NIGERIA'S 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS: BETRAYAL OF ELECTORATE OPTIMISM AND PARTICIPATION

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PREFACE

Nigeria's transition to democracy has been rough showing occasional relapse to authoritarianism. The quality of election, which is one of the mechanisms for gauging the extent of democratic consolidation, has shown evidence of progressive decline over the three polls conducted in 1999, 2003 and 2007. Violence, executive and institutional (electoral and party) manipulations, and fraud continue to undermine the quest for free and fair elections in the country.

Prior to the conduct of the 2007 federal elections, there was a desperate attempt by the Presidency and the ruling political party to use the law and law enforcement agencies, in very perverse ways, to exclude those they regarded as strong opponents from the electoral process. There were cases of hurriedly assembled panels to investigate individuals and submit findings within very short period. The findings, often biased or predetermined to suit the incumbent government, were used to disqualify opponents. Affected individuals approached the courts for the enforcement of their rights. Most of the aggrieved parties obtained favourable judgment, thereby underscoring the illegality of the investigations and efforts to undermine political competition and choices.

The pre-election period was also characterised by violence, including assassinations of prominent politicians. There was overwhelming lack of preparation for the elections by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The registration of voter was characterised by widespread irregularities, shortages of materials and constant malfunction of equipment. Civic education by the relevant government agencies was lacking. These lapses led to widespread concern by the citizens. Civil society organisations (CSOs), in particular, highlighted the lapses, their impact on the conduct of free and fair elections, and proposed remedies. However, the leadership of the electoral commission frequently rebuffed the suggestions of the CSOs.

The two rounds of public opinion surveys were conducted under the auspices of the Alliance for Credible elections (a coalition of civil society organisations) and the CLEEN Foundation, an organisation involved in research and advocacy in the justice sector.

The findings of the survey indicated very high level of optimism among the potential voters. Very substantial majority of the respondents reported that:

- 1. The elections will be free and fair
- 2. The electoral commission was sufficiently prepared for the elections
- 3. The police will guarantee safety and security required for free and fair elections

They nonetheless, recognized that the government, in order to exclude opponents and ensure the victory of the ruling party candidates was manipulating some law enforcement agencies. The findings also revealed that most eligible voters planned to vote during the elections. In essence, the findings indicated high optimism and prospect of participation in the elections by the electorates. Indeed, during the elections, there was high level of turnout by the electorates. However, the electoral commission was not prepared for the conduct of free and fair elections. The conduct and outcomes of the elections demonstrated a clear betrayal of the optimism and participation of the electorates.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Elections and Democratic Governance

Election is one of the most important pillars of democracy. Indeed, it is a necessary condition for democracy because it provides the medium for the expression of the core principles and purposes of democracy such as the sovereignty of the citizens; freedom, choice and accountability of political leaders. In order to serve these purposes of democracy, elections must be free and fair. The notion of free and fair election expresses several conditions, including absence of manipulation, violence and fraud as well as impartiality of election management authority and effective participation by the electorate at all stages of the electoral process.

An electoral process involves different stages at which decisions are made and activities are undertaken. The stages include enactment of electoral laws; establishing electoral management authority and appointing its officials; constituency delineation; party formation and registration, voter registration; nomination of candidates and campaigns; procurement of relevant services and materials; determination of polling centres and provision of polling booths; polling, counting and declaration of results, and determination of election petitions. At all these levels, there must be transparency, fairness, and unhindered participation by every eligible person and group. Any government that emerges from any election that is not free and fair cannot be the true choices of the electorate and therefore represents the usurpation of the sovereignty of the citizens.

Successive elections in Nigeria since the colonial period lacked the essential ingredients of democratic electoral process: transparency, fairness and freeness. This failure is due to several factors: manipulation of the decisions and activities at the various stages of electoral process by the governments and politicians; corruption of officials and electorates, violence during campaigns, polling and collation; rigging through the stuffing, snatching and destruction of ballot boxes. The first military intervention, in January 1966, was considered

in some quarters as the outcome of the protracted and grievous violence that characterised the elections in the Western Region from 1964 to 1965.

Past efforts to institutionalise and conduct free and fair elections in Nigeria have been largely unsuccessful. The events preceding the 2007 elections generated controversies, conflicts, litigations and cynicism about the fate of the electoral process and the country's democratic transition. Some of the critical events that gave rise to concern were:

- 1. Attempt by President Obasanjo to secure a third term in office contrary to the provision of the Constitution that prescribed a maximum of two-term tenure generated intense political debates and resistance. The attempt led to the manipulation of the law enforcement agencies (especially Economic and Financial Crimes Commission; Code of Conduct Bureau and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission) as well as the office of the Attorney General of the Federation. Further, the Independent National Electoral Commission acted like an agency of the President and the ruling party for the exclusion of political opposition. The manipulation of the law enforcement agencies and the electoral commission was aimed at suppressing groups and individuals within and outside the ruling party that insisted on respect for the provisions of the Constitution.
- 2. Resistance by democratic forces and the political opposition against the effort to violate the constitutional provision on tenure ignited mass media campaign and political mobilisation
- 3. Intra-party competition for nomination (especially within the ruling People's Democratic Party, PDP) led to violence and assassination of opponents
- 4. Lack of evidence of preparedness for the election by the electoral commission as activities such as voter registration, civic education, procurement of materials, recruitment and training of personnel were either not undertaken at required period or ineffectively undertaken
- 5. Litigation by politicians against decisions of the compromised law enforcement agencies or the Independent National Electoral

- Commission (INEC) was widespread. Many of the litigations were pending till few days before the scheduled elections
- 6. Political campaigns and rallies were characterised by violence
- 7. The electoral commission and other relevant governmental agencies responsible for elections (a) treated civil associations that serve as election management watchdogs disrespectfully, (b) demonized and misrepresent patriotic citizens and civil actors¹ who demanded efficiency, accountability, transparency and impartiality in the administration of elections in the country.

These events led to uncertainty about whether or not the elections will hold at all. Those who felt that the elections would hold were apprehensive about the prospects of fairness and freeness of the elections. The objective political condition during the six months preceding the elections did not engender optimism that the election will be conducted or that if they were conducted, they would be free and fair. It was against this background that the two pre-election surveys reported in this publication were conducted to examine the public opinions and perceptions of the processes, institutions and activities associated with the elections in April 2007.

Elements of free and fair elections

Sustainability and consolidation of democracy depend on many factors. The critical factors are:

- 1. inclusive participation;
- 2. free and fair elections with outcomes that reflect the choice of the electorates;
- 3. accountability of the rulers through democratic institutional oversights and periodic and multi-party election;
- 4. protection of human rights;
- 5. scrupulous observance of the rule of law supported by independent judiciary, and

¹ False allegations of partisan political sponsorship and inducement of the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) and the Alliance for Credible Elections (ACE) consisting of veteran pro-democracy, nationalist and human rights advocates were planted in the press by agencies and agents desirous of facilitating the manipulation of electoral rules and fraudulent election outcomes.

6. effective protection of citizens from poverty, ignorance, and insecurity.

The primary goal of democratic governance is to create a society in which the preservation and continuous enhancement of the security, welfare and freedoms of the citizens are the primary priorities of the government. In such a society, the government exists to serve the citizens rather the reverse, which is the case in non-democratic societies. However, these objectives cannot be realised except the citizens have the right and duty to choose those who will administer the affairs of the society in a way that *optimizes* the security, welfare and freedoms of everyone in the constituent groups and communities. It is in this respect that election becomes a critical element and instrument of democratic governance.

Free and fair elections create the necessary conditions for the development of other components of democracy. The notion of free and fair election refers to an electoral process in which:

- (a) all the citizens who are eligible to vote people are enabled to do so;
- (b) voters make electoral choices without illegitimate inducement and coercion;
- (c) electoral institutions, processes and outcomes are not manipulated by the government, groups and individuals, and
- (d) outcomes of electoral process are determined purely by the votes of the electorate.

The various elections conducted in the country since independence in 1960 were generally characterised by fraud, corrupt inducements, intimidation; violence, and pervasive governmental manipulations. These lapses, in the past, triggered mass violence and rejection of election results.

Nigeria's 2007 Elections

The general elections for electing the President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives in the federal bicameral legislature; State Governors, and the legislators in the unicameral legislatures in the respective 36 states of the Federation, were scheduled and conducted on April 14 and 21, 2007. Due to the various adverse political conditions enumerated above, there were concerns and fear about the preparedness of the electoral body to conduct free and fair

elections in 2007. Citizens were also concerned about the capacity of the security institutions to ensure peaceful atmosphere. The avalanche of litigations occasioned by the manipulations of the electoral rules and processes; electoral administration lapses, and election-related campaigns fuelled public apprehension and cynicism.

Nigeria was at crossroads during the period preceding the elections. The elections were crucial because the quality of the electoral process and the elected officials it produced will determine either the progress or the regress of the nation. Patriotic civil society organisation recognized the import of the election in the country's history. It will be the first time that an alternation of power between civilian regimes was likely to occur. If this happened and the elections were free and fair, Nigeria will be on the way to the consolidation of democracy. However, if the elections were mismanaged, the political progress of the country would be retarded if not truncated.

Several Nigerian organisations, especially the foremost ones like the Transition Monitoring Group; the Catholic Justice, Development and Peace Committee; JNI and the Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria have acquired experience, competence and capacity for civic education and election observation. They offered to assist the INEC in order to ensure the success of the election. However, the Independent National Electoral Commission largely snubbed them.

Election outcomes have very serious implications for the development of a country and the legitimacy of the government that emerged through an electoral process. Therefore, public perceptions of the electoral process, outcomes and institutions are critical to the legitimacy accorded the government and its institutions. Results of surveys on public opinions and perceptions are very useful tools for gauging public mood. Good and responsive governments use the output of such surveys to formulate, monitor and review policies and programmes. So far, in Nigeria, there is a general attitude of hostility toward those who conduct social surveys that produce information that do not flatter the government and its agencies.

This social survey of public perceptions on electoral administration was conducted to provide relevant information and data as contribution towards the conduct of credible, free, fair and peaceful elections in April 2007. In the light of the hostility against patriotic civil society organisations and movements by public institutions, especially in recent times by the electoral administration agencies in the country, it is necessary to state that no political party or candidate in the elections funded the surveys.

CHAPTER TWO

Method of Data Collection

Purpose of the Survey

The primary aim of this social survey on public opinions and perceptions of the processes, institutions and activities associated with the elections in April 2007 was to produce and provide scientifically valid information that will facilitate free, fair and peaceful elections as well as acceptable election results that reflect the true choices of the citizens in the country.

The survey questionnaire contained several questions on the conduct of the elections: how ready or prepared are the relevant electoral and security institutions for the conduct of free and fair elections at the scheduled time? What are the opinions of citizens on the preparedness of the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) and the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) to conduct free, fair and peaceful elections in April 2007? What proportions of the citizens who were registered for the elections were planning to vote? Given the experiences of election-related violence and intimidations, how fearful of electoral violence are the citizens? What are the factors that will influence electoral choices of the electorates? This survey attempts to answer these questions, focusing on voter registration, preparedness of INEC and the police, and the factor that will likely affect the electoral behaviour of potential voters. Two rounds of surveys were conducted in pursuit of the objectives of this research and advocacy effort².

This Report highlights the findings from the two rounds of survey of public opinion on these issues. The principal objective of the survey was to generate reliable information on the preparedness of the electoral and security agencies for the elections. As a result, the findings from the survey were widely disseminated prior to the elections to draw the attention of the electoral administration and law enforcement agencies to the lapses and measures needed

² The first round of survey was conducted between January 7 and 19, 2007 while the second round was conducted between March 9 and 22, 2007.



to ensure free and fair elections. In order to enhance readability, the tables are placed at the end of the narrative report.

Background to the Survey and Respondents

The first and second rounds of the survey consisted of 11,156 and 11,207 respondents drawn from the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory in the country. A professional commercial market and opinion research company, the Practical Sampling International (PSI) based in Lagos, carried out fieldworks for the surveys. The respondents were selected through a random sampling process involving stratified multi-stage cluster sampling procedure that guarantees nationally representative sample, with a sampling error of 2.5%.³ Only citizens who were 18 years or older were interviewed, while male-female ratio of 50:50 was maintained in the sample. The technique of personal, face-to-face interview of respondents in households was adopted. Table 1 presents the socioeconomic characteristics of respondents.

Table 1: Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Respondents⁴

Characteristics	Round 1	Round 2 %	
Sex			
• Male	50	50	
• Female	50	50	
Age			
• 18 − 24 years	34	31	
• 25 – 34 years	34	35	
• 35 – 49 years	22	23	
• 50 years and older	11	11	

³ The sample taken from each state was proportional to its size in the national population estimates based on the 1991 census

⁴ Generally, in this presentation, percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number, except in tables where fuller information is desirable. As a result, figure (%s) may not add to exactly 100 _____

Income		
• Less than 10000 naira per month	49	47
• More than 75,000 naira per month	1	1
Educational Status		
• Post-secondary	30	29
• Secondary	48	47
• Primary	9	10
• Literacy and Koranic classes ·	9	10
No formal education	5	4

The regional representations in the two surveys were approximately as follows: Lagos (6.2%); South-West (13%); South-South (15%); South-East (13%); North-East (14%); North-West (24%) and North-Central (16%). Overall, the socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents in the two samples of the surveys are similar or comparable (table 1).

CHAPTER THREE

Analysis of Round One Survey

The first round of the survey was took place in January 2007, and its main findings are presented below.

Voter registration

Voter registration is the foundation of free and fair elections. If the voter register is incomplete or contains unqualified voters, the outcome of the election will not accurately reflect the choices of the electorates. The preparation for voter registration prior to the 2007 elections was very shoddy. During registration, potential electorates could not locate registration centres and when they did, officials were absent, necessary supplies for registrations were unavailable, or equipment malfunctioned. Attempt by politicians to manipulate the registration in connivance with electoral officials who sought bribes were widely reported. Reactions to these inadequacies led to violence in many places and apathy among potential voters. However, several NGOs such as the Alliance for Credible Elections and the Transition Monitoring Group mounted massive grassroots campaign to mobilise citizens to endure the frustration of the poor preparation for the exercise. Religious and community organisations and leaders also encouraged their members to register and vote as their civic duties demand.

Findings from the first round survey showed the following patterns of responses to the question on voter registration for the 2007 elections:

- 58% of the respondents had registered at the time of the survey,
- 25% were still planning to register,
- 7% reported that they were not willing to register;
- 6% could not find the place to register,
- 1% said they were prevented from registering
- 3% had not registered for several reasons,
- 64% of males compared to 51% of females reported registering at the time of the survey.
- More older persons reported having registered than younger persons (51% in 18-24 age category and 68% in 50-60 age category)

About equal proportion of people in urban areas (58%) and rural areas (57%) were registered,

Registration was uneven across the country. Some states recorded very high level of registration at the time of the survey, the highest being Sokoto State where more than 80% had registered compared to Anambra and Nasarawa states where only about 36% had registered. Overall, respondents in the North-West Zones reported higher level of registration than other zones of the country.

Voters' plan to vote

The manipulations and violence that characterised the preparations for the elections led to a general atmosphere of uncertainty and apathy in the few months preceding the elections. Yet, the findings of this survey indicate a very high level of interest in electoral participation among the electorates:

- 92% of those that registered were sure they would vote in the elections - [very sure (74%) and somewhat sure (18%)];
- 93% of males and 91% of females reported that they would surely vote during the elections.
- Enthusiasm of the registered voters is highest in North-West and North-East where 97% of the registered voters said they were sure to vote. This is understandable because the candidates of the big parties are from the two zones.
- 91% and 94% of registered voters in the urban and rural areas respectively reported that they will surely vote in the elections

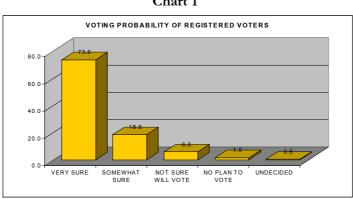


Chart 1

The pattern of response indicated prospect of high turnout. Therefore, both INEC and the Nigeria Police Force needed and were expected to make adequate arrangements and be properly equipped for their respective tasks during the elections. However, as the conduct of outcomes of the elections demonstrated, they failed to do so.

Preparedness of INEC

A major concern of the public during period preceding the elections was the manipulation of the INEC by the president and the ruling party. The electoral commission was accused of arbitrary disqualification and exclusion of candidates. As a result, the partiality of INEC was widely discussed in the media and by the politicians. The respondents were asked the question Do you agree or disagree with the statement: The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is impartial in electoral administration in Nigeria'. The following results were obtained:

- Overall, 57% of the respondents were of the view [agree strongly (20%) or agree (37%)] that INEC was impartial in its decisions pertaining to electoral administration;
- 32% of the respondents disagreed that INEC were impartial, while 10% said they do not know,

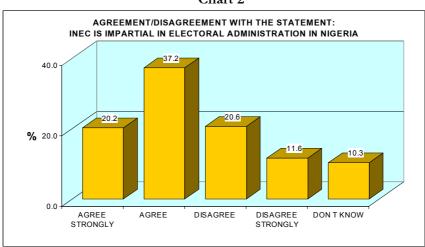


Chart 2

Respondents were also asked the question: 'Do you agree or disagree with the statement: The Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) is well prepared to conduct

the 2007 elections in Nigeria?' More than two-thirds of the respondents said that INEC was well prepared.

- 68% said [agree strongly (24%) or agree (44%)] that INEC was well prepared for the elections;
- 24% were of contrary view,
- 8% said they did not know whether or not INEC was well prepared for the elections.

Respondents were further asked: If you think the independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is not well prepared, in which areas would you want them to pay attention to? Their responses were as follows:

- 22% wanted INEC to pay attention to civic education
- 22% asked INEC to pay attention to the training of their personnel
- 18% wanted INEC to address issues of transparency and accountability,
- 10 % identified procurement of materials for the election as area deserving attention,
- 4% wished INEC addressed the challenge of impartiality.

Preparedness of the Nigeria Police Force

Security is critical to the conduct of free and fair elections. The police are saddled with the responsibility for providing security for the citizens, politicians contesting for offices, electoral officers and electoral materials during political campaigns, during and after elections. To perform these tasks, the police need to train personnel, acquire necessary materials and provide officials with necessary welfare. Adequate funding of the police by the government as well as efficient human and material resources management by the police leadership are necessary for the provision of safety and security during elections.

Respondents were asked the question: Do you agree or disagree with the statement: The police are well prepared to guarantee safety and security in the 2007 general elections in Nigeria. Their responses are presented below:

• 61% were of the view that [21% agree strongly and 40% agree] the police were well prepared to guarantee safety and security during the 2007 elections;

• 30% were of contrary view, while 9% did not know whether or not the police were well prepared to guarantee security and safety.

The respondents were asked: If you think the police are not well prepared, in which areas would you want them to more attention to? In their responses, several issues deserving the attention of the police were identified.

- 35% asked the police force to pay more attention to the training of its personnel on security before, during and after elections;
- 14% said the police should devote greater attention to logistics (transport and communication) for personnel;
- 16% wanted the police force to pay more attention to the discipline of its officials;
- 10% identified respect for human rights as an area which deserves more attention from the police;
- 7% said the police force should pay greater attention to ensuring the impartiality of its officials on election duty.

Fear of electoral violence

A free and fair election is that in which corruption, fraud, intimidation and violence are absent. Violence is a weapon used in elections to intimidate and scare voters from exercising their electoral choices, to snatch or switch ballot boxes, to facilitate ballot stuffing and mass thumb printing of ballot papers. In the past, many people were killed or injured during elections. Consequently, a substantial proportion of the electorates often avoided voting due to fear of violence. Respondents were asked: *In general, how fearful are you of becoming a victim of intimidation or violence in the forthcoming elections?* Their responses are as follow:

- 21% said they were very fearful;
- 17% were quite fearful, and 16% were a little fearful
- 44% were not fearful at all

Overall, 54% of the respondents were fearful of becoming victims of violence during the elections. This was a challenge to the police, the civil society organisations, including the mass media; religious organisations and traditional office holders to intensify campaign against electoral violence. Other institutions of government like the National Orientation Agency and the INEC need to intensify public enlightenment on the evils of electoral violence.

Choice of party and presidential candidate

Several factors influence the electoral choices made by voters. Respondents in the sample identified the following factors that will determine their choice of party and presidential candidate during the election.

Table 2: Choice of party and presidential candidates

	Party	Presidential candidate
Choice of party and presidential candidate	%	%
Best policies and programmes	49	66
Best presidential candidate	33	
Best chances of winning	12	17
Candidate from same ethnic group		5
Candidate from same religious group		5
Other factors	3	3
Don't know	3	3

The responses indicated that the choice of party was determined by a combination of the party's programmes and the quality of a presidential candidate. On the other hand, the canvassed programmes and policies principally determined the choice of a presidential candidate. Parties and presidential candidates, therefore, should focus on articulating their policies and programmes rather than rely on ethnic and religious sentiments.

The responses of the respondents place against the background of the political and economic conditions in the country during the six months preceding the elections represented a very high degree of enthusiasm and optimism among the electorates. They exhibited very high confidence in the electoral commission in spite of the concrete evidence of shoddy preparations.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis of Round Two Survey

The second round of the public opinion survey was conducted in March 2007, just few weeks to the election, both to identify lingering gaps in the preparations and to examine changes in the opinions and perceptions of the potential voters as the election approached. The following are the highlights of the findings in the second round of the survey.

Voter registration

Due to the shoddiness of the voter registration exercise, the period for compiling the register was extended. Civil society organisations also intensified their grassroots campaign and mobilisation. The survey question on voter registration elicited the following responses (table 3)

- 83% of the respondents had registered at the time of the survey,
- 17% were not registered or did not register,
- Registration was unevenly distributed across the country, though variation was not very large.

There was a 25% increase in the number of registered voters.

REGISTRATION OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS (%

83.2

75

57.9

INITIAL STAND

CURRENT STAND

Chart 3

Voters' plan to vote

Nearly nine out of ten respondents intended to vote during the elections (table 4):

- 89% of those that registered said they were sure they would vote in the elections – [very sure (70%) and fairly sure (19%)];
- 7% of the respondents were not sure that they would vote, while 3% were sure that they would not vote.

In view of the high registration rate, notwithstanding the difficulties experienced by the intending voters and the irregularities that characterised the exercise, the indication from the survey was that turn out at the elections would be high and adequate measures to ensure hitch-free voting procedures needed to be taken. Both the INEC and the Nigeria Police Force needed to make adequate arrangement and be properly equipped for their respective tasks during the elections. However, as the fiasco that characterized the elections demonstrated, the indications were either not appreciated or ignored.

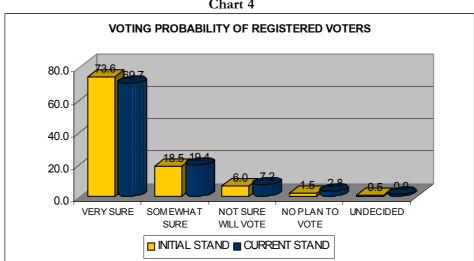


Chart 4

Preparedness by INEC

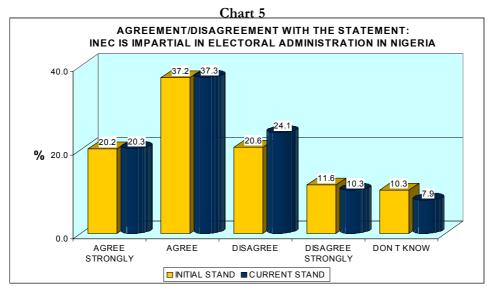
The respondents were asked the question *Do you agree or disagree with the statement:* The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is impartial in electoral administration in Nigeria'. The following results were obtained (table 5):

Overall 58% of the respondents were of the view that INEC was impartial in electoral administration;

17

• 34% of the respondents disagreed that INEC were impartial, while 8% did not know whether or not it was impartial.

The opinions of the respondents in the second round of survey were similar to the result obtained in the first round when 57% of the respondents said the INEC was impartial and 32% said the organisation was partial.



Respondents were also asked the question: 'Do you agree or disagree with the statement: The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is well prepared to conduct the 2007 elections in Nigeria?' Responses are highlighted below (and also in table 6).

- 73% said [agree strongly (33%) or agree (40%)] that INEC was well prepared for the elections;
- 19% were of contrary view,
- 7% said they did not know whether or not INEC was well prepared for the elections.

Comparatively, 68% of the respondents in the first survey said INEC was prepared for the elections.

Respondents were asked: If you think the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is not well prepared, in which areas would you want them to pay attention to? Their responses are presented below:

22% wanted INEC to pay attention to civic education

- 20% asked INEC to pay attention to the training of their personnel
- 33% wanted INEC to address issues of its transparency and accountability,
- 16% identified procurement of materials for the election as area deserving its attention,
- 20% asked that INEC address the challenge of impartiality.

It is important to observe the shift in concerns over the two rounds of survey in the following directions: impartiality (4% vs. 20%); transparency and accountability (18% vs. 33%). Thus, citizens were apprehensive about the partiality of the electoral commission in the immediate period preceding the elections.

Preparedness by the Nigeria Police Force

Security is essential to peaceful and credible elections. In the absence of adequate security, competitive and participatory elections cannot hold. Respondents were asked the question: *Do you agree or disagree with the statement:* The police are well prepared to guarantee safety and security in the 2007 general elections in Nigeria. Their responses are presented below (and also in table 7):

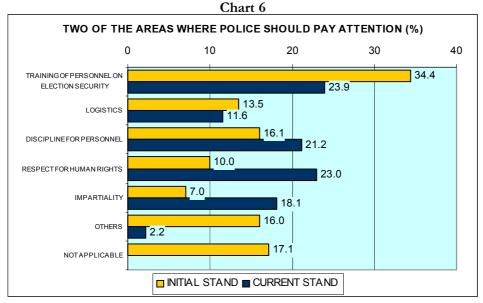
- 67% were of the view that [26% agree strongly and 41% agree] the police were well prepared to guarantee safety and security during the 2007 elections;
- 26% were of contrary view, while 7% did not know whether or not the police were well prepared to guarantee security and safety.

Comparatively, 61% of the respondents in the first round were of the view that the police were prepared to ensure safety and security during the elections. The respondents were asked: *If you think the police are not well prepared, in which areas would you want them to more attention to?* In their responses, several issues deserving the attention of the police were identified.

- 24% asked the police force to pay more attention to the training of its personnel on security before, during and after elections;
- 12% said the police should devote greater attention to logistics (transport and communication) for personnel;
- 21% wanted the police force to pay more attention to the discipline of its officials;
- 23% identified respect for human rights as an area which deserves more attention from the police;

• 18% said the police force should pay greater attention to ensuring the impartiality of its officials on election duty.

Like in the case of INEC, shift can also be found over the two rounds of survey in respect of the concern of the public deserving the attention of the police authority: impartiality (7% vs. 18%); respect for human rights (10% vs. 23%), and discipline of officers (16% vs. 21%).



Fear of electoral violence

Corruption, fraud, intimidation and violence undermine credibility, fairness and acceptability of election outcomes. Violence discourages effective political participation. In Nigeria, it is used as a medium for undertaking various electoral frauds — ballot-stuffing, high-jacking and swapping of ballot boxes and alteration of election results. Respondents were asked: *In general, how fearful are you of becoming a victim of intimidation or violence in the forthcoming elections?* Their responses are as follow (see also table 7):

- 22% said they were very fearful;
- 19% were quite fearful;
- 16% were a little fearful
- 40% were not fearful at all

Overall, 57% of the respondents were fearful of becoming a victim of violence during the elections. Fear of electoral violence did not decline over the two rounds of survey (54% vs. 57%). More than one-half of the respondents were afraid that they might become victims of electoral violence. Overall, more than two-fifths (41%) were either very fearful or quite fearful of becoming victims of electoral violence.

REGISTERED VOTERS WHO ARE FEARFUL OF BECOMING A VICTIM OF INTIMIDATION/VIOLENCE IN THE APRIL ELECTIONS (%)

60.0

40.0

20.0

VERY QUITE A LITTLE NOT AT DON'T FEARFUL FEARFUL FEARFUL ALL KNOW FEARFUL

INITIAL STAND CURRENT STAND

Chart 7

Choice of party and presidential candidate

Electoral choices by voters are influenced by several factors. Respondents in the sample identified the following factors that will determine their choice of party and presidential candidate.

Table 3. Determinant of choice of party and presidential candidate

Factors that will influence choice of party	Party	Presidential candidate
and presidential candidate	%	%
Best policies and programmes	54	70
Best presidential candidate	31	-
Best chances of winning	8	18
Candidate from same ethnic group	-	3
Candidate from same religious group	-	3
Other factors	3	1
Don't know	3	2

The responses indicate that electoral choices, to a very significant level, will be determined by quality of programmes and policies offered by parties and presidential candidates. However, only 44% of the respondents had seen the manifestoes of parties. Among those who saw the manifestoes, 73% said the issues canvassed in them more or less addressed issues that were of concern to them, while more than a quarter (26%) said they were irrelevant to their needs and aspirations.

Quality of presidential candidates

Respondents were asked whether they were satisfied with the quality of the candidates contesting for the office of the President of the Federation. More than seven in ten Nigerians (71%) expressed dissatisfaction with the qualities of persons contesting for the office of the President.

Prospect of free and fair elections in 2007

Citizens were reasonably optimistic that the 2007 elections would be free and fair as the following findings from the second round of the survey indicated (see also table 10).

- 69% were of the view that the elections will be free and fair: strongly agree (28%) and agree (41%);
- Nearly a quarter (23%) was of contrary view, while 8% said they did not know whether it would be free and fair.

Nearly seven out of ten respondents said the election will be free and fair and nearly a quarter said it would not be. Although the percentage of the respondents who said the election will be free and fair was relatively high, the proportion of those who held contrary view was significant. Comparatively, 54% of the respondents in the first survey felt that the elections would be free and fair. A higher level of optimism was recorded in the second survey.

CHAPTER FIVE

Aftermath of the Elections

Conclusion

Social surveys, like the Afrobarometer⁵, have shown that Nigerians are very optimistic people, even when objective realities suggest otherwise. Nigerians have a right to desire and expect free and fair elections because:

- (a) it is their right;
- (b) they work very hard for such elections through various civil society organisations;
- (c) they often engage in various mobilisation and advocacy activities (including prayer vigils) to persuade people to register despite problems and obstacles;
- (d) they always encourage people to refrain from violence despite provocations from governmental and non-governmental sources, and
- (e) they support legitimate efforts of official agencies, despite alienation and attempted exclusion.

The reports of the international and domestic observers on the elections showed betrayal of the optimism and participation of the electorates. The outcomes of the elections failed to reflect the aspirations and choices of the electorates. They also failed to meet the regional and international standards of democratic elections. The Report of the Domestic Election Observation Groups, released immediately after the first round of elections stated that:

The Report observed that:

Some of these irregularities and malpractices include: hoarding of result sheets by INEC; lack of secrecy in balloting; underage voting, non inclusion of pictures and/or names of candidates on the ballot paper; partisanship of INEC officials, snatching of ballot boxes and papers;

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⁵ See the various reports on Nigeria at www.afrobarometer.org

intimidation of voters and unacceptably high number of deaths recorded in the exercise⁶.

The Coalition further stated that:

... monitors throughout the country noted and documented numerous lapses, massive irregularities and electoral malpractices that characterized the elections in many states. Based on the widespread and far-reaching nature of these lapses, irregularities and electoral malpractices, we have come to the conclusion that on the whole, the election was a charade and did not meet the minimum standards required for democratic elections ... We do not believe that any outcome of that election can represent the will of the people. A democratic arrangement founded on such fraud can have no legitimacy (emphasis added)⁷.

The European Union Election Observation Mission deployed to 33 of the country's 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory. They also reported widespread lapses, including late opening of polling stations due to late arrival of polling station officials and the insufficient or non-delivery of polling materials. Other lapses observed by the Mission included departure from and improper or inappropriate application of laid-down procedures; secrecy of the ballot was frequently not guaranteed due to the absence of polling booths and poor layout of polling stations. They also observed under-age voting, irregularities during the counting and collation processes, including incidents of disruption and absence of counting at polling stations and significant discrepancies between results at polling station and LGA collation level⁸. These and other reports demonstrated a clear betrayal of the optimism and participation of the electorates.

⁶ Preliminary Report on the Gubernatorial and State Assemblies Elections, Held on Saturday, April 14, 2007, issued by Domestic Election Observation Groups, which includes the of Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN), Labour Monitoring Team (LEMT), Women Environmental Programme (WEP), Muslim League for Accountability (MULAC), Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) and Alliance for Credible Elections, p.1

⁷ An Election Programmed to Fail: Preliminary Report on the Presidential and National Assembly Elections Held on Saturday, April 21, 2007 issued by Domestic Election Observation Groups, p.1

⁸ Preliminary Report of the European Union Election Observation Mission on the State Gubernatorial and Assembly elections held on April 14, 2007.
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Table 4: Registration of eligible Voters in the States

States	%	% NOT	TOTAL
	REGISTERED	REGISTERED	
ABIA	88.7	11.3	100.0
ADAMAWA	79.9	20.1	100.0
AKWA-IBOM	66.4	33.6	100.0
ANAMBRA	89.8	10.2	100.0
BAUCHI	86.2	13.8	100.0
BAYELSA	74.7	25.3	100.0
BENUE	83.4	16.6	100.0
BORNO	76.2	23.8	100.0
CROSS-RIVER	77.6	22.4	100.0
DELTA	85.5	14.5	100.0
EBONYI	83.9	16.1	100.0
EDO	81.7	18.3	100.0
EKITI	85.7	14.3	100.0
ENUGU	95.9	4.1	100.0
FCT	70.2	29.8	100.0
GOMBE	75.7	24.3	100.0
IMO	85.8	14.2	100.0
JIGAWA	89.5	10.5	100.0
KADUNA	83.2	16.8	100.0
KANO	82.5	17.5	100.0
KATSINA	74.4	25.6	100.0
KEBBI	94.1	5.9	100.0
KOGI	81.3	18.7	100.0
KWARA	86.1	13.9	100.0
LAGOS	82.1	17.9	100.0
NASARAWA	78.2	21.8	100.0

NIGER	84.9	15.1	100.0
OGUN	89.3	10.7	100.0
ONDO	90.9	9.1	100.0
OSUN	80.6	19.4	100.0
OYO	81.9	18.1	100.0
PLATEAU	91.2	8.8	100.0
RIVERS	85.2	14.8	100.0
SOKOTO	94.0	6.0	100.0
TARABA	85.7	14.3	100.0
YOBE	78.7	21.3	100.0
ZAMFARA	79.4	20.6	100.0
National	83.2	16.8	100.0

Table 5: Likelihood of Voting During Election

States	Very	Fairly	Not Sure	I Have No	Don't	Total
	Sure	Sure	I Will	Plan to	Know	
	I Will	I Will	Vote	Vote		
	Vote	Vote				
ABIA	61.9	28.0	7.3	1.4	1.4	100
ADAMAWA	73.9	20.0	3.5	2.6	0.0	100
AKWA-IBOM	64.7	27.4	4.7	2.3	0.9	100
ANAMBRA	62.3	18.5	10.6	8.2	0.3	100
BAUCHI	84.2	10.0	4.1	0.5	1.4	100
BAYELSA	52.4	24.9	9.5	11.6	1.6	100
BENUE	67.3	22.4	5.5	3.3	1.5	100
BORNO	70.4	19.8	5.3	4.0	0.4	100
CROSS-RIVER	69.5	13.7	12.2	3.0	1.5	100
DELTA	56.7	21.3	13.0	9.0	0.0	100
EBONYI	62.6	21.4	8.2	5.5	2.2	100

EDO 70.4 19.4 6.8 1.9 1.5 10 EKITI 53.7 18.5 20.8 5.1 1.9 10 ENUGU 44.8 38.1 10.5 4.8 1.9 10 FCT 68.9 20.9 7.9 2.3 0.0 10 GOMBE 67.0 28.4 4.6 0.0 0.0 10 IMO 67.2 15.7 10.9 5.8 0.4 10 JIGAWA 83.0 12.7 4.0 0.0 0.3 10 KADUNA 76.1 12.9 8.0 2.3 0.8 10 KANO 81.5 14.7 2.9 0.5 0.5 10 KATSINA 69.8 22.4 6.0 1.4 0.3 10	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
ENUGU 44.8 38.1 10.5 4.8 1.9 10 FCT 68.9 20.9 7.9 2.3 0.0 10 GOMBE 67.0 28.4 4.6 0.0 0.0 10 IMO 67.2 15.7 10.9 5.8 0.4 10 JIGAWA 83.0 12.7 4.0 0.0 0.3 10 KADUNA 76.1 12.9 8.0 2.3 0.8 10 KANO 81.5 14.7 2.9 0.5 0.5 10	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
FCT 68.9 20.9 7.9 2.3 0.0 10 GOMBE 67.0 28.4 4.6 0.0 0.0 10 IMO 67.2 15.7 10.9 5.8 0.4 10 JIGAWA 83.0 12.7 4.0 0.0 0.3 10 KADUNA 76.1 12.9 8.0 2.3 0.8 10 KANO 81.5 14.7 2.9 0.5 0.5 10	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
GOMBE 67.0 28.4 4.6 0.0 0.0 10 IMO 67.2 15.7 10.9 5.8 0.4 10 JIGAWA 83.0 12.7 4.0 0.0 0.3 10 KADUNA 76.1 12.9 8.0 2.3 0.8 10 KANO 81.5 14.7 2.9 0.5 0.5 10	0 0 0 0 0
IMO 67.2 15.7 10.9 5.8 0.4 10 JIGAWA 83.0 12.7 4.0 0.0 0.3 10 KADUNA 76.1 12.9 8.0 2.3 0.8 10 KANO 81.5 14.7 2.9 0.5 0.5 10	0 0 0 0 0 0
JIGAWA 83.0 12.7 4.0 0.0 0.3 10 KADUNA 76.1 12.9 8.0 2.3 0.8 10 KANO 81.5 14.7 2.9 0.5 0.5 10	0 0 0
KADUNA 76.1 12.9 8.0 2.3 0.8 10 KANO 81.5 14.7 2.9 0.5 0.5 10	0
KANO 81.5 14.7 2.9 0.5 0.5 10	0
KATSINA 69.8 22.4 6.0 1.4 0.3 1.0	`
10.0 22.1 0.0 1.1	J
KEBBI 55.7 34.1 5.9 0.7 3.6 10	0
KOGI 60.5 30.7 6.8 1.5 0.5 10	0
KWARA 84.9 12.4 2.2 0.5 0.0 10	0
LAGOS 62.6 18.2 11.9 5.4 1.9 10	0
NASARAWA 83.4 13.0 3.6 0.0 0.0 10	0
NIGER 74.3 17.0 8.7 0.0 0.0 10	0
OGUN 59.6 28.9 11.6 0.0 0.0 10	0
ONDO 86.0 7.9 4.4 1.3 0.4 10	0
OSUN 79.8 13.8 3.9 1.0 1.5 10	0
OYO 49.2 35.0 9.6 5.4 0.8 10	0
PLATEAU 81.0 12.3 3.6 1.5 1.5 10	0
RIVERS 52.1 30.0 10.3 7.0 0.5 10	0
SOKOTO 90.3 7.6 1.3 0.0 0.8 10	0
TARABA 81.2 14.5 3.2 1.1 0.0 10	00
YOBE 88.2 8.2 2.9 0.0 0.6 10	0
ZAMFARA 89.5 7.5 2.5 0.0 0.5 10	0
National 69.7 19.4 7.2 2.8 0.9 100	

Table 6: Impartiality of the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC)

	The INEC Is Impartial In Electoral Administration In					
States	Nigeria					
	Agree Strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Don't Know	Total
ABIA	12.9	52.1	21.8	9.5	3.7	100
ADAMAWA	29.2	33.3	18.8	7.6	11.1	100
AKWA-IBOM	18.5	20.4	39.2	9.0	13.0	100
ANAMBRA	7.7	12.3	44.6	24.6	10.8	100
BAUCHI	23.7	29.8	24.9	15.6	6.0	100
BAYELSA	13.0	33.2	9.9	31.2	12.6	100
BENUE	20.6	40.2	18.1	9.8	11.3	100
BORNO	32.4	29.6	19.4	15.7	2.8	100
CROSS-RIVER	16.1	32.7	30.3	5.1	15.7	100
DELTA	14.5	27.2	33.3	21.9	3.1	100
EBONYI	9.7	44.7	26.3	9.2	10.1	100
EDO	17.9	61.5	11.9	0.8	7.9	100
EKITI	9.9	28.2	28.6	21.4	11.9	100
ENUGU	25.6	47.5	21.0	5.9	0.0	100
FCT	7.1	45.6	32.1	13.5	1.6	100
GOMBE	28.5	43.8	18.8	3.5	5.6	100
IMO	12.4	34.4	33.1	15.8	4.3	100
JIGAWA	26.3	45.4	13.6	4.2	10.5	100
KADUNA	16.9	26.1	28.8	15.6	12.6	100
KANO	18.5	42.1	23.8	10.3	5.4	100
KATSINA	25.6	42.5	20.5	3.2	8.1	100
KEBBI	32.4	50.9	7.7	0.6	8.3	100
KOGI	30.6	37.3	21.4	3.6	7.1	100
KWARA	25.5	42.6	19.9	6.5	5.6	100
LAGOS	17.2	37.8	31.8	6.3	7.0	100

NASARAWA	4.6	28.7	39.8	22.2	4.6	100
NIGER	15.4	51.7	19.4	9.8	3.7	100
OGUN	25.4	48.0	11.1	11.9	3.6	100
ONDO	19.8	45.2	15.9	4.8	14.3	100
OSUN	37.3	31.0	5.6	2.0	24.2	100
OYO	17.1	33.3	29.9	14.8	4.9	100
PLATEAU	14.8	36.6	29.6	15.7	3.2	100
RIVERS	25.2	34.0	33.2	4.0	3.6	100
SOKOTO	24.2	35.7	30.2	2.0	7.9	100
TARABA	28.6	37.3	22.1	6.0	6.0	100
YOBE	32.9	36.1	16.2	3.7	11.1	100
ZAMFARA	29.4	36.5	14.3	5.6	14.3	100
National	20.4	37.3	24.1	10.3	7.9	100

Table 7: Preparedness of INEC

	The INE	The INEC is Prepared to conduct the 2007 Election in						
States	Nigeria	Nigeria						
	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Don't	Total		
	Strongly			Strongly	Know			
ABIA	12.9	64.4	12.3	6.4	4.0	100		
ADAMAWA	29.9	37.5	20.1	6.9	5.6	100		
AKWA-IBOM	31.5	42.9	10.2	3.7	11.7	100		
ANAMBRA	31.1	28.3	16.6	9.8	14.2	100		
BAUCHI	41.8	31.9	13.0	10.5	2.7	100		
BAYELSA	22.9	35.2	7.9	19.4	14.6	100		
BENUE	31.9	47.2	8.3	5.2	7.4	100		
BORNO	45.7	28.1	8.0	11.1	7.1	100		

CROSS-RIVER	30.3	42.9	12.2	3.1	11.4	100
DELTA	31.5	39.5	18.5	7.4	3.1	100
EBONYI	43.8	35.5	11.1	1.4	8.3	100
EDO	19.4	68.3	4.0	0.8	7.5	100
EKITI	27.4	44.4	11.9	12.3	4.0	100
ENUGU	38.8	33.3	18.7	9.1	0.0	100
FCT	21.4	32.1	31.3	14.3	0.8	100
GOMBE	45.8	34.0	16.0	2.8	1.4	100
IMO	31.8	47.5	8.0	11.1	1.6	100
JIGAWA	35.5	44.0	9.1	3.0	8.3	100
KADUNA	30.4	35.1	11.3	9.8	13.4	100
KANO	32.1	50.2	9.7	3.0	5.0	100
KATSINA	29.5	41.0	10.7	4.5	14.3	100
KEBBI	32.8	44.0	8.4	4.6	10.2	100
KOGI	47.6	34.1	8.7	2.0	7.5	100
KWARA	47.7	26.9	13.4	5.6	6.5	100
LAGOS	28.0	39.5	19.2	5.5	7.8	100
NASARAWA	26.4	35.2	16.2	16.2	6.0	100
NIGER	28.6	39.1	10.2	14.8	7.4	100
OGUN	29.4	40.1	10.3	14.7	5.6	100
ONDO	37.3	51.2	3.2	1.6	6.7	100
OSUN	42.9	39.7	3.2	2.4	11.9	100
OYO	28.2	41.9	22.0	5.3	2.5	100
PLATEAU	38.9	33.3	14.4	13.0	0.5	100
RIVERS	28.4	48.4	18.4	3.2	1.6	100
SOKOTO	57.1	32.1	4.4	2.4	4.0	100
TARABA	42.4	33.2	9.7	9.2	5.5	100
YOBE	62.5	27.3	1.9	2.8	5.6	100
ZAMFARA	40.9	32.9	10.3	5.6	10.3	100
National	33.8	40.0	12.2	7.1	7.0	100

Table 8: Preparedness of the Police

States	The Police are well prepared to guarantee safety & Security In The 2007 General Elections In Nigeria					
	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Don't	Total
	Strongly		0	Strongly	Know	
ABIA	15.3	60.4	13.8	5.2	5.2	100
ADAMAWA	31.9	34.0	21.5	4.9	7.6	100
AKWA-IBOM	12.7	49.4	16.0	9.9	12.0	100
ANAMBRA	32.0	22.5	24.0	12.3	9.2	100
BAUCHI	37.9	29.6	17.7	9.1	5.6	100
BAYELSA	8.7	30.0	9.9	33.6	17.8	100
BENUE	20.9	50.3	14.4	6.1	8.3	100
BORNO	34.6	31.2	15.1	9.0	10.2	100
CROSS-RIVER	20.1	42.1	22.8	3.9	11.0	100
DELTA	35.2	37.3	19.4	4.3	3.7	100
EBONYI	25.8	48.4	11.1	5.5	9.2	100
EDO	15.9	55.2	19.8	2.8	6.3	100
EKITI	19.0	38.9	13.9	23.8	4.4	100
ENUGU	15.5	45.2	21.0	16.0	2.3	100
FCT	27.0	31.3	33.7	5.6	2.4	100
GOMBE	16.0	51.4	19.4	8.3	4.9	100
IMO	23.5	42.9	16.0	17.3	.3	100
JIGAWA	30.2	49.6	11.1	3.6	5.5	100
KADUNA	27.9	36.5	14.9	12.4	8.3	100
KANO	21.0	49.0	18.8	6.0	5.2	100
KATSINA	29.3	46.8	9.0	2.4	12.6	100
KEBBI	44.4	40.7	9.9	1.5	3.4	100
KOGI	30.2	41.7	14.3	6.0	7.9	100
KWARA	35.2	36.6	19.9	2.8	5.6	100

LAGOS	15.2	37.5	29.5	11.5	6.3	100
NASARAWA	11.6	42.1	20.8	20.8	4.6	100
NIGER	10.2	56.3	16.9	12.9	3.7	100
OGUN	22.6	47.6	15.1	9.1	5.6	100
ONDO	31.7	50.8	4.8	6.7	6.0	100
OSUN	40.5	37.3	4.0	.8	17.5	100
OYO	23.8	41.9	22.2	8.6	3.5	100
PLATEAU	18.1	43.1	16.2	21.3	1.4	100
RIVERS	24.0	24.4	27.2	17.2	7.2	100
SOKOTO	61.5	26.2	6.0	1.6	4.8	100
TARABA	40.1	39.6	11.5	4.6	4.1	100
YOBE	40.7	40.3	7.4	.5	11.1	100
ZAMFARA	39.7	36.1	9.5	8.3	6.3	100
National	26.4	41.1	16.6	9.0	6.8	100

Table 9: Fear of Becoming Victims of Electoral Violence

States		Fear of Becoming A Victim Of Intimidation and Violence In The Forthcoming Elections					
	Very Fearful	Quite Fearful	A Little Fearful	Not at all Fearful	Don't Know	Total	
ABIA	12.6	17.8	16.9	52.1	0.6	100	
ADAMAWA	40.3	22.2	18.1	19.4	0.0	100	
AKWA-IBOM	4.9	9.3	16.0	69.4	0.3	100	
ANAMBRA	33.2	12.6	16.6	36.0	1.5	100	
BAUCHI	24.7	21.6	9.5	42.2	1.9	100	
BAYELSA	34.8	20.6	10.7	29.6	4.3	100	
BENUE	4.0	12.6	11.3	70.6	1.5	100	
BORNO	29.9	21.3	21.6	26.2	0.9	100	

CROSS-RIVER	30.3	16.1	15.4	34.6	3.5	100
DELTA	15.7	13.3	25.9	44.1	0.9	100
EBONYI	13.4	19.8	11.5	44.7	10.6	100
EDO	16.3	17.9	21.8	40.5	3.6	100
EKITI	7.5	9.9	25.0	55.6	2.0	100
ENUGU	31.1	32.9	18.7	16.9	0.5	100
FCT	16.7	27.4	20.6	35.3	0.0	100
GOMBE	55.6	26.4	13.2	3.5	1.4	100
IMO	21.4	10.2	10.8	57.6	0.0	100
JIGAWA	21.3	39.6	7.8	28.3	3.0	100
KADUNA	8.3	12.6	16.0	61.4	1.7	100
KANO	9.7	17.5	25.0	46.8	1.0	100
KATSINA	16.7	22.4	14.7	39.7	6.4	100
KEBBI	29.2	34.2	7.8	28.5	0.3	100
KOGI	47.2	32.1	9.1	8.7	2.8	100
KWARA	2.3	6.0	18.5	72.2	0.9	100
LAGOS	27.6	11.1	17.2	42.0	2.1	100
NASARAWA	43.1	22.7	14.4	17.1	2.8	100
NIGER	19.1	40.7	20.1	17.6	2.5	100
OGUN	27.8	16.7	24.2	31.0	0.4	100
ONDO	39.7	9.1	6.7	41.7	2.8	100
OSUN	25.8	8.3	6.7	54.0	5.2	100
OYO	17.4	15.3	17.8	48.1	1.4	100
PLATEAU	10.2	16.2	12.0	61.1	0.5	100
RIVERS	36.8	20.8	20.8	21.6	0.0	100
SOKOTO	19.8	19.0	28.2	31.3	1.6	100
TARABA	44.7	19.8	9.7	23.5	2.3	100
YOBE	12.0	20.8	38.9	25.0	3.2	100
ZAMFARA	17.1	15.9	4.4	60.7	2.0	100
National	22.1	18.9	16.3	40.7	2.1	100

Table 10: Likelihood of Free and Fair Elections in 2007

States	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Don't	Total
	Strongly			Strongly	Know	
ABIA	20.2	58.6	11.7	4.6	4.9	100
ADAMAWA	28.5	41.7	12.5	7.6	9.7	100
AKWA-IBOM	14.5	34.0	18.2	12.0	21.3	100
ANAMBRA	24.9	25.5	20.0	16.0	13.5	100
BAUCHI	21.9	36.9	17.2	11.9	12.1	100
BAYELSA	15.0	34.0	4.0	28.5	18.6	100
BENUE	27.9	47.2	12.0	5.8	7.1	100
BORNO	30.6	33.3	17.9	6.5	11.7	100
CROSS-RIVER	19.7	39.4	21.7	7.9	11.4	100
DELTA	19.1	27.8	27.8	21.9	3.4	100
EBONYI	27.2	41.5	14.7	5.1	11.5	100
EDO	20.6	56.3	13.1	2.8	7.1	100
EKITI	20.2	47.2	11.9	15.1	5.6	100
ENUGU	19.2	49.8	18.3	10.5	2.3	100
FCT	21.8	39.7	19.4	17.5	1.6	100
GOMBE	17.4	46.5	25.7	10.4	0.0	100
IMO	22.0	39.6	23.2	12.7	2.5	100
JIGAWA	30.7	48.2	8.9	4.2	8.0	100
KADUNA	32.4	34.5	13.6	9.8	9.6	100
KANO	32.3	43.7	11.9	4.8	7.3	100
KATSINA	25.6	45.5	15.2	4.9	8.8	100
KEBBI	41.4	49.4	4.6	0.3	4.3	100
KOGI	32.1	43.3	11.9	6.0	6.7	100
KWARA	36.1	35.2	12.0	4.2	12.5	100
LAGOS	23.9	44.9	15.5	5.7	10.1	100
NASARAWA	7.9	49.5	17.1	13.4	12.0	100

NIGER	18.2	55.7	12.6	11.7	1.8	100
OGUN	32.1	51.6	8.7	6.0	1.6	100
ONDO	52.8	35.3	4.0	3.6	4.4	100
OSUN	42.5	35.7	7.1	1.6	13.1	100
OYO	17.6	44.0	20.4	12.5	5.6	100
PLATEAU	22.2	52.8	10.2	12.0	2.8	100
RIVERS	24.0	35.2	17.2	6.4	17.2	100
SOKOTO	49.6	29.0	14.7	2.4	4.4	100
TARABA	39.6	37.3	12.9	5.1	5.1	100
YOBE	63.4	26.4	1.4	0.9	7.9	100
ZAMFARA	45.2	37.3	8.7	4.8	4.0	100
National	27.6	41.5	14.2	8.5	8.1	100

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