussion, we had noticed a verbal argument between two men about fifteen feet away from us. The argument turned into a fight, with one man striking the other on the head,

and the team left the area.

Election Day

On Election Day, the IRI team met the NDI team at the LGA collation center, in order to follow the election materials to the polling station. While we arrived at the collation center at 6:30 AM, it was not until much later in the morning when materials were delivered to the polling stations.

IRI witnessed the opening of a polling station in Calabar South. We noticed that the results form had not been delivered to the polling station, the ballot box was not locked or sealed, and the Presiding Officer did not explain the voting process to the voters. Aside from this, the opening of the polling station went relatively smoothly. There appeared to be only two voters waiting for the station to open, although approximately twenty voters showed up within minutes of the opening.

Throughout the day, the IRI team visited polling stations in Calabar South, Calabar Municipal and Odukpani LGA's. Voter turnout was extremely low throughout the day, with no voting witnessed after 1:00 PM. None of the polling stations had received results forms and the training of the election officials ranged from fair to non-existent. Voter privacy did not exist at any of the polling stations, with voters having to vote in plain view of security forces, party agents (the vast majority of them being from the PDP), election officials, and other voters.

Furthermore, we witnessed polling stations in Odukpani LGA that had not even received materials at noon. One of the polling stations in Odukpani had received materials, without a results form, and the voters were refusing to vote. One voter was attempting to incite the crowd against the Presiding Officer, but the majority of the voters did not hold the election officials at the polling station responsible.

IRI chose the two polling stations at "Calabar Road/Watt" in Calabar South LGA, Ward 6 to witness the counting of votes. These stations were placed directly next to each other, so the team hoped to witness counting at two separate polling stations. The voter turnout for each station was below 100, with one station below 60 votes cast. Unfortunately, the votes were never actually counted at the polling station. After much deliberation and waiting, INEC vans came to pick up the Presiding Officers, security forces and ballot boxes. We were told that counting would be done at the ward collation center – the Salvation Army School.

Upon arrival at the ward collation center, we began watching the Presiding Officers sort the ballots. The counting was being done outside and the wind blew some of the ballots away from the Presiding Officers. Despite initial difficulties, the Presiding Officers were able to collect their ballots and weigh them down with rocks and stones. The team had some concern that a domestic observer, from JDPC, was assisting with the sorting. However, there was a security agent standing over each ballot box and watching the sorting. Some of the Presiding Officers had actually begun counting their ballots, although none of them had results forms.

At this time, a man who identified himself as the Ward Collation Officer began yelling for the Presiding Officers to stop what they were doing, put the ballots back into the ballot boxes, and move them into the school. He claimed that the security was not adequate to be counting outside of the school. The IRI team followed the Presiding Officers inside the school and waited for counting to begin.

The IRI team then noticed that the majority of the security agents, the Ward Collation Officer, and many of the PDP members (easily identified by their “Say No to Violence” t-shirts) at the collation center were no longer in sight. Walking outside of the school, the team was met by a party agent of the UNPP who claimed that the PDP was paying each of the police officers 1,500 Naira to allow him to move the ballots to the INEC headquarters for counting. A few steps later, two NDP party agents expressed the same concern.

Upon walking back to the front of the school, the team was again approached by the UNPP party agent who cautioned that “trouble is coming.” When asked if it would be serious and he said “yes”. At this point, the team heard a rifle being cocked directly behind and witnessed police officer shouting with his rifle pointed up in the air. The officer immediately fired his weapon in the air and issued a second shot shortly thereafter.

At the LGA collation center it appeared that the “Say No to Violence” t-shirts were being used as PDP markers. The only people inside the LGA collation center compound were INEC officials, PDP party agents, and those wearing the PDP t-shirts. The IRI team then left due to security concerns.

Despite the low turnout witnessed by the team, the voter turnout for the Senate elections state-wide was 71.76%, with 83.5% of the total vote going to the PDP. The results for the two House of Representatives districts we observed – Calabar South/Akbujo/Bakassi and Calabar Municipal/Odukpani – do not list a turnout percentage. However, the total votes scored for the two districts were 150,595 (92.36% PDP) and 121,320 (90.66% PDP) respectively.

During observation of the Presidential election in Cross River on April 19th, IRI team members returned to the two polling stations at Calabar Road/Watt. The Presiding Officer at one of the stations informed the team that the total votes cast during the previous week were over 500, though the team observed less than 60 votes in that ballot box at the time the polls closed. The Presiding Officer was the same woman that ran the polling station on April 12th. When asked again about the turnout, without the presence of the police or the PDP, she admitted that she was told to sign the results form with the highly-inflated numbers

Team Four: Gombe State

Election Day

Openings

Only 2 of the 9 polling stations opened on time. Most of the polling stations received all materials except for the ballots the previous night. The ballots were not delivered until the morning of Election Day, most of them arriving at the polling stations after 9:30 AM, accounting for the late openings.

We arrived at the first polling station (Polling Station 024, Registration Area: 07, LGA: 06) at 7:20 AM and waited until 9:30 AM, at which time the ballots still had not arrived. We left the station to try to observe the opening of another station. However, the next station we visited had not received their ballots either. The third station we visited had received their ballots and the voting was already underway. Consequently, we were not able to observe a poll station opening.

Organization and Procedure

Of the 9 polling stations, 8 of them appeared to be proceeding in an orderly manner. Voters were organized in lines, even at those stations where the ballots had not yet arrived and voting was not yet taking place. With the state's predominantly Muslim population, men and women were organized in separate lines. At any of the stations we visited, we saw lines of 30 to 70 voters.

At most of the stations, the voter card exchange process was integrated into the voting process. This allowed voters who still needed their voter cards to only wait in one line to both get their cards and vote.

From the time a voter presented their temporary voter card to exchange it for their permanent voter card to the time they put their ballot in the ballot box; the process took an average of 3-4 minutes. This average time meant that people in the lines described above were waiting for over an hour to cast their votes. Despite these long waits and the extreme heat voters had to bear in these outdoor polling stations, the voters generally seemed to be waiting patiently.

The largest problem we saw in the poll stations' organization was with the actual voting areas. Only 4 of the 9 stations had voting areas that allowed the voter to cast a secret ballots. Most of these areas were either rooms, shacks, or behind a dividing wall. The other polling stations had voters mark their ballots on benches within full view of other voters waiting in line a foot or two away or, in the worst case, on the same bench where a police officer was sitting.

Additionally, there were certain steps of the administration procedure that were left out at some of the polling stations. At one polling station (Polling Station 017, Registration Area: 06, LGA: 06), the poll worker was not endorsing the back of the ballots handed to voters. At another polling station (Polling Station: 015, Registration Area: 09, LGA: 11), the poll worker was not marking voters with the indelible ink to show that they had already voted. There was also a general lack of understanding of the tendered ballot process. When asked if they have had to issue any tendered ballots, most poll workers said they were not issuing tender ballots because they had not received any from INEC. Apparently, these poll workers were unaware that the INEC was not going to issue separate tendered ballots and that the poll workers were to simply mark “Tendered” or use a “T” stamp on a regular ballot for those who required a tendered ballot.

Voter Turnout

The maximum voter turnout we observed was approximately 40%. Unfortunately, there was a particularly low female voter turnout, with an average of 1 female to every 5 male voters. However, we did observe one station (Polling Station: 003, Registration Area: 09, LGA: 10) that looked to have an even ratio of male and female voters.

We observed several voters, male and female, who appeared to be underage. At one polling station (Polling Station: 015, Registration Area: 09, LGA: 11), the poll officials said the underage females were allowed to vote because they were married.

Campaign Materials

A constant problem at the polling stations was the presence of campaign materials within the minimum 300 meter radius, including on the actual polling station grounds. One of the polling stations was located across from the AD party’s state headquarters.

Poll Workers, Party Poll Agents, and Domestic Observers

We were impressed that all of the poll workers at stations we observed said they received 2 -3 days of training from their superiors. In addition, after the training, all poll workers had to pass a written exam to qualify as a poll worker.

There were party poll agents, largely from only the PDP and ANPP, at every station we observed. It was also encouraging to see that at 5 of the 9 stations, the party agents had IRI’s poll agent training manual.

Despite the large numbers of domestic observers projected for these elections, we only saw one domestic observer at all of the stations we visited. The observer was part of the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) domestic observation effort. One explanation could be that one of the organizations fielding the largest team of domestic observers, the Justice, Democracy, and Peace Commission (JDPC), is a Catholic organization that would not have a large base in this predominantly Muslim state.

Closing

To observe a poll station closing, we returned to the first polling station (Polling Station 024, Registration Area: 07, LGA: 06) we visited earlier in the day. Having opened after 9:30 AM, the poll station allowed voters to line up until 4:30 PM. To keep voters from lining up after 4:30 PM, the proper procedure was followed as one of the poll workers stood at the end of the line and newly arriving voters, both males and females, were turned away. At 4:30 PM, there were approximately 60 voters still waiting in line. The voting ended at 5:35 PM.

The counting included the 3 poll workers, 2 party poll agents (1 PDP, 1 ANPP), a security officer, and another man who was an employee of the immigration center at which the voting and counting took place. He had also been assisting with the vote administration throughout the day. Although this man was not an accredited poll worker and should not have been participating in either the vote administration or counting, he appeared to be very respected by all involved and seemed to be more helpful than not (e.g., telling the poll workers and party agents to inspect the voting both for any discarded ballots).

The counting procedure generally went well, but slowly. All those participating in the counting lacked even a basic calculator to assist in the vote tallying. To facilitate the process, we loaned them a calculator that we had on hand. We were impressed that the presiding officer used the INEC manual's illustrations of valid and invalid ballots to resolve any disputes on that matter. We were also surprised that the ballot design and the ink used to mark the ballots did not create as many invalid ballots as predicted in pre-election discussions—only 4% of the ballots were judged invalid because it was not clear who the voter had chosen.

Some counting procedures were not completely followed. For example, nobody inspected the back of any of the ballots for the required endorsement. They also neglected to mark “rejected” on any of the rejected ballots. Although, they did count the unused ballots, counterfoils of used ballots, and spoiled ballots after counting the votes, the regulations require that they count them *before* opening the ballot box. Lastly, they did not follow the instructions for sealing the elections materials in their proper envelopes. Instead, they put everything (e.g., valid ballots, invalid ballots, counterfoils, unused ballots, and results forms) in one envelope and locked it in the ballot box. The counting procedure ended at 9:35 PM, at which point we proceeded to the ward collation center.

Although the ward collation took place by candlelight and flashlight, it was orderly for the most part. However, the ward collating officer was only announcing each party's votes and neglected to announce the total rejected votes or total votes cast as required by the INEC regulations. She was initially announcing all of these figures, but felt it was taking too long and revised the procedure with consent of all the party agents. It was around 1:00 AM when she announced the results of our polling station—the results did correspond to the figures recorded at the poll station closing. After announcing our results, there were still 8 polling station results left to announce, 2 of which had not even

arrived yet. At this point, we returned to our hotel, unable to observe the final ward collation results or the LGA collation results.

One cause for concern at the ward collation level was that during the announcing of the results, all of the officials from the different polling stations, the party agents, the ward collating officer, and the security officers were all inside while the ballot boxes were left unattended outside. Fortunately, we did not observe any attempts to tamper with the boxes. Also, the presiding officers from each polling station explained to us that they would each take their ballot boxes home with them for the night and deliver them to the INEC state office the next day.

Team Five: Imo State

Political Parties or Campaign Organizations

The IRI team met with a majority of the political parties with headquarters in Owerri, and found that the parties overall were satisfied with INEC's preparations in the state. The notable exception was their concern over the voter ID card exchange, although the parties attributed this to poor planning rather than any deliberate attempt to disenfranchise particular voters. Likewise, none of the parties reported any incidences of intimidation or harassment. All of the parties reported that they had carried out party agent training (except APGA, who was training Friday), although a visit to ANPP revealed that they still had all their manuals and had not distributed them. The IRI team found that outside Owerri, though, none of the party agents appeared to have received proper training, and the team only saw one agent with a manual (in Owerri). Campaigning by all the parties in Imo was strong, with posters covering every available surface along the streets.

Media Organizations

With the exception of PDP, the parties reported that the state broadcasting company, Imo Broadcasting Corporation (IBC), was charging very high rates for political ads, in some cases refusing to broadcast them altogether, or substantially altering/editing their scripts. IBC has the widest coverage in radio and TV in Imo State, as NTA has only recently come to the area and has not begun broadcasting. Most of the parties are therefore using NTA Abia and/or Radio Nigeria. Because of time concerns, the IRI team did not have the opportunity to personally observe local media coverage.

Election Administrators

The IRI team found an overall lack of understanding and preparation among INEC staff throughout Imo State. Consistent throughout most of the stations we visited, poll officers appeared unclear about a number of procedures, from the proper set-up of the polling station to ensure secrecy and integrity of the vote to transferred ballot procedure and methods for assistance for illiterate and disabled voters. The registration process and

subsequent exchange of voter ID cards was a serious issue in Imo. The team visited 4 exchange centers on Thursday and Friday (in Imo the exchange centers were originally intended to be open Tuesday through Thursday, but on Friday morning State INEC decided to extend the exchange through the day). At each of the exchange centers, the poll workers reported honestly that they were turning away approximately 40-50% of those who came with registration slips because their names were not on the computer register. They expressed concern with the lack of security (we did not see police or security at any of the exchange centers we visited), particularly in light of the agitated state of several of those voters whose names were not on the list. The IRI team also noted that the centers still had a majority of their cards even as of Friday, possibly indicating low turnout for the election. The variance in the number of voters listed in the written register (from the September process) and those listed in the newer computerized register was extremely large. In the polling centers we visited the number of names on the written register ranged from 600-800, while only 100-200 names appeared on the computer register (with approximately 50 names on the disqualified register). When asked whether they anticipated problems with the election, those poll workers we spoke to at the exchange centers did anticipate problems, while the INEC State officials were very optimistic.

As has been reported throughout the country, none of the polling stations opened at 8 am on election day. In fact, in Imo, none of the stations opened before 11:30, with most opening closer to noon because the ballots, boxes, and other sensitive materials were not delivered on time. Despite the late opening though, the large majority of stations closed at 3, or soon after (to allow those in line to finish).

Balloting, Ballot Counting & Election Administration

Opening of the Polling Stations

As indicated above, the poll officers observed showed a significant lack of understanding for election laws and procedures. Because of the late opening, the IRI team visited four polling centers (18 stations in total) and noted much confusion over the placement of voting area (to allow for secrecy) and the ballot box (to ensure its integrity). All of the stations we visited were lacking in materials- most only were given one ink pad (which forced voters to ink their fingers at the table where ID cards were checked), and in all cases they lacked seals for the ballot boxes. Vital closing materials were also absent- none of the stations were given the tamperproof envelopes, and two of the stations we closed lacked results forms.

Voting

The team watched the opening of two separate polling centers, and throughout the day visited four others (5 polling stations), in both rural and urban areas. In many of the rural polling stations, voters and party agents alike were unfamiliar with the ballot form and the voting procedure in general, indicating a lack of civic education. It was common in the rural stations visited to see the voters in crowds rather than lines, and in those cases the security officers did little or nothing to assist the poll workers in maintaining order (in

one case an armed soldier, who was accompanying a state INEC official, threatened the crowd with his gun, which only served to incite them more. He then left the station with the official). In Owerri, on the other hand, voting was calm and orderly. Party agents for all the major parties were present at each of the stations visited, and the domestic observers were seen at approximately 3/4 of the stations (primarily JDPC observers).

The team observed confusion among poll workers and party agents on the proper procedure for assisting illiterate and blind (or elderly) voters. In all cases observed, the voter was not aware that he or she could choose an assistor, so in some stations the party agents decided they would all watch that person vote, while in others the security officers provided the assistance and did not allow the party agents in the voting area. The other problem observed was a discrepancy amongst the stations visited over whether to allow those voters with registration slips whose names were not on the computer register to vote. In all cases but one, the poll workers had three registers (the original written, the computer list, and the disqualified list), and in most stations they allowed those on the written register, but not on the computer register to vote. Approximately half the stations were marking ballots tendered, but at two of the stations we closed they counted the tendered ballots as valid.

Closing

Team 5 observed the closing of three different polling stations, each of which closed within an hour after 3 pm (to allow those still in line at 3 to vote). None of the stations experienced conflicts over the counts themselves, although at the close of the count it was discovered that the presiding officers for two of the stations had not been provided with the official carbon results forms. The presiding officers, not seeming to fully understand the importance of providing official copies to the party agents, intended to write the results on a blank piece of paper, stamp it, and bring it to the Ward level. One of the ANPP candidates and his agents showed up during the dispute over this and insisted on sending someone to INEC to get the proper forms, and after two hours the crisis was resolved. Once the forms were completed another problem arose: the poll workers had no form of transportation to take the results and the ballot boxes to the Ward level (neither the police, nor the party agents had vehicles, and the domestic observer had already left). As a result, the team offered the use of their vehicle for the two polling stations presiding officers and the boxes (the team remained at the polling station while the driver took them to the Ward center).

The results and boxes arrived at the Ward Collation Center after dark (approximately 7). It was at this level that the team found the greatest problem of polling day. The presiding officers from the stations we closed reported to the Ward Center's "supervising officer, who gave them several tamperproof envelopes (these were not provided at the polling station) and told them to put their items in the appropriate envelopes (the officers then had to refer to the INEC manual). The presiding officers then asked where they should submit their results, at which point we learned that the Returning Officer for the center had not appeared. We soon learned that, in fact, none of the Returning Officers for any of the Wards had reported for duty (it was rumored they had all be fired that day). The Supervising Officer announced he could not conduct the collation himself, and would

thus take the boxes and results to INEC. The party agents protested and refused to allow the car that had been loaded with the twelve boxes to leave the Ward Center, and representatives were sent to INEC to receive advice. They returned and reported that none of the Wards were collating because of the RO problem, and that they had been instructed to take the materials to the LGA center for collation. Somehow (despite that there were only three vehicles- ours, the one with the boxes, and that of a domestic observer who drove the police officers) the presiding officers were transported to the LGA (we could not ascertain if they all got there). Although we and the domestic observers were allowed into the LGA compound, none of the party agents were permitted through the gates (which caused an angry crowd outside).

At the LGA Center, the team observed a great deal of disorder and confusion. Many of the boxes were lying outside the center on the lawn, some accompanied by the PO, others left alone. We also observed a number of POs carrying their boxes into a room in the back of the center, accompanied by two armed soldiers. When asked, we were told they were going to put them in a secure room to be dealt with later, but they were unable to ensure their integrity. There were approximately 10 domestic observers present, and although the party agents were not allowed in, party representatives were present. The lack of access for the agents, though, prevented them from ensuring that the results reported from their stations matched the final count. Because of the chaos caused by the lack of ward centers, collation was extremely disorderly, in fact, the team could not find anyone who could explain exactly how the results were being reported, recorded, or collated. Consequently, none of the results were being announced, and the officials reported that they did not expect any announcements that evening. The team left the LGA center by midnight.

Team Six: Kogi State

Election Day

Opening

The layout of the observed polling station was good. All election officials had separate tables to work from. The voting booth (table) was situated few meters from the ballot collection table. Although not covered on all three sides, the booth created some privacy for voting. Before opening, the presiding officer explained the process in English and Yoruba. The voter exchange cards happened smoothly and people who did not have slips but their names appeared on the list, were allowed to vote. There were four party agents (2 ANPP & 2 PDP), four domestic observers, one SSS agent and about four policemen.

Although this station was in the same yard as the distribution center it only opened at 8:40am. When the officials arrived with the materials, young voters started pushing the old women to the back of the queue. The policeman had to maintain order. The first voter cast her vote at 9:20am. One NLC Domestic Observer distributed anti-violence pamphlets. At first the same inkpad was used for stamping the voters cards at the back

and for thumb printing. This was a little confusing but later an official got the second stamp.

Organization and Process

At Polling station 015, Part of the Newlayout Near Amoles Open Space, Lakoja, almost everything happened at a very small and crowded place. The exchanging of voters cards, receiving of ballot papers and the ballot box were all clamped into a tiny place on a high porch. The voting booth (table) was situated few meters from all this and ensured the secrecy of the booth. It was covered on all three sides. A domestic observer was handling the voter exchange cards while party agents and domestic observers looked on. At some point the voters were given ballot papers with only 15 parties on. One party agent brought this to the attention of the presiding officer who was watching the process. The official who was tearing the ballot papers from the ballot book acknowledged his mistake.

Women and male voters were in separate queues. This layout disadvantaged short voters who could not reach the opening of the ballot box and had to be assisted by the policeman. The policeman assisted by stuffing the ballot papers into the ballot box.

Around 12:00pm, after observing three stations in Lokoja, the team visited Ganaga polling station in Ajokota. People had been waiting since 8:00am and were agitated. There was no sign of INEC officials, party agents or domestic observers. People had completed the process of exchanging their slips for voter cards and were waiting anxiously to vote. This led the team to drive further to assess how other stations outside Lokoja were doing, the pattern was the same. When the team again observed the station at 2:30 that afternoon, after visiting two more stations and an INEC office in Abogo, there was still no activity. After observing the counting at Crowther, the team returned to this station to see if any voting had taken place.

The team visited polling station 08 after the INEC office in Abogo that also happened to be opposite the INEC office behind the polling station number 7. Approximately 130 young people stood in one queue. Some of them showed their frustration by being loud trying to explain to us how long they had been waiting for INEC officials. The voter's exchange card was completed on the April 11 and they were anxiously waiting to vote.

Back at Ajokata, an ANNP stronghold, the team found that people who left earlier on were coming back to vote. The whole situation caused confusion. The "presiding officer" decided to close the voting, as it was unsafe and the location was without electricity. She decided the counting should happen at the nearest police station. The team followed the police station to observe the counting.

The environment at the collation center was generally quite. A number of security and party agents were present. The Ward Coalition Officer turned back everyone whose numbers did not add up. He used his own calculator as the officers gave him individual party numbers and realized most of their totals were incorrect.

Team Seven: Katsina State

Pre-Election Meetings

INEC Officials

Team seven's first task in Katsina was to meet with local INEC officials to ascertain the level of preparedness on INEC's part for the Nigerian elections. According to the INEC local Public Relations Officer in Katsina all elections workers received adequate training for their election duties. The official also explained that there was an extensive screening process before all elections workers were formally hired by INEC. A team of INEC officials and security agents screened potential workers in order to make sure none of the workers had existing or pre-existing relationships with the various political parties. The official also explained that many of the election workers including the Presiding Officers, Returning Officers, Poll Clerks, and Poll Assistants were selected directly from the Civil Service. The election workers were also tested several times to confirm competence before they were hired, and the official expressed confidence that many of the workers were efficient because many had worked extensively in the Nigerian Elections of 1999.

According to the INEC Public Relations Officer the ballots and the election papers were received in a timely manner and were kept prior to that at the Central Bank of Nigeria under heavy security. He also made clear that the ballots and election papers received adequate security once they arrived in Katsina. The officer expressed the many difficulties and challenges faced by his staff in preparing the elections. He said "it was not an easy task. There have been many problems and complaints; however all the problems have been rectified, including problems relating to the voter lists". The INEC officer also insisted that the election commissioners understood the election laws and requirements, and did not anticipate any problems with the elections from an INEC standpoint. With regard to the issue of disabled and handicapped voters, the INEC officer made it clear that there were sufficient provisions for them.

Political Parties

Team seven had several meetings with the various political parties in Katsina the day before Nigeria's Parliamentary elections. The main political parties in Katsina are Alliance for Democracy (AD), All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), All Progressive Ground Alliance (APGA), All People's Liberation Party (APLP), National; Democratic Party (NDP), People's Democratic Party (PDP), and the United Nigeria People's Party (UNPP). Most of these parties had very similar concerns and had a deep belief that this election was the most important in Nigeria's short history. They believed this was so because Nigeria has never experienced a successful civilian to civilian transfer of power. Many of the parties also believed that this election was different than the last one, because in 1999 the entire populace generally wanted to end the militarization of Nigerian politics and would accept any civilian government. However, in 2003 the parties believe democracy is facing its truest test in Nigeria because they are replacing a civilian government with another government, and not just any civilian will do this time.

Many of the political parties expressed that their candidates in Katsina were selected through primaries or were chosen by a consensus vote. They all also expressed the sentiment that INEC did not assist their campaigns financially, and the funding for their campaigns were done by party member donations. Some parties such as the AD, APGA, NDP, and UNPP claimed that they were denied all access to the media in their campaigns. These parties expressed that state TV, radio, and newspapers did not allow them to bring their campaigns to the people. However, PDP party members claimed that the media was a viable source for them in getting their message to the people of Katsina. The parties that complained of limited media access said they conveyed their message to the people through informal meetings and outreach by party members.

The issues that were salient to the political parties in Katsina ranged from security, education, and healthcare to investing in agriculture, curbing unemployment, and easing ethnic tensions. The ruling party in Katsina, the PDP, said it campaigned on its achievements on the state and national level. All the parties said they employed Get-Out-The-Vote efforts to mobilize the citizens, however very few of the parties conducted public opinion polls. All the parties conducted political rallies to mobilize the voters and they all confirmed that violence was not a tool in these political rallies.

All the parties that team seven canvassed had received the IRI booklet on Poll Agent training in both English and Hausa, and stated that they had organized and effectively trained their poll agents. All the major political parties in Katsina believed that the people of Katsina were strongly interested in Nigeria's democratic exercise, and all the parties stated that their poll agents will track vote results after voting is completed so as to make sure there was an absence of rigging or fraud. However, most of the parties were resigned to the fact that rigging and fraud was going to be an inevitable factor in the Nigerian elections. Overall team seven discovered that the political parties were very excited about these elections and recognized the significance of these elections to the future of Nigerian democracy and to Nigeria as a nation.

Election Day

Opening

Team seven began their observations of the National Assembly Elections in Katsina at 7:00am. The team went to several polling stations and discovered that none of the polling stations had received any materials from INEC at 8:00 am. Voters and presiding officers were present at every polling station, and expressed unanimous and loud concern about the absence of voting materials at 8:00am on Election Day. After visiting five polling stations team seven contacted the INEC office in Katsina to find out why voting materials were delayed at all the polling stations the team visited. INEC was unwilling or unable to give the team a reasonable explanation for this. INEC started the delivery of voting materials at 8:30am in Katsina. The ballots were put in a car and a supervisor went along to deliver the materials without any security.

When team seven finally approached a voting station that was in operation, it discovered that voter turnout was high at that particular station. There were two long gendered queues of voters, the atmosphere was rather orderly, and the presiding officer and poll clerks appeared competent and aware of their duties. There were several poll agents from respective political parties in Katsina present at the poll station, and these agents were observant rather than disruptive. The Domestic Observer group TMG also had a contingent at the poll station. There was a substantial lack of privacy and security at this particular polling station. Voting materials were not properly secured, the police presence was nil, and people were not voting in a private voting area.

Team seven then spent several hours visiting twelve other polling stations in rural and urban Katsina. Their observations were very similar to the first polling station in Katsina. However, in one polling station team seven approached a situation of serious voter malfeasance, in which a party agent was reportedly handing money to voters in a queue to sway their vote to a particular party. Agents from other parties were alerted which led to a fracas in which the police came to calm the situation. Besides the aforementioned glaring episode of potential voter malfeasance, the environment at the polling stations in Katsina was calm, and the presiding officers and poll clerks appeared cognizant of their duties. Team seven did not witness any proxy voting or group voting in Katsina. The team did witness the usage of tender ballots at several polling stations. Voters that asked for assistance at the poll stations observed by team seven received assistance in varying degrees, some received little assistance and others received a great deal of assistance depending on their need.

Closing of Polls/Counting of Votes

At 3:00 pm team seven observed the closing of a poll station in Katsina. At 3:00pm there were several voters still in queue to cast a vote, and all those that were in line at that time were allowed to vote in an orderly manner. Those that arrived after closing time were turned away without incident. After the vote the presiding officer, poll clerks and party agents began the count at the polling station. Party agents were very helpful in the counting process at closing time. Police were available at the polling station to prevent any problems at the count, as there were several unauthorized men lingering by the polling station. The count was first done by the presiding officer and then the count was repeated by the party agents to dispel any discrepancies. After the count the results of that particular polling station were announced, and then the presiding officer along with party agents and armed security took the ballots to the ward collation center. Team seven followed the presiding officer's convoy to the ward collation center. At the ward collation center team seven witnessed some confusion and disorder as several polling officials and ordinary people were dispersed around the center. The police forces in Katsina immediately calmed the confusion by deploying several policemen to the center. The ward collation center was the site of a long process in which the returning officer, poll workers, and party agents all waited for all the results from each polling center within the ward. The votes were tabulated under a tree in candlelight, without any real privacy. After some time the police forces became scarce at the ward collation center and the process became less secure.

After the ward collation center, the Returning Officer under security took the results to the Local Government Center. Team seven followed the Returning Officer to the INEC Local Government Center, where there were several police and military men. Even with the presence of security, the atmosphere at the Local Government Center was very disorderly and confusing. INEC officials allowed party agents, International Observers, Domestic Observers, and police in the room where the several Returning Officers reported their process. The process was long and marred with several incidence of confusion. At about 3:00am, it became very clear that one Returning Officer was missing, her whereabouts was unknown and the officials deliberated lengthily about what to do about the situation. Before they had finished deliberating on that issue a separate issue arose. It appeared that a Presiding Officer had failed to report her results to one of the Ward Collation centers. INEC officials decided that in the case of the missing Presiding Officer's results they could proceed with the Returning officer without that particular poll station. In the other case of the missing Returning Officer with ballots for an entire ward, INEC officials decided to leave that matter to tribunal. The officials then declared the vote in Katsina's National Assembly inconclusive. At about 5:00am team seven, party agents, other observers, and INEC officials adjourned.

In conclusion, the National Assembly election process in Katsina was marred with several problems however the actual voting itself was peaceful and generally orderly. Most of the problems in Katsina were the result of INEC mismanagement.

Nigeria Presidential & Gubernatorial Elections

April 19, 2003

Field Reports

Team One: Federal Capital Territory (FCT)

Pre-election Environment

The pre-election environment in Abuja was tense, with parties questioning the process surrounding the April 12 polls and calling for rejection of the results if their concerns were not addressed. In addition, the parties began calling for boycotts and unspecified mass action if perceived irregularities were not remedied before the April 19 polls.

Election Day

Opening and process

The team witnessed significant improvement in the opening of the polls, unlike the National Assembly elections, each of the polling stations the team visited in Abuja opened and began voting at 8 a.m. The materials had been delivered early, polling stations were arranged and voters queued up for an on-time opening. In addition, the polling stations had a notably better set-up, particularly with regard to privacy. The table where voters marked their ballot offered privacy and in many cases, officials provided a green and white INEC screen to set off the voting area.

INEC officials seemed generally well informed on opening and closing times, the organization of the station and polling procedures. However, the IRI team noted few if any instances where officials were using the green security seals provided. When questioned, they did not seem to know that 1) the seals were in their bags, 2) how one attached them to the ballot box, or 3) at what time they should be used. At one polling station, staff called the INEC headquarters, and a representative was dispatched to advise the workers on how to use the seals. INEC staff once again expressed concern that they could not open ballot boxes to compress the ballots if seals were used. Poll workers again relied on the practice of unlocking the box to make room for more ballots. While the practice could leave room for manipulation, this did not seem to be the case in the FCT.

Throughout the morning, the voting process was organized and orderly. Turnout was high in the early hours, but seemed to dwindle later in the day. Once again, security agents, domestic monitors and party agents were all present throughout the process. There was confusion at several polling stations regarding the number of party agents allowed and the type of identification they required. Specifically, officials and security agents expressed concern that APGA and PDP party agents had identification badges

displaying the party symbol. Officials had difficulty verifying what the exact regulation were regarding badges. However, since they felt the symbols violated INEC regulations and asked that the agents reverse their badges. The agents complied and remained throughout the process.

Closing, counting and collation

The polling station observed by the team closed at 3 p.m. and counting began. No voters remained at the time of closing. Since the FCT had no gubernatorial contest, ballots were simply separated into tendered, spoiled and valid categories. Each ballot was displayed and judged in the same way. Whenever a party agent expressed concern, the matter was considered and resolved as the INEC staff explained their reasoning at each instance.

At the end of the count the votes were tallied and totals cross check by INEC staff and party agents, who used their mobile phones to add the figures. Satisfied with the validity of the count, INEC staff filled the original results sheets and the party agents countersigned.

INEC staff was unclear how to pack the materials, so all material was put in a bag and the ballot box and transported without security to the collation center. Again, this seemed to be an administrative problem rather than manipulation. Once at the collation center, the officials learned that they were expected to place material in the proper envelopes and did so at that time. It was a confusing process, during which they regularly consulted their INEC manuals. Finally, they presented the results to the returning officer and they were duly and accurately recorded.

Team Two: Lagos State

Pre-Election Meetings

INEC

Team Two arrived in Lagos on Thursday, April 17. The first meeting that the team held was with the Lagos State Secretariat of INEC. We met with Chief (Mrs.) 'Kemi Odebiyi, Resident Electoral Commissioner, and Bello A. Ibrahim, Administrative Secretary. Upon arrival we noticed a great deal of activity at the headquarters. The gubernatorial candidate from the DA Party arrived shortly after us and complained that his name was not mentioned as a candidate during a press release or conference by the Lagos INEC. However, his name was still included as a candidate. The candidate was not a serious challenger.

The meeting with Mrs. Odebiyi and Dr. Ibrahim went very smoothly. They answered all questions and seemed very confident that the presidential and gubernatorial elections in Lagos would be fine. They had learned from the problems of the legislative elections and were making changes. Most importantly, they said that the ballots would be delivered to the LGAs and polling stations in a timely manner, unlike the previous election when

polling stations throughout the region and the country opened very late. They told team that the distribution of ballots would start on Thursday night and would last until Saturday morning. Non-sensitive materials had already been distributed to the regions. Other improvements would be the removal of at least 78 poll workers who were either inadequate or held partisan political views. Communications would not be a problem they said. They had generators for the 245 wards and also GSM phones so election officials could call in with results and/or problems and issues. They also said they needed to make improvements in crowd management. The police were not reported to have intervened with the conduct of the elections, but their increased presence was going to be needed for the presidential and gubernatorial elections.

The overall premises of the Lagos INEC were inadequate and definitely needed improvement. Team Two was able to wander the compound and found old ballot papers from the previous election stacked alongside a building. The presidential and gubernatorial ballots were locked in a room, but the packages were in clear view without any police supervision. Other non-sensitive materials were monitored by sleeping or lackadaisical workers.

Mrs. Odebiyi and Dr. Ibrahim gave us the following Election Day facts for Lagos State: 20 LGAs, 245 Ward Collation Centers, 8,465 Polling Stations. 4.5 million registered voters.

This meeting completed the day. Due to the rains and heavy traffic we were not able to hold any more meetings.

Political Parties

Team Two met spent the day meeting with various political parties and also visited INEC to inspect the distribution of election materials. The first meeting we held was with PDP. The Lagos PDP Headquarters was bustling with people. We met with senior PDP officials, who discussed their campaigns and expectations for the elections. They complained that during the last election that there were not enough ballot papers and the original results sheets were not given. They generally were not satisfied with the management of the elections.

They conducted a massive campaign in Lagos. They went door-to-door, had handbills, and conducted rallies among other things. The campaign focused on the financial mismanagement of Lagos State under AD rule. PDP also focused on education, healthcare and environment.

Important Note: PDP is the opposition in Lagos. In the previous weekend elections, AD won 22 out of 24 seats in the Lower House of the national assembly and all three seats in the Senate. AD was poised to win the gubernatorial election.

After the meeting with PDP, Team Two visited AD headquarters. The activity at AD was almost nonexistent, but surprisingly the team met with the Lagos State Chairman of

AD, Prince Abiodun Ogunleye. He said that PDP tried to rig the elections during the previous elections, especially at the ward collation centers, but they barred them from doing that. As far as the campaign, the party held large and small rallies throughout the regions. They used fliers, billboards and other visuals to promote the campaign, as well as television and radio campaign for the incumbent president.

They expected to win the gubernatorial election without any problems. However, they were telling their supporters not to vote for Obasanjo for president, but rather vote AD for president. Mr. Ogunleye said this because he believed that AD was rigged out in most of the Southwest states by PDP and, therefore, they would not support the candidacy of the president as previously agreed.

The team then met with members of NDP, one of the new smaller parties that had started to gain momentum in the country. They were running a presidential candidate who was Ibo. They said that the observed breaches in electoral conduct during the last election. They did say the elections held throughout the country were not so bad, but the results were later doctored and manipulated by PDP to ensure its success. NDP officials also said they tried to get the voters' list overhauled prior to the election, but without success.

In Lagos, where AD is the dominant party, NDP officials said they were willing to go into a coalition with PDP to form new state government. They wanted the incumbent AD governor out of office. This contrasts with the rest of the country where NDP was willing to go into a coalition with other opposition parties to oust PDP candidates.

The last meeting of the day was with the AD governor of Lagos, Bola Ahmed Tinubu. The Governor talked at length about his program for Lagos State. He identified health, education and federal concerns as the most important issues facing his administration. He was most likely going to win the election by a large margin, but the opposition parties, mainly PDP, questioned his background. In particular, opponents accused him of falsifying his diploma from a U.S. university and said he had a criminal background while living in the U.S. They also charged him with drug trafficking and other criminal activities while in office.

Election Day*

Team two visited at least seven polling stations in Lagos. For the most part voting was orderly and while we observed the polling sites, few problems arose during the process. Polling stations opened on time and had all the needed election materials. The election officials were all present as well as party observers from AD and PDP. Other party agents appeared at some of the polling stations, but it was only AD and PDP that fielded representatives at all the sites. Domestic observers did not appear at every station, but we did see them in some.

At the ward and collation center visited by the team, a little more than 40 percent of the registered voters turned out to vote. The majority of people voted for the AD candidate for governor and the PDP candidate for president. However, there was a significant vote

for AD for president even though AD did not field a candidate. AD had initially supported Obasanjo, but AD in Lagos urged their supporters to vote AD for president. A third of the voters in the collation center voted AD for president as a protest vote.

Opening:

Team Two opened polling station no. 19 at Femi Okunnu / Lateef Jakande Junction on Victoria Island. The poll workers arrived on time and had all election materials. However, there was not adequate privacy to vote. There was only one table and people basically had to vote on top of the ballot boxes. The crowd was light, as there was only one person waiting to vote at 8:00 a.m. By the time we left there were maybe a dozen. Green ballot seals were not used and it looked as though they were using the manual voters' list instead of the computer-generated list. People were also still receiving their voter cards. Voting proceeded without any problems.

Closing:

Team two went back to a polling station that had security problems when they had visited it earlier in the day. The area was known as the Campus area of Lagos Island. The polling station was 003 at Eko Grammar School in the Pop Aguda Ward. Three polling stations were that school. When the team arrived at 9:20 in the morning, there were fights and a lot of yelling. People were being prohibited from entering the school premises. Some party poll watchers were trying to throw people out because they had been accused of multiple voting. There was no way of proving the allegation. Soon after the commotion began, at least ten police officers arrived on the scene to quell the situation. They did bring some sort of order, but people were not happy.

For the closing, the team decided to return to this station. The team found it to be very quiet. The crowds had dispersed and the election process was orderly. The rains most likely drove most people out of school compound, but it was still a very different picture from earlier in the day. Members of the team split to observe the process at all three polling stations at the compound. There was an orderly count, no interventions by the party observers, and a general atmosphere of calm. Once one station had finished counting and sealing, the other two stations were urged to finish. Instead, the election officials from the two other stations joined the other station officials and went to the ward collation center. They then completed the process there.

Only four polling stations made up the ward center at the Holy Cross Primary School. As such, the collation process was quick. Wards then reported to the Lagos Island Local Government Authority (LGA). The ward the team had observed was the first to arrive at 6:30 p.m. Nineteen wards reported to the LGA and by 12:30 a.m. all had reported to the LGA. Some of the final tallying by some of the wards was done at the LGA, but the ballot boxes were not there. It was obvious that they had just written down the results and took them to the LGA to finish. The LGA was very crowded with party observers, election officials, security from the police and military, but it could be described as an orderly chaos. We also met observers from the EU who agreed with us that the process in that particular area of Lagos was orderly and free of organized rigging or fraud. If it was done, then it was done very quietly and systematically, but we do not believe that

was the case.

Problems witnessed with the electoral process:

- Lack of privacy for voters. Many of the stations had makeshift polling booths, but this is an area that needs major improvement. The lack of privacy, however, did not in our opinion hinder or influence the way people voted.
- Ballot security was a serious problem. Election officials secured ballots in bags provided by INEC. Anyone really could have run off with ballots. Again, in the areas we observed, people did not run off with the ballots, but there should a system to guarantee ballot security.
- Ballot boxes were not secured or tamperproof. In some stations, the ballot boxes were locked, but with keys still in them. The green seals were rarely used. We believe the seals provided were not used because they did not fit.
- Polling station security lacked. Police were stationed at every polling site and most of the time they were not needed. However, in some places voters, party supporters, and onlookers just loitered and police really needed to secure the area of people who did not belong.
- Underage voting was an obvious problem.
- Polling stations were not provided with enough ballot papers. People did not turnout in overwhelming numbers, but if they did, then the polling stations would not have been prepared to handle the crowds. They were supposed to receive enough for every voter, plus ten percent. This was not the case at any station.
- Lagos was not prepared for inclement weather. Many of polling stations had a small tarp over their operations. Torrential rains came around noon and if the stations were not close to an enclosed area then it would have made it very difficult to continue the voting process or count the ballots. More needs to be done to protect the stations from bad weather or hold the elections in the dry season.

Many problems existed with the process itself, but we felt that the overall process did not impede the will of the people to vote. People did not try to steal the ballots or ballot boxes. People were not overtly telling or directing people how to vote. Supplies might have lacked, but most election officials made the best of the situation and people accepted it and voted.

***The weather in Lagos hindered the team from traveling to polling stations. Torrential rains started at around noon and persisted until 4pm. At times our vehicle was submerged in water up the hood of the jeep. Therefore, we were not able to visit as many polling stations**

Team 3: Cross River State

Pre-Election Meetings

IRI's team for Cross River for the Presidential election arrived on April 17th and departed on April 20th. IRI attempted to meet again with the Cross River REC on Friday, April 18th, but she was not available. After many attempts, the team agreed to meet with another INEC official. The INEC official did not have any identification card, but identified himself as a PR staff member. He was extremely defensive about any questions regarding the timely distribution of materials and other problems witnessed by the IRI team during the National Assembly elections.

IRI's meetings with the PDP and UNPP were similar to that of the previous week and once again we found the ANPP offices closed and empty. The one meeting of interest was with the NDP. Upon arriving at the NDP office that we went to the previous week, the team was told that the state secretariat was in a different location and was taken there by the LGA secretariat staff.

The NDP's State Secretariat had approximately 50 people in the front yard listening to a speech being given by their gubernatorial candidate – Ambassador Obi Odu. While Odu concluded his speech, NDP's State Chairman met with the delegation to explain that their supporters were upset with the previous week's elections and that Odu was telling them to remain peaceful during the next day's polls.

Upon concluding his speech, Ambassador Odu joined the IRI team and openly explained that he had already accepted that there “would be no real election tomorrow” and that Governor Donald Duke (PDP) would be declared the winner. He explained that the results forms had been given to the PDP, which he claimed was the reason we saw no results forms at the polling stations during the National Assembly elections.

We spoke with Odu and his supporters, including his Mobile Police attendant, all of whom told the same story of fraud on April 12th and the upcoming fraud of the 19th.

On the night of April 18th, a young man visited the team claiming to have access to the PDP State Chairman's house and he had acquired an original copy of one of the results forms from the National Assembly elections. Regardless of this individual's credibility, the original copies of all results forms should only be in the possession of INEC and this was certainly an original form and not a carbon-copy.

Election Day

On Election Day, the team returned to the LGA Collation Center to follow the election materials to the polling station. The team observed the polls open at Big Qua Town Hall polling station, in Calabar Municipal LGA, Ward 4. While the polls did not open exactly

at 8:00 AM, the team noticed a slight improvement from the previous week in terms of getting materials out in time. This was the only improvement noted.

There were a large number of PDP youth (identifiable from their “Say No to Violence” t-shirts) were in front of the Big Qua Town Hall polling station when the IRI team arrived. At one point, we watched one of them jump on the back of a motorbike and chase after another young man. Moments later, we heard gunfire coming from their direction. The team also witnessed a PDP party agent who was heavily involved with the setting up of the polling station. Most importantly, no result forms were delivered to the polling station.

Throughout the day, the IRI team observed polling stations in Calabar Municipal, Calabar South, and Odukpani LGA’s. Once again, none of the polling stations had received results forms and voter privacy was typically non-existent. More disturbing was the fact that many polling stations had literally disappeared, most notable in Calabar South, but also in Odukpani and Calabar Municipal. Polling stations observed by the IRI team on April 12th were not in existence on April 19th. At each of these polling stations, IRI observed and often spoke with the registered voters assigned to the missing stations.

At the close of the polls, IRI went to the “RD 4 Fed. Housing” polling station, in Calabar Municipal LGA, Ward 8. While the polling station had not been issued a result form, the Presiding Officer counted the ballots. Although the PDP party agent was involved with the sorting and counting of the ballots, there was a security agent watching the entire process. The results were recorded on a scrap of brown paper as follows:

<u>Gubernatorial</u>	<u>Presidential</u>
ANPP – 16	ANPP – 9
GPN – 1	GPN – 1
JP – 5	JP – 20
NCP – 1	NCP – 0
NDP – 14	NDP – 4
PDP – 136	PDP - 113
UNPP – 6	UNPP – 2
Invalid – 26	Invalid – 14

Upon completion of the counting, the election officials and materials were driven to the ward collation center by an INEC van and accompanied by security agents. While following the INEC van, the IRI team met a small group of NDP supporters at another polling station in the same ward. The NDP supporters told the IRI team that no counting had been done at their polling station, because there was no result form. They explained that they were waiting for word from Ambassador Odu, but that he had told them to remain peaceful the day before.

When the INEC van arrived at the ward collation center, all of the ballot boxes were removed and brought inside by the Presiding Officers. After waiting about 15 minutes at the ward collation center, the ballot boxes were loaded into the van by security agents and

driven to the LGA collation center without the Presiding Officers. No collation or counting was done at the ward collation center and no forms were filled out there.

At the LGA collation center, the team witnessed election results being transferred from the forms that were supposed to be used at the ward collation centers onto the LGA-level result forms. While none of the ballot boxes appeared to contain more than 100 votes, the results being transcribed were very high with nearly all of the votes going to the PDP. After about 30 minutes at the LGA collation center, the team located the official result form for the “RD 4 Fed. Housing” polling station, Calabar Municipal LGA, Ward 8. The results on the forms read as follows:

Gubernatorial
NDP – 2
PDP – 700

Presidential
NDP – 2
PDP – 700

There were no invalid votes and no votes for any other parties. Also, there were only 656 registered voters listed at this polling station. Despite extremely low turnout observed on Election Day, there were 1,061,146 votes counted in Cross River out of a total of 1,289,192 total voters in the state – 82.31%. The number of total voters is for the entire state, but the number of votes counted is only for 15 of the 18 LGA’s in the state; at this writing, three LGA are yet to be reported in Cross River.

Team Four: Gombe State

Pre-Election Environment

Whether it was because of the moratorium on campaigning 24 hours prior to the election or simply because it was the day before what many were considering to be historic elections, we had difficulty finding and meeting with party leadership in their offices. However, we did go to great lengths to track them down, going to their homes and even to the governor’s office trying to find the party leaders. In the end, we had little success with actual meetings, but we did observe some sights worth noting. At the ANPP state headquarters, we saw a group of rowdy young men dressed in military-like uniforms. Although ANPP party members described them as the party’s “youth”, they looked more like a militia or like the “thugs” that have reportedly caused so much violence in the pre-election period throughout the country. Even more troubling, we saw a similar group of young men dressed in black and armed with clubs and machetes at the PDP gubernatorial candidate’s home. They were posing for a photo, but when we tried to take a picture of them, a PDP party member stopped us saying they didn’t want to be “blackmailed.” We reported seeing these groups to the INEC Regional Election Commissioner (REC) in one of our few successful meetings of the day. He indicated that he was in a meeting earlier with SSS and military officials where they decided they would need to make a “show of force” on election day to deter any violence.

Election Day

Our team observed the voting process in 12 polling stations and the opening and closing

process at 2 other polling stations. Of the fourteen, 5 polling stations were located in rural areas and 11 were located in Gombe's interior. We chose most of these specific locations based on comments from different political party representatives and the press indicating that these may be problematic areas.

Signs of progress:

Besides being stopped at a few military roadblocks and another run-in with some less than courteous army soldiers, the day's events went very smoothly. We saw improvements from last week's National Assembly elections in the areas of station openings, voter privacy, use of IRI Poll Agent Training manuals, domestic observers, and campaign materials in polling stations.

8 of the 12 stations we observed opened on time, as well as the stations where we observed the opening and closing. Of the 12 stations, 11 of them provided a voting area insuring the voter's privacy (the one failing station had a police officer standing in the voting area with the voter) and party agents were using IRI training manuals in 9 stations. Additionally, domestic observers were present in 5 stations and campaign materials were not posted in any of the polling stations—both significant improvements from the previous week. Lastly, we were impressed with the number of polling stations that has posted voter education and/or voter encouragement signs. We were also impressed with the Local Government Area (LGA) voter turnout of 65%.

Areas of concern:

In what we considered to be generally well-run and transparent elections, we did note some aspects where improvement would be welcome.

The station where we observed the opening was a rural ward collation center. Although it opened according to the prescribed guidelines and on time, we suspect that many of the polling stations in the collation center's ward did not open on time because of problems finding transportation to deliver their materials to them from the collation center. We observed one team of pollworkers walking with their materials without any security to a polling station that appeared to be more than a mile away. We suppose that this transportation problem was not unique to this ward, but is probably more prevalent in rural areas like this one.

We observed most of the rural polling stations in the morning and did not see any women voting. It was explained to us that the women would come to vote later in the day after the men (We also noted the absence of women voting in one city polling station. When we asked one of the pollworkers about this, he replied that women should not be voting since they do not have an opinion anyway). In the rural areas we observed in the afternoon, we did see women voting.

We noted that some of the polling stations were either not marking voters with the indelible ink or not marking every voter with the ink. We also remarked that some of the polling stations were using the EC-1A manual register rather than the computerized voter

list. We did not see any of the polling stations using the security seals on the ballot boxes (In our meeting with the REC, he explained that they were not using the seals because they did not fit through the holes in the ballot boxes). From what we saw, these irregularities were probably evidence of negligence or lack of training rather than fraudulent intentions.

Almost all of the ballot box locks were severely damaged to the point of not securing the box lids tightly. In addition, 7 of the 12 stations had received less ballots than the number of their registered voters.

Long lines seemed to be a problem at most of the polling stations. At many stations, voters were waiting to vote for at least an hour, while other voters waited up to 3 or 4 hours at a few stations.

We also observed several voters at each polling station that appeared to be underage, but had no way of confirming or refuting this.

The closing we observed went smoothly, with the exception of certain steps being done out of order (e.g., they did not count unused ballot papers, counterfoils, and spoiled ballots *before* counting the votes as required by the INEC guidelines). The counting was transparent with each vote being counted and announced out loud and results being reported accurately at both the ward and LGA levels. However, it was clear that the INEC guidelines could be less ambiguous and the pollworkers could use better training on the packing-up procedures (e.g., what materials go in which envelopes). The pollworkers also had difficulty completing the results forms. Essential equipment like flashlights and calculators were missing at both the polling station and ward collation levels, leaving us to provide them with ours. These are all shortcomings that were observed during the National Assembly elections, as well.

It is important to stress once again that we feel that most of these deficiencies in the voting process resulted from either negligence or poor training rather than from fraudulent intentions and we did not consider them to detract from our view that the elections and results we observed were legitimate and indicative of the will of the people.

Team Five: Imo State

Pre-Election Environment

On Thursday and Friday, the IRI team met with INEC officials and representatives from ANPP, AD, APGA, NDP, and UNPP. Each of the parties (with the exception of PDP, whose representatives the team was unable to meet) expressed extreme dissatisfaction with the Parliamentary elections. Most alleged that (1) the results announced at the Ward and LGA levels were not the same as those counted at the polling stations, and (2) pre-marking of ballots had been done prior to the elections themselves. The parties also all accused PDP members of pre-marking ballots during the run-up to the presidential and gubernatorial elections. Party representatives directed the IRI team to a house in Owerri

identified as belonging to a PDP member, to which a crowd had followed a vehicle filled with pre-marked ballots on Friday, the 18th. Although the team did not see any fraud, the team did witness an angry crowd of approximately 50 persons outside the house. The parties reported several specific instances of fraud during the Parliamentary elections, from armed police carrying boxes in Aboh Mbise, police Land Cruisers in Njaba LGA being used for rigging, senior members of the state government with security men at the polling stations, pre-marking of ballots at the Concord Hotel, ward results being announced at the LGA prior to completion of the ward's collation, ward returning officers being paid not to come to the ward collation, to police firing shots into the air to divert observers while ballot boxes were switched. On Monday, the 14th, the opposition parties had met and decided not to take part in Saturday's elections if the results from the previous week were not nullified. The parties admitted, though, that they would likely contest regardless.

The team also heard rumors of a number of persons in possession of already-filled ballot boxes who had been arrested by police early Friday morning. The team followed the lead (confirmed by both the APGA and ANPP chairmen and the INEC Chairman) to police headquarters, where the Deputy of CID confirmed that the boxes had been apprehended and were in the possession of the CID head. When the team spoke to the CID head, they were sent to the Deputy Police Commissioner, and then the Police Commissioner, both of whom denied any knowledge of the boxes but promised to follow up. In addition, the team was also told by APGA officials that 13 people had been killed in clashes between PDP and AD supporters in Oru West LGA, during which time the houses of two AD members were burned down. AD officials could not confirm this, although they repeated the rumor, and also told the team that the brother of AD's gubernatorial candidate had been "assassinated" in his home in Oru East LGA on Friday, the 18th. Though the team could not confirm any of these rumors (the Police Commissioner told the team that he had not heard any reports on these incidents), the number of rumors of this kind in Imo did suggest widespread distrust among the public of INEC, the state government, and the parties, and widespread doubt about the legitimacy of the results of the Parliamentary election.

At INEC, the team witnessed the ballots being arranged for delivery. The State INEC Chairman told the team the ballots would be sent to the LGA level Friday evening, where they would be guarded overnight by airmen, then disbursed to the stations early in the morning to avoid the previous week's late delivery (the Chairman reported that the ballots did not arrive in Imo State until 2 am the morning of election day the previous week). The team was given a certified copy of the results from the Parliamentary elections, but with three of the constituencies lacking results, the team questioned INEC's ability to certify the election given the incomplete nature of the results.

The team also noted a significantly higher security presence throughout the capital city of Owerri, primarily in the form of military roadblocks (not present during the Parliamentary elections). The team also saw a large number of soldiers being transported around the state.

Election Day

Opening

Although some polling stations visited reported receiving their materials on time and opening at 8 am, the IRI team visited approximately five stations prior to witnessing its first opening at 10 am. Because of the morning rains, the lines were short at that time. The team noted an absence of seals for the boxes, tamperproof envelopes, sufficient number of ink pads, and results forms. In almost all the stations visited, poll workers reported receiving an insufficient number of ballots in relationship to the number of registered voters.

Voting

Voting in the stations visited by the team was orderly, although in many stations there seemed to be a lack of understanding both by poll workers, party agents, and voters on the importance of secrecy during the voting process (voting in clear view of other voters/agents/observers or folding of ballots so intent was clearly seen). Many party agents did seem very aware of the problems associated with the missing results forms. The team noted the presence of domestic observers (JDPC, TMG, and Labor) at over half the stations visited, and party agents at all stations. Many of the stations visited lacked any security presence, while others only had one police officer present. In several of these cases, the voters appeared to be self-policing their station- in one case a voter announced to several young men standing outside the station, “I have been told that some of you have already voted here. If you vote twice here, you will die here.” In another case, the traditional chief (identified by several party agents and the domestic observer as a PDP supporter) of the area was supervising the voting procedure.

When leaving Aboh Mbisa LGA (a rural area) at 11:30 am, the IRI team was flagged down by a car of APGA agents, who were on their way to Owerri to report an incidence of ballot fraud. The team was directed back down the road they had already traveled to a site where a crowd of approximately 100 had overturned a car (license tag #AE690-ABB) outside a house. People within the crowd identified the house as belonging to a PDP supporter, Mr. Lawrence Nawagwa, and told the team they had gathered outside the house because they had heard rumors of pre-marking of ballots inside. When a vehicle (with no INEC markings) left the house, the crowd “inspected” it, noting that it was full of ballot papers. The angry crowd then overturned the vehicle, and the driver ran back into the house. The team observed somewhere between 500 and 1000 ballots strewn around the car and on the road. Most of the ballots were unmarked, but a number were thumb printed for PDP. Also inside the vehicle was an INEC bag and vest. The crowd insisted that the IRI team report this to INEC.

The team also visited two polling stations in Oguta LGA at which the voters had decided to boycott the election because no results forms had been given to the stations. The voters and party agents expressed their concern that without the results forms the election would be “rigged just like it was last week”. One policeman at one of the stations told the team, “this is not a democracy,” explaining that the INEC poll workers had been reluctant to give either the police and the voters information on why there were no results

forms or how to remedy the situation.

Polling stations visited: Ekeduru LGA: Nwaorie Polling Station (Abvue); Aboh Mbise LGA: Nguru Town School (Nguru), Oh Community School (Eyniougugu), Umengo Hall (Ezuala Ogwu), Ogwu Okwu Primary School (Nguru-Nkenkwo), Umuopara Community School (Nguru), Central School (Nguru); Oguta LGA: Community Primary School (Eziorosu), Amayi Primary School (Eziorosu); Ohaji-Egbema LGA: Opuomoa Polling Station (Opuomoa).

Closing

Counting was not done at any of the polling stations in Ohaji-Egbema LGA, reportedly for “security reasons” (no one the team talked to could expand on that answer). Neither was counting done at the ward level- all polling stations’ presiding officers and clerks had brought their boxes to the LGA center to be counted and then collated. The team observed the counting process for almost three hours, during which time there were no INEC officials (Ward or LGA returning officers) present. The presiding officers were given results forms at the LGA Center by “supervising officers” who had no apparent duty other than to provide the forms. The counting appeared to be supervised by a man who identified himself as SSS, who in several instances made the final decision on whether a ballot was valid or not. In almost all cases, the count of each station was supervised by party agents and security personnel from the stations.

The team watched the counting for most of the stations, and with only a handful of exceptions the results were heavily in favor of APGA, with PDP in second. Two notable exceptions were observed by the team. In the first case, one station arrived for counting considerably later than the rest. One party agent told the IRI team that the polling station only had one box, but when the presiding officer arrived at the LGA he had two boxes. He proceeded to quickly pour the contents of both boxes together, even though he told the observers that one box was for the presidential race, the other for governor. The results of that count were as follows: 427 PDP, 67 APGA, 27 ANPP. The team requested to look at the stamps on the back of the ballots and noted three different signatures on the stamps, and two different kinds of ink used for the stamps. The dispute regarding this polling station continued for over an hour. In the second case, another polling station which had results strongly in favor of PDP, one of the party agents requested that the team look at the stamps on the counted ballots as in the other case. A poll clerk, who was guarding the box, replied that he could not open the box to allow examination of the ballots because the presiding officer had the key. The presiding officer was never found, and the team observed the poll clerk explaining the situation to two policemen (who the team had watched count the same ballots earlier), gesturing a stamping motion. One of the team members sat with the boxes for over an hour, but the box was never opened.

At approximately 6:45, opposition party agents asked one of the IRI team members to observe what was happening in a back room (later identified as the office of the Transition Chairman for the LGA). The room was guarded by men identified as PDP agents, who were very agitated at the appearance of the IRI team member. He later returned with another team member, to watch several opposition party agents push their

way into the room and come out with handfuls of ballots and in one case a ballot box, yelling, “this election is rigged!” They ran around the LGA center, during which time chaos broke out and the team observed several people grabbing boxes of ballots that had already been counted and running away from the LGA Center. During this commotion soldiers present fired a round of ammunition into the air. Those that had broken into the room and grabbed the ballots also had run away from the Center, reportedly followed by PDP supporters. Several witnesses reported to the team that thumb printing of ballots had been going on in the Chairman’s office, which had incited the resulting disturbance. As a result of the chaos it was impossible to ensure the integrity of the boxes during that time, calling the results into question. The absence of any returning officers, and as a result absence of collation of results, would also call into question any results coming from that LGA.

The team returned to Owerri, the capital, and visited the LGA Center for Owerri Municipal. At the Center, they met with two presiding officers from stations at Owerri Girls Secondary School (at which the IRI Imo Team from the Parliamentary election had observed closing), who informed the team that at approximately 2:30 pm, a group of men attempted to steal the stations’ ballot boxes. They were repulsed by the crowd and drove away, after which the gates to the school were closed to prevent further vehicles from entering. Soon after, the men returned with more men, parking their mini-bus outside the school walls, scaling the wall, and forcibly removing the boxes (full of ballots from the voting). They managed to escape the angry crowd of voters on foot, according to the presiding officers, but the crowd surrounded their “get-away vehicle” and proceeded to set it on fire. The team observed the burned-out bus later that evening. Similar accounts were reported by two more polling stations’ presiding officers within that ward (for a total of 4 of the 9 stations within the ward being stolen).

The team then visited the INEC State Headquarters to learn whether what happened in Ohaji-Egbema LGA had occurred elsewhere. At INEC, the team was told by UNPP representatives that there had been further instances of ballot box theft in the neighboring LGA Owerri North. According to their reports, the Federal Minister of Aviation had led a team of soldiers and mobile police into a Ward Collation Center (Emekuku Wards 1 & 2) located at Emekuku High School, where the Minister and her security team had taken the boxes that had arrived thus far (estimated between 2 and 5) and removed them forcibly. The team visited the High School, which was dark and had been abandoned. The team then followed the UNPP representatives and INEC officials from Headquarters to the Owerri North LGA Center, where it was confirmed that the boxes had been stolen, although the Minister was not identified as having taken part in the disruption. The LGA officials told the IRI team that the boxes from Emekuku Ward 1 had been recovered (they were found abandoned in a polling center), but two were still missing from Emekuku Ward 2. The LGA Returning Officer had decided, however, to include the results from the polling stations whose boxes had been stolen because the presiding officers had retained the results forms. Another station, Ngwoma Obube, which had its box stolen at the polling station prior to counting, was recorded by the LGA officials as having “no result”. The team noted a very strong military presence at the LGA.

The IRI team returned to INEC Headquarters a final time to ascertain if any other complaints had come in from other LGAs. The Chairman still did not have a comprehensive report on the morning incident with the overturned car and ballot papers from Aboh Mbise LGA, and he had not heard about the incident at Ohaji-Egbema LGA. The Chairman did tell the team that the LGA Collation Center for Ahuzu Mbise had been burned down and the results of that LGA would likely be cancelled, but he was unsure of the details.

Summary

The IRI team deployed to Imo State for the Presidential and Gubernatorial elections witnessed systematic attempts at all stages of the voting process to alter the election results throughout the state. The team personally saw evidence of pre-election preparation of ballots (i.e., thumb printing and ballot box stuffing), supplanting of legitimate ballot boxes with tampered boxes after the counting at the polling station level, and forcible removal/theft of ballots and ballot boxes from polling stations during the voting process. The team also noted a significantly heightened military presence in the state, as well as the presence of groups of young men loitering around the polling stations who were identified as “thugs”. In reference to INEC procedures on polling day, the team witnessed a lack of understanding regarding secrecy, and noted the absence of results forms (as well as ballot box seals) at all but one of the polling stations visited. Overall, the team noted widespread public distrust of the credibility of the electoral process.

Both from observing the voting during election day and the counting of ballots in 7 different LGAs, the team concluded that Imo State, or at least the LGAs visited, were all APGA strongholds. It is noteworthy, therefore, that in all but one of these LGAs (Owerri Municipal), the PDP incumbents retained their seats during the Parliamentary elections (in one case, Ohaji-Egbema/Oguta Constituency, by 96.8% of the vote).

Team Six: Kogi State

Team 6 conducted a number of meetings in Lokoja, the capital of Kogi State, in the days leading up to the presidential/gubernatorial elections. It is worth noting that at every one of the meetings we held, the mention of IRI ensured a warm welcome. Everyone was familiar with IRI’s training activities and was pleased to see us.

Pre-Election Meetings

We met with the JDPC, who reported that they were deploying 800 domestic observers. JDPC also fielded observers at the national assembly elections the previous weekend. Based on reports from their observers from the previous weekend, they identified several key areas that they recommended we visit (Ida and Okene). They expressed dissatisfaction with the previous elections and commented that, INEC “has no commitment to the process.” We had hoped to follow up with this organization on the

morning of the 20th but as it was Easter Sunday were unable to do so.

We also met with representatives of all of the key political parties, including PDP, ANPP, UNPP, and AD. There was no one present at the AGPA office or the NDP office. In the meeting with the PDP, the key concern expressed was the lack of security. The representative interestingly noted that he was aware of the illegal printing of ballots and the stockpiling of arms. We inquired further about these matters, but he seemed reluctant to provide additional details.

At the AD office the representative was anxious to point out the fact that unlike the PDP, they had a manifesto and their party was based on ideology rather than personalities. He was clearly unhappy with the alliance that had been brokered between the AD and the PDP and complained that “people don’t want AD to win.” We commented on the fact that the AD gubernatorial candidate was a woman (her poster was displayed throughout the office), but then they said that later that day (the day before the election) that they were going to remove her as their candidate and form an alliance with some other party that they would not reveal to us. It was apparent that their candidate was unaware of the plan that they were discussing with us. The representatives said that they were removing her because she was not campaigning and the party was not happy with her performance. When we inquired about how this last-minute change would be communicated to their supporters, they appeared unconcerned. With regard to the security issue, rather than be concerned that there would not be enough security, they feared that there would be too much security and the voters would be intimidated.

The Secretary of the ANPP was particularly agitated with the election process. He insisted that the “PDP wants to take over at all costs.” He claimed his party activists had been “whipped and tied” by PDP. He alleged that two ANPP supporters were killed on the Wednesday before the presidential elections and that security forces were responsible. He also claimed that PDP sent soldiers to ANPP leadership houses to attack them on the Sunday after the national assembly elections. He insisted that only the police should be deployed to keep the peace during the elections, and not the military. He assured us that nonviolence was the ANPP’s “gospel” but it was clear that he was frustrated and made a veiled threat of violence when he said “there are places where we can seek redress.”

The UNPP chairman expressed some of the same concerns that the other parties had with regard to PDP wanting to “win by any means.” He complained that they didn’t have enough money to have party agents at each of the polling stations and the ones they did have he feared had been “bought” by parties with more money. When we asked if he had submitted complaints to INEC, he responded that there is “no point in submitting complaints to INEC because they will do nothing.” He acknowledged that the PDP will win the presidency, but argued that the fact that they have included the gubernatorial election on the same day will ensure that they also secure the governor positions as well. The UNPP position is that the two elections should be held separately. Before we left he proudly displayed his copy of the IRI polling agent training manual, which he said to have used to train his party agents.

Finally we met with INEC chairman for Kogi State. Despite the fact that the INEC compound was littered with vehicles in disrepair, he assured us that all the election materials had been distributed to the LGAs. In fact, earlier that morning we observed boxes of ballots and other election materials being loaded into INEC vehicles. When we asked about security at the polling stations, he explained that the reason the military would be deployed is that “people fear the soldier, not the police.” We asked whether their presence would make voters feel more safe or intimidated, and he claimed that the presence of soldiers would make people feel safer. He acknowledged that there had been some problems with the computerized voter registration lists, which is why some polling stations would be using a manual list as well (we did not see a manual list being used during our observations). When asked whether the political parties had been provided with a list of the registered voters in Kogi State he repeated what we had been told in Abuja: the parties had been given a CD with a list of the voters. In fact, the parties only received a CD with a list of the polling station locations NOT a list of registered voters. Our understanding is that the voters list was never made available to any independent monitoring group or political party.

Election Day

On election day the team visited 17 polling stations (2 in Lakoja city, and 15—some briefly-- in Okene and adjacent districts about 1 hour from Lakoja) a collation center and the local government administration (LGA). On April 20, the team visited the LGA State central collation center in Lakoja. Okene district had been cited during our Friday meetings as a potential problem area, given difficulties encountered and some violence during the April 12 election. Five wards in the LGA where election materials had not been received last week had the April 12 election rescheduled for April 16 and thus were preparing for the third election in eight days.

Positive Developments:

The polling stations received all materials and opened reasonably close to the appointed opening time. Election officials were present, party agents for the major parties were present and in some cases for other parties as well. At least one domestic observer was present at most of the stations, mainly from Labor (more women than men wearing the Labor red hat) and FOWAN, as well as some representatives from TMG and JDPC.

Turnout appeared to be high, with significant numbers of voters willing to wait patiently in line. In one polling station, the voters lined up at 7:30 had been issued numbers for their place in line. INEC officials only arrived at 8:00, so it appears one of the domestic observer groups organized this to help bring order to what otherwise would have certainly been chaos. None of the verbal altercations we observed escalated into physical violence. All polling stations were operating only with a computerized registration list (unlike April 12 where some polling stations had a manual list which did not accord with the computerized list which had been reportedly a source of dispute). However, names were not numbered so officials had to count manually to know how many were on the list. We did see some voters presenting their exchange slips which were accepted; we did not see the exchange slips being handed in for voting cards. Police were present at each polling station but there were few military obviously present, contrary to what was the

case for the April 12 election. Some voters were pleased with this state of affairs; others said they would like to see more military to ensure a peaceful election.

The team divided at closing time to witness several closings (all of which were in close proximity). One closing which we observed was conducted well by the presiding officer and his clerk and was orderly and non-contentious, as was the count at the collation center to which the station reported. The other closing process was less orderly, dominated by young men and under the watchful eye of soldiers with very large guns. We were given a copy of the results sheets from the collation center and the numbers for both polling stations corresponded to the numbers reported to the LGA.

Areas of concern:

We observed directly: underage voting (confirmed by direct discussion); multiple voting (handing of voter cards to other waiting in line); inappropriate assistance from party agents (actual thumb printing for the voter, folding and insertion of ballots in boxes); open ballot boxes (the majority of polling stations); no use of seals on ballot boxes; indelible ink not always used; early closing (1:00pm in the station where we observed the closing); campaign posters too close to polling stations polling stations too close together (five in one school compound, for example); more votes than registered voters; poor arrangement of polling station (not enough space for election officials to operate and no privacy for voters); unauthorized (or at least not wearing official identification) personnel next to presiding officials and exhorting voters; poor or no accountability for election materials (officials not certain how many ballots they had received, not signing over ballots to next step, etc.); and lack of identification (most polling stations had no signs).

Discussion:

(1) “Welcome, you’re welcome, welcome”

In most places PDP party agents, police, or in one case someone identifying himself as a Nigerian intelligence officer, hastened up to us as soon as we arrived to assure us that everything was going well, there were no problems, it will be peaceful, etc. even before we had begun to talk to anyone. This seemed a case of protesting too much, or at least a desire to have observers set the standard of a successful election as one with no violence rather than our focusing on flaws in the process.

(2) “No privacy, no problem!”

Many voters, election officials, and party agents assured us that lack of privacy was not a problem or as one police officer intently watching voters cast their ballot said, “no privacy, no problem.” One voter said that the many illiterate voters needed explanation and coaching in how to designate their choices on the ballots so that open voting is not a concern and, in many cases, is essential if a person is to cast a vote which would not result in a spoiled ballot. Many voiced the opinion that there were too many parties on the ballot and that the party symbols were not easily distinguishable, in addition to the complaint that the space for the thumbprint was too small. Similarly, open ballot boxes were defended on the grounds that the opening was too small to accommodate easily a three or four ply folded ballot paper and open boxes were necessary to keep the lines

moving. The best laid out polling station was in a Town Hall which we were told was not the designated polling station but had been impressed into service that morning to avoid predicted rain.

(3) “Women – coming on strong”

Approximately half of the polling stations had women clerks. Those stations in general operated more smoothly and appeared to be orderly than those manned entirely by young men. In general, most of the presiding officers and clerks appeared to be young, as did the preponderance of party agents. Women were well represented in the voter queues and Muslim women, in particular, seemed to be active as observers and election officials.

Team Seven: Katsina State

Pre-election Environment

Team seven arrived in Katsina the evening of April 17, 2003. International Observers were met by ANPP party members shortly after their arrival who informed the team that ballot boxes were being made at Saulawa Machine-Tudun Wada. At the time of the team’s visit to the site there was a large crowd and a number of ballot boxes that the crowd claimed were for the Saturday election. There were also police officers packing up the boxes, which were later taken to the Police Headquarters Compound. The deputy Governor, who decamped from PDP to ANPP, was at the scene as well. He denied knowledge of any award of ballot boxes contract for SEIC by the State Government.

The Team later met with the Police Commissioner who said, the boxes were indeed being produce for the State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC) for the local elections slated for June. The team also met with the INEC Commissioner who confirmed that the Commission has a written policy that they do not provide boxes/materials to State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC) to conduct the Local Government Elections. The Police Commissioner, ANPP members and the ballot box contractor agreed to let the police take control of the boxes to keep peace and protect the property until after the Saturday’s election.

The team later confirmed the re-appearance of one of the Returning Officer who was missing during the Parliamentary elections. According to INEC, the woman was kidnapped but was found at 6am the following day crying and without the election results. The INEC officials, Party Agents, State Security and the Police all agreed to use the copies of that Ward results that they all have.

On April 18, 2003, the team visited the newly appointed Police Commissioner, who said the recent replacement of his predecessor was the normal routine in the Police Force. The team also visited the SIEC office to find out about the contract of the ballot boxes, but as at ten o’clock none of the officers was around.

Pre-Election Meetings

Katsina State Governor

The team met with the Governor, who said the Police Commissioner had been replaced for incompetence and that the Military had been brought in to protect major facilities such as water, the INEC office, electricity and other infrastructures. The Governor said that Katsina has never had cases of violence before, but experienced some incidents after the first election when results were announced. No arrest was made, but people were harassed. He said this showed the incompetence of the Commissioner of Police.

Political Parties

The day before the Nigeria's Presidential and Gubernatorial Election, the team met with the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), People's Democratic Party (PDP) and United Nigeria People's Party (UNPP). All the parties had IRI Polling Agents manuals. The parties anticipated violence during the polls. According to the ANPP State Chairman, all state party chairmen had been summoned to meet with the new Police Commissioner. ANPP Chairman denied any knowledge of any existing policy between INEC and SEIC regarding providing ballot boxes/materials to SIEC. He further remarked that party agents in preformed well during the last election. He found no discrepancies in the copy of results brought to party officials. However he did note cases of intimidated of party agents, full ballot boxes ballots in areas where elections did not hold, empty boxes from polling station arriving full at ward collation centers. A representative of UNPP at the Secretariat said that PDP and UNPP have a working alliance with PDP for the gubernatorial not but not presidential election.

Election Day

Team seven observed most polling stations opened on time and at least one domestic observer was present in the polling stations. The team visited Wakilin Kudu and witnessed three different polling stations with only one policeman in charge. The team witnessed multiple voting by some very young voters who seems to be moving from one polling station to the other. The area was not orderly and very young voters were also sharing slips. There was also an old man distributing money to young voters behind a building at the voting area. At Batsari-Sabon gari the team witnessed voting taking place in a room with ballot box. A police officer directly inside the doorway was instructing voters while party agents stood in the doorway watching voting. The queue of people waiting to vote was also right near the door and allowed people to see votes cast. At Bakyawa ward, Into-tsa polling station, the team witnessed an agent collect all the voting cards call voters to come forward to vote.

In most of the places visited the ballot boxes were neither sealed nor secured. In some places women had separate queues, while in others the team was told women would vote later.

The team also noticed military and paramilitary men in trucks traveling between villages and at INEC offices. The team did not witness closing of a polling station.

At the LGA collation the team witnessed the presence of all party agents, electoral officers and policemen. The collation was orderly and all Returning officers seem to have done their work efficiently.

Team Eight: Oyo State

Pre-election Meetings

INEC

The team met with the INEC commissioner for Oyo state, Mr. K.A. Balogun. He was very accommodating and quite certain about the administrative aspects of the election on Saturday. Ballot boxes and other materials were received on Wednesday April 16th, were being kept under armed guard and to be distributed on Friday, April 17 to 783 sites.

The commissioner was confident that most, if not all of the election workers were well trained. In an effort to ensure that they would not be biased in any way, the workers have all been moved to new sites from the ones where they worked in the legislative elections.

He indicated that there were few complaints from voters during the previous election.

However, it is important to recognize that during the legislative elections one of the districts did not report its returns until well past the deadline and the effect was to overturn the results in that district.

All polling places are expected to be open between 8:00 a.m. and 9:00 a.m. on Saturday.

Security has been tripled because this election is “so critical.” The commissioner met today (April 16th) with the army brigade commander, police officials and others to ensure that the security forces would perform their jobs in an appropriate way. Special deployments will be made to potential trouble spots.

Police

The first meeting of the day was with the State Commissioner of the National Police Force, Mr. K.O. Opoke. He indicated that his forces were prepared for all eventualities and that security would be increased in areas where there was the potential for trouble.

The commissioner said that he thought there could be problems in the more rural areas of the state and, in particular in Ogbomosho, Shaki and areas where the AD lost in the legislative elections.

In total, he anticipated having 5,000 police officers in the field for elections; civil defense personnel, the customs service and the immigration service will supplement Police efforts.

There was a clear delineation of responsibility between the military and the civilian police force. The police will man the polling places while the military was responsible for delivering materials and for security at the collation stations.

The commissioner speculated that the most likely forms of trouble would be disruptions at the polling places in order to discourage voting and by people trying to hijack ballot boxes.

The commissioner said that most of the allegations of impropriety, including a recent contention that an arms cache was looted, have thus far proven not to be true. In general, both of the major parties (PDP and AD) are highly suspicious of each other.

The commissioner was less optimistic than the INEC commissioner that all the polls would open on time. His police force does not have the logistical means to simultaneously deliver all the ballots to each site especially because some remote locations are inaccessible by car and materials would have to be delivered by motorbike or on foot.

Candidates

IRI Team 8 met with the PDP candidate for governor, Rashidi Adewolu-Ladjoa at his home in Ibadan.

He expressed extreme confidence and fully expects to win tomorrow. He believes the election will be free and fair.

He noted that there had been some intimidation of voters and that there are some names missing from the voter lists, but, in general, he thought that these problems were really quite minor.

He did not feel that he had been treated fairly by the state run media. He claimed he is charged 6,500 Naira per minute for advertising, while his main opponent (the incumbent) is not charged. He estimated that he had spent between 50 and 60 million Naira on the campaign.

The PDP will have poll workers at every polling place, and two workers at many sites. Although the PDP will have the polling places fully manned, he did believe that the poll workers could be better trained.

Finally, he did say that he thought some of the mechanical aspects of the voting process could be improved. Specifically, he referred to the small area on the ballot for a thumbprint and the reliance on inkpads that dry out.

Political Parties

The team met with the State Administrative Secretary of the AD at its party headquarters in Ibadan. He predicted that there might be violence, but that the party had gone to great lengths to train its poll workers. He showed us the IRI materials that the AD used to train their workers. "Above all, we do not want a crisis," he said. He estimated that the AD would have at least one party representative in each of the 4, 784 polling units in the state. The AD, like the PDP, is paying their party agents. Like the police commissioner, he said that there are problems in the rural areas where communications issues are hard to resolve. He also speculated that there might be trouble in delivering materials to the rural sites.

The Administrative Secretary had very little good to say about INEC. INEC has shown bias in the way it has inserted itself, the secretary said. He indicated that he has no confidence in INEC's ability to respond to problems and contended that the government (PDP) "owns" INEC. He did, however, express confidence in the judiciary. He speculated that there has been some early voting and that there has been some vote buying. Neither of these allegations could be substantiated.

Election Day

Opening

The three members of Team 8 (Oyo State) moved out at about 7:30 a.m. to three polling sites in Ibadan to monitor opening procedure, including polling site 034, Are Close Avenue in Ibadan.

The polling place received its materials at about 8:15 a.m. All personnel were in place at the opening. Party agents were in attendance from the PDP, AD and the NRP.

The opening was a bit confusing, especially because the poll workers were stressed because there were already about 25 people waiting to vote. The only major problem was that the plastic seal could not be inserted into the ballot box, so seals were not used. The boxes were, however, locked.

The polling site was outdoors under a commercial tent. Voters moved quickly through the process, could vote in a reasonably private place and deposited their ballots in boxes that were in full view.

Voting Process

During the course of the day, we visited several other polling sites in Ibadan, out in the countryside and in Oyo town.

Generally speaking, the voting was quite orderly and managed well. There were several shortcomings that could lead to voting irregularities and outright voter fraud. However, the team observed nothing that would indicate that the results from the 9 sites that Team 8 visited were substantially invalid.

- Sealing of voting machines was irregular, at best. Many of the machines were fabricated in a manner that prevented the plastic seals from being inserted. As a result, the seals were not used. In all cases, except at one location, the voting boxes were locked.
- At one location the ballot boxes were placed in a closed room. Obviously, the privacy afforded by this configuration could allow an unscrupulous voter to stuff the ballot box. Again, the team saw no evidence that this had happened, and the poll workers rectified the situation when the team brought it to their attention.
- There were two incidents at one location where it appeared that underage persons were casting votes. In the absence of a system to verify that the voter who holds a voter registration card is, in fact, that person, this situation could easily lead to voter fraud.
- At one location, assistance was given to several individuals with impaired vision. The same person rendered this assistance in each instance. A system of assistance for the blind and sight-impaired should be developed.

Closing

Each of the members of Team 8 returned to the sites they opened to monitor closing activities.

At Are Close Avenue, Ibadan site 034, all procedures were followed. A recount in the presidential balloting was requested and was granted.

Collation

Team 8 went to the ward and state collation centers. The ward collation activities were conducted at a local Methodist school in Ibadan and the state collation activities were conducted at the INEC headquarters.

Police and military security was quite tight at both locations. The local collation center needed lighting, which was provided by Team 8 until such time as the officials could utilize a portable generator.

In both cases the collation process was organized and orderly.

Team Nine: Bauchi State

Team 9 observed 2 openings and visited 11 polling stations and 1 closing station throughout the Bauchi Local Government Area (LGA) for the 19 April Presidential/Gubernatorial Election. The team concluded the observation by following the counting/tabulation and collation process from the Polling Station through the ward

and LGA levels (02-11-011).

Pre-Election Meetings

EU Long Term Observers

The observers noted that there was a general feeling of anxiety in Bauchi occasioned by how the April 12 Elections were handled.

Bauchi Deputy Police Commissioner

The DPC pointed out that he would be deploying 4,000 police including 2,000 new graduates. He did not feel that there was any threat of violence but was playing it safe. Contrary to reports we heard from the EU Observers and ANPP, he said that there had been no deaths related to elections in Bauchi.

Parties

UNPP Director of Organization Ibrahim Abdullahi told the team that his party had used consensus to select the candidates. The gubernatorial candidate primarily funded the campaigns, as they had not carried out any fundraising activity. Abdullahi complained that the media was biased in favor of PDP. Women primarily carried out the door-to-door campaign. The party had trained agents using the IRI manual.

We met with the ANPP Secretary of Screening Usman Jibril and a senior party official A.U. Misau. The latter said that on the night of April 16 on a tip of from party supporters he witnessed the thumb printing of ballot papers by PDP agents who were being guarded by policemen. When he reported this to the SSS no action was taken. They reported that after the elections on April 12 an ANPP party agent died after an attack by PDP supporters. The party decried the unequal access to the media, citing occasions where paid advertisements were not covered and monies refunded. The party had written to INEC threatening to boycott the elections based on anomalies that arose after the first election but received no response.

PDP Regional Finance Manager was happy with the media coverage the party had received and blamed any problems on the failure of losers to accept defeat. Government beneficiaries and donations from party members financed the party.

INEC

Team 9 met with the Public Affairs Officer on 18 April who pointed out that INEC distributed all materials to all the LGAs on the previous day. Of note, there remained at the INEC office boxes of the green security seals (about which he was not informed) and in excess of 200 undistributed ballot boxes. INEC confirmed that it conducted civic education through the local media, government officials, and religious leaders to inform the wider public and training seminars targeting election officers.

INEC Local Government Headquarters

On 18 April, Team 9 arrived at the INEC Local Government Headquarters to discover the Supervising Presiding Officer preparing materials for distribution to polling stations later

in the day. INEC withheld sensitive materials for distribution, such as the ballot papers, until the following morning except for areas on the periphery of the LGA. On the morning of the election (19 April), the distribution process was still ongoing, but it appeared orderly.

Election Day

Openings:

Team 9 observed two polling station openings (02-11-066 and 02-11-58). Both commenced between 8:00-8:30 AM and were fairly well organized. All materials were available in sufficient quantity and in most cases used correctly, excluding the INEC issued green security seals and clear labels indicating presidential and gubernatorial ballot.

Though the area outside of the polling station appeared secure prior to opening and we did not observe any direct influence or intimidation of voters, campaign material and party offices were within a distance of 300m of the polling station. Polling station 066 did not have capability to provide for secret balloting.

Polling:

Of the 10 polling stations we observed, all opened on time or before 8:30AM and were fairly well organized. All Polling officials received INEC training and examinations. Security presence was heavy, except in the two rural polling stations that team 9 observed (02-06-011 and 02-09-027).

Though team 9 did not witness any direct acts of intimidation or interference in the voting process, under-age, group, and open voting were observed in polling station 066, 009, 013

In addition, failure to use register and indelible ink was reported in polling station 009, 013, whereas in other polling stations only the manual register was used. The presiding officer in polling station 013 indicated that there were several cases of double voting.

Party agents were generally passive with the exception of polling station 013, where PDP party agents in some cases interfered with the observation process. On average, most parties had a 2-3 agent presence, barring polling station 02-03-059, where PDP deployed 10 agents.

Domestic observers were present in most polling stations except one of the rural units (02-06-011).

Closing and Collation:

The closing process at polling station 02-11-011 was timely and orderly. The presiding officer appeared knowledgeable and in control of the closing and counting procedures. The Presiding Officer properly tabulated the results record, however, he did not properly secure and seal unused ballots, counterfoils, or spoiled ballots.

In most cases, PDP, ANPP, UNPP and MDJ political party polling agents were present for the closing process from this polling station through the Hardo-Daniya Ward. Team 9 did not at any point during our observation of the tabulation and collation process through the LGA level witness a request for a recount of the votes for the ballots at polling station 02-11-011. The Transition Monitoring Group, a domestic observation organization, was present through all stages of the counting and collation processes.

The police and military security presence was heavy at the Hardo-Daniya ward where Team 9 recorded the election results of 54 of the 67 polling stations in that ward. Part way through the collation process, LGA officers, poll watchers, and security members halted the collation process for over one half hour to attend the evening prayer for Muslims. The LGA officer took all collation materials with him to the Mosque, including polling station results records that were already processed. It does not appear any malfeasance occurred.

Team Ten: Nassarawa State

Election Day

IRI visited several polling stations in the OBI district. At 10:30, IRI stopped by OBI 13 polling station and observed that the polling had not yet begun. There were about 20 people in the vicinity. Because polling had not begun, IRI left and visited several other polling stations.

The next OBI station visited at 10:45 had finished voting, the ballot box was open, and the votes were being counted. IRI stayed and noted with interest that 100% of the ballots cast were for PDP. As IRI left this polling station, the PDP chairman, recognized from a meeting the day before, pulled up in a several car caravan, the villagers cheered, and INEC placed the cast ballots, and results sheets into one of the cars. IRI proceeded to confirm ahead of this particular caravan that the balloting was complete in this district, that each polling station had recorded 100% for PDP, and that INEC officials were waiting for, and then surrendered their ballots to a PDP official to be transported to the ward coalition center. IRI stopped back by OBI 13 at 12:30. At that time IRI was informed by INEC officials that the voting had completed, and that over 800 ballots had been cast for PDP. Remarkably, in two hours, the votes had been cast and counted. IRI inspected the cast ballots. The ballots had not been folded and were not creased in anyway for deposit into a locked ballot box. The ballots, although marked, were in reversed chronological order. The computer registration list was in pristine and unused condition. Each ballot appeared to have been marked in the same way.

Areas of Concern:

Multiple Voting

IRI followed several people from poll station to poll station and witnessed the same people voting more than once.

Voter Cards

IRI witnessed an INEC official collecting voter registration cards from voters and placing them in a black plastic sack under the polling station table. At one point, IRI witnessed the INEC official passing the sack with approximately 250 voter registration cards to a teenage boy without recognizable credentials.

Administrative Problems

IRI saw extreme administrative problems including lack of voter privacy, lack of ballot control, misuse or nonuse of voter registration materials, lists and cards, the absence of separate voter registration and ballot marking areas necessitating voters marking ballots in front of INEC workers, non-secured ballot boxes, open campaigning in polling areas, and INEC failure to follow ballot security procedures.

Team Eleven: Ogun State

Pre-Election Environment

The team traveled to the city of Abeokuta in southwestern Nigeria on Thursday, April 17, arriving in the early afternoon and proceeding directly to the regional INEC and police headquarters for introductions. The team was welcomed at each location and had a useful interview with INEC director, Mr. Ekpeyong Nsa, who made it clear that they would be welcomed by INEC throughout the election period. Mr. Nsa acknowledged some of the logistical problems with the April 12 polls, but was confident that most of these had been remedied. He explained that presiding officers had received some additional information/training since the April 12th polls (and provided the team with a copy of the handout they should have received). Mr. Nsa also noted that tendered ballots would not be used in Ogun state. As long as election officials and poll agents recognized voters they would be allowed to vote, he said.

On Friday, attempts to meet with local party officials and members from civil society were largely frustrated due to the Good Friday public holiday. In the afternoon, the team attended a committee meeting at INEC headquarters, comprising INEC officials, representatives from approximately eight political parties, media representatives, and members of the police, customs, and immigration security services. This group had met regularly in the run-up to the April 12 legislative elections and the April 19 presidential and gubernatorial elections to discuss the process and come to a common understanding of accepted electoral procedures. On Election Day, the group was divided into teams of two to three to travel the state, oversee the process, and answer any questions arising at the polling or collation centers. The same group was invited to meet on the evening of Election Day to count together the results coming in from the LGAs.

At the INEC meeting on Friday afternoon, an INEC official provided all present with information on the number of ballots for each election which had been sent to each LGA. He did not have information on the serial numbers of the ballots that went to each area, as

he said he had arrived at INEC after dissemination of materials had already begun and had not had time to record all information. A number of party representatives were upset by this, but the organizing secretary, who was running the meeting, made the case that because the numbers of ballots distributed were known, this would not present a problem.

Late in the day the team had a productive interview with a journalist at the National Union of Journalists' Ogun state headquarters. He was able to facilitate a meeting with the Ogun State governor, Olusegun Osoba. During the meeting, the journalist explained that the state government owned the television and radio stations, but that the Federal Radio Corporation was supposed to open a station soon. NTA is also available in Ogun, though independent media is limited. He seemed to think the media in Ogun gave most of its attention to the two leading parties, the AD and the PDP.

The journalist, along with the sundry party officials and various citizens of Abeokuta offered a mutually reinforcing message: the people of Ogun are ready for a change; after four years of rule, the locally dominant Alliance for Democracy (AD) party has little to show for its time in office; and as they had done the previous week during the legislative contests, the citizens of the region would be voting PDP.

Friday evening at about 9 PM, our delegation met with Governor Osoba. The governor expressed deep concern that the PDP had “scientifically rigged” the election through the manipulation of voters lists—excluding AD party loyalists from the voting register and then turning them away at the polls—and appeared poised to upset the AD on the eve of the election. He also alleged that the strong presence of military personnel in the days prior to the election intimidated voters and would keep many from coming out on election day. Gov. Osoba suggested that the AD had made a tactical error by endorsing Obasanjo and not running its own candidate in the presidential contest. Osoba also predicted that there would be rigging in Ogun state on election day. Our team agreed that the governor appeared to be anticipating his possible defeat.

Election Day

Election Day started with visits to five polling places in Abeokuta. Voting actually started early, by 7:45 a.m. at the first polling place we observed. In interviews with other polling officers during the day, the team learned that early opening of the polls was widespread in Abeokuta, a testament, the team concluded, to the effective organization of regional INEC officials and their responsiveness in addressing the problems of the previous week's legislative elections.

Following visits to city-based polling stations the team ventured out of town to four rural sites. Observations in the countryside were consistent with those in town: the polls were well organized; material was in sufficient supply to meet voting demands; voters were peaceful, orderly and turnout appeared high.

Following the excursion to the village level, the team returned to Abeokuta, visiting several more polling sites before settling in to watch a station close and the subsequent

vote count. All told, the team visited 11 polling stations and recorded observations.

Vote counting witnessed by the team occurred in an open and fairly efficient manner. Indeed, votes were publicly counted, in unison, by election officials and at least 50 onlookers. Although there was no results form at the polling station, votes were recorded on scrap paper, and witnessed by PDP and AD poll agents. An ANPP agent was present though not there throughout the count; she later signed the results form but admitted she was not really an ANPP supporter. These agents accompanied the presiding officer, together with the voting materials, to the ward level. No transportation was provided—the team had to hail a passing taxi cab. At the ward level, the polling station results forms were filled in (it appeared that all the polling stations in the ward did the same) and then given to the ward-level collation officer, who worked by the light of two candles. Once a polling station's results were entered into the polling station results sheet, the ballot boxes and other materials were shipped to an LGA office (not the LGA collation center), accompanied by security officers; the ward collation sheet, when complete, was sent to the LGA level collation center, for further aggregation.

Team members followed the votes from the polling station level up the reporting chain to the local government level. Laborious, and prone to error as this process was, vote totals were checked closely, and those recorded appeared to be accurate.

Positives Impressions:

- There was a marked lack of tension or fear among the public on election day; in fact, people seemed excited to vote, aware of what was at stake in these elections, and upbeat and good-humored despite sometimes long waits and soggy conditions;
- INEC welcomed the delegation and was transparent in their deliberations throughout the three-day period in which the team interacted with the office;
- Party agents from AD, PDP and some smaller parties were present at the majority of stations observed, and witnessed counting at the ward, the LGA, and the state levels. The committee approach that INEC adopted in the run-up to the elections, in supervising on Election Day, and in witnessing the state-level count, is an innovative and positive model that appeared to bring greater transparency and credibility to the process;
- Election materials, ballots, ballot boxes, ink, etc. arrived on time and in ample supply at polling stations;
- Presiding officers and clerks appeared well-trained, well-informed, hard-working, and aware of the importance of getting the procedures right;
- Security at the polls appeared good; police were present at almost every polling station, and apart from occasionally moving onlookers away from the immediate vicinity of the ballot boxes or settling queue disputes, were unobtrusive.
- There appeared to be a large and steady voter turnout at each of the stations we visited. We noted a 60% turnout at the station where we witnessed the vote count. The total vote counts we saw returned for wards in Abeokuta South Local Government varied but seemed generally to indicate a high turnout.

Areas of Concern:

- Formal results forms were not present at the polling station where we witnessed the

count;

- We witnessed a surplus of voting boxes (at least hundreds and perhaps a few thousand) at INEC headquarters the day before Election Day. INEC officials told us these were being held in reserve in case more boxes were needed. It was not clear whether there was a careful monitoring of the number of boxes, although they were heavily guarded by military personnel;
- At about half of the centers the team observed a failure of election officials to provide a private space for voters to make their electoral selection;
- At several polling stations the team witnessed presiding officers assisting voters to locate the party of their choice on the ballot, following requests for assistance from the voter. (Polling agents generally expressed that they felt this was acceptable given the low level of literacy in some areas);
- Several polling stations appeared to allow underage voting;
- At only half of the polling stations observed were the green seals used to secure ballot boxes. The station that we observed closing used them during the day but after counting ballots did not have an additional pair to seal the ballot boxes for transport to the ward level;
- Different presiding officers responded differently to voters who presented their voters' slip or voters' card but were not on the register. Few voters were turned away or given tendered ballots (and heard reports of the same from domestic observers and party agents), though some presiding officers said they would not allow voters to vote if they weren't on the register.
- The LGA office to which used ballot boxes and materials were transported after being recorded at the ward level was chaotic; it was unclear how incoming materials were recorded or made secure;
- Police were involved in the counting process although in an apparently helpful way. A great deal of security was present at the local government and state collation centers. At the Abeokuta South local government center, this included armed security both in and out of uniform;
- Though the team was told that all members of the INEC committee were invited to take part in the collation of votes at the state headquarters (confirmed by a number of committee members), the only parties with representatives at INEC throughout the night were PDP and AD. When asked, we were told this was because the others must have given up, knowing they had lost;
- At the Abeokuta South LGA collation center, PDP had numerous representatives, and the only other party represented was PRP (with one agent). In addition, when results came to the center from each ward, generally it was only the ward returning officer who carried the results (no party agents following the results).

Conclusions:

The team's general impression is that the April 19th elections in Abeokuta and the immediate surrounding area were peaceful and well organized. They witnessed no incidents of violence, intimidation, or fraud. The team heard no reports of malfeasance, and reports from the EU delegation to Ogun state were consistent with the IRI team's observations.

Recommendations:

It is clear that the problems experienced on election day, and over the course of the entire Nigerian electoral period, have overshadowed the successes witnessed across Nigeria—like those that our team witnessed in the Abeokuta area—on Election Day. While the above observations are only a snapshot of what took place on April 19, the team believes they are representative and consistent with the wider trends reported by other monitoring teams in the southwest region of Nigeria. Given the extremely low expectations international observers had for the contest, the relatively peaceful and well-organized poll in Nigeria should be considered successful on many levels.

Team Twelve: Rivers State

While Team 12 observed no violence surrounding the elections, the team underscores a concern for a variety of illegal election related activity. In rural areas of Ikweri, voters were rarely afforded the privacy stipulated in Nigerian electoral code. Moreover, in several precincts, voting was conducted, 100% voter turn-out was recorded and all election related activity concluded far before the official 3:00 PM close time. Additionally, two wards reached the LGA level by 1:15 PM. In the more urban areas of Port Harcourt, Team 12 witnessed polling stations that housed several units, replete with large police presence in and around voting stations. One particular station, intended to house 5 precincts, had one unit active by 2:30 PM. Three of the four remaining stations opened by 4:30 and concluded voting by dark. However, the lack of INEC transportation prevented adequate secure transportation of the ballots to the ward collation center by the time Team 12 left at approximately 7:00 PM.

Pre-election Environment

Under speculation of election related fraud, violence and irregularity in Rivers State, Team 12 met with the regional chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Mr. Mohammed Abubakar on Friday April 18. Given the confusion that surrounded National Assembly elections of April 12, INEC informed the team adequate measures were in place to prevent a repeat of the National Assembly elections. Namely, INEC staff and the 13,806 ad-hoc staff had received additional training, military assistance was requested, and distribution of ballots to the LGA level was slated to be completed by 6:00 PM on Friday. Moreover, areas deemed flashpoints (LMA, Emohue, Abra/Odual) were given particular attention in terms of ballot transportation and security. In short, INEC officials were confident there would be no repeat distribution issues in Port Harcourt, an area with 2.27 million registered voters, 23 LGA's, 319 wards and 4,441 polling units.

In addition to meeting INEC officials in Port Harcourt, Team 12 met with officials at the local INEC office in Ikweri to observe the process at 3:00 PM Friday, April 18. Team 12 observed what appeared to be a disorganized room with ballot boxes, ballot bags and an atmosphere that looked generally confused. The INEC official assured Team 12 all materials would leave the LGA by 9:00 AM on Election Day. Ikweri LGA was responsible for 12 wards and had been provided with cars from the government to

transport election materials to the various wards. Based on instances from April 12, INEC identified wards 3 and 4 (Elele I and II) as potential flashpoints and deployed additional security in these areas. Moreover, INEC identified individuals that had been compromised in the National Assembly elections and made personnel changes.

In an effort to cover as wide an area as possible, Team 12 met with other international observer groups from the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the United States Consulate, the Commonwealth, the African Union and the Ogoni Foundation. It was decided that Team 12 would be deployed to Ikweri.

Election Day

Opening

Team 12 began the day at 7:15 AM at the Ikweri LGA. Amid heavy (approximately 300) police and military presence, ballots were being loaded into mini vans. After consulting with the INEC official, Team 12 learned the ballots had arrived the previous day at 4:00 PM. The loading of election materials was relatively organized. Of particular note was the presence of the state assembly speaker at the LGA while loading of materials was going on. Team 12 observed that materials were loaded not only by INEC officials, but drivers and other individuals that were not identified as election workers. In addition to IRI, a domestic observer team, the Nigerian Labor Group was also present for the loading of materials.

At 9:00 AM a caravan comprised of all wards left the LGA for distribution to the ward level, on time according to the estimate of the INEC chairman on Friday. Team 12 decided to follow ward 8, although all wards traveled together in a caravan to the Elele (wards 3 & 4) police headquarters. At the police headquarters, Team 12 was informed of the need for greater security in wards 3 & 4 as there was already a tense situation brewing. At police headquarters, Team 12 was assigned a minivan filled with police was sent out alone to go to the ward collation center. The remaining minivans housing election materials for the remaining 12 wards remained at the police headquarters.

At 10:14, Team 12 arrived at the ward collation center and was immediately deployed to a polling station. Team 12 arrived at Ubima, polling station 003 immediately thereafter to observe the opening. The polling station was on a ledge that did not provide for much room. All INEC officials were present. However, given the location, organization was lacking. A PDP agent was overseeing, and in many instances assisting in the process to the point of helping people vote, checking ballots and placing them in the box. On several occasions a police officer attempted to restrict him, but to no avail. The ANPP agent was also overseeing the process. The presiding officer was generally helpful although he was unable to tabulate the number of voters on his registration list.

At 11:30 Team 12 traveled further down the road to Omuta, polling station 004 and observed a much more orderly voting situation with voters in a line waiting to vote. Voting was private and the presiding officer was able to give Team 12 exact numbers of voters on the registration list (614) with 200 ballots already received. A PDP agent was present but not actively involved in the process.

At 11:50 Team 12 visited polling station 011 with 500 registered voters, although they received only 200 ballots. Voting appeared orderly although party agents from the PDP were assisting voters and putting ballots into the boxes. Again ballot boxes were not sealed.

Team 12 next visited polling station 014 with 700 registered voters, where voting was complete and ballots were being tabulated at 12:00. The presiding officer, with whom Team 12 met at the LGA in the morning began counting ballots with a crowd of onlookers after Team 12 arrived (prior to that the ballot box was behind a door), assisted by the PDP agents. Team 12 was informed that election materials had arrived at 8:00 AM, the polling station was open at 9:00 AM and voting was concluded with 100% voter turnout by 12:00 PM. All ballots Team 12 witnessed were cast for the PDP.

At 1:15, Team 12 visited the LGA in Ikweri briefly and observed that wards 2 and 7 had concluded voting, recorded 100% voter turnout, finished the ward collation center and were at the LGA level. Again domestic observers from the Nigerian Labor Group (whom Team 12 had met at the LGA level in the morning) were present. The INEC official assured Team 12 the final results would be transported to INEC in compliance with electoral law. No results sheets were present and the ballots were being handled by an assortment of unidentified people, none identified as INEC officials. Moreover, Team 12 met the New York Times and Financial Times reporters who informed the team that after visiting wards 3 and 4, the polling stations had not opened and no voting had taken place. Team 12 can not independently verify this allegation.

At 1:50 PM, Team 12 visited ward 9 in Port Harcourt polling station of Oroworukwis, 704 registered voters with 40 ballots already cast. The team learned the station had opened at 9:00 and materials arrived by 10:00 AM. Again ballot boxes were not sealed and there was a heavy police presence in and around the voting area. Privacy was available for those that dared walk away from the main table to find a quiet corner. Again agents from both the PDP and ANPP were overseeing the process although not actively handling election materials. Team 12 was informed that domestic observers from the NLC had been there earlier but were already gone when Team 12 arrived. At 2:30 PM, Team 12 visited another polling station in Port Harcourt, unit 23 of ward 12, 700 registered voters with 18 ballots cast. Team 12 learned the polling station had opened at 8:00 AM but did not receive materials until 2:15 PM. There was no INEC presiding officer present and the PDP agent was overseeing the process. Additionally, voter cards were also being issued. Team 12 learned that ward 10 units 34, 35 and 36 were also supposed to have polling stations but there were no INEC officials from any of these units. A crowd of disgruntled and frustrated would-be voters from these units were gathered around waiting for election materials to arrive. At approximately 3:30 PM ballot boxes arrived but no other election related material. This further frustrated the crowd.

At 4:30 PM, all relevant voting material arrived, however, the presiding officer was absent from ward 34, and all top results sheets had been removed from the packet. This infuriated the crowd of people waiting to vote and creating a rather tense situation. The

voters took it upon themselves to write a formal petition that they forced INEC representatives present to sign, documenting all the irregularities at the polling station. Further irregularities existed, namely a photocopy of computer generated voter registration slips, INEC officials refusing to wear the identifying green vests, and loose leaf results sheets that arrived after the crowd complained. Team 12 was informed that no voting took place in ward 10, units 34, 35 & 36 in the National Assembly elections held April 12.

Closing

Team 12 decided to close all 4 polling stations, ward 12 unit 23, and ward 10 units 34-36. Unit 23, having effectively opened at 3:00 remained open until 5:50 PM. Closing also grossly varied from the process stipulated in electoral code. The unused and tendered ballots were not counted, PDP agents assisted the poll orderly in counting the total number of Gubernatorial ballots cast, 43 with 1 invalid. The following results were recorded for the Gubernatorial election:

NAC	PDP	ANPP	NCP
1	21	17	1

and for the Presidential election, no total count was taken, no tendered or unused ballots counted, 3 ballots deemed invalid and the final results were:

ABGA	NAC	PDP	ANPP	JP
1	1	20	15	1

After tabulating the results, the ballot boxes were transported, allegedly to the ward collation center in a car driven and secured by only PDP agents.

Team 12 observed the same irregularities in ward 10, unit 36 where tendered and unused ballots were not accounted for, PDP agents assisted in the count and the following results were recorded on the loose leaf results sheets for the Presidential elections:

PDP	ANPP	ABGA	JP
14	18	5	4

And for the gubernatorial elections the following results:

ANPP	PDP	NCP	ABGA	APLP
19	15	1	2	1

Finally, Team 12 observed closing for ward 10 unit 34 where the same tabulating irregularities existed and the final count for Presidential elections was:

PDP	ANPP	JP
10	9	1

Gubernatorial:

PDP	ANPP	JP
16	8	1

No transportation of ballot boxes was present before Team 12 left the polling station for the ward collation center. INEC officials present were attempting to hitchhike or raise the money for a taxi to take the ballot boxes to the ward collation center when Team 12 left.

Ward Collation

Team 12 arrived at the ward 10 collation center at approximately 7:30 and observed an atmosphere of complete chaos. A large crowd of angry people, ballot boxes deposited in no particular order, no electricity and a very tense atmosphere. For security reasons, Team 12 left immediately after arrival.

At 11:30, Team 12 went to the INEC headquarters for a second time (the first time at 7:50 was inconclusive) and observed the following recorded numbers for the Ikweri LGA recorded in the INEC official log for the Presidential elections, no numbers were available for the Gubernatorial elections:

AD: 346	NCP: 35
ANPP: 1876	NDP: 157
APGA: 195	PDP: 91566
JP: 331	PSP: 10
LDPN: 83	UDP: 6
MDJ: 30	UNPP: 665

A total of 98,116 votes counted.

Conclusion

Team 12 witnessed gross irregularities in the voting process that served to disenfranchise a large number of voters. Voter turnout, although officially recorded as 96%, was extremely low from what the team observed. There were instances of double voting, what appeared to be under age voting, political party interference, lack of security and transportation of ballot boxes and a general lack of adherence to electoral code. Furthermore, the official numbers entered at INEC headquarters were internally inconsistent. In short, the elections were a highly flawed process that calls into question the official results reported from Rivers State.

Team Thirteen: Sokoto State

Pre-election Environment

Voting in Sokoto was peaceful, orderly, and generally well-administered. Voters appeared enthusiastic, well-prepared and generally peaceful. The team did not observe any instances of violence during the day. One reason for the absence of violence may have been the establishment of an inter-party conflict and violence prevention committee created prior to the National Assembly elections and expected to continue to function

until the election cycle was complete, and possibly beyond this period. According to the Sultan of Sokoto, ANPP and PDP leadership and local media, the committee's primary aim was to impart violence prevention messages through leaders of the six participating parties to members and to advocate for peaceful and legal resolution of any inter-party disputes related to electioneering.

Pre-Election Meetings

Sources

Miscellaneous informants at PDP headquarters, discussions with a former PDP Secretary and with PDP district officials and the party's Senatorial candidate (Sai Walli), and with an NTA journalist. An interview with ANPP officials was also held. Delegates also met with two INEC officials and held an audience with the Sultan of Sokoto. All interviews were held on April 18, 2003, one day prior to the presidential and gubernatorial elections.

Sultan of Sokoto

Along with members of the NDI team, the IRI team received an audience with the Sultan of Sokoto. He welcomed the team to the state and assured they would be safe and that he expected the election process to continue to be peaceful during the coming weekend as it had been for the prior national assembly election. He was the first to explain the joint peace committee formed to promote peaceful elections and non-violent resolution of any electoral conflict during or after the elections. He also noted, as did several others during interviews, that part of the reason for the lack of violence in the state was due to the Islamic principles to which most of the population adheres which promote the acceptance of events, however they unfold, as god's will.

ANPP

ANPP, as well as a number of other parties interviewed, stated that, by virtue of their faith, they were fatalists and that the elections would continue to be peaceful since they were prepared to accept whatever outcome occurred as god's will. They also noted the existence of a cross-party peace committee comprised by the six participating political parties and headed by an opposition party leader. Together, they agreed to jointly work to spread a message of peace and non-violent resolution to any conflicts that arose during, or as a result of the election process. Party representatives did allege unfair benefit afforded to PDP from the national government and claimed that PDP had followed a practice of vote-buying. When asked as to how they were funded, they stated that the wealthier party members provided support. They then went on to describe how certain resources or projects were sponsored by the ANPP government in certain areas, the residents of said areas were then expected to, in turn, contribute to the local ANPP campaigns. Discussions with ANPP, and subsequently with other parties, including PDP, revealed a seemingly wide-spread acceptance of such practices as vote-buying as well as other means of influencing votes as an inherent part of the election process.

PDP

During interviews, PDP informants stated that their party agents were chased and beaten prior to polls, and that in some instances during National Assembly elections, their agents

were detained and forced to sign false poll return results prior to transmittal. They also complained of fraudulent use of party agent IDs by ANPP operatives, who allegedly wore PDP party agent ID badges, thereby falsely presenting as PDP polling agents. Allegations of lack of access to state media were made, including claims to have logged complaints over non-access to media, in particular radio which is the primary vehicle by which to reach most residents of the State, with Nigerian Broadcasting Regulatory Authority. Other complaints included charges that there had been ANPP-controlled civil service purges of PDP supporters and that PDP civil service workers and teachers were subject to job redundancies and retrenchment; long-distance transfers of residence, making access to their jobs untenable. Other complaints made during discussions included those related to the ANPP-controlled government's complicity in underage voting, publicly visible paid voting (with payments alleged to range from 100 to 500 Naira) on polling day, double voting, and ballot box stuffing.

PDP leaders asserted that they expected electoral irregularities during the presidential/gubernatorial polls, but that they would "sacrifice" their party if such actions were "manageable" but would attempt to overturn them through legal processes if such actions were extensive and outrageously brazen.

At PDP headquarters, two participants that we observed attending a large meeting there each independently, voluntarily and spontaneously asserted that they were present to "receive payment for voting". When further questioned as to whether they were there to receive compensation for training or party advice, or some other purpose other than voting, the informants again voluntarily asserted that they were present to receive "motivational payments to vote".

Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), Abubaker Ahmed, Manager of News and Current Affairs

According to Mr. Ahmed, The National Broadcasting Authority issued guidelines for election coverage which stated that political parties could request elections coverage of the NTA. Coverage was difficult because all of the parties (which included not only ANPP and PDP, but also to a far lesser extent, NDP, UNPP and APGA) lacked programmatic party agendas and their campaign platforms lacked concrete detail. Further, NTA possesses limited resources and thus could not be expected to cover all parties equally. Additionally, he asserted that on Sokoto state TV, some parties' paid advertising had been refused.

During the National Assembly elections, journalists had observed: 1) widespread lack of secrecy during polling; 2) actual and attempted underage voting; 3) the sale of votes; 4) electioneering at polling places; 4) voter intimidation by party activists; 5) minor election violence involving rock throwing and fights over issues such as the placement of banners by parties near opposing parties' facilities

As for management of the elections, INEC's assertion that its reported administrative shortcomings were due to "lack of funding" was not seen by the interviewee as a credible explanation for such weaknesses and failures. He asserted that INEC had been given

adequate funding. He also noted that the shape and form of the ballot, with the two main parties on either end, undermined secrecy, as voters' choices could easily be observed from afar. This issue was also personally observed by our team, as the voter's choice could be easily identified in most cases by whether the voter's thumb was placed high or low on the ballot.

INEC

During interviews with two INEC officials at their offices in Sokoto, they stated that they were pleased with the prior week's elections and that they expected the April 19 elections to be equally peaceful and well-organized. They asserted that election workers had carried out their jobs well and that vote collation and tabulation went smoothly. They stated that they had received further instructions from the state INEC officials after the national assembly elections and had provided additional training to local officials and made some changes to the electoral process to improve procedures. However, they did confirm that non-secret voting prevailed during the National Assembly elections. Other statements made included comments maintaining that poll workers were well-trained but that voters were unclear on procedures. Officials also asserted that double marking of ballots was common due to folding of ballot while ink was wet.

Election Day

Almost all polling officials maintained that they had received INEC training for their jobs, and the great majority appeared well-prepared and proficient. Materials for the presidential/gubernatorial elections appeared to have been delivered by INEC in a timely fashion, in all but two cases observed where materials were received an hour or two late. However, many commented that the materials were received in a more timely manner for the presidential and gubernatorial elections than was the case during the prior week's elections. The three observed poll openings occurred at 8AM or within fifteen to twenty minutes thereafter, i.e., in a timely manner, and all informants at other polls observed later maintained that they had opened on time.

Numerous party agents, overwhelmingly identifiable as PDP agents, observed the polls, as did a much lesser though significant number of local elections observers, primarily from the JDPC group. ANPP generally had agents at each site, though lesser in number per site than PDP. Other observers included women from the Muslim women's observer team. As we had coordinated our observation plans with members from NDI and the Commonwealth team so as to attain the largest possible geographic coverage, we did not encounter any other international observers during the day.

Voters who had not yet received permanent voter cards were able to exchange temporary voter cards for permanent ones on polling day, and then vote, as per INEC procedure. However, at one site, it appeared that the cards were being handed out in an unusual fashion and were quickly placed in an envelope upon our arrival and no further distribution occurred during the time of our observation. At the same site, it appeared that the cards for the women, who were in a separate line, had been collected in a group and were then being redistributed among them.

Polling-place level vote collation was transparent, systematic, and orderly, as was collation at the Ward level, where INEC had provided kerosene lanterns, apparently in response to criticisms that, during the preceding National Assembly election, votes were frequently counted in the dark. At both levels, vote tally and reporting materials were available and were used in a transparent and proper manner. For the one polling site the team observed from open to close, however, it appeared that the poll administrator was very confused about how to complete the necessary forms (which were not prepared at the poll site at the time of the count, but later at the collation center). She went twice to obtain advice but was unable to obtain assistance with this process from other election officials at the center. Also at this collation center, at least half of the ballot boxes carried from the polling sites were empty and not secured; ballots appeared to have been transported in the green and white INEC bags.

Party agents maintained parallel, unofficial running counts of official tallies, based upon the use of carbon copies of polling place vote tallies, thereby ensuring vote collation transparency and accountability.

Problems Observed

1) At all sites, significant apparent, but unverified, underage voting was observed. When questioned, however, informants asserted that apparent underage voters were 18, i.e., of legal age.

2) Ballot box seals were used in some places but not others. In at least three cases, ballot boxes were clearly open and lids were being routinely opened by voters when voting. In one case, a police officer was standing next to the table upon which the voting took place which also held the ballot box, opening it for each voter, and pushing down the votes on occasion to make room for other ballots. In another case, the poll administrator stated that the box had been left open on purpose as the voters did not seem to understand how to get the votes in the opening at the top. In other cases, toward the end of the voting day, ballot boxes were manually opened in order to compress earlier-cast ballots in order to make room for later ones. No fraudulent ballot stuffing, however, appeared to occur, and the boxes were opened for reasons that demonstrated apparent good intentions.

3) In the great majority of sites, assurance of voter secrecy was not guaranteed or universal. In perhaps a quarter of the locations, some measures were taken to ensure secrecy (vote marked behind walls, kiosks, inside school rooms). In most other cases, voting was in open areas close to and visible to other voters, security agents and party agents. In one case, the ballot box and voting ink stamp were next to each other on a publicly visible bench at the center of the polling area. A policeman stood two feet away from the box, observing every vote. In several sites, group voting of two or three at a time appeared to be acceptable.

4) Voting was universally sex-segregated in Sokoto. In Sokoto city, men and women lined up separately, but simultaneously, to vote. In most outlying villages, only men were seen voting during multiple morning polling place observations; informants

maintained that women "would vote at 1PM or 1:30PM after the men" prior to the close of polls at 3PM.

5) Security agents, often in teams of two or more, were present at nearly every site. In one case they were not at the site during our observation, but the election workers stated that they were located close by in another polling place and could be easily accessed. In one case, a van with several officers pulled up at the site and quickly chased away random onlookers who had gathered nearby to watch the voting process.

6) At one rural site, approximately 30 minutes north of Sokoto, we observed a rather disorganized set up with indistinguishable lines which separated the registration table from the ballot distribution table by a great distance. At the head of the table where the ballots were being provided to the voters, we observed a man with a large bag over one shoulder and a handful of cash standing next to voters at the front of the line. As soon as we arrived, he quickly moved away from the line, causing a slight disturbance in the line of voters. A short distance away, one of our team members observed this man handing money to another man (it could not, however, be determined that this man had voted or was going to vote thus a concrete connection between the exchange of money and the voting process could not be made.) When we inquired about this person, we were told that he was selling medicines to the voters. We did not, however, observe any such exchanges during the time that we were present.

Appendix III

Nigeria Overall				
Presidential Election Last Update: 22-Apr-2003 19:25				
Quota Requirement: The winner of the election shall have the highest number of votes cast at the election and not less than one quarter of all the votes cast in each of at least two thirds of the States in the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT)				
Party	Candidates	Total Votes Scored	% of Valid Votes	Quotas
ANPP	Pres: Buhari Muhammadu Vice: Okadigbo Chuba William Malachy	12,710,022	32.19	19 of 25
APGA	Pres: Ojukwu Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Vice: Bayero Sani Ibrahim	1,297,445	3.29	2 of 25
APLP	Pres: Okereke Osita Emmanuel Vice: Abdullahi Tukur Alhaji	26,921	0.07	0 of 25
ARP	Pres: Yahaya G.K. Ezemue Ndu Vice: Hajia Asmau Aliyu Mohammed	11,565	0.03	0 of 25
BNPP	Pres: Nnaji Ifeanyi Chukwu Goodwill Vice: Suleiman Mohammed Awwal	5,987	0.02	0 of 25
DA	Pres: Ferreira, Antonia Abayomi Jorge Vice: Eboigbe Ehi	6,727	0.02	0 of 25
JP	Pres: Christopher Ogenebrorie Okotie Vice: Habib Mairo Baturiya (Mrs)	119,547	0.30	0 of 25
LDPN	Pres: Chief Christopher Pere Ajuwa Vice: Mohammed Nasir	4,473	0.01	0 of 25
MDJ	Pres: Yusuf Muhammadu Dikko Vice: Chief Melford Obiene Okilo	21,403	0.05	0 of 25
MMN	Pres: Major Mojisola Adekunle Obasanjo (rtd) Vice: Mohammed Ibrahim	3,757	0.01	0 of 25
NAC	Pres: Agoro (Dr) Olapade (Roland Aremo) Vice: Aminu Garbati Abubakar	5,756	0.01	0 of 25
NAP	Pres: Tunji Braithwaite Vice: Hajia Maimunatu Lata Tombai (MON)	6,932	0.02	0 of 25
NCP	Pres: Ganiyu Fawehinmi Vice: Jerome (Jerry) Tala Gopye	161,333	0.41	0 of 25
NDP	Pres: Sen. Ike Omar Sanda	132,997	0.34	0 of 25

NNPP	Nwachukwu Vice: Habu Fari Aliyu Pres: Dr. Kalu Idika Kalu Vice: Jawi Abdul Rahman Paga	23,830	0.06	0 of 25
PAC	Pres: Mrs. Sarah N. Jibril Vice: Chief Elemosho Babatunde Tajudeen	157,560	0.40	0 of 25
PDP	Pres: Chief Olusegun Obasanjo Vice: Alh. Atiku Abubakar	24,456,140	61.94	32 of 25
PMP	Pres: Nwankwo Agwuocha Arthur Vice: Batubo Benett Raymond	57,720	0.15	0 of 25
PRP	Pres: Musa Abdukadir Balarabe Vice: Okafor Ernest Ngozi	100,765	0.26	0 of 25
UNPP	Pres: Sen. Nwobodo Jim Ifeanyichukwu Vice: Goni Mohammed	169,609	0.43	0 of 25
Total Valid Votes		39,480,489		
Rejected Ballots		2,538,246		
Valid Votes + Rejected Ballots		42,018,735		
Number of Voters on Register		60,823,022		

Appendix IV

IRI Nigeria Election Observation Delegation April 12 National Assembly & April 19 Presidential Elections

United States

Melissa Allen

Melissa Allen is a Legislative Assistant for Foreign Policy to Senator Chuck Hagel. Ms. Allen also served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in West Africa.

John Anelli

John Anelli is a professional consultant specializing in democracy building and electoral processes. He was the International Republican Institute's Regional Director for Central and East European Programs from 1997 to 2002. Prior to joining IRI, Mr. Anelli worked for the U.S. Congress over a period of eight years, and was Senior Legislative Officer in the Office of the Secretary of Labor in 1991-1992. Mr. Anelli received his B.A. from the University of Texas in Austin, and his Masters in International Affairs from Columbia University in the City of New York.

Mary Angelini

Mary Angelini is the Resident Country Director for IRI Nigeria. She has been working on the IRI Nigeria Program since 2000. Prior to joining IRI, Ms. Angelini served as a Legislative Advisor for U.S. Congressman Rick Lazio from 1995-1997 and was a Legislative Projects Fellow for the Southern Africa Environment Project in Cape Town, South Africa in 1999. In 2002, she was an international election observer for Mali's presidential election. Ms. Angelini holds a Masters of International Affairs from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs and a Bachelor's degree in Political Science from the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Stephanie Blanton

Ms Blanton is currently the Deputy Policy Advisor for the House Rules Committee. The Rules Committee is the leadership committee which sets the rules and procedures for the House of Representatives and governs the consideration of almost all legislation on the House floor. The committee is chaired by Congressman David Dreier of California. From 1997-2000, Ms. Blanton served as the primary advisor on trade, education and foreign affairs in the office of Representative Thomas Ewing (R-Illinois). Ms. Blanton began her career on

Capitol Hill in 1997 in the office of Senator Conrad Burns (MT). Ms. Blanton was raised in Peoria, Illinois and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science-International Relations from Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Illinois.

Katie Boyle

Katie Boyle is the Resident Assistant Program Officer for IRI's Nigeria program. She has lived and studied in Kenya and has worked on IRI's Nigeria program since August of 2001. In February 2003 she moved to IRI's Abuja office to assist with poll agent training and other activities in support of Nigeria's upcoming elections. She holds a Bachelor's degree in Political Science from Pomona College in Claremont, California.

Thomas Brady

Mr. Brady presently serves as foreign policy legislative assistant to Senator Sam Brownback (R-KS), Chairman of the East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and a member of the Appropriations Committee. Senator Brownback led the fight for passage of the Sudan Peace Act in the 107th Congress, was the principal author of the Silk Road Strategy Act and a long-time advocate for human rights and religious liberty issues. The focus of Mr. Brady's portfolio is sub-Saharan Africa, Eurasia, foreign assistance, human rights and religious liberty. Prior to joining the staff of Senator Brownback, Mr. Brady served on the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for Chairman Jesse Helms. He is a native of Salisbury, North Carolina.

Ambassador Kenneth Brown

Ambassador Brown served as President of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training since 2001, while concurrently advising U.S. Government agencies on conditions and developments in Ghana and the West Africa region as a Member of the National Intelligence Council since 1997. As Ambassador, Brown managed U.S. Embassies in Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, and Congo-Brazzaville, and he also held the position of Consul General in Johannesburg, South Africa. As Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, he oversaw U.S. relations with 34 African countries and maintained liaison for the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs. While Deputy Director of the United Nations Political Affairs Department, Brown provided policy guidance to the U.S. Mission to the UN on Africa and was instrumental in leading negotiations toward Namibian independence.

Ambassador Brown's academic experience has also been extensive, both in his capacity as Director of the Dean Rusk Program in International Studies at Davidson College and as Professor of Political Science there. He has taught courses in Conflict Resolution and the Politics and International Relations of Africa. Brown received his Ph.D. in Political Sociology from Cape Coast University in Ghana and his M.A. in Political Science from New York University and in International Relations from Yale University.

Nicolas Cook

Mr. is Director is Director of the African Affairs section of the Congressional Research Service (CRS). CRS works solely for the U.S. Congress, providing analysis on policy

issues for Members of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate

Paul Fagan is IRI's East Africa Resident Program Director, overseeing programs in Kenya, Somaliland and future programs in Uganda and Sudan. Prior to joining the Africa Division in August 2002, Mr. Fagan was the Washington-based Program Officer in Eurasia Division managing the Azerbaijan and Georgia programs. He has observed elections in Kenya (2002), Azerbaijan (1998), Georgia (2001, 2002), Bulgaria (1999), Ukraine (1998, 2000), and Zimbabwe (2000). Mr. Fagan holds a Bachelor of Arts from The George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs.

George A. Folsom

Mr. Folsom has been President of the International Republican Institute (IRI) since June 2000. In this capacity, he directs IRI's international operations in over forty countries. Previously, Mr. Folsom served as a Principal in the Scowcroft Group, Inc., an international advisory firm headed by the former National Security Advisor to President George H.W. Bush. Earlier, he served as Vice President and Director for Central Banks in New York with Bankers Trust Company. During President George H.W. Bush's Administration, Folsom served in the Treasury Department as Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Development, Debt, and Environment Policy. During the Reagan Administration, Folsom worked in international security policy at the Pentagon.

Folsom, an international political economist and lawyer, is an Adjunct Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the New York Society of Security Analysts. Mr. Folsom holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from American University, and doctorate of jurisprudence and master of Arts degrees from the University of South Carolina. He is currently a doctoral candidate at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

Charles Githaiga

Mr. Githaiga is the Accounting Manager at IRI. He joined IRI in September 2001. Before then, Charles worked as deputy controller of USAID regional offices in Nairobi. He has a Bachelor's degree in Commerce (Accounting major).

Timothy W. Docking

Mr. Docking is an Africa specialist in the Research and Studies program at the U.S. Institute of Peace. His professional career has focused on the study of political development, civil society formation, and conflict resolution in Africa. Before joining USIP in 2000, he consulted with numerous NGOs, USAID, and various international consulting firms. He has held research fellowships at the Boston University African Studies Center and the Centre d'Étude d'Afrique Noire (CEAN) at the University of Bordeaux. He also spent a year at the University of Mali as a Fulbright Fellow and has served as a Peace Corps Volunteer and an election monitor on several occasions. Tim holds a Ph.D. in political science from Boston University.

Thomas Ferguson is currently the Director of Elections in the Office of the Secretary of State for the State of Connecticut. As such, he has had extensive experience

administering, interpreting and implementing all aspects of State and Federal laws pertaining to elections, voter registration, and campaign finance. Prior to 1994, he worked with the Town of Manchester as Voter Registrar, managing poll workers and maintaining responsibility for all local, state, and federal elections, including party primaries and special elections. Since the mid-1990s, he has been a member of the National Association of State Election Directors, serving as President from 1999-2000. In addition, he participated in election observation missions for parliamentary elections in Slovakia in 1998 and Albania in 2001. Ferguson received his degree in Business Administration and Political Science in 1978.

Sarah Ball Johnson currently serves as the Assistant Director of the Commonwealth of Kentucky's State Board of Elections. She has nine years of experience in election administration on the state level. Ms. Johnson has participated in three international election observation trips to Slovakia, Kosovo and Macedonia respectively. She is an active member of the National Association of State Election Directors, The Election Center, and numerous arts and social service organizations. She received a Master of Public Administration degree from the University of Kentucky.

Jeffrey Krilla

Mr. Krilla joined IRI in July 2001 as the Regional Director for Africa. Prior to joining IRI, Mr. Krilla was the executive director of the Hoop Dreams Scholarship Fund in Washington, D.C., which raises academic college scholarships for inner-city public high school students and works toward racial reconciliation. Previous to that Mr. Krilla served as majority counsel for the U.S. House of Representatives Commerce Committee, was Chief of Staff for Congressman Mike Pappas from New Jersey and legislative assistant to Congressman Bill Thomas from California. From 1991-1993, Mr. Krilla taught in and assisted in the administration of a rural high school in the Lebowa region of South Africa. Mr. Krilla holds a bachelor of science degree from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. He also holds a master's degree in Government Administration from the Fels Center of Government at the University of Pennsylvania and a juris doctorate from the Georgetown University Law Center.

Theodore LeVasseur

Mr. LeVasseur, is IRI's Resident Program Officer in Abuja, where he has worked for the past 15 months. In preparing political party leaders for the elections, he has traveled through 21 of Nigeria's 36 states. Prior to joining IRI, Ted worked on political campaigns in the United States. Mr. LeVasseur received his B.A. from the University of Maryland.

Dr. Robert Lloyd

Dr. Lloyd is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at Pepperdine University and director of its International Studies Program. He is currently chair of the Center for International Studies and Languages. Previously, he worked in a number of leadership positions for an international development (NGO). He was responsible for directing staff and programs in Kenya, South Africa, and Mozambique. He received his Ph.D. from The Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies in

Washington, DC., a master's degree from Cornell University and a bachelor of arts from the University of Arizona.

Peter J. McDonough

Mr. McDonough is a communications and public affairs specialist with over twenty-five years of experience in the private sector and at the highest levels of state and federal government. He is the founder and president of McDonough Public Affairs, and maintains offices in Pennington, NJ and Washington, DC. The firm provides communications and public affairs counsel to political, corporate, and government clients throughout the northeastern United States. Mr. McDonough also lectures in political strategy and public policy at Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, NJ. Prior to establishing his own business, he served as Director of Communications and Press Secretary for New Jersey Governor Christie Whitman.

Mr. McDonough has consulted or directed more than 150 state or federal political campaigns in the US and in the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe. He has provided media training to cabinet ministers and other officials in Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Kosovo, and the Republic of Georgia. He is a graduate of Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Gwendolyn Mikell

Prof. Mikell is the Director of the African Studies Program in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, and Professor of anthropology at Georgetown University. Since January 2000, she has also been a Senior Fellow in African Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. Professor Mikell's other positions have included President of the African Studies Association (1996-7), a Senior Fellow of the U.S. Institute of Peace, a Member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, and Visiting Researcher at the Smithsonian Museum of African Art, the Institute for Developing Economies (JETRO) in Tokyo, the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana-Legon and the Univ. of Natal in Durban, South Africa. Professor Mikell received her education at the University of Chicago, B.A. Sociology, 1969; Columbia University, M.A. 1974 and Ph.D. 1975, Anthropology. She also holds a Certificate in French from the Universite Nationale de Cote d'Ivoire, 1987.

Robert S. Miller

Mr. Miller is the director of the International Republican Institute's political party strengthening program in Angola. He joined IRI last year after practicing international law in Phoenix, Arizona, Sao Paulo, Brazil and New York, New York. Mr. Miller holds degrees in Political Science, Law, and International Trade and Development Law.

Frances Muwonge

Ms. Muwonge joined IRI in December 2001 and has been an Assistant Program Officer in the Africa division specializing in Francophone and Anglophone East Africa. I am a Duke University graduate and received my *juris doctorate* from Washington University in St. Louis in May of 2000. Prior to IRI, I practiced corporate law in the office of the lead counsel at MicroStrategy

Ambassador Robert C. Perry (Delegation Leader)

Ambassador Perry served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of African Affairs at the U.S. State Department from July 2001 to December 2002, with a portfolio that included West African Affairs, Economic Policy, and Public Diplomacy. He served as Ambassador to the Central African Republic from January 1999 to June 2001, where he reopened the U.S. embassy and supported UN peacekeeping and conflict resolution efforts. Ambassador Perry's previous foreign assignments include Deputy Chief of Mission at La Paz, Bolivia and Port Louis, Mauritius, as well as assignments in Mexico City, Asmara, Santiago, and Vietnam. His domestic assignments include the Bureau of Narcotics Matters, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Cuban Affairs, and Southern African Affairs.

Ambassador Perry attended the National Defense University and the State Department's Senior Seminar, and has received the State Department's Superior and Meritorious Awards. He earned a BA in Political Science at Wittenberg University and a MA in International Affairs at The American University in Washington, D.C.

David Peterson

Mr. Peterson is the Director for the Africa Program at the National Endowment for Democracy, a privately-incorporated, publicly-funded, grant-making organization in Washington, DC. Since 1988, he has identified and assisted hundreds of African organizations and activists working for democracy, justice, human rights and peace. He was also formerly executive director of Project South Africa of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund and a freelance journalist in Africa and Turkey. He has a bachelor's degree from Columbia College and a Masters in African Studies and International Economics from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, DC. He has visited over 40 African countries since 1984 and has published numerous articles on African politics.

Lauren Ploch is IRI's Program Officer for Kenya, Sudan, and Uganda. Prior to joining IRI, Ms. Ploch served as a Legislative Assistant for foreign affairs and trade to U.S. Senator Connie Mack. Ms. Ploch has an undergraduate degree in International Relations and Classical Studies, with a minor in African Studies, from the University of Florida, and a Masters degree in Security Studies from Georgetown University.

Anthony C. Reissig

Tony Reissig is the Administrator of the Operations Department for the Hamilton County, Ohio Board of Elections, responsible for ballot design and the vote counting system, poll worker training, assembly of voting books and booths, maintenance of computer systems and registration data, and collection of street directories and political and legislative districts. Previously, he was the Administrator of the Registration Department, supervising 70 staff members and responsible for over 500,000 registered voter histories and files.

From 1986-1988, Tony was the Executive Director of the Hamilton County Republican

Party. He also contributed to the Reagan/Bush and Bush/Quayle campaigns as county coordinator of voter registration. Mr. Reissig has had extensive international experience, training political party poll agents in Nigeria, assessing voter registration processes in Azerbaijan, observing elections in Russia, training and preparing guidebooks for poll workers in Ukraine and Armenia, providing pre-election technical assistance in Georgia, and participating in OSCE election observations in Serbia and Albania.

Dr. Nina Tanner Robbins has spent her career working with non-governmental organizations, including the World Resources Institute, African Wildlife Foundation, Women's Legal Defense Fund, and World Affairs Council. A graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and Howard University, she has a Ph.D. in African History. She is currently president of Robbins/Resources, where she consults on environmental and women's health issues in Africa and the United States. Dr. Robbins was a member of international observer delegations to Benin for the 1996 presidential election and the 2002 local elections.

Jason Roe

Mr. Roe is the Chief of Staff for Congressman Tom Feeney of Florida. Prior to joining Congressman Feeney's staff in January 2003, Jason was Chief of Staff to Under Secretary of Commerce for Intellectual Property and Director of the United States Patent and Trademark Office James E. Rogan.

Jason graduated with a degree in Public Administration and Economics from Western Michigan University in 1993. He worked with the International Republican Institute as an advisor to Bulgaria's ruling party, the Union of Democratic Forces, during the 2001 Parliamentary elections; was field director for former California Attorney General Dan Lungren's 1998 campaign for Governor; and field representative for former Senator Bob Dole's 1996 Presidential campaign in California. He has also served on the advance teams for President George W. Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, and former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich. *Campaigns and Elections* magazine named Jason one of 2002's "Rising Stars of Politics."

Marty Nesbit Ryall

Mr. Ryall is Chairman of the Republican Party of Arkansas. He has served as Political Field Director for the National Republican Senatorial Committee responsible for 13 southern states, and managed U.S. Senator Paul Coverdell's successful re-election campaign in 1998. He also served as National Deputy Political Director responsible for 25 states during Elizabeth Dole's Presidential Campaign, and as Executive Director of the Arkansas and Delaware Republican Parties. Mr. Ryall has also worked in politics abroad, spending three months in Liberia in 1997 to implement a poll watcher training programs for the presidential election. He returned to Liberia in 2002 as part of a U.S. Government sponsored assessment team to evaluate the preparation for the 2003 elections. He also spent several months in Nigeria in 1999 assisting political parties. Mr. Ryall holds a degree in International Relations from Florida State University.

Thayer Scott

Mr Scott is responsible for media relations as IRI's interim press secretary. Scott previously consulted for several Republican political campaigns, technology companies, and public affairs firms in California. While receiving a Masters Degree in Journalism from U.C. Berkeley, Scott wrote for the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *St.Petersburgh Times*. He served three years as a field artillery officer in the U.S. Army after receiving a B.A. in History from Princeton.

Gregory Simpkins

Mr. Simpkins is Vice President at the Foundation for Democracy in Africa. Prior to that, he served as Policy Director for the Corporate Council on Africa, where he developed policy positions for an association of more than 200 U.S. companies doing business in Africa. His previous position was Professional Staff Member for the House Subcommittee on Africa. In this capacity, he advised the Chairman on Africa policy issues, arranged Subcommittee hearings and worked on the passage of legislation, such as the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA).

Mr. Simpkins graduated from George Washington University with a degree in Journalism, and has worked in national and local radio since 1977. In addition, since 1987, Mr. Simpkins has been involved full-time in foreign advocacy projects. He was an Associate Director of the Angola Peace Fund, which promoted an internationally supervised cease-fire and elections in that southern African nation. He has observed, reported on and trained election observers for the election processes in Kenya, South Africa, Guinea and Equatorial Guinea.

Alex Sutton

Mr. Sutton has had a variety of international and domestic experience in the areas of politics, communications, and advocacy. He is currently serving as consultant to Mass Insight, Inc. in Boston, developing advocacy initiatives designed to improve public perception of education reform in Massachusetts. Previously, Alex worked as a consultant and program officer for the International Republican Institute (IRI), concentrating on Africa and Eastern Europe programs. From 2001-2002, he was chief of staff for the Massachusetts Department of Economic Development, guiding the DED's legislative, policy, and communications agendas and leading all decision-making on budgetary and administrative matters. He also served as Press Secretary for the DED from 1997-1998. Alex received his B.A. in Journalism and Communications from Washington & Lee University in 1988

Chris Tuttle

Mr. Tuttle is deputy chief of staff for U.S. Rep. Mark Green (R-Wisconsin), a member of the House International Relations Subcommittee on International Terrorism, Nonproliferation and Human Rights and Subcommittee on Africa. Prior to joining Rep. Green's staff in 1999, he served in staff positions in both the Wisconsin and Minnesota State Legislatures, and worked with former White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater on his book *Call the Briefing!* He has also worked on a variety of campaigns, from presidential to local. Chris holds bachelor's degrees in political science and journalism from the University of Wisconsin, and is currently working toward a master's degree.

James Viray is IRI's program officer for Nigeria, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire. Prior to joining IRI, Viray was responsible for European market development for a Utah-based corporation. He received a B.A. in International Relations from Brigham Young University and is currently a Masters Degree candidate at the Elliott School of International Affairs at the George Washington University.

Marianne Viray

Ms. Viray is currently Managing Director of the Campaign Legal Center, an NGO that focuses on campaign finance and election law reform. Previously, she was the Director of the Reform Institute, and other NGO active in the campaign finance reform movement in the United States. Ms. Viray has a B.A. in Political Science from Brigham Young University.

Ann Wang just recently completed her Masters degree in International Development Studies at George Washington University and works as Program Assistant for the Africa Division at the International Republican Institute. Her previous job experiences include international relief and development work, both in the D.C. area and abroad, and brief assignments with the U.S. government. She received her B.A.s in Foreign Affairs and History from the University of Virginia.

Deborah White

Ms. White is currently IRI's Resident Program Director in southern Africa. Before taking this resident post, she served as Deputy Director of IRI's Africa Division in Washington, DC. Aside from international experience, she has also been involved in state politics in Texas. She has a Masters degree from George Washington University.

Robert Van Wicklin

Mr. Van Wicklin has been a member of the staff of U.S. Representative Amory Houghton, Jr., a member of the House Ways & Means and International Relations Committees, since June of 1992. He currently serves as Congressman Houghton's Legislative Director and Press Secretary, and advises the Congressman on all international relations and defense issues. Van Wicklin earned a Bachelor's of Arts degree in International Studies and Political Science at Houghton College in Houghton, New York, and is currently pursuing a Master's degree in National Security.

Christine Wilkins

Ms. Wilkins recently joined IRI as an Associate Country Director for Angola. Prior to this, she was a Senior Manager in the Corporate Finance practice of BearingPoint, Inc., formerly known as KPMG Consulting, where she specialized in financial and strategic advisory services in International Healthcare and Life Sciences. She has an extensive professional background in international consulting, business development and strategic planning. Ms. Wilkins holds an M.B.A. from Arizona State University and an M.I.M. from the American Graduate School of International Management, Thunderbird.

Jennifer Whatley

Ms. Whatley is the Senior Program Officer for Programs in the Washington office of Freedom House, a non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to promoting and

defending democracy and freedom worldwide. Prior to joining Freedom House, she worked as a Research Analyst at the Library of Congress and an English Teacher in Poland. She holds a M.A. in East European Studies and International Economics from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and a B.S. in International Politics from Georgetown University.

Alvin Williams

Mr. Williams is a co-founder and the current President and CEO of Black America's Political Action Committee (BAMPAC). BAMPAC is a non-partisan federal PAC whose primary mission is to mobilize support for African American candidates and candidates generally who advocate a common sense approach in resolving the important issues facing American in the 21st century. Williams has been noted as a political leader by various publications and has also been featured in *The New York Times* and *The Atlantic Journal Constitution*. His editorial columns appear frequently in many of the nation's top newspapers, and he has participated on shows such as ABC's *Nightline*, Fox News' *Special Report with Brit Hume*, and MSNBC's *Equal Time*. Mr. Williams is a graduate of George Washington University's Graduate School for Political Management (Washington, DC) and South Carolina State University.

Nigeria

Janet Adebo

Ms. Adebo is the receptionist for IRI Nigeria program. Janet joined the IRI Nigerian office on the 18th June, 2001. Ms. Adebo has a Higher National Diploma in Banking and Finance from the Kwara State Polytechnic. Before her appointment with IRI, she has previously worked with two banks in Nigeria as a clearing officer and customer relations officer, respectively. She is from the North Central zone of Nigeria-Kogi state and she is married with two children.

Okpe Aji

Mr. Aji joined IRI in 2001, and he is currently the Assistant Office Administrator of IRI's Nigeria office. Mr. Aji is from the Otukpo Local Government area of Benue State, and holds a Bachelor of Technology certificate in Electronics Technology and Computer Information Technology from the Federal University of Technology Yola, Adamawa State.

Toyin Albert

Ms Albert joined IRI in 2000 is currently the Chief Accountant in IRI's Abuja office. Prior to joining IRI, Toyin was an Accounting Assistant in the Vendor Services Department of Shell Oil, Lagos Nigeria from 1994- 1996, and Benefit Accountant from 1996-1999. Ms. Albert graduated from the Obafemi Awolowo University Ile-Ife with a B.A. in Accounting.

Wahiratu Aliyu

Wahiratu Aliyu, is a staff of National Centre For Women Development, Abuja as a Principal Research Officer. Currently she is assisting IRI as an Assistant Program Officer for the upcoming election. She is a Nigerian, an indigene of Borno State. She began assisting IRI in 2002 as Assistant Training Officer. She holds B.A.Ed (English Language) from the

University of Maiduguri. She has four children.

Abayomi Jacobs

Yomi Jacobs is IRI Nigeria's Senior Program Assistant. Mr. Jacobs attended Kaduna Polytechnic where he majored in Electrical Installation costing and contracting. Presently, he is a student of Abuja University where he is studying Political Science. Mr. Jacobs started working with IRI in November 1998 and helped co-ordinate logistics for the IRI Election Observer team. He is married with two daughters.

Debo Olorunmola

Debo Olorunmola is an Assistant Program Officer with IRI's Nigeria program. Before joining IRI in August 2002, He worked as a special Program/Logistics Assistant with the Carter Center/National Democratic Institute (NDI) joint Democracy program for the 1999 Nigerian elections. He was actively involved in planning the itinerary of the Carter Center Election Observation Team headed by President Jimmy Carter. Debo Olorunmola holds a Masters in International Affairs and Diplomacy from Ahmadu Bello University and a Bachelor of Science degree in International Studies from the same university

Monday Onah

Monday Onah has been a driver for IRI since October 2001. He is an indigene of Oju Local Government Area in Benue state. Mr. Onah was born in Kaduna state and holds a secondary school certificate.

Ghana

Hon. Akwasi Afrifa

The Honorable Akwasi Afrifa is currently a Member of Parliament for the Republic of Ghana, serving on the Judiciary Committee, the Select Committee for Local Government and Rural Development, and the Select Committee for Communications and Technology and Information. Previous professional experience was focused primarily in the education sector, both at the primary and secondary levels. Minister Afrifa holds a B.A. in Political Science, Modern History and Philosophy, as well as a post-graduate diploma in Industrial Management and an M.A. in International Relations. In addition, Minister Afrifa has published extensively on various subjects, ranging from agricultural production and marketing to international politics.

Matthias Naab

Matthias Zana Naab is IRI's Resident Country Director for Liberia. He is currently a doctoral dissertation candidate at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, where he also obtained his Masters degree in Public and International Affairs (MPIA). Prior to joining IRI, Mr. Naab worked as a consultant with the World Bank's Community-Driven Development Group as well as with the Thematic Group on Decentralization. He is also an adjunct faculty at the University of Pittsburgh where he teaches courses in Development Management and Administration, Strategic Planning and Management of Non-profit Organizations.

Frank Yeboah

Mr. Yeboah received a BA in International Relations and Government from Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. He did his graduate work at the American University in Washington DC where he received a Masters degree in International Politics. Although a permanent resident of the United States, he is a citizen of Ghana and is currently a program assistant in the Africa division of the International Republican Institute. He has also held an internship position as a research assistant at the Fund For Peace Institute in Washington DC.

Kenya**Victoria Cherwon**

Ms. Cherwon is currently IRI Resident Program Officer in Kenya. In this capacity, she helped prepare for and observe the December 2002 presidential elections in Kenya. Victoria's previous work experience includes educational tour coordination in the U.S. She received her B.A. in Political Science from the University of Nairobi and also holds a Diploma in NGO Management from the Kenya Institute of Management.

Cecily Mbarire

Ms. Mbarire is a nominated Member of Parliament (MP) representing the National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC). She was appointed in January 2003 after NARC's victory in the December 2002 elections. She is one of the seven nominated NARC MPs. Prior to her appointment, Mbarire was the program co-ordinator of Youth Agenda (YAA). She is the founder and chairlady of Young Women Network and a member to the Kenya Women Political Caucus, Young Career Women, Kenya Women Political Alliance and the Co-ordinator of Young Women Leadership Network.

Raila Odinga

Mr. Odinga is Kenya's Minister for Roads, Public Works and Housing. He is a NARC Member of Parliament (MP) representing the Langata constituency located in Nairobi. Mr. Odinga has a long history in Kenyan politics mainly in the opposition. His father Oginga Odinga was Kenya's first Vice-President and the official leader of the opposition. Most recently, he was a key player in the formation of NARC coalition which saw the defeat of the long ruling party, KANU, when he led the revolt against KANU at Kasarani II a place where the second KANU delegate's conference was held. He is a member of the NARC summit, a key decision making organ in NARC. Odinga has also participated in many IRI training seminars in Mozambique, Zimbabwe plus other African countries.

Prof. Ruth Oniang'o

Prof. Oniang'o is a nominated member of parliament (MP) representing Kenya African National Union (KANU). She was appointed to the ninth parliament on January 9, 2003 as one of the four nominated KANU MPs. Prior to joining parliament, Prof. Oniang'o was the founding Executive Director of Rural Outreach Program (ROP), which earned her the woman of the year 2000 award from the American Biographical Institute for her role as a scholar in rural development. She is a professor of Food Science and Nutrition at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology.

Prof. Oniang'o has been a consultant/resource person for the Kenya government as well as the World Bank and other NGO's. She is a member of Kenya's Poverty Eradication Commission and the founding editor-in-Chief of Africa Journal of Food, Agriculture, Nutrition.

South Africa

Rachel Kgeledi

Ms. Kgeledi is Program Director of IRI South Africa. She manages the IRI local government training program in KwaZulu-Natal. She is an experienced professional with a wide range and varied array of skills, including extensive program development and management, strong organization and planning skills, training techniques and delivery, as well as effective communication skills. She obtained a Diploma in Commerce at the University of the North, South Africa and was a high school teacher for four years before joining IRI in 1993.



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