

Did the Votes Count?

Yiaga Africa Watching the Vote
Report on the 2019 Governorship
Elections in Bayelsa and Kogi
State

www.watchingthevote.org



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Yiaga Africa, is a civic non-governmental organization promoting democracy, governance and development in Africa through advocacy, research and capacity building. Our goal is to build democratic societies anchored on the principles of inclusion, justice, transparency and accountability. Yiaga Africa operates as a citizens' movement poised with the onerous mandate of enhancing the quality of democratic governance, public accountability and civic participation.

Yiaga Africa is enhancing the quality of democracy in Nigeria using Watching The Vote as a platform for promoting cutting-edge electoral policies, credible elections, civic participation and democratic consolidation. Yiaga Africa has been involved in election observation since 2007 and it is one of the leading organizations working on elections in Nigeria.

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Election observation is a risky venture in a highly polarized and insecure political environment. It takes courage, resilience and patriotism to provide citizens oversight on elections in Nigeria. We commend and appreciate the hard work and dedication of all 1,161 Watching The Vote citizen observers comprising Polling Unit observers, Data Clerks, Master Trainers, State Focal Points and LGA supervisors in all LGAs in Bayelsa and Kogi States who worked assiduously to ensure the process was credible and people's vote count.

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Itodo Samson
Executive Director



Acronyms and Abbreviations

APC	All Progressives Congress
CSO	Civil Society Organization
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
LGA	Local Government Area
LTO	Long Term Observer
NOA	National Orientation Agency
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PREO	Pre-election Observation
PVT	Parallel Vote Tabulation
PWD	Persons with Disabilities
PU	Polling Unit
PVC	Permanent Voters Card
SDP	Social Democratic Party
WTV	Watching the Vote



Executive Summary

As Nigeria continues her experiment with democracy, the threats to democratic consolidation have become more insidious resulting in a sharp decline in electoral integrity. Key amongst these threats is the desperation of the political class to secure political power at all costs without recourse to electoral rules and guidelines. This is manifested in rancorous and violent party primaries, vote trading, compromise of election officials, political thuggery and violence. With institutions of accountability manifestly weak, perpetrators of electoral fraud and violence evade justice. Tragically, some of these institutions are culprits in undermining the integrity of elections and assaulting voting rights.

Since the 2019 general elections, every election conducted by INEC reinforces the fragility of Nigeria's political system and the depth of citizens' disillusionment with election management and attitude of the political class. The 2019 governorship elections in Bayelsa and Kogi were not an exception as Nigerians witnessed another highly contrived election marred by violence, malpractice and fraud. Political parties failed to contest the elections in line with the rules of the game and instead opted to buy votes, manipulate the courts for political advantage, and compromise the political environment to prevent political competition. Politicians recruited

thugs who systematically disrupted polls and intimidated election officials and voters in full view of security officials. In most cases, security officials acted helplessly as if they were under instruction to support the brigandage or refrain from neutralizing certain security threats such as arm stockpiling and recruitment of thugs in certain parts of the states.

In the Bayelsa governorship election, Yiaga Africa's PVT revealed that there were no elections in approximately 25 percent of polling units and that the collation process for the election was manipulated - particularly for Southern Ijaw Local Government Area where elections didn't hold in 51 percent of polling units, suggesting that up to half of all polling units in the LGA did not open. However, INEC announced that a total of 130,121 votes were cast in Southern Ijaw out of 165,449 registered voters for a turnout of 79 percent. This is not possible given the widespread failure of polling units to hold elections across the LGA. This called into question the official results announced by INEC and credibility of the election. For the Kogi election, Yiaga Africa called for the cancellation of the election because the people of Kogi were denied the opportunity to fully exercise their right to vote. Key stakeholders like the Police, political parties, the major candidates and

their state and non-state accomplices deliberately worked to undermine the election. Consistent with standard PVT protocols and international best practice, Yiaga Africa declined to release its PVT results data because the process was severely compromised.

The Bayelsa governorship election, Kogi governorship and Kogi West senatorial elections, held on November 16, provided an opportunity for all election stakeholders to change Nigeria's electoral trajectory, especially following the 2019 general

elections. While this trajectory was not changed, there are still opportunities for improvement, especially with the next round of off-cycle elections. The National Assembly must as a matter of urgency prioritize electoral reform in their legislative agenda. President Muhammadu Buhari must prove to Nigerians that he is committed to electoral reform and leave a legacy of reforms that end electoral impunity, strengthen democratic institutions and deepen the culture of democratic accountability.



Samson Itodo

Executive Director, Yiaga Africa

Dr. Hussain

Chairman, Yiaga Africa

Key Lessons from the 2019 Bayelsa and Kogi Governorship Elections:

1 **Politicians are more interested in power than democracy.** Democratic institutions and processes are the only means to access and sustain this power. They are respected, followed and supported only for this purpose, and are easily eschewed when they become obstacles to their political and economic interests.

2 **Electoral integrity is not relevant if electoral outcomes enjoy popular support.** Once the outcome of an election is believed to enjoy popular support from the public, the integrity or credibility of the process is inconsequential, regardless of the degree of electoral fraud and manipulation.

3 **Nigeria's ineffective architecture for managing election security is deliberate** because it serves the interest of incumbents at the state or national levels. The loyalty of security officials is to political leadership and not the Constitution

4 **The power vested in INEC to determine the deployment of security agencies during election is impracticable** because the primary structure and lines of control in security agencies like the police and military are already domiciled in the Constitution or other laws.

5 **The current timeline for the determination of pre-election matters negatively impacts election management and has broader implications for political stability.** Further review of the electoral legal framework is required to establish new timelines such that pre-election matters are resolved early enough before elections to negate any negative impacts on election management.

6 **For improved quality of elections, interagency collaboration is non-negotiable.** Due to their complex and intertwined nature, elections require vast logistical support from diverse state and non-state actors to be successful.

7 The electoral commission is **complicit in undermining electoral integrity** through weak oversight on keyfield operations and commercialization of electoral services like selling of PVCs and INEC observer accreditation tags to politicians.

8 **Electoral reform is an important element of political reform.** Improvements to electoral processes

and management cannot be made in a vacuum and must occur alongside reforms in other areas of Nigeria's political system, as they are interrelated and comprehensive reforms are critical to guarantee quality elections. Electoral reforms should be connected to the federal system, reform in security governance and architecture, public service reform, economic reform, judicial reform, etc.

Recommendations

Drawing from these lessons, Yiaga Africa makes the following recommendations:

I. Executive

1. The Executive should as a matter of urgency leverage the harmonious working relationship with the National Assembly to ensure expedient passage/assent of electoral amendment bills currently being considered by the National Assembly.
2. The President should demonstrate intolerance for electoral impunity by directing the Attorney General of the Federation and Inspector General of Police to investigate and prosecute all suspects involved in all forms of criminality and violence. This should include an executive order preventing the Attorney General from entering *nolle prosequi*¹ [The power to discontinue the prosecution of a criminal case.] in the prosecution of electoral offences.

II. National Assembly

3. The National Assembly should hold a public hearing on the conduct of the Bayelsa and Kogi

governorship and rerun elections to document and aggregate instances of electoral impunity, violence and malpractice. This will foster accountability and inform reforms to the electoral legal framework.

4. The National Assembly should accelerate the consideration of the electoral amendment bills and ensure their quick passage before the end of 2020.
5. The National Assembly should consolidate and harmonize all electoral amendments into a Repeal and Re-enactment Electoral bill.
6. The National Assembly should consider the following key electoral reform priorities:
 - a. Provide legal recognition for electronic accreditation of voters, e-collation and electronic transmission of results;
 - b. Resolve the duality of jurisdiction between Election Petition Tribunals and regular courts, and review and harmonize timelines for the determination of pre-election

matters to ensure pre-election disputes are resolved before the date of elections;

- c. The provision of legal grounds for the rejection of list of candidates submitted by parties to INEC as well as conditions for cancellation of elections;
- d. Subjecting declarations and returns made by Returning Officers under duress or controversial circumstances to further review by the Commission; and
- e. Establishment of an electoral offences commission.

III. Judiciary

7. Judges who sit on electoral tribunals exercise unique and significant responsibilities. They must be independent, fair and impartial in the administration of justice and must ensure speedy dispensation of electoral petitions to avoid the last-minute pronouncements that could obstruct the conduct of elections or trigger violence.

IV. INEC

8. A comprehensive audit of the Bayelsa and Kogi governorship elections is required given the high level of critical incidents and malpractice. The findings of the audit must be shared with the public and sanctions met on culpable INEC officials.
9. Given the sensitive nature of elections, INEC should ensure clarity in its regulations and guidelines. Ambiguity in electoral guidelines creates room for manipulation and fraud.
10. The Commission should maintain consistency in its decisions and uphold the values of integrity, neutrality and accountability in the management of future elections.
11. INEC should improve its transparency by ensuring a list of polling units where elections were canceled and reasons for cancellations are made public in a timely manner. INEC should also review the Form EC 40 G to provide a column for stating reasons for cancellation.
12. Polling unit level results of elections should be posted online to facilitate public access to election results.
13. INEC should ensure total compliance with the provision of voting cubicles to guard and guarantee the secrecy of votes across all polling units. Poor

arrangement in some polling units encouraged vote buying, compromised the essence of the open secret ballot system thereby endangering the safety and security of voters.

14. INEC should strengthen its communication with the public, especially to share information on polling units affected by unforeseen circumstances such as natural disasters. Flooding in Kogi and Bayelsa necessitated the relocation of polling units and the communication of this relocation was insufficient in some LGAs, which may have affected voter turnout.
15. INEC should maintain continuous dialogue with key stakeholders to mobilize the support required for successful elections. In the same vein, INEC should ensure inclusive voting process so disadvantaged groups like PWDs are able to cast their votes without difficulty.

V. Security Agencies

16. The Inter-Agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES) should audit the performance of the security officers deployed for the Bayelsa and Kogi gubernatorial elections, particularly in areas where elections were disrupted by violence. In addition, ICCES should investigate the allegations that some police officers refused to deploy to polling units thereby giving political thugs and those in fake security uniforms an unobstructed path to disrupt the electoral process.
17. For credible elections, security agencies must remain impartial, neutral and professional in the management of election security. Loyalty must be to the Constitution not individuals.
18. Security agencies should ensure adequate security is provided to enable voters and INEC to complete the processes of voting, results collation and declaration in future elections.
19. Security agencies, especially the police, should investigate reports of vote buying, recruitment of thugs, deployment of fake police, and stockpiling of arms and ensure diligent prosecution of perpetrators. In the same vein, security agencies must exercise their power in bringing the full weight of the law on individuals, organizations, political parties and candidates who undermine the electoral process, irrespective of their party affiliation, social class or influence.
20. Security agencies should ensure active public engagement and communications with citizens and other stakeholders to boost citizens' confidence and encourage participation.

21. Monitoring of the conduct of police and other security agencies deployed for the elections should be a key component of the mandate of the police service commission and other relevant agencies, given the fact that some officers were complicit in the malpractices that took place during the Bayelsa and Kogi elections.

VI. Political Parties

21. Political parties should ensure a transparent and democratic candidate nomination process and allow independent observation of the process. Parties must comply with their own internal guidelines and electoral laws in nomination of candidates.
22. Political parties should remove members who undermine elections and promote violence through sanctions and withdrawal of membership.
23. Parties should encourage campaigns based on issues of importance to voters and refrain from discriminatory and derogatory utterances that could fuel violence in future elections. Parties should also combat the spread of disinformation and misinformation by fact checking all information they share with citizens.
24. Party agents and voters should conduct themselves in a professional manner and refrain from preventing accredited observers and media personnel

from observing and reporting on the elections.

VII. CSOs, Media and Citizens

25. CSOs should not despair or deter from their mandate of civic engagement despite the attacks and fatalities suffered during the elections in Kogi and Bayelsa. They should remain resilient in providing oversight of the electoral process and voter education.
26. CSOs should continue to build solidarity and improve partnerships and collaboration.
27. CSOs should continue to partner with the National Orientation Agency (NOA) and INEC to promote political education. Political education should be conducted throughout the electoral cycle, not only immediately prior to elections as observed in the recent elections. CSOs should extend their monitoring throughout the electoral cycle.
28. The media should not yield themselves for use as tools for misinformation and dissemination of propaganda by politicians; rather, journalists should observe the electoral process and keep the public reliably informed. The media should combat the spread of fake news and disinformation through fact checking all information prior to publishing it.



29. For democracy to thrive, citizens must remain committed and strive continuously to defend it despite the challenges. Not participating in the electoral process creates greater opportunities for poor governance to thrive and accountability to fail.

VIII. Development Partners

30. Development partners and the international community should continue to support election stakeholders to strengthen the electoral process as Nigeria strives to improve its elections and reverse the downward trend in quality of elections.





Chapter 1

Introduction



Yiaga Africa Watching The Vote Observation in Bayelsa and Kogi states

The year 2019 was symbolic for Nigeria as Nigerians celebrated 20 years of uninterrupted democracy in Nigeria heralded by the 2019 general elections. The general elections were conducted amidst high expectations that Nigeria will advance in its efforts to deepen the integrity of the electoral process. Unfortunately, those hopes were dashed as the 2019 general elections failed to meet those expectations. It bruised the trust and confidence of citizens in the electoral process. Reversing this trend will require new incentives that can inspire and drive citizens participation in a context where hope is short in supply.

The Bayelsa and Kogi Governorship elections were conducted within this context. Being the first set of off-cycle governorship elections to be conducted after the general election, both states presented an opportunity to redefine the trajectory of elections in Nigeria. The stakes were high as the incumbent Governor in Kogi was seeking to retain his seat while the All Progressives Congress (APC) was gunning to take control of Bayelsa state from the People's Democratic Party (PDP) who on its part was determined to retain power. The elections tested the commitment of the State to refrain from undue interference with the electoral process. It was an opportunity for INEC and security agencies to rebuild trust to renew citizens faith in the electoral process. For the political parties, it was an assessment of their commitment to fair electoral competition and electoral integrity. For other election stakeholders especially

the voters, the election presented an opportunity to assert their sovereignty through the ballot.

Yiaga Africa Watching The Vote observation of the Bayelsa and Kogi elections was driven by four strategic objectives:

1. **Provide credible, accurate and timely information on the electoral process pre, during and after the elections**
2. **Promote electoral integrity through objective data-driven analysis in line with global standards of citizens observation of elections**
3. **Deter and detect fraud**
4. **Build citizens confidence in the process**

These objectives were the major thrust of Yiaga Africa engagement in both elections. In the pre-election phase, Yiaga Africa successfully engaged stakeholders through advocacy visits in the states and promoted voter education using traditional and digital media tools such as videos, infographics, social and radio as tools for citizens' mobilization. Citizen observers were trained and deployed as Long-Term Observers to observe the pre-election environment and political party primaries.

Election observation plays a vital role in promoting electoral democracy and it is one of the safeguards for the fundamental right to vote. As noted in the Declaration of Global principles for Non-Partisan Election

Observation and Monitoring by Citizen Organizations; "non-partisan election observation and monitoring by citizen organizations can be considered as a specialized form of human rights defense that focuses on civil and political rights which are central to achieving genuine elections, the rule of law and democratic governance." The adoption of a wholistic approach to election observation by Yiaga Africa Watching The Vote is aimed at defending citizens right to political participation.

Elections entails interaction of different actors and intersection of different factors.



The actors sometimes inform the factors or are influenced by the factors (negative or positive) defining the outcome of elections. For instance, the candidate nomination process is a critical activity in the pre-election period. Being the first level of electoral contest, it has an overall impact on elections. Rancorous and violent party primaries lead to violent elections or plethora of pre-election disputes which if not resolved in good time may undermine the conduct of elections. This explains why Yiaga Africa places premium on observing party primaries despite stiff opposition from parties.

For the political party primaries observation, Yiaga Africa WTV adopted a mixed methodology consisting of desk review, in-depth interviews and field observation using a specially designed checklist. The direct observation of the process was limited to only four political parties while the desk review and interviews had an expanded reach. The aftermath of the primaries influenced certain factors in the pre-election environment. The law courts were inundated with pre-election cases filed by aggrieved parties and political actors engaged in alignment and realignment of political interests. In a bid to sway voters, politicians from all divides engaged in voter inducement. The findings from the primaries revealed amongst other things the weak political party system in Nigeria and the need for reforms to entrench internal party democracy and evolve a political culture that eschews do-or-die attitude to politics, godfatherism and money politics.

Yiaga Africa trained and deployed twenty-one (21) Long Term Observers (LTO) to the eight (8) LGAs Bayelsa and twenty-seven (27) long term observers to twenty-one (21) LGAs in Kogi state. These LTOs monitored preparatory activities by INEC, NOA, political parties and civil society groups. In particular, the LTOs tracked the implementation of activities in the election timetable and monitored voter education targeted at women, youth and persons with disability. A critical component of the observation is the monitoring and tracking of early warning signs to prevent and mitigate incidence of violence. Yiaga Africa pre-election findings are shared with key stakeholders to facilitate effective election planning and provide response to looming threats to peaceful elections.

The Parallel Votes Tabulation (PVT) methodology is deployed by Yiaga Africa for election day observation. The PVT is an election day observation methodology that employs statistical principles and technology to assess the quality of voting and counting of ballots and makes projections of election results based on estimates to either verify election results or expose fraud. Using the PVT, trained non-partisan citizens observers were deployed to observe the opening and commencement of polls, accreditation and voting process, counting and posting of the results. For both Bayelsa and Kogi states, a total of five hundred (500) polling unit observers were deployed to two-hundred and fifty (250) sampled polling units spread across the eighth (8) LGAs in Bayelsa and twenty-one (21) LGAs in Kogi.

The polling units' observers remained at the polling units from the opening of the polling unit to the conclusion of counting of votes and results posted in their assigned polling units. WTV observation on election also included the deployment of mobile observers consisting of twenty-one (21) mobile observers in Bayelsa and twenty-seven (27) in Kogi. The observers were supported by the WTV Working



Group (WG) members who were deployed to provide supervision. In addition, WTV results collation observers were deployed to the collation centers to observe the results collation.

Yiaga Africa observation revealed major flaws in the process coupled with the level of violence and abuse of the power of incumbency especially in Kogi state. This necessitated the call by Yiaga Africa and other observer groups like the Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room for the cancellation of the Kogi election and audit of the Bayelsa governorship election results because elections signaled another opportunity lost in improving the quality of Nigerian elections. The outcome of the election in both states received different reactions from the people although most *Bayelsans* were believed to be satisfied with the outcome of the election despite the malpractices and contravention of electoral rules and guidelines that plagued the election. The absence of the political will to review the infractions in both Kogi and Bayelsa elections, prosecute and penalize violators especially for the violence and deaths recorded, remains a threat to elections in Nigeria and puts the people at a graver disadvantage. As reiterated in the United National Resolution on Periodic Genuine Elections; "member states are responsible for ensuring transparent, free, and fair elections, free of intimidation, coercion and tampering with votes counts, and that all such acts are sanctioned accordingly." [1] The Nigerian state through its organs and institutions must take the needed action.

[1] Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on December 2019, 74/158: Strengthening the Role of the United Nations in Enhancing Periodic and Genuine Elections and the Promotion of Democratization.



Chapter 2

Pre-Election Observation



Pre-Election Observation

1. Findings from the Observation of Political Party Primaries

Section 87 of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended 2015) outlines the procedure for nomination of candidates for elections by Political Parties. Political parties interested in participating in elections are expected to conduct primaries to nominate their candidates. Primaries could be direct (where party members nominate candidates directly) or indirect (where delegates nominate party candidates). The 2015 Electoral Amendment Act also allows political parties in cases where there is only one aspirant to convene a special convention or congress for the confirmation of such aspirant. In the Bayelsa and Kogi 2019 governorship elections, most political parties, including the All Progressive Congress (APC), People Democratic Party (PDP), and Social Democratic Party (SDP) party adopted indirect primaries for nominating their candidates.

As an election observation group interested in deepening democratic processes, WTV reviewed all electoral laws and political party regulations on party primaries to develop appropriate observation forms



and tools to observe the conduct of party primaries. WTV findings on the conduct of party primaries are therefore based on the reports of the observers deployed to observe the primaries, interview with party delegates, aspirants and party administrators, as well as media reports. The findings are as follows:

1. **Substantial non-compliance with electoral rules and guidelines:** Yiaga Africa observed substantial non-compliance with laid down rules for candidate selection during some



primary elections. Whilst some political parties complied with laid down rules on qualification, procedure and mode of elections, others failed to comply. For instance, some parties presented underage candidates and permitted unaccredited delegates to vote in the primary elections. The secrecy of the ballots was also compromised especially in the primaries for PDP and SDP in Bayelsa and PDP in Kogi state. Across all political parties, there was no authentic and unaltered list of delegates at the venue before the

commencement of the primaries, except for the PDP primaries in Bayelsa state.

2. **High and Unregulated Cost of Nomination:**

The cost for nomination is increasingly rising and there's no regulation guiding the determination of the cost for nomination by political parties. Both the APC and PDP constantly charge exorbitant amounts for party nomination forms. For instance, the cost for nomination forms for the APC was N22.5 million and N20 million for the PDP. This high cost impacts on the quality of the aspirants because only financially buoyant candidates have access to the political process. Aspirants with competence, capacity and character and less financial capital are considered unfit for party nomination. Young people, women and persons with disability are the worst hit with the high cost of nomination forms. According to the National Bureau of Statistics, 65.3% of senior positions are occupied by men compared to 34.7% by women between 2010-2015. This is a clear indication of a huge pay gap between women and men in Nigeria. While some parties like the PDP gave a 50% discount to women and PWDs the cost was still high and unaffordable for women and PWDs.

3. **Political Exclusion of Marginalized Groups (Women):**

In addition, the political party primaries must promote the principles of inclusion and diversity

to ensure equality and fairness the candidate selection process. The Bayelsa and Kogi primaries recorded very poor representation of women, young people and persons with disability as delegates and aspirants. As observed during the primaries, none of the governorship aspirants for the ADC, APC, PDP and SDP was a person with disability (PWD) in both Bayelsa and Kogi state. A few parties had female aspirants and delegates. In the Bayelsa primaries; APC had 1 woman of the 6 aspirants, and PDP had 1 woman of the 21 aspirants, while other political parties had consensus candidates. In Kogi state, APC had 2 women of 10 aspirants and PDP had 1 woman of the 13 aspirants, while the SDP had a female aspirant who emerged as the party's candidate.

4. **Accessibility of Primaries Venue and Voting Centers:** In both states, parties used venues and voting centers that were accessible to delegates, especially to delegates living with disability. However, WTV observed some venues became unsafe for both party members and observers as a result of the violence that erupted during the process. Specifically, the PDP primaries in Kogi state was marred with violence that led to the suspension of the primaries process mid-way to the exercise. A WTV interviewee stated that, "though there were stampedes but no loss of lives, there were gunshots around the venue of the primaries that led to serious panic and confusion".



5. **Voter Inducement:** The primary elections were defined by money politics and voter inducement. As recorded during the interviews, delegates were induced with money before, during and after the primary elections. For instance, the Bayelsa PDP delegates were lodged in a hotel for 2 weeks to facilitate easy access to aspirants for campaign for votes. This was however, turned to an avenue for financially inducing delegates, ahead of the primary elections. WTV also gathered that some delegates willfully approached aspirants to ask for monetary rewards or other gift items, in exchange for support and votes in the primaries.
6. **Low Awareness on Guidelines and Constitutional Provisions on Party Primaries:** Yiaga Africa observation revealed that most delegates and aspirants across political parties had



little or no knowledge of the guidelines for the primaries. Most party members and delegates have never sighted a copy of their party's guidelines for candidate nomination.

2. Pre-Election Observation Findings

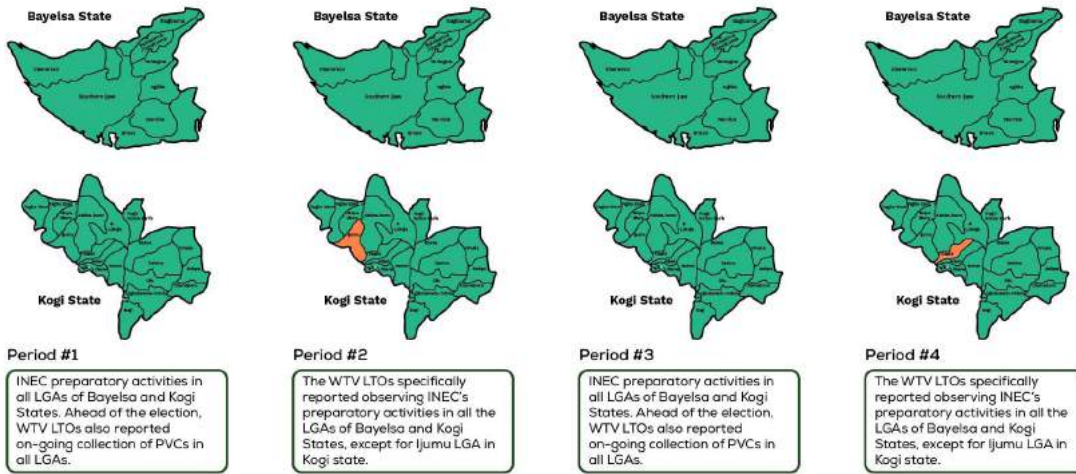
In the pre-election phase, Yiaga Africa trained and deployed twenty-one (21) long term observers to the eight (8) LGAs in Bayelsa and twenty-seven (27) long term observers to twenty-one (21) LGAs in Kogi state. These LTOs monitored preparatory activities by INEC, NOA, political parties and civil society groups. In particular, the LTOs tracked the implementation of activities in the election timetable and monitored voter education targeted at women, youth and persons with disability. A critical component of the observation is the monitoring and tracking of early warning signs to prevent and mitigate incidence of violence. The pre-election observation

covered a period of two months. Four major reports were produced and shared with key stakeholders. The WTV observation also captured the plight of voters in communities affected by natural disasters, flood in both Bayelsa and Kogi state.

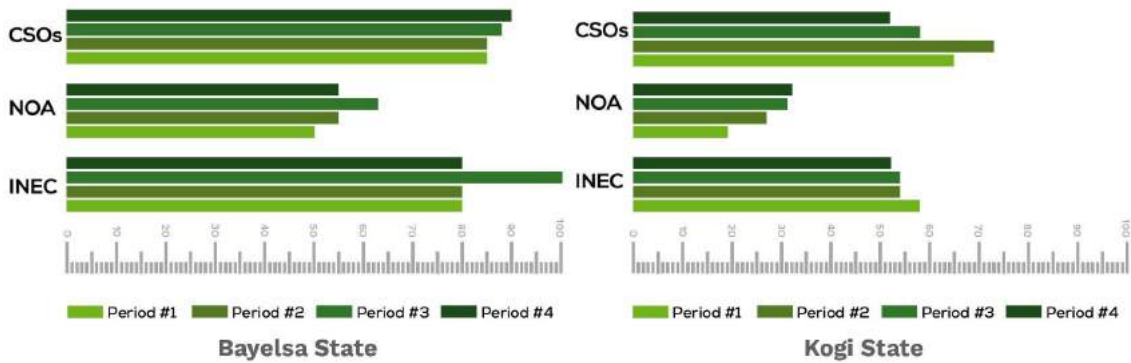
Based on field observation, Yiaga Africa observed and reported early preparatory activities conducted by INEC across all the LGAs in both states. Voter education was targeted at specific category of citizens. The APC and PDP were the two dominant parties engaged in intensive campaign for votes. Political campaigns were not issue-based instead campaigns were defined by voter financial inducement, hate speech and violence. The observation also uncovered buying and selling of PVCs , recruitment of thugs and arm proliferation before the elections.

Summaries of the findings across the four reporting periods are presented below:

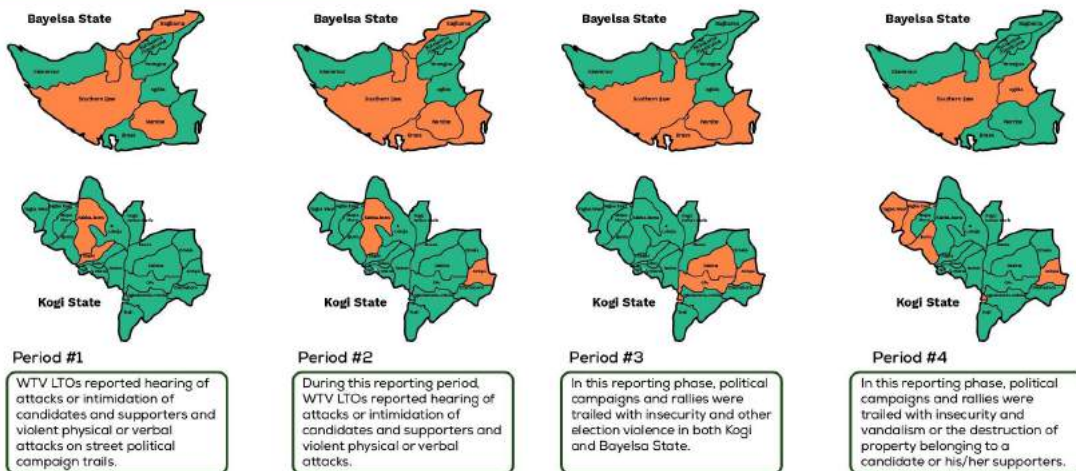
INEC Activities



Voter education activities



Indicators of Electoral Violence



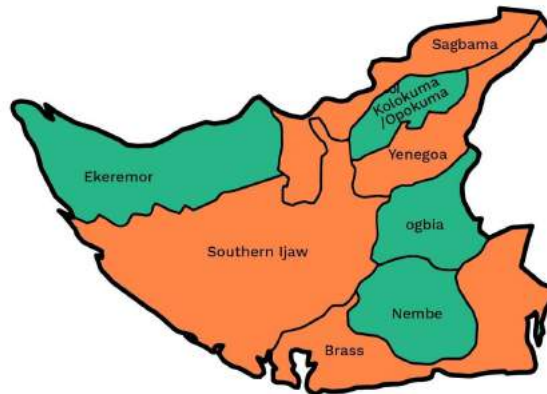
3. Summary of Trends in the Pre-Election period

Several trends remained consistent throughout Yiaga Africa pre-election observation. These trends impacted on the credibility of the elections. They include;

1. Increased security threats posed



Reports of Arms stockpiling in Bayelsa state



by recruitment of thugs and arms stockpiling: Reports in the pre-election phase reveals active recruitment of thugs and militants and stockpiling of arms. Southern Ijaw, Sagbama, Brass and Yenegoa LGAs recorded high cases of this incidence. The sporadic shootings recorded in those LGAs can be attributed to the prevalence of arms proliferation and militant operations in those areas.

Over the four-pre-election reporting periods, WTV documented and reported cases of easy access to small arms and light weapons and the stockpiling of arms. These arms deployed and used by political thugs still remain in circulation, without a clear plan on disarmament by the sponsors of violence. The constant reliance on arms and political thugs in elections do not only leave the system vulnerable to the threat of insecurity but also creates an atmosphere of fear thereby impeding citizens and voter participation. With political thugs equipped with arms and drugs, crime rate is expected to rise

given that the thugs are without any legal means of livelihood.

2. High cases of pre-election violence: The pre-election environment revealed a consistent and worrying trend of violence trailing the political campaigns. Observers' reports indicated verbal and physical attacks during the campaigns and rallies. This continued into the election week resulting in the death of 3 citizens in Nembe LGA. Political campaigns and rallies in Kogi were marred with brigandage, assault and violence. Observers reported violent

physical attacks at rallies/meetings or campaign events across the LGAs with specific reports of intimidation of candidates/supporters in Ankpa, Dekina, Idah and Ofu LGAs.

3. Money politics and impunity: It was apparent in the pre-election phase that politicians and their supporters violated electoral laws with impunity. The WTV LTOs observed cases of voter inducement, purchase of the permanent voter's card and voters' details by politicians and their supporters contrary to electoral laws and guidelines. It was deployed as a campaign strategy by most parties and candidates. WTV observed political parties moving from house to house in Ankpa LGA to document names, polling unit numbers and addresses of citizens with PVCs, offering advance payments of five hundred naira (N500) and gift items such as vehicles in several communities ahead of the election. The campaigns were a contest between the highest bidder and spender thereby affirming the overbearing influence of money in elections. The role money plays in Nigerian politics has hindered the emergence of women and young people as candidates. Observation shows only few top candidates could afford to spend so much for election campaigns, publicity and most times voter inducement (even though election spending needs to be checked). All these ugly trends need to be reversed to promote inclusion and encourage participation.
4. Logistics Challenge: Whilst Yiaga Africa noted the early commencement of activities by INEC, there were concerns with early and effective deployment of materials and personnel for election day operation. Yiaga Africa noted that while there was timely deployment of non-sensitive materials in all the 8 LGAs, the deployment of sensitive materials by INEC from Yenagoa to the LGA was delayed to Friday, 15th November 2019 due to the uncertainty created by conflicting court decisions. As such WTV confirmed the last set of materials were only deployed to the LGAs by 4:30 pm on the eve of the election.
5. Low commitment to Voter Education: The pre-election reports also suggested that only INEC and few CSOs were involved in providing voter and civic education. Other agencies of government and non-state actors provided little or no voter education. As observed, episodic voter education is gradually becoming a norm. Democracies derive their legitimacy from the participation of engaged citizens. Political parties, who are obviously the biggest beneficiaries of citizen's participation, need to invest more in voter and civic education, the lack of which will allow political apathy and poor turnout to thrive. There is the need therefore, for all stakeholders to adopt an electoral cycle approach in conducting voter and civic education.

6. Last minute court judgement on pre-election matters: The pre-election period witnessed cases of last-minute judgments issued by courts on pre-election matters without recourse to its implication for election management, public safety and citizens participation. More worrisome is the conflicting nature of the judgments delivered by courts of coordinate jurisdiction.
7. Marginalization of Youth, Women and People With Disability: Reports from the pre-election observation have shown that the most vulnerable group in the society – Women, Youth and PWDs have continued to be marginalized in the electoral process.

WTV documented disturbing reports of assault on women, blackmail or intimidation in the pre-election phase. A case in point is the case of the only female candidate in the Kogi election who endured series of harassment and assault even in the presence of security agents. The case is similar for young people and PWDs participating as either voters or candidates. Engagement with PWDs during radio programs revealed their challenges in accessing registration centers and PVC collection centers, voter education materials and other information needed for effective participation in the process.





Chapter 3

Election Day Observation

Yiaga Africa deployed 21 mobile observers and 500 polling unit observers to a total of 250 sampled polling units in each of the eight Local Government areas in Bayelsa state. Similarly, 27 mobile observers and 500 polling unit observers were deployed to 250 sampled polling units in the twenty-one Local Government Areas of Kogi state. The polling unit observers deployed by 7:00 am to their assigned polling units and remained at the polling unit until the close of polls and posting of results and provided near real-time information on the conduct of the elections.

During the course of the elections, the following updates and reports were shared with the media and citizens on WTV observation findings.

3.1 Analysis of Midday Observation Findings

The Midday situation analysis report shared around 12 noon on election day, highlighted findings on arrival of polling officials, commencement of polls, presence of electoral materials, presence of security officials and party agents. The report contained information on the commencement of polls, incidents that needed immediate attention and recommendations for action. Yiaga Africa noted the following issues in its mid-day situational report:

1. **Late commencement of polls:** Both states witnessed late commencement of polls due to late the arrival of polling officials at the polling units. The PVT data showed that in Bayelsa as at 7:30 am, only 24% of polling units had polling officials present and as at 9:00 am, 23% of Polling units were open and by 12:30pm only 56% of the polling units had opened across the state. In Kogi, in 52% of polling units polling officials were present by 7:30am

while by 9am, 79% of polling units had commenced accreditation and voting indicating that Kogi recorded early opening of polls when compared to Bayelsa. Further reports from the WTV observers indicated that some incidents contributed to the late or non-commencement of polls. They include:

- a. **Late deployment of election materials:** In the Otuoke community, Ogbia LGA for instance, election materials and personnel were not deployed from the Registration Area Centres to the polling units as at 9:30 am on election day. Complaints from the ad-hoc officials revealed that they were ready to deploy the night before but were held down by hoodlums in the community and the security agents were not helpful. Similarly, Crowther Memorial school in Lokoja Ward A, INEC officials couldn't deploy because there were no security officials to secure the materials and personnel.

- b. **Snatching of election materials:** In Ward 12 and 13 in Okpoama, Southern Ijaw LGA, some political thugs, led by the local government chairman hijacked INEC materials and disrupted the process. There were reports of sporadic gunshots in the polling unit. In addition, WTV observers reported that one of the boats conveying election materials and polling officials deployed to 4 polling units (PUs 10, 11, 12, and 14) in Apoi Ward 15 in Kologbene Community in Southern Ijaw, was hijacked. Yiaga Africa also received reports of ballot box snatching from polling units in Anyigba, Dekina, Ofu, Mopamoro, Ofu and Lokoja.
- c. **Destruction of Election Materials:** WTV also received and verified reports that fighting between party agents for the APC and PDP resulted in the destruction and burning of election materials in Polling Unit 8, Ward 4 and in Ward 3 all in Ogbia LGA. Materials were also destroyed, and the process halted in PU 007, Ikarma, Okorbia, Yenagoa LGA.
2. **Availability of election materials:** While the polls commenced later than provided in the Elections Guidelines, the WTV observers reported the presence of election materials such as voters' registers, smart card readers, ballot paper, ballot box, indelible ink etc. The reports indicate that for both elections in Bayelsa and Kogi, at least 82% of polling units reported availability of materials for the elections.
3. **Improving accessibility of the electoral process to voters living with disability:** INEC introduced election materials like the braille and tactile ballot guide, magnifying glasses, form EC 30 E- PWD poster, Form EC 40H and 40 H(I)- PWD Information and Statistics. In Bayelsa, WTV observers reported that the braille ballot guide and the Form EC 30E were present in 28% and 68% of polling units open respectively. In Kogi state, the braille ballot guide and Form EC 30E were present in 50% and 88% of open polling units respectively.
4. **Deployment of female election officials:** In both Bayelsa and Kogi states, INEC was consistent with the deployment of female polling officials. WTV observers reported that an average of four (4) polling officials were deployed of which two (2) were women.
- See more information on midday situational analysis in Appendix 3.*
- ## 3.2 Election Day Observation Findings
- For Bayelsa, WTV received and processed reports from **190 of 250 sampled polling units** and WTV mobile observers deployed across the 8 LGAs while for Kogi, reports

For Bayelsa, WTV received and processed reports from 190 of 250 sampled polling units and WTV mobile observers deployed across the 8 LGAs while for Kogi, reports were received from 245 of 250 sampled polling units and WTV mobile observers from the 21 LGAs.

were received from **245 of 250 sampled polling units** and WTV mobile observers from the 21 LGAs.

Yiaga Africa Watching the Vote Findings on the Election process

1. **Incomplete voting process or no conduct of election:** for Bayelsa, verified and confirmed reports from WTV observers revealed that election did not either hold or were not completed in 24% of the PVT sampled polling units. This indicates that elections did not hold, or the election process were not concluded in over 300 of the polling units in Bayelsa state.
2. **Deployment and Use of the Smart Card Readers for Accreditation:** The Smart card readers play a fundamental role in verifying and authenticating



voters to reduce incidence of multiple voting and proxy voting. The Smart Card reader is configured to polling units and employs a two-step verification of voters. The first step verifies the PVC to confirm its authenticity while the second is the biometric authentication of the finger prints. In Bayelsa, WTV observers reported that the smart card readers were deployed in 98% of the sampled polling units and used throughout the day in 90% of the polling units. The Smart card reader however functioned throughout the day in 65% of the polling units. Overall, 63% of voters were accredited by the smart card readers verifying both their PVC and fingerprints. While, 32% of

voters were accredited with only their PVC being verified, and 3% of voters were manually accredited.

In Kogi, the WTV observers reported the deployment of Smart card readers (SCR) in 245 of the 250 sampled polling units with the SCR used in 98% of the polling units but functioned throughout the day in 83% of the polling units. At 92% of polling units every potential voter Permanent Voter Card (PVC) and fingerprints was checked by the card reader while in 97% of polling units no one was accredited to vote who did not have a PVC.

3. **Posting of the Results:** To ensure transparency at the polling unit, the electoral commission in its Guidelines on Elections provides for the posting of polling units results at the polling units using the form EC 60 E (popularly called the people's results sheet). For polling units with voting points, the result to be inputted in the Form EC 60E will be the election results for the polling units which is a summation of the results from all the voting points under that PU. In Bayelsa, WTV observers report that the form EC 60E was posted in 87% of polling units where elections were held. While in Kogi the Form EC 60E was posted in 89% of the polling units.
4. **Critical incidents that undermined the elections:** In both states, Yiaga Africa witnessed several incidents impacting on the credibility of the process with Kogi recording more

incidents. In Kogi, WTV confirmed and verified 69 critical incidents that were reported by observers. These include:

1. **Violent Disruption of the election:** In Kogi, the process degenerated to sporadic shooting in several polling units. To mention a few PU 027, Ayingba Etiaga, Dekina LGA PU 015, Obehira - Ugee Ward, Okene LGA, and PU 012, Crowther Memorial School Lokoja Ward A. Dekina (PU 017, Ward 12 and PU 001 Yashi), Lokoja (PU 001, Ward C), Ofu (PU 005, Ugwalawo ward), Ankpa (Ojokwu ward 3) and Igalamela/Odolu (PU 022, ward 08) LGA. Yiaga Africa also received reports of intimidation of journalists and election observer groups like Inclusive Friends, Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room and Search for Common Ground in the full glare of security agencies who made no effort to forestall or reprimand the political thugs. Armed thugs attacked polling units under Opolo Town Hall/Community, Yenagoa LGA, shooting sporadically, disrupting the process with some casualties. Security personnel present at the time were not helpful. WTV observers were unable to observe election day processes due to violence in or near the polling units in Barrack II Nursery Prim. Sch, PU 002, Adumu Egume Ward, in Dekina LGA; PU 012, Ankpa Ward I Ankpa LGA and PU 015, Obehira Eba Ward, in Okene LGA. In addition, Political

parties sharing money caused the disruption of the process in Futire polling unit, Ward 6 (Otuasega), Ogbia LGA.

2. **Intimidation and harassment of voters, election officials and election observers:**

In both states, WTV recorded intimidation and harassment of voters, observers and polling officials by unknown armed men and party agents of some identified political parties. This occurred in 9% of polling units in Bayelsa and 14% of polling units in Kogi. This included the attempt to influence polling officials in 17% of the polling units in Bayelsa and 11% in Kogi. These cases were reported in: PU 017 Ward 12 and PU 027, Ayingba Etiaga Ward Dekina LGA, PU 001 Ward C Lokoja LGA, Ojuwo Junction Market Square, Ankpa; Lokoja (PU 001, Ward C), Ofu (PU 005, Ugwalawo ward), Ankpa (Ojokwu ward 3) and Igalamela/Odolu (PU 022, ward 08) LGA. WTV observers were beaten and their observation checklists destroyed. In Bayelsa, WTV observers were attacked by party agents in Opolo Town Hall, Epie II Ozyi Polling Unit in Yenagoa LGA. One of the observers was beaten, their observation materials were confiscated, and they were asked to leave the polling unit.

3. **Voter suppression:** In Kogi, WTV observers reported cases of vote suppression which manifested in the form of denying voters access to

polling units by political thugs. This was prevalent in Aluaja, Iyano Ward in Ibaji LGA,; Lagazi/Farm Center ward; LEA Primary Atsagba and Central Primary School gboloko; PU 005, AGOR, PU 006, Ward 01 Ediya – North, Ajaokuta LGA, PU 010, Ward 01, Ankpa Township ward; PU001 Ugwoda Ward, Idah LGA; PU007 Itale II, Iyano Ward, Ibaji LGA; PU009, Ward 03 Kogi KK, PU01, Odole 1 Mopamuro,; PU 005, Ward 007, Isanlu, YAGBA EAST, ward 08, PU 01 Isanlu, Yagba East, Ward- 10 Nadazi farm centre PU 003, PU-005 Ward Lokoja B,

4. **Stuffing and snatching of ballot box:**

Based on reports from 180 of the 250 sampled PUs in Bayelsa, stuffing of ballot papers occurred in 6% of polling units and snatching of ballot papers was reported in 1% of the polling units. In Kogi, observers from 238 of 250 sampled polling units reported incident of stuffing of ballot papers in 5% of polling units and snatching of ballot papers in 2% of polling units. These incidences occurred in PU 006, Anyigba ward, and Oganaji LGEA Primary School, PU 008 in Dekina LGA. Similar incidents were reported in Open Space Ojofa, PU 015, Ajaka ward 1, Igalamela-Odolu LGA, PU 001, Ejule Alla Ward, Ofu LGA. Ballot box stuffing and snatching was observed in PU 001, Ukwo Ward 1, Kogi K.K LGA, PU 005, Aiyetoro Ward 1, Ijimu LGA and Okeagi/Ilai Ward in Mopa Moro LGA of Kogi state.

5. **Accreditation without the Smart Card reader:** In addition to the report shared by the WTV PU observers, the mobile observers also reported and confirmed the non-use of the Smart Card Reader for accreditation in Aiyekpele 1 and 2, PU 022/08/08/002. Aipkele 1 and 2 Open space; Pu 002 Atii-aja, Ajaka Ward 2 Igalamela/Odolu; PU 027 AYINGBA, Barrack 2; PU 002, Adumudume Dekina; GRA CML

Yiaga Africa's PVT sample of polling units was drawn according to well established statistical principles and is truly representative of all of the polling units because the percentage of sampled polling units for each LGA is similar to the percentage of all polling units for each LGA

Primary school, Anyigba and PU 009 Anyigba Commercial Secondary School, Dekina; PU 004, Ugwolawo Ward 1, 05; PU 005 Ward-Deregu, Ganaja Ajaokuta; PU 005 Ugwolawo Ward 10, Ofu LGA; PU-005, Odo Egbe 2, Egbe Yagba West.

3.3 What the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) says

Yiaga Africa WTV adopts the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology for election day observation at the polling units. The PVT is a proven and advanced observation methodology that employs well-established statistical principles and utilizes sophisticated information technologies. Yiaga Africa WTV provides timely and accurate information on the conduct of accreditation, voting, and counting as well as independently verifies the official governorship results as announced by the INEC. PVTs are not exit polls. WTV citizen observers do not ask voters for whom they cast their ballot. Instead, the PVT relies on the official results from polling units for which there have been observers watching the entire process. This tested and proven election observation methodology has been deployed in over 50 countries around the world including Nigeria - most recently by Yiaga Africa for the 2019 presidential election.

Yiaga Africa's PVT sample of polling units was drawn according to well established statistical principles and is truly representative of all of the polling units because the percentage of sampled polling units for each LGA is similar to the percentage of all polling units for each LGA. For example, Brass LGA has 8.80% of all the polling units in Bayelsa (159 of 1,804) and 8.80% (22 of 250) of the sampled

polling units are in Brass LGA. While not identical, the percentages for every LGA are very close, clearly demonstrating that the PVT sample is representative of the entire state.

Bayelsa

Yiaga Africa received reports of **26%** of polling units where elections did not hold or the process not concluded during the November 16 gubernatorial election. Yiaga Africa had initially reported **24%** of polling units not opening or where elections were canceled during the elections, but had recorded a **2%** marginal increase as more data were received from the field observers after the election. The most affected LGA with polling units not opening or where elections were canceled was Southern Ijaw, with more than 50% of the registered voters in the WTV sampled polling units not able to vote.

INEC released results for the Bayelsa governorship election without holding elections in all polling units. **INEC announced 352,552 votes or 71% for APC and 143,172 or 29% votes for PDP. These results are not consistent with the PVT estimates of between 62% and 46% for APC and 52% and 37% for PDP. This suggests that the results were manipulated during the collation process.** If the tabulation process had been conducted properly then INEC's official results would fall within the PVT estimates.

INEC announced the official results for the Bayelsa election and made a return. As stated in Yiaga Africa

preliminary statement, the PVT is not able to independently verify, regardless of the outcome, who won the Bayelsa gubernatorial election because elections did not occur in 61 of 250, or approximately 26%, of sampled polling units. This reduces the PVT sample and therefore Yiaga Africa cannot verify the outcome of the result.

However, the PVT is still able to determine if the collation process was conducted properly and expose manipulation during the collation process. If the official results as announced fall outside of the PVT estimated range, then the results have been manipulated during the collation process.

As **Table 1 shows**, the official results as announced by INEC for APC and PDP are not consistent with the PVT estimates, suggesting that the collation process may have been manipulated. **INEC announced that APC received 352,552 or 71% of the vote while the PVT estimated range is between 62% and 46% meaning that the largest vote share APC could have received is 62% of the vote. Similarly, INEC announced that PDP received 143,172 or 29% of the vote while the PVT estimated range is between 52% and 37% meaning that the smallest vote share PDP could have received is 37%.**

Table 1: Comparison of INEC Official Results and PVT Estimates for Bayelsa Gubernatorial Election

LGA	APC			PDP		
	INEC Official Result	PVT Estimated Range	INEC Official Result	PVT Estimated Range		
Brass	23,831	69%	77% to 30%	10,410	30%	70% to 22%
Ekeremor	2,1489	54%	49% to 32%	18,344	46%	68% to 51%
Kolokuma/						
Opokuma	8,934	36%	45% to 22%	15,360	62%	77% to 54%
Nembe	83,041	98%	100% to 97%	874	1%	2% to 1%
Ogbia	58,016	80%	66% to 44%	13,763	19%	55% to 33%
Sagbama	7,831	11%	27% to 9%	60,339	87%	91% to 72%
Southern Ijaw	124,803	96%	80% to 30%	4,898	4%	66% to 16%
Yenagoa	24,697	55%	68% to 44%	19,184	43%	54% to 40%
Bayelsa	352,552	71%	62% to 46%	143,172	29%	52% to 37%

Source: Yiaga Africa

Southern Ijaw

While Table 1 shows discrepancies in other LGAs, the most significant manipulation of the collation process was for Southern Ijaw. INEC's official result for APC is 124,803 votes or 96% while the PVT estimates the maximum vote share possible is 80%. At the same time, INEC's official result for PDP is 4,989 or 4% while the PVT estimates the minimum vote share possible is 16%. As noted above, 51% of PVT sampled polling units in Southern Ijaw held no election, suggesting that up to half of all polling units in the LGA did not open. However, INEC announced that a total of 130,121 votes were cast in Southern Ijaw out of 165,449 registered voters for a turnout of 79%. This is not possible given the widespread failure of polling units to hold elections across the LGA.

Table 2 below suggests that INEC may have under reported the number of affected polling units in some LGAs in Bayelsa when compared to the verified and compared reports of WTV observers of polling units where elections did not hold or process not concluded. Based on data released by INEC on affected polling units where elections were canceled or not held, 30% of polling units in Ekeremor LGA were affected. While some of these may not have been directly linked with INEC, there is need to provide safeguards for future elections to protect the integrity and inclusiveness of the electoral process.

Table 2: Distribution of Bayelsa Polling Units that Did Not Conduct Elections

LGA	PVT Sample		PVT Sample with No Elections		Percent PVT Sample with No Elections		INEC PUs		PUs where elections were not held or cancelled (INEC)		Percent PUs with No	
	Polling Units	Registered Voters	Polling Units	Registered Voters	Percent Polling Units	Percent Registered Voters	INEC Total PUs	INEC Reg Voters	No. of Affected PUs	Reg Voters in Affected PU (INEC)	% of Affected PUs	%Reg Voters in Affected PUs (INEC)
Brass	22	9,975	1	441	5%	4%	159	67804	17	9080	11%	13%
Ekeremor	27	14,812	9	5,798	33%	39%	198	125189	60	42624	30%	34%
Kolokuma/ Opokuma	20	7,926	0	0	0%	0%	144	52765	1	446	1%	1%
Nembe	28	11,744	7	2,716	25%	23%	202	92717	0	0	0%	0%
Ogbia	36	12,922	11	3,572	31%	28%	259	109903	10	3006	4%	3%
Sagbama	28	16,568	5	2,632	18%	16%	198	109460	17	7380	9%	7%
Southern Ijaw	59	22,347	30	11,229	51%	50%	425	165449	54	17595	13%	11%
Yenagoa	30	30,205	1	550	3%	2%	219	199895	11	10691	5%	5%
Total	250	126,499	64	26,938	26%	21%	1804	923182	170	90822	9%	10%
Source: Yiaga Africa							Source: INEC					



3.4 Kogi-West Supplementary Election

The November 30, 2019, Kogi West Senatorial District supplementary election held in 53 polling units in 7 Local Government Areas (LGAs) where election was canceled or not concluded due to violence and disruption. The affected LGA include; Ijumu, Kabba/Bunu, Lokoja, Koton Karfe, Mopa Moro, Yagba East and Yagba West LGA's. WTV deployed a total of 63

trained and accredited citizen observers to observe the supplementary elections in Kogi West.

WTV findings on the observation of accreditation and voting, counting of ballots, announcement and posting of results at the polling units, and collation of results at LGA collation centers are based on reports received from 52 out of 53 polling units in the 7 LGAs and 7 LGA collation centers.

Findings from Polling Units



1. **Opening and Commencement of Polls:** As at 7:30 am, WTV observers reported that INEC officials had arrived at 52 of the 53 polling units in the 7 LGAs where the supplementary elections held. An average of 1 of the four polling officials deployed was a woman and by 10:00 am, 52 polling units had commenced accreditation and voting.



2. **Accreditation and Voting:** Smart Card Readers were present in all the 53 polling units; however, the Smart Card Reader was not used for the accreditation of voters in 7 of the 53 polling units. Of these 7 polling units, 5 were in Lokoja LGA and 2 in Kabba/Bunu LGA. In addition, voters were allowed to vote in these polling units without using the Smart Card Reader to verify their PVC.



3. **Counting and Posting of Results:** In 49 polling units, INEC polling officials counted the number of unused ballot papers. However, the polling unit level results were not posted for the public to see in 7 polling units. The polling units involved were located in Lokoja, Mopa Moro and Kabba/Bunu LGA.

Findings on the Results Collation Process at the LGA Result Collation Centres



1. **Access to Result Collation Centers:** WTV observers were initially denied access to the LGA results collation center in Mopa-Moro LGA. This was later resolved and access was granted.

agents and party agents were present in all LGA collation centers.



2. **Presence of Security Personnel and Political Party Representatives:** Security



3. **Results Collation Process:**

1. In all LGA collation centers, senatorial results Form EC 8Bs for all polling units from the wards were submitted to the collation officer and all the LGA collation

center officers entered the votes in the original form EC 8C in words and in figures.

2. APC party agents countersigned the results summary forms in all the LGA collation centers while the PDP in only 6 LGA collation centers. No PDP party agent was seen at the time of the countersigning of the results summary forms in Mopa-Moro LGA.

3. INEC officials distributed copies of the form EC 8C to the party agents and security agents present in all the LGA collation centers, and publicly posted the summary of the results in only 5 of the 7 LGA collation centers. No political party agent disagreed with the results declared in all the LGA collation centers.

Reported Critical Incidents

Yiaga Africa WTV received and confirmed a total of 25 critical incidents. These incidents include vote-buying, voter suppression and community collusion to undermine the process. Below are some of the critical incidents and the locations where they occurred.



1. **Intimidation and Harassment:** INEC officials and voters (especially women) were intimidated, harassed or assaulted at the polling units during accreditation and voting.



2. **Multiple voting and overvoting:** In PU 004, ward 8, Mopa Moro, voters who already had indelible ink on their fingers were allowed to vote. While in PU 001, ward B, Lokoja LGA, voters staged a protest against the INEC officials because the number of total votes did not tally with the

number of accredited voters captured by the card reader.



3. **Voter suppression:** In Open Space, Okedayo, Ijumu LGA, PU 004, ward 8 and PU 003, ward 5, Mopa-Moro LGA, sorting and counting of votes were done before 2 pm, denying some voters the opportunity to cast their ballot.



4. **Vote-buying and inducement:** Party agents attempted to influence voters or INEC polling officials in 10 polling units. For instance, in Oludun Furniture 002, Auta ward, Kabba/Bunu LGA, voters were trading their votes for money (N1,000). In PU001, ward 02 and PU 003, ward 1, Kogi Koton Karfe LGA, party agents were openly distributing money. While party agents attempted to bribe observers in PU 002, Asuta ward, Kabba/Bunu.



5. **Lack of secrecy of the ballot:** In PU 007, Asuta Ward, Kabba/Bunu LGA; PU 003, Open space by Aiyewa Quarters beside Comm. Bank Ijumu LGA; and Open space Oba Tedo polling unit, Yagba West LGA, voters showed how their ballot papers were marked before putting them in the ballot box. In Open Space by Okebukun Quarters, Aiyetoro polling unit and Open Space, Iluafof Quarters, Ayietoro polling unit in Ijum LGA, and Yaragi area Open Space polling unit, Ward D, Lokoja LGA, the voting cubicle was positioned in a

way that people could see how voters marked their ballot paper. In Open Space, Okedayo, Ijumu LGA, party agents accompanied voters to the voting cubicle thereby compromising the secrecy of the ballot.

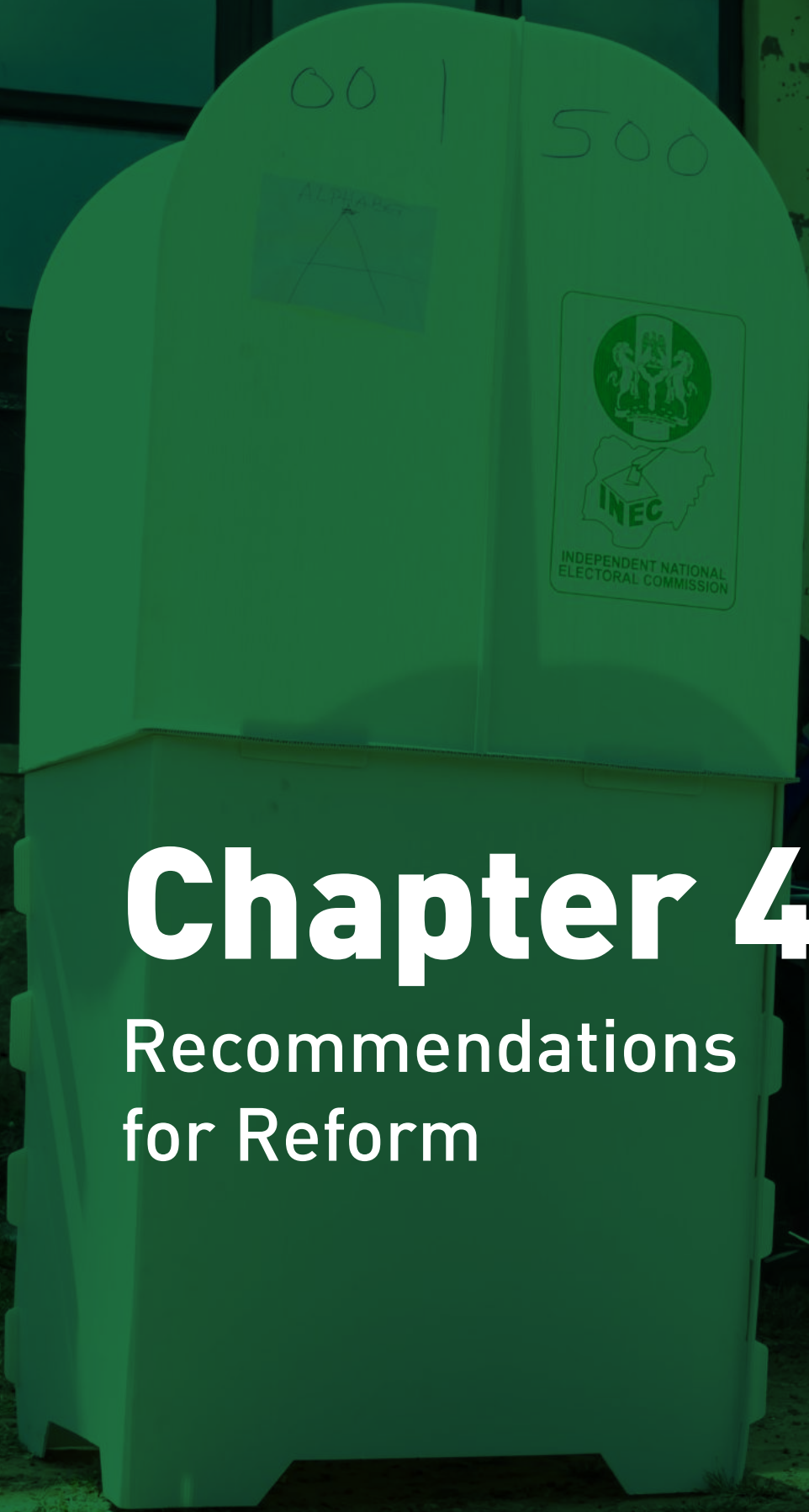


6. **Restricted observation:** Security personnel deployed to PU 003, Aiyegunle Ward of Ijumu LGA did not allow WTV observers to observe the election day process.



Chapter 4

Recommendations for Reform



Recommendations

Drawing from these lessons, Yiaga Africa makes the following recommendations:



I. Executive

1. The Executive should as a matter of urgency leverage the harmonious working relationship with the National Assembly to ensure expedient passage/assent of electoral amendment bills currently being considered by the National Assembly.
2. The President should demonstrate intolerance for electoral impunity by directing the Attorney General of the Federation and Inspector General of Police to investigate and prosecute all suspects involved in all forms of criminality and violence. This should include an executive order preventing the Attorney General from entering *nolle prosequi*² in the prosecution of electoral offences.



II. National Assembly

3. The National Assembly should hold a public hearing on the conduct of the Bayelsa and Kogi governorship and rerun elections to document and aggregate instances of electoral impunity, violence and malpractice. This will foster accountability and inform reforms to the electoral legal framework.
4. The National Assembly should accelerate the consideration of the electoral amendment bills and ensure their quick passage before the end of 2020.
5. The National Assembly should consolidate and harmonize all electoral amendments into a Repeal and Re-enactment Electoral bill.
6. The National Assembly should consider the following key electoral reform priorities:
 - a. Provide legal recognition for electronic accreditation of voters, e-collation and electronic transmission of results;
 - b. Resolve the duality of jurisdiction between Election Petition Tribunals and regular courts, and review and harmonize timelines for the determination of pre-election matters to ensure pre-election disputes are resolved before the date of elections;
 - c. The provision of legal grounds for the rejection of list of candidates submitted by parties to INEC as well as conditions for cancellation of elections;
 - d. Subjecting declarations and

²The power to discontinue the prosecution of a criminal case.

returns made by Returning Officers under duress or controversial circumstances to further review by the Commission; and

- e. Establishment of an electoral offences commission.



III. Judiciary

7. Judges who sit on electoral tribunals exercise unique and significant responsibilities. They must be independent, fair and impartial in the administration of justice and must ensure speedy dispensation of electoral petitions to avoid the last-minute pronouncements that could obstruct the conduct of elections or trigger violence.



IV. INEC

8. A comprehensive audit of the Bayelsa and Kogi governorship elections is required given the high level of critical incidents and malpractice. The findings of the audit must be shared with the public and sanctions met on culpable INEC officials.

9. Given the sensitive nature of elections, INEC should ensure clarity in its regulations and guidelines. Ambiguity in electoral guidelines creates room for manipulation and fraud.
10. The Commission should maintain consistency in its decisions and uphold

the values of integrity, neutrality and accountability in the management of future elections.

11. INEC should improve its transparency by ensuring a list of polling units where elections were canceled and reasons for cancellations are made public in a timely manner. INEC should also review the Form EC 40 G to provide a column for stating reasons for cancellation.
12. Polling unit level results of elections should be posted online to facilitate public access to election results.
13. INEC should ensure total compliance with the provision of voting cubicles to guard and guarantee the secrecy of votes across all polling units. Poor arrangement in some polling units encouraged vote buying, compromised the essence of the open secret ballot system thereby endangering the safety and security of voters.
14. INEC should strengthen its communication with the public, especially to share information on polling units affected by unforeseen circumstances such as natural disasters. Flooding in Kogi and Bayelsa necessitated the relocation of polling units and the communication of this relocation was insufficient in some LGAs, which may have affected voter turnout.
15. INEC should maintain continuous dialogue with key stakeholders to

mobilize the support required for successful elections. In the same vein, INEC should ensure inclusive voting process so disadvantaged groups like PWDs are able to cast their votes without difficulty.



V. Security Agencies

16. The Inter-Agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES) should audit the performance of the security officers deployed for the Bayelsa and Kogi gubernatorial elections, particularly in areas where elections were disrupted by violence. In addition, ICCES should investigate the allegations that some police officers refused to deploy to polling units thereby giving political thugs and those in fake security uniforms an unobstructed path to disrupt the electoral process.
17. For credible elections, security agencies must remain impartial, neutral and professional in the management of election security. Loyalty must be to the Constitution not individuals.
18. Security agencies should ensure adequate security is provided to enable voters and INEC to complete the processes of voting, results collation and declaration in future elections.
19. Security agencies, especially the police, should investigate reports of vote buying, recruitment of thugs, deployment of fake police, and stockpiling of arms and ensure diligent prosecution of perpetrators. In the same vein, security agencies must exercise their power in bringing the full weight of the law on individuals, organizations, political parties and candidates who undermine the electoral process, irrespective of their party affiliation, social class or influence.
20. Security agencies should ensure active public engagement and communications with citizens and other stakeholders to boost citizens' confidence and encourage participation.
21. Monitoring of the conduct of police and other security agencies deployed for the elections should be a key component of the mandate of the police service commission and other relevant agencies, given the fact that some officers were complicit in the malpractices that took place during the Bayelsa and Kogi elections.



VI. Political Parties

22. Political parties should ensure a transparent and democratic candidate nomination process and allow independent observation of the process. Parties must comply with their own internal guidelines and electoral laws in nomination of candidates.

23. Political parties should remove members who undermine elections and promote violence through sanctions and withdrawal of membership.
24. Parties should encourage campaigns based on issues of importance to voters and refrain from discriminatory and derogatory utterances that could fuel violence in future elections. Parties should also combat the spread of disinformation and misinformation by fact checking all information they share with citizens.
25. Party agents and voters should conduct themselves in a professional manner and refrain from preventing accredited observers and media personnel from observing and reporting on the elections.



VII. CSOs, Media and Citizens

26. CSOs should not despair or deter from their mandate of civic engagement despite the attacks and fatalities suffered during the elections in Kogi and Bayelsa. They should remain resilient in providing oversight of the electoral process and voter education.
27. CSOs should continue to build solidarity and improve partnerships and collaboration.
28. CSOs should continue to partner

with the National Orientation Agency (NOA) and INEC to promote political education. Political education should be conducted throughout the electoral cycle, not only immediately prior to elections as observed in the recent elections. CSOs should extend their monitoring throughout the electoral cycle.

29. The media should not yield themselves for use as tools for misinformation and dissemination of propaganda by politicians; rather, journalists should observe the electoral process and keep the public reliably informed. The media should combat the spread of fake news and disinformation through fact checking all information prior to publishing it.
30. For democracy to thrive, citizens must remain committed and strive continuously to defend it despite the challenges. Not participating in the electoral process creates greater opportunities for poor governance to thrive and accountability to fail.



VIII. Development Partners

31. Development partners and the international community should continue to support election stakeholders to strengthen the electoral process as Nigeria strives to improve its elections and reverse the downward trend in quality of elections.

Conclusion

It is important to state clearly that beyond INEC, the attitudes, actions and dispositions of stakeholders like the security agencies and political parties could make or mar the credibility of any election. The Bayelsa and Kogi governorship election still experienced political parties building their campaign strategy around deploying sufficient money to buy the elections, acquiring arms and paying thugs who are willing to disrupt the process. This practice remains inimical to democratic development in Nigeria and regardless of which party benefits from the outcome of the election, the question on the development of Nigeria's electoral democracy and the quality of participation remains a major challenge. The political class have perfected their act of undermining the process and is consistently making it difficult for INEC to conduct the elections across board.

Beyond the parties are also the security agencies who are failing in their critical role of supporting the work of INEC for the safe, effective and successful deployment of materials and safeguarding the process. This failure remains a factor enabling the late commencement of polls, breach of the electoral laws and the wilful commission of electoral offences. Those found responsible, from INEC, political

parties, security agencies, or any other body, for either preventing a polling unit from opening or manipulating the results during the collation process must be held accountable and brought to book. The culture of impunity in Nigeria must end. Further, Nigeria needs to retool her legal framework to address the duality of jurisdiction of courts and timeline for the determination of pre-election cases.

The Bayelsa governorship election which was held on the same day as the Kogi Gubernatorial and Kogi West Senatorial elections provided an opportunity for all election stakeholders to change Nigeria's electoral trajectory especially after the experience of the 2019 general elections. While this trajectory was not changed, there are still opportunities for improvement, especially with the next round of off-cycle elections beginning with Edo in September 2020 and Ondo in October 2020. The National Assembly must as a matter of urgency prioritize electoral reform in their legislative agenda. This is a call to President Buhari to prove to Nigerians that he is committed to electoral reform and leave a legacy of reforms that ends electoral impunity, strengthens democratic institutions and deepen the culture of democratic accountability.

Appendix 1

DECLARATION OF RESULTS 2019 Governorship Election - Bayelsa State



	PARTY	CANDIDATE	GENDER	VOTES RECEIVED	REMARKS
1	A	EBIZIMO DIRIYAI	M	1,339	
2	AAC	KALANGO STANLEY DAVIES	M	174	
3	AD	OWEI-TONGU WONIWEI	M	91	
4	ADP	FELAGHA ADIKA PATRICK	M	120	
5	AGAP	FAYEOFORI T. BOB-MANUEL	M	30	
6	ANP	KUNDE NOAH	M	21	
7	APA	ABBEY E. DANIEL	M	157	
8	APC	LYON DAVID PEREWORIMINI	M	352,552	ELECTED
9	APGA	DANIEL TONWORIO BENWARI	M	98	
10	APM	ERES ASEIMIEGHA ORUAMA	M	25	
11	APP	SAMUEL IZIBEYAMADU DANDY JOB	M	148	
12	ASD	AWOTU ONIEKPE	M	22	
13	BNPP	JOSEPH P. GEREBO	M	7	
14	CAP	OWEIFABO FELIX EBIKEMEFA	M	18	
15	CNP	GEORGE ONUME	M	22	
16	DA	OSELE ANTHONY	M	9	
17	DPC	SEIYEFA FETEPIGI ECHES	F	148	
18	DPP	OGUARA NENGIMONYO	F	96	
19	FJP	AKUSI PIUS	M	24	
20	FRESH	PREYE BENSON	M	283	
21	GPN	ZIDOUGH A GIDEON ROLAND ENEYI	M	7	
22	HDP	TIMIPA JENKINS OKPONIPERE	M	10	
23	KOWA	OWEBOR FREEDOM	M	61	
24	LM	VIJAH ELDRED OPUAMA	M	100	
25	LP	NUMOFE EBIOWEI	M	79	
26	MMN	OKIAH JONES DAMINOLA	M	14	

	PARTY	CANDIDATE	GENDER	VOTES RECEIVED	REMARKS
27	MPN	CLEMENT BLESSING AZIBANAGBAL	F	1,339	
28	NCP	MIEBAIKEDO EBIPADE	M	174	
29	NDLP	KALAS AGAI	M	91	
30	NNPP	NAMATEBE INKO ABRAHAM	M	120	
31	NPC	ALEX AKPOEBI BUFUMOH	M	30	
32	NRM	FRANCOIS O. TUAMOKUMO	M	21	
33	NUP	AUGUSTUS EBIUMONE OGOUN	M	157	
34	PDM	AKALI TASAMANA WAYMAN	M	352,552	
35	PDP	DIRI DUOYE	M	98	
36	PPA	ALEXANDER PERETU BEKE-AREREDO	M	25	
37	PPP	AKIKI APRALA	M	148	
38	PRP	OKALA AZIBOLA	M	22	
39	SNC	GWEGWE RIGHTEOUS OKPOEBI	M	7	
40	UDP	IKIMI INIBARANYE SILAS	M	18	
41	UP	KENNY JUSTICE SOTONYE FISEYE	M	22	
42	UPC	IBIENE STEPHEN KROBOH	M	9	
43	UPN	SAMUEL J. ADAGA	F	148	
44	UPP	WILLIAMS WOYINKURO BEREZI	F	96	
45	ZLP	SIMEON IMOMOTIMI KARIORU	M	24	



922,562
Total Number of
Registered Voters
(AS COLLATED)



517,883
Total Number of
Accredited Voters
(AS COLLATED)



499,551
Total Number of
Valid Votes



6,333
Total Number of
Rejected Votes



505,884
Total Number of
Votes Cast



56.14%
Percentage Voters
Turnout

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Appendix 2

DECLARATION OF RESULTS

2019 Governorship Election - Kogi State



	PARTY	CANDIDATE	GENDER	VOTES RECEIVED	REMARKS
1	A	ABDULLAHI MUHAMMED	M	76	
2	AAC	MUHAMMADUL-KABIR ABDUL-WASIU	M	328	
3	AD	MEDUPIN EPHRAIM	M	448	
4	ADC	JUSTINA DOLAPO ABANIDA	F	706	
5	ADP	NDAKWO ABDULRAHMAN TANKO	M	411	
6	ANRP	ORUGUN EMMANUEL OLORUNMOWAJU	M	357	
7	APC	BELLO YAHAYA	M	406,222	ELECTED
8	APGA	IBRAHIM JIBRIL SHEIK	M	475	
9	GDPN	BELLO WILLIAMS DELE	M	48	
10	GPN	VICTOR AKUBO	M	29	
11	HDP	ABDULMALIK ADAMA MOHAMMED	M	46	
12	JMPP	ALFA AMOS OBOY	M	83	
13	MAJA	JIMOH AMODU YUSUF	M	91	
14	NCP	MUHAMMED IBRAHIM DANGANA	M	419	
15	PDP	MUSA ATAYI WADA	M	189,704	
16	PPN	UKWUMONU JOSEPH IDACHABA	M	624	
17	PPP	MOSES ITODO DRISU	M	381	
18	PRP	AYODELE RAYMOND AJIBOLA	M	169	
19	UDP	ABDULRAZAO BABA EMEJE	M	185	
20	UPC	ABUH SUNDAY OMOGAMI	M	52	
21	YDP	SHAIBU SANI SEIDI	M	69	
22	YPP	AISHA ABUBAKAR AUDU	F	63	
23	ZLP	SULEIMAN MOHAMMED MIKHAIL	M	77	
24	APM	YUSUF MAMMAN DANTALE	M	199	
25	SDP	NATASHA HADIZA AKPOTI	F	9,482	



1,646,350
Total Number of
Registered Voters
(AS COLLATED)



636,202
Total Number of
Accredited Voters
(AS COLLATED)



610,744
Total Number of
Valid Votes



13,770
Total Number of
Rejected Votes



624,514
Total Number of
Votes Cast



38.64%
Percentage Voters
Turnout

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Appendix 3

SUMMARY OF REGISTERED VOTERS OF POLLING UNITS (ELECTION NOT HELD/CANCELLED)



BAYELSA STATE GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION

NOVEMBER 16, 2019

BAYELSA, CODE: BY

S/N	LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA (LGA)				NO OF REGD. VOTERS (FOR THE AFFECTED PUs IN THE LGA)
	NAME OF LGA	LGA CODE	NO OF RAs AFFECTED	NO OF PUs AFFECTED	
1	BRASS	01	4	17	9,080
2	EKEREMOR	02	9	60	42,624
3	KOLOKUMA/ OPOKUMA	03	1	1	446
4	NEMBE	04	0	0	0
5	OGBIA	05	3	10	3,006
6	SAGBAMA	06	7	17	7,380
7	SOUTHERN IJAW	07	3	54	17,595
8	YENAGOA	08	7	11	10,691
	TOTAL	8	34	170	90,822

a	Margin of Lead	209,380
b	Total Number of Regd Voters (Election Not Held / Cancelled) - EC 40G(2)	90,822
c	Remark	

Appendix 4

SUMMARY OF REGISTERED VOTERS OF POLLING UNITS (ELECTION NOT HELD/CANCELLED)



KOGI STATE GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION

NOVEMBER 16, 2019

KOGI, CODE: KG

S/N	LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA (LGA)				NO OF REGD. VOTERS (FOR THE AFFECTED PUs IN THE LGA)
	NAME OF LGA	LGA CODE	NO OF RAs AFFECTED	NO OF PUs AFFECTED	
1	ADAVI	01	1	10	3,927
2	AJAKUTA	02	1	1	13,425
3	ANKPA	03	7	20	16,164
4	BASSA	04	1	9	4,622
5	DEKINA	05	6	31	28,505
6	IBAJI	06	4	11	5,895
7	IDAH	07	2	3	1,013
8	IGALAMELA- ODOLU	08	5	5	2,706
9	IJUMU	09	3	5	4,128
10	KABBA-BUNU	10	7	25	22,293
11	KOGI (KK)	11	2	2	1,765
12	LOKOJA	12	3	16	14,949
13	MOPAMURO	13	2	2	915
14	OFU	14	6	22	16,844
15	OGORI/ MAGONGO	15	0	0	0
16	OKEHI	16	0	0	0
17	OKENE	17	0	0	0
18	OLAMABORO	18	4	10	6,877
19	OMALA	19	4	5	2,767
20	YAGBA EAST	20	3	3	2,314
21	YAGBA WEST	21	1	1	467
TOTAL		21	62	181	149,576

a	Margin of Lead	216,518
b	Total Number of Regd Voters (Election Not Held / Cancelled) - EC 40G(2)	149,576
c	Remark	

Appendix 5

Yiaga Africa
Statements on the
2019 Bayelsa and
Kogi Governorship
election



14th
NOVEMBER

Pre-election Press Statement on the 2019 Bayelsa Governorship Election

Yenagoa, Bayelsa State

Introduction

Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives us great pleasure to welcome you to the YIAGA AFRICA **Watching The Vote (WTV) Pre-Election Press Briefing** on the 2019 governorship election in Bayelsa State. This press briefing is the first in a series of press conferences to be hosted by YIAGA AFRICA WTV during the 2019 Bayelsa Governorship election.

On November 16, 2019, the people of Bayelsa state will go to the polls to elect a Governor that will lead the state for the next four years. In what promises to be a keenly contested election with forty-five political parties contesting for the governorship election of which three (3) are women. According to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Bayelsa State has a total of 923,182 registered voters, out of which 889,308 Permanent Voters Card (PVC) which is 96.3% have been collected.

In addition, this is one of two off-cycle elections to be conducted by INEC since the 2019 general elections. Those elections failed to meet the expectations of many Nigerians. With the experience of the 2019 elections still fresh in the minds of the people, not only INEC, but also the security agencies and critically, political



parties are once again in the limelight to inspire confidence in the electoral process by ensuring the perennial challenges witnessed in the 2019 general elections are addressed and that the process is credible.

As one of Nigeria's largest non-partisan and independent movements of citizens observers committed to promoting electoral integrity, YIAGA AFRICA's WTV will be providing systematic, accurate and timely information on the election day process. YIAGA AFRICA will be the only observer group that can independently determine if the official results announced reflects the total votes cast. If the announced results have been manipulated and do not match the results posted at polling units, then YIAGA AFRICA will expose it.

YIAGA AFRICA's Watching the Vote is "Driven by Data – For All Nigerians – Beholden to None!"

Watching the Vote Pre-Election Observation

As part of our efforts to deepen electoral integrity, YIAGA AFRICA commenced its Pre-Election Observation (PREO) from September 2019 with 21 Long-Term Observers (LTOs) deployed across the 8 LGAs. This statement highlights summary findings of the pre-election period, which focused on assessing the level of INECs preparation, political party campaigns, voter education, activities of marginalized groups and early warning signs of electoral violence. The pre-election environment revealed amongst other things commercialization of the political process, violent campaign rhetoric and hate speech, excessive show of force by political parties especially the APC and the PDP and unhealthy electoral competition

resulting to deaths, arson and violence. Beyond the electoral campaign, our findings indicate early commencement of election activities by INEC in line with the timetable and schedule of activities issued by the commission. INEC and civil society organizations including religious/faith-based organizations were visibly involved in voter education and citizen mobilization. Consistent trends in the pre-election environment include:

1. **Pre-election violence:** Incidents such as violent physical or verbal attacks, vandalism or destruction of properties and candidates' posters, inflammatory or inciting statements and recruitment of political thugs were recorded across all four reporting periods. With the most recent being, the violent clash between the APC and PDP in Nembe LGA observed on November 13, 2019. In addition, there were reported cases of sporadic shootings in Southern Ijaw and Yenagoa LGAs.
2. **Violation of Electoral Laws:** Throughout the reporting period violations like voter inducement through the distribution of money, gift items and its kinds by candidates or their supporters was observed and remained consistent in the four reporting periods. In addition, was the report on buying and selling of PVC and voters' details. This report was received more from Ogbia, Sagbama, Southern Ijaw and Yenagoa LGAs.

3. **Election Preparatory Activities:**

Election activities were undertaken by INEC across the state. This includes targeted engagements with critical stakeholders, the distribution of the Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) in September 2019. Voter education activities by INEC were undertaken in all 8 LGAs as well as election observation kits distribution. YIAGA AFRICA's WTV also confirms the deployment of non-sensitive materials in all of the 8 LGAs.

4. **Political Parties' Campaigns:**

Campaign rallies have dominated the political space in the state. By the fourth reporting period, the dominant political parties in the state (Accord, APC, PDP and SDP) have extended their campaign rallies across the state with APC and PDP seeking to hold rallies in all LGAs.

5. **Participation of Special Groups:** the reports highlighted that youth and women groups were increasingly engaging the political space by campaigning and canvassing for votes for political parties and candidates.

6. **Violence Against Women:** Elections remain a civil process that requires the participation of all sections of society. Reports were received on violence against women in the electoral process with more reports coming in from Ekeremor and Southern Ijaw LGAs.

Emerging Concerns on the 2019 Governorship Election

1. **High Security threats, Recruitment of Thugs and Arms stockpiling:**

Bayelsa state has a history of electoral violence engineered by politicians who want to win elections at all costs in the state, especially with the battle for the control of the riverine areas. The recruitment of thugs and militants and the gathering of arms to deploy violence is a major threat to a credible election. More reports on this were received from Southern Ijaw, Brass, Sagbama and Yenagoa. In addition to this, is the threat of community conflicts that may impact on the election especially with the recent incident in Ekeremor LGA where a clash over a community election led to a major crisis with some houses burnt. The recent violence clashes between PDP and APC supporters resulting in the death of 3 citizens in Nembe when PDP attempted to hold a campaign rally in Nembe LGA also posed an additional challenge.

2. **Buying of PVCs and Vote Buying Prevalent:**

The buying and selling of PVCs was one of the predominant election malpractices recorded in the pre-election environment. The findings from all four observation reports revealed that PVC were purchased for N500. The implication of this includes the possible attempt to undermine the credibility of the process by manipulating the process

of accreditation and voting, it can also be a tool to wither down the voting strength of a particular party or region.

3. **Community Collusion:** With the identification of certain voting blocs in different communities and the show of intolerance to opposing political views, WTV findings indicate the possibility for some communities to collude in flouting the election guidelines to put the party of their choice at an advantage.
4. **Displacement of Voters Due to Flooding:** The issue of flooded communities remains one of the major challenges in the elections especially considering that there is poor documentation or data showing where voters in flooded communities are located or relocated to. However, the report shows that some polling units in communities within the Kolokuma/Opokuma, Southern Ijaw, Ekeremor, Sagbama, Yenagoa LGAs are affected and demands that INEC provides some alternative for voters from affected communities.
5. **Logistical Concerns:** INEC has consistently had logistical challenges on election day. Election day logistics for the Bayelsa elections will be even more difficult given the likelihood of rain before and on election day as well as the difficult terrain. However, these are not the first elections that INEC has conducted in Bayelsa and voters have the right to expect polling units to open on time.

Summary Recommendations

INEC:

1. INEC should continue to act with utmost professionalism and impartiality. This requires strict compliance with the regulatory framework of the election in all circumstances, no matter the odds or pressures from any quarters.
2. INEC must ensure it has an effective oversight mechanism to guarantee compliance with electoral law and guidelines especially in the administration of the election. This includes ensuring that there is uniformity of practice and that voters' accreditation process is secured.
3. INEC must show utmost professionalism in the timely, effective and secure deployment of its staff, materials (sensitive and insensitive) and other resources needed for the election will enable early commencement of polls.
4. INEC should ensure that there is proper coordination with security agencies for effectiveness and safety of personnel and materials deployment. This includes ensuring safe delivery of personnel and materials after the election.
5. INEC ad hoc staff must ensure that polling units are located in areas that are accessible to all voters, especially PWDs in order not to disproportionately disenfranchise voters or limit their rights to participation.

6. INEC needs to urgently communicate its plans to conduct elections in communities affected by flooding to ensure that voters are able to vote.

Security:

1. Early warning signs of election violence should be addressed by relevant security agencies to avoid escalation or spillover on election day. These issues should be addressed in a professional and civil manner.
2. Security agencies should ensure protection for vulnerable voters especially women and persons with disability, they must enforce appropriate sanctions to any form of violation of rights to vote.
3. Deployment of personnel and logistics should be all-round and not restricted to certain parts of the state.
4. There should be proper coordination between all the security agencies deployed for the election, proper lines of communication and rules of engagement should be adhered to. The security agencies must remain non-partisan and professional in their conduct and operations.

Political Parties:

1. Political parties, candidates and their supporters should show commitment to electoral accountability by respecting the rules governing the conduct of the elections and refrain from deploying

violence and to win the election at all cost.

2. Political parties, candidates and their supporters must refrain from vote buying and the related practice of compromising the secrecy of the ballot so that the voters of Bayelsa state are free to vote their preference for governor.
3. Political parties, candidates and supporters should show political tolerance and reject community collusion by allowing voters to cast ballots for whichever candidate they prefer.
4. Political parties, candidates and supporters who are required to be mobile on election day should only do so in clearly marked vehicles with numbered license plates.

Citizens:

1. Voters and citizens should be security conscious and report any suspicious movement or threat to violence to the appropriate security agencies.
2. Voters in Bayelsa state should come out in their numbers and cast their votes. Elections will be decided by only those who come out to vote.
3. Voters should reject efforts by political parties to buy their votes, remember that their vote is their secret and regardless they should vote their conscious when in the voting booth.

4. Individuals should reject efforts by political parties to entice them to vote on behalf of another individual with a purchased PVC.
5. Communities should not engage in collusion and should let members of the community vote for whichever candidate they prefer.

CSOs:

1. CSOs should intensify on the get out the vote (GOTV) campaigns to encourage and mobilize eligible voters to participate in the exercise.
2. There is a need for proper coordination and collaboration between observer groups in ensuring that high standards and the global principles of election observation are adhered to.

WTV Election Day Observation

YIAGA AFRICA's WTV Election Day deployment adopts the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology for election day observation at the polling units and will also be deploying observers to the LGA collation centers. The PVT is a proven and advanced observation methodology that employs well-established statistical principles and utilizes sophisticated information technologies. YIAGA AFRICA's WTV provides timely and accurate information on the conduct of accreditation, voting, and counting as well as independently verifies the official governorship results as announced by the

INEC. PVTs are not exit polls. WTV citizen observers do not ask voters for whom they cast their ballot. Instead, the PVT relies on the official results from polling units for which there have been observers watching the entire process. This tested and proven election observation methodology has been deployed in over 50 countries around the world including Nigeria - most recently by YIAGA AFRICA for the 2019 presidential election.

For the November 16 Bayelsa Governorship Election, WTV will deploy **500 stationary observers to a representative statistical sample of 250 polling units and 21 mobile observers located in all 8 LGAs of Bayelsa state. WTV will also deploy 8 collation center observers** to each of the LGA Collation Centres. The sampled polling units were determined by established statistical principles to ensure the resulting information is representative of the state and unbiased. The PVT sample of polling units was drawn according to well established statistical principles and is truly representative of all of the polling units because the percentage of sampled polling units for each LGA is similar to the percentage of all polling units for each LGA. For example, Brass LGA has 8.80% of all the polling units in Bayelsa (159 of 1,804) and 8.80% (22 of 250) of the sampled polling units are in Brass LGA. While not identical, the percentages for every LGA are very close, clearly demonstrating that the PVT sample is representative of the entire state (Appendix I demonstrates the representativeness of sampled polling units).

YIAGA AFRICA's WTV 500 stationary observers, 21 mobile observers and 8 collation center observers were carefully recruited according to established criteria and carefully trained to ensure that they are non-partisan and independent. All YIAGA AFRICA citizen observers had to sign a pledge of neutrality and were given a code of conduct to which they have to adhere when observing. All YIAGA AFRICA citizen observers have been accredited by INEC to observe at polling units or collation centers.

On Election Day, WTV observers will report to their assigned polling units at 7:00 am and remain there throughout setup, accreditation and voting, counting and the announcement and posting of the official results. Throughout the day, every citizen observer at sampled polling units will send in eleven coded text messages to the WTV Data Centre in Bayelsa, located here at Matho Crystal Hotel, Yenagoa. Coded text messages sent by WTV citizen observers will provide detailed information on the conduct of the process as well as the official results for the polling unit as announced by the polling officials. Over the course of Election Day, YIAGA AFRICA's data center in Bayelsa will receive 5,000 text messages containing approximately 73,500 individual pieces of information about the 2019 Bayelsa governorship election. Once the text messages are received at YIAGA AFRICA's data center, they will be processed and reviewed to ensure the information is complete, authentic and accurate.

It is important to remember:

- The PVT is an Election Day observation methodology that provide accurate information on the conduct of voting, accreditation and counting and independently verifies the accuracy of the results. However, elections are more than just election day. To ensure a comprehensive assessment of the entire election process WTV also deployed a separate set of observers to monitor the pre-election environment. YIAGA AFRICA's overall assessment of the election are based on both pre-election and election day data.
- Using statistical principles, the PVT only deploys to representative sample of polling units rather than all polling units. As such the PVT results are statistically valid estimates of what happens at all polling stations (even the ones to which YIAGA AFRICA did not deploy citizen observers). However, as in past elections, in order to capture any critical incidents that may affect the election, YIAGA AFRICA has deployed mobile observers who will visit both sampled and unsampled polling stations across the state on election day.
- As with other citizen observation efforts, PVT observers are deployed inside polling units to observe voting, accreditation and counting. In order to observe what happens outside of polling units, YIAGA AFRICA has, as in past elections, deployed mobile observers who will assess the environment outside of polling

units. PVT can provide information on the secrecy of the ballot at polling stations as a sign of vote buying, but no observation effort can provide information on whether individuals chose to vote based on monies paid to them or perceived threats outside the polling unit.

Since WTV is based on official results from a representative random sample of polling units, YIAGA AFRICA will be able to estimate the state-wide results for the governorship election within a narrow range based on well-established statistical principles. **If INEC's official results fall within YIAGA AFRICA's estimated range, then the public, political parties and candidates should have confidence that the official results reflect the ballots cast at polling units; if the announced official results do not reflect the ballot cast, YIAGA AFRICA will expose it.**

On Election Day, YIAGA AFRICA's WTV Data Centre Bayelsa will open at 6:00 am and will remain open until counting has finished at all sampled polling units and all WTV citizen observers have sent in all ten of their observation reports. YIAGA AFRICA's data center is open to the public and media at all times.

Throughout Election Day, YIAGA AFRICA will provide - as appropriate - updates on the conduct of the election based on the near real-time reports from its observers. These will be released at the data center and posted on social media at YIAGA AFRICA's Facebook page (www.facebook.com/yiaga.org) and YIAGA AFRICA's Twitter page (@YIAGA).

On Saturday, November 16, 2019, at 10 pm, YIAGA AFRICA will release its estimated projections based on its preliminary data. On Sunday, 17 November 2019, at Matho Crystal Hotel, Yenagoa, YIAGA AFRICA will share its preliminary WTV findings on the conduct of set-up, accreditation, voting and counting. Immediately after INEC announces the official results for the gubernatorial election, YIAGA AFRICA will hold its own press conference and issue its election results verification statement. Verification of the election results will be based on the INEC official results as announced by-poll officials at the WTV sampled polling units.

Conclusion

YIAGA AFRICA WTV is fully prepared to observe the Bayelsa 2019 governorship election. To this end, we invite everyone here present to accompany us now on a tour of the Data Center where a live simulation is currently underway to test the functionality of our data management systems and our observers to observe the election.

Currently, all 500 PVT observers are sending in practice reports based on Election Day scenario, which will be duly processed by the data clerks and analysis team. YIAGA AFRICA is ready to observe the elections on behalf of the people of Bayelsa and Nigerians, to ensure to people's votes are accurately counted.

We call on all people of Bayelsa, the parties and candidates, INEC and the security forces to play their parts to ensure a peaceful, credible and conclusive process.

Thank you and God Bless the people of Bayelsa State.

Dr. Aisha Abdullahi

Chair, YIAGA AFRICA Watching the Vote – Bayelsa Observation Mission

Ezenwa Nwagwu

Co-Chair, YIAGA AFRICA Watching the Vote – Bayelsa Observation Mission

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Learn more about #WatchingTheVote at www.watchingthevote.org or on social media on Facebook at facebook.com/yiaga.org or on Twitter @YIAGA.

Appendix I

Distribution of All Polling Units and PVT Sampled Polling Units for the 2019 Bayelsa Gubernatorial Election

S/no	LGA	Registered Voters	Polling Units	Percent of Total Polling Units	Sampled Polling Units	Percent of Total Sampled Polling Units	Observers
1	BRASS	67,804	159	8.81%	22	8.80%	44
2	EKEREMOR	125,189	198	10.98%	27	10.80%	54
3	KOLOKUMA/ OPOKUMA	52,765	144	7.98%	20	8.00%	40
4	NEMBE	92,717	202	11.20%	28	11.20%	56
5	OGBIA	109,903	259	14.36%	36	14.40%	72
6	SAGBAMA	109,460	198	10.98%	28	11.20%	56
7	SOUTHERN IJAW	165,449	425	23.56%	59	23.60%	118
8	BRASS	199,895	219	12.14%	30	12.00%	60
	Total	923,182	1804	100.00%	250	100.00%	500

Source: YIAGA AFRICA WTV BAYELSA 2019

15th
NOVEMBER

Pre-election Statement on the 2019 Kogi Governorship Election

Reverton Hotel, Lokoja

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the YIAGA AFRICA Watching The Vote (WTV), one of Nigeria's largest nonpartisan and independent citizens movement on electoral integrity, we welcome you to this **Pre-Election Press Briefing** on the 2019 Kogi Governorship and Kogi West Senatorial Elections. This press briefing is the first in a series of



press conferences to be hosted by YIAGA AFRICA WTV for these elections. On November 16, 2019, the people of Kogi state will go to the polls to elect a Governor in what promises to be a keenly contested election with 24 political parties jostling for the votes of 1,646,350 registered voters. In addition, to the governorship election, the state will also be having a senatorial election in Kogi West Senatorial District following the Appeal Court's ruling ordering a fresh election for Kogi West Senatorial District. These elections, plus the governorship election for Bayelsa scheduled for the same day, are first major elections conducted by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) since the 2019 general elections. With the experience of the general elections earlier this year still fresh in the minds of the people, these elections in Kogi will serve as an important test to assess the lessons learned by INEC, as well as other electoral stakeholders responsible for the conduct of elections, notably security agencies and political parties, to address the perennial challenges to electoral integrity in our country. As one of Nigeria's largest non-partisan and independent movements of citizens observers committed to promoting electoral integrity, YIAGA AFRICA's WTV will be providing systematic, accurate and timely information on the election day process and accuracy of results. YIAGA AFRICA will be the only observer group

that can independently determine if the official results announced reflects the total votes cast. If the announced results have been manipulated and do not match the results posted at polling units, then YIAGA AFRICA will expose it.

YIAGA AFRICAs Watching the Vote is “Driven by Data – For All Nigerians – Beholden to None!”

WTV Pre-election Observation

In line with our commitment to electoral integrity through citizens oversight on the electoral process, Watching The Vote deployed a Pre-Election Observation (PREO) mission to Kogi from September 19, 2019, to observe the pre-election environment. 27 Long Term Observers were deployed to all 21 LGAs to observe the pre-election environment over a period of eight weeks. This press statement highlights findings of observations from all four reporting phases. In previous pre-election observation reports, we presented our findings on the activities of major political actors, voter education campaigns, activities of marginalized groups and threats of violence. In the final reporting period, YIAGA AFRICA Watching The Vote makes observations on early warning signs of violence, conduct of electoral stakeholders, compliance with electoral laws amongst others.

YIAGA AFRICA WTV PREO observation findings provide an indication of emerging trends during the pre-election period.

Summary of Findings:

1. **Political Campaigns and Rallies Trailed by Violence:** Political campaigns and rallies in Kogi State were trailed with brigandage, assault and all forms of violence. Reports of violent physical attacks of rallies/meetings or campaign trails were observed in several part of the especially Yagba West. Intimidation of candidates/supporters were also reported in Ankpa, Dekina, Idah and Ofu LGAs.
2. **Campaigns driven by money not issues:** The campaigns have been devoid of debates on governance, public leadership and quality representation. The campaigns have been a contest between the highest bidder and spender. WTV monitored and tracked voter inducement through the distribution of money or gift items and other suspicious empowerment programs. Political party candidates and supporters were visibly doling out money and gift items such as vehicles in several communities especially in Okehi and Ankpa LGA during political campaigns. YIAGA AFRICA observed political parties moving from house to house in Ankpa LGA, documenting names and polling unit numbers and addresses of citizens with PVCs, while offering advance payments of Five hundred naira (N500) ahead of the election. This may result to financially induced voter turnout and not issued-based electoral participation.

3. **Displacement of voters due to flooding:** YIAGA AFRICA pre-election observation reports highlighted the plight voters in flooded communities. YIAGA AFRICA is concerned that if adequate provision is not made for communities experiencing flooding, it may lead to disenfranchisement or voter suppression. YIAGA AFRICA notes that in places where INEC has made provisions, there is a lack of clarity on the modalities for determining where polling units and collation centres will be located. We fear that this might be subject to manipulation and it could trigger violence. YIAGA AFRICA calls on INEC to quickly finalize and popularize plans on conducting elections in flooded communities in Ibaji, Koton Kafe, Lokoja, Ofu, Ajaokuta, Omala and Idah LGAs.
4. **Status of Election Administration and Preparations:** WTV recognizes the role of INEC in election administration and therefore monitored the commission's activities in the past two months. Findings from WTV's monitoring reveals the reasonable compliance of INEC with the elections timetable as indicated in the conduct of preparatory activities such as recruitment and training of ad-hoc staff, stakeholder engagements and voter education amongst others, in preparations for the November 16 polls. Out of the 16 activities on INEC's timetable, 14 activities have been successfully concluded, YIAGA AFRICA will continue to track the remaining two activities.

Emerging Issues

YIAGAAFRICA WTV notes that the following issues will undermine the credibility of the elections if not addressed:

1. **Security threats and violent attacks:** We notes the apprehension on election security in Kogi state. Only this week, at an INEC stakeholder engagement, which had the Inspector General of Police (IGP) in attendance experienced security challenges leading to assault and violence against a female governorship candidate. Between October 3 and 17, political party supporters clashed over a road network during a campaign in Ankpa LGA. Other physical and verbal violence were experienced in Ankpa, Dekina, Idah, Ofu, Okehi, Kabba-Bunu and Yagba West LGA. The integrity of the elections could be compromised if the security and safety of citizens, election officials, observers, journalists, as well as the deployment of sensitive and non-sensitive materials to the polling units is not guaranteed. With the plethora of reports and early signs of violence contained in security threats assessment reports from INEC and other stakeholders, there is a likelihood of electoral violence during and after the elections. This could potentially affect voter turnout for the election. Security agencies are urged to neutralize these threats and ensure security is guaranteed for a peaceful conduct of the elections.

2. **Limiting electoral competition:** The pre-election environment has been characterized by attempts to limit electoral competition through violence and intimidation and restriction of campaigns to certain locations. YIAGA AFRICA received reports of the deployment of political thugs by political parties to disrupt campaigns or prevent other candidates from accessing some local government to campaign for votes.
3. **Recruitment of Political Thugs and Stockpiling of Arms and Weapons.** WTV Kogi reports on the pre-election environment highlighted possible threats to the peaceful conduct of the elections with the observation of the presence of small arms and weapons in some LGA's. Specifically, WTV identified a community called Okabb in Ankpa LGA, being used for the storage of ammunition, while recruitment of political thugs was reported and confirmed in Okehi and Idah LGA.
4. **Logistical Concerns:** Against the background of flooding, pre-election violence and the failure of security agencies to guarantee adequate security, YIAGA AFRICA is concerned that this may pose some logistics challenges for INEC on election day including reverse logistics for election materials such as ballot papers, results forms, Smart Card Reader etc.
5. **Last minute judicial pronouncement on pre-election matters:** YIAGA AFRICA is concerned with the trend of last-minute judgements issued by courts on pre-election matters without recourse to its implication for election management, public safety and citizens participation. More worrisome, is the conflicting nature of these judgments delivered by courts of coordinate jurisdiction. Nigeria needs to retool her legal framework to address the duality of jurisdiction of courts and timeline for the determination of pre-election cases.
6. **Cancellations of votes and margin of lead:** Drawing from the lessons in the 2019 elections, YIAGA AFRICA is concerned with the trend of arbitrary cancellation of votes by returning, collation and presiding officers during the results collation. This, we believe is a tool for voter suppression and manipulation of elections. We urge INEC to ensure transparency and openness in the management of cancellation of votes and determination of the margin of lead in line with extant electoral laws.
7. **Vote-buying and selling:** The buying and selling of PVCs was one of the predominant election malpractices recorded in the pre-election environment. As noted during the 2018 governorship elections in Ekiti and Osun States, and the subsequent study on votebuying conducted by YIAGA AFRICA, Kogi governorship

election may be decided by the highest bidder and therefore, undermines the democratic process.

Recommendations

INEC

1. INEC, as the electoral umpire should ensure that the election is conducted in a transparent and credible manner. The Commission must ensure that all election day polling unit and collation processes are conducted within its own guidelines and electoral laws to forestall complaints of bias and illegality.
2. Result Collation - YIAGA AFRICA urges INEC to provide accurate and adequate information on the electoral process on a timely basis. INEC should ensure that the polling unit results sheets are posted at the polling unit and the ward collation centers. During the collation process, access should be given to accredited observers groups and the media to observe the collation process.

Political Parties

3. YIAGA AFRICA is aware of the palpable fear and apprehension in public domain and therefore urges all contesting political parties and contestants refrain hate speech and provocative rhetoric so as not to plunge the state into chaos and violence. Parties and candidates should mobilize their supporters to maintain peace and order during

and after the elections. A peaceful and orderly election is a catalyst for development and the growth of our democracy.

4. YIAGA AFRICA urges candidates and supporters to defer to legal and civil mechanisms for addressing any grievance with the conduct of the elections.
5. YIAGA AFRICA calls on the political parties, candidates and their supporters to utterly reject the practice of buying and selling of votes that grossly undermine the democratic process. In a democracy, political parties should compete based on ideas and their ability to improve the lives of citizens not vote buying.

Citizens

6. YIAGA AFRICA urges voters to conduct themselves in a peaceful and civil manner throughout the elections. We encourage voters to maintain vigilance at the polling units and collation centers to deter fraud and manipulation of the election.
7. YIAGA AFRICA encourages citizens to participate in various sensitization programs carried out by Vote Not Fight, Stop Violence Against Women in Politics (StopVAWIP) and other stakeholders recently in the state.
8. YIAGA AFRICA calls out to the people of Kogi state to come out en mass to exercise their civic responsibility by voting for their preferred governorship

candidate. An election characterized by low turnout may not produce the desired result hence it is important for all eligible voters to come out to vote. In addition, voters must resist any attempt by politicians to subvert the process through material inducement or cash.

Security Officials

9. YIAGA AFRICA calls for greater transparency and accountability in the deployment of security official for the elections. To ensure electoral integrity, all security officials on election duty must uphold the principles of professionalism, nonpartisanship and neutrality in the management of election security operations.
10. YIAGA AFRICA urges all deployed security personnel to remain neutral throughout the election. Priorities should be placed on the protection of human rights, electoral officers, election materials and candidates during the election. Security agencies should avoid harassing and intimidating voters, election officials, observers and members of the media.
11. Early warning signs of election violence should be addressed by relevant security agencies to avoid escalation or spillover on election day. These issues should be addressed in a professional and civil manner.
12. Security agencies should ensure

protection for vulnerable voters especially women and persons with disability during and after elections. Appropriate sanctions should be meted on official should infringe on the voting rights of vulnerable groups.

WTV Election Day Observation

YIAGA AFRICA's WTV Election Day deployment adopts the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology for election day observation at the polling units and will also be deploying observers to the LGA collation centers. The PVT is a proven and advanced observation methodology that employs well-established statistical principles and utilizes sophisticated information technologies. YIAGA AFRICA's WTV provides timely and accurate information on the conduct of accreditation, voting, and counting as well as independently verifies the official governorship results as announced by the INEC. PVTs are not exit polls. WTV citizen observers do not ask voters for whom they cast their ballot. Instead, the PVT relies on the official results from polling units for which there have been observers watching the entire process. This tested and proven election observation methodology has been deployed in over 50 countries around the world including Nigeria - most recently by YIAGA AFRICA for the 2019 presidential election.

For the November 16 Kogi Governorship Election, WTV will deploy **500 stationary observers to a representative statistical**

sample of 250 polling units and 26 mobile observers located in all 21 LGAs of Kogi state. WTV will also deploy 21 collation center observers to each of the LGA Collation Centres. The sampled polling units were determined by established statistical principles to ensure the resulting information is representative of the state and unbiased. The PVT sample of polling units was drawn according to well established statistical principles is truly representative of all of the polling units because the percentage of sampled polling units for each LGA is similar to the percentage of all polling units for each LGA. For example, Adavi LGA has 7.50% of all the polling units in Kogi (191 of 2,548) and 7.6% (19 of 250) of the sampled polling units are in Adavi LGA. While not identical, the percentages for every LGA are very close, clearly demonstrating that the PVT sample is representative of the entire state (Appendix I demonstrates the representativeness of sampled polling units for the Kogi Governorship election).

In addition to the PVT for the Kogi Gubernatorial election, YIAGA AFRICA is also, for the first time, conducting a PVT for the Kogi West Senatorial District election on a pilot basis. This will provide independent verification of not only the gubernatorial result, but also the outcome of the senatorial election. Of the 500 citizen observers YIAGA AFRICA is deploying to Kogi State, **112 WTV citizen observers will be stationed at a representative statistical sample of 56 of the 560 polling units in Kogi West Senatorial District.** The sample for Kogi West Senatorial District

is statistically valid because it was drawn using the principles as the PVT for the gubernatorial sample. Due to limited time, however, it was not possible to increase the number of observers or therefore the sample size of polling units for Kogi West Senatorial District. Because the sample size for Kogi West Senatorial District is relatively small, the margin of error is likely to be larger and therefore the PVT for Kogi West Senatorial District may not be able to definitively assess the accuracy of the official results for this election. As with past elections, YIAGA AFRICA will only release data for which it has complete statistical confidence.

WTV Citizens Observers

YIAGA AFRICA's WTV 500 stationary observers, 27 mobile observers, and 21 collation center observers were carefully recruited according to established criteria and carefully trained to ensure that they are non-partisan and independent. All YIAGA AFRICA citizen observers had to sign a pledge of neutrality and were given a code of conduct to which they have to adhere when observing. All YIAGA AFRICA citizen observers have been accredited by INEC to observe at polling units or collation centers.

On Election Day, WTV observers will report to their assigned polling units at 7:00 am and remain there throughout setup, accreditation and voting, counting and the announcement and posting of the official results. Throughout the day, every citizen observer at sampled polling units

will send in eleven coded text messages to the WTV Data Centre in Lokoja, located here at Reverton Hotel, Lokoja. Coded text messages sent by WTV citizen observers will provide detailed information on the conduct of the process as well as the official results for the polling unit as announced by the polling officials. Over the course of Election Day, YIAGA AFRICA's data center in Kogi will receive not less than 4,500 text messages containing approximately 65,000 individual pieces of information about the 2019 Kogi governorship election. Once the text messages are received at YIAGA AFRICA's data center, they will be processed and reviewed to ensure the information is complete, authentic and accurate.

It is important to remember:

1. The PVT is an Election Day observation methodology that provides accurate information on the conduct of voting, accreditation and counting and independently verifies the accuracy of the results. However, elections are more than just election day. To ensure a comprehensive assessment of the entire election process WTV also deployed a separate set of observers to monitor the pre-election environment. YIAGA AFRICA's overall assessment of the election is based on both pre-election and election day data.
2. Using statistical principles, the PVT deploys to a representative sample of polling units rather than all polling units. As such the PVT results are

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3. As with other citizen observation efforts, PVT observers are deployed inside polling units to observe voting, accreditation and counting. In order to observe what happens outside of polling units, YIAGA AFRICA has, as in past elections, deployed mobile observers who will assess the environment outside of polling units. PVT can provide information on the secrecy of the ballot at polling stations as a sign of vote-buying, but no observation effort can provide information on whether individuals chose to vote based on monies paid to them or perceived threats outside the polling unit.

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should have confidence that the official results reflect the ballots cast at polling units; if the announced official results do not reflect the ballot cast, YIAGA AFRICA will expose it.

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sampled polling units.

Conclusion

YIAGA AFRICA WTV is fully prepared to observe the Kogi 2019 governorship election. To this end, we invite everyone here present to accompany us now on a tour of the Data Center where a live simulation is currently underway to test the functionality of our data management systems and our observers to observe the election.

Currently, all 500 PVT observers are sending in practice reports based on Election Day scenario, which will be duly processed by the data clerks and analysis team. YIAGA AFRICA is ready to observe the elections on behalf of the people of Kogi and Nigerians, to ensure to people's votes are accurately counted.

We call on all people of Kogi, the parties and candidates, INEC and the security forces to play their parts to ensure a peaceful, credible and conclusive process.

Thank you and God Bless the people of Kogi State.

Samson Itodo Executive Director, YIAGA AFRICA.

Dr. Abdu Hussaini Chair, YIAGA AFRICA WTV Working Group

Prof. Nnamdi Aduba Co-Chair, YIAGA AFRICA Watching the Vote – Kogi Observation Mission

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Appendix I

Distribution of All Polling Units and PVT Sampled Polling Units for the 2019 Kogi Gubernatorial Election							
S/no	LGA	Registered Voters	Polling Units	Percent of Total Polling Units	Sampled Polling Units	Percent of Total Sampled Polling Units	Observers
1	ADAVI	105,906	191	7.50%	19	7.60%	38
2	AJAOKUTA	73,836	80	3.14%	7	2.80%	14
3	ANKPA	142,912	176	6.91%	18	7.20%	36
4	BASSA	58,892	107	4.20%	10	4.00%	20
5	DEKINA	166,165	217	8.52%	21	8.40%	42
6	IBAJI	76,575	148	5.81%	15	6.00%	30
7	IDAH	56,743	89	3.49%	9	3.60%	18
8	IGALAMELA/ ODOLU	65,129	90	3.53%	8	3.20%	16
9	IJUMU	59,578	79	3.10%	8	3.20%	16
10	KABBA/BUNU	74,789	96	3.77%	10	4.00%	20
11	KOGI. K. K.	53,590	67	2.63%	6	2.40%	12
12	LOKOJA	137,301	105	4.12%	11	4.40%	22
13	MOPA MORO	23,030	52	2.04%	5	2.00%	10
14	OFU	88,958	129	5.06%	12	4.80%	24
15	OGORI MANGOGO	16,032	67	2.63%	7	2.80%	14
16	OKEHI	82,180	176	6.91%	17	6.80%	34
17	OKENE	131,166	266	10.44%	26	10.40%	52
18	OLAMABORO	82,973	124	4.87%	12	4.80%	24
19	OMALA	66,368	128	5.02%	13	5.20%	26
20	YAGBA EAST	41,443	61	2.39%	6	2.40%	12
21	YAGBA WEST	42,784	100	3.92%	10	4.00%	20
	Total	1,646,350	2,548	100.00%	250	100.00%	500

Source: YIAGA AFRICA KOGI 2019

Appendix II

Distribution of All Polling Units and PVT Sampled Polling Units for the 2019 Kogi West Senatorial Election							
S/no	LGA	Registered Voters	Polling Units	Percent of Total Polling Units	Sampled Polling Units	Percent of Total Sampled Polling Units	Observers
1	IJUMU	59578	79	14.11%	8	14.29%	16
2	KABBA/BUNU	74789	96	17.14%	10	17.86%	20
3	KOGI. K. K.	53590	67	11.96%	6	10.71%	12
4	LOKOJA	137301	105	18.75%	11	19.64%	22
5	MOPA MORO	23030	52	9.29%	5	8.93%	10
6	YAGBA EAST	41443	61	10.89%	6	10.71%	12
7	YAGBA WEST	42784	100	17.86%	10	17.86%	20
	Total	432, 515	560	100.00%	56	100.00%	112

Source: YIAGA AFRICA KOGI 2019

16th
NOVEMBER

Watching the Vote Preliminary Situational Statement 2019 Bayelsa Governorship Election

Yenagoa, Bayelsa State

Introduction

YIAGA AFRICA Watching the Vote (WTV) for the 16th November 2019 Governorship election in Bayelsa state deployed 500 polling unit observers to a total of 250 sampled polling units in each of the eight Local Government areas with 21 mobile observers roving the LGAs in the State providing near real time information on the conduct of the election across the state. The WTV polling unit observers deployed by 7:00am to the sampled polling units and will remain at the polling unit till the close of polls and posting of results at the polling units. In order to provide accurate and timely information on the election process, YIAGA AFRICA's Watching the Vote is deploying the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) which is an advanced and proven methodology that employs well established statistical principles and utilizes sophisticated information technologies for election observation. Using this methodology, YIAGA AFRICA can independently determine if the official result announced reflects the votes cast.

In addition to the polling units and mobile observers, YIAGA AFRICA's WTV eight result collation observers will be at the LGA results collation center to observe the process and send in reports on the collation process.

YIAGA AFRICA commends those voters who have so far come out to vote despite the challenges with opening of polls and the rain. The WTV Midday situational statement based on Watching The Vote observation so far highlights findings that enables a systematic assessment of seven process-related issues which includes the: **opening of polling units and presence of polling officials and Election materials; presence of security personnel, commencement of accreditation and voting; deployment of the smart card readers; and presence of party agents. It also highlights critical incidents observed that may threaten the credibility of the election.**

These are preliminary findings as of 12:30 pm on election day with reports received from 229 of our 250 sampled polling units. The following data will be updated as additional reports are received from WTV observers at sampled polling units.

Watching the Vote Midday Findings

Overall, while election day is not over, YIAGA AFRICA is very concerned about reports from our citizens observers of violence and attempts to disrupt the process, late opening of polling units across Bayelsa State and vote buying. Where polling

units have opened, WTV citizen observers report that they largely have the required materials.

1. As of 7:30 am, YIAGA AFRICA WTV observers reported that INEC Officials had arrived at only 24% of polling units across the state. Arrival of polling officials was identical across the three senatorial districts.
2. By 12:30 pm, only 56% of polling units had opened across the state. Opening rates again varied by LGAs. WTV citizen observers reported that 23% of polling units were open by 9am; 18% between 9am and 10am; 15% between 10am and 12 noon; 12% not open by 12 noon; and 33% not yet reporting.
3. On average open polling units had 4 polling officials present of which 2 were women.
4. 79% of open polling units had security agents present.
5. Card readers were observed in 83% of polling units.
6. Register of voters, were seen in 82% of open polling units, indelible ink (marker pen) in 79% of open polling units, official stamp in 82% of open polling units, voting cubicle in 79% of polling units, ink pad (in voting cubicle) in 82% of open polling units, Governorship Ballot box in 82% of open polling units, Polling unit booklet were present in 80% of open polling units.

7. The Braille Ballot guides were present in 28% and the PWD poster (Poster EC 30E) were present at 68% of open polling units.
8. Accord Party agents were seen at 10% of open polling units, APC party agents were seen at 83% of open polling units, and PDP at 74% of open polling units.

As of 12:30, the YIAGA AFRICA WTV Data Center had also received some verified critical incident reports:

1. **Late deployment of materials:** reports across the state indicate late commencement of polls. In Otuoke community, Ogbia LGA for instance, election materials and personnel had not deployed from the Registration Area Centres to the polling units by 9:30am. Complaints from the ad-hoc officials revealed that they were ready to deploy the night before but were held down by hoodlums in the community and the security agents were not helpful. This affected deployment.
2. **Violent Disruption of the process:** Armed thugs attacked polling units under Opolo Townhall/Community, Yenagoa LGA, shooting sporadically, disrupting the process with some casualties. Security personnel present at the time were not helpful. In addition, Political parties sharing money caused the disruption of the process in Future Polling unit, Ward 6 (Otuasega), Ogbia LGA.
3. **Thugs Carting away with Election**

Materials and Boat Conveying

Election Material: In Ward 12 and 13 in Okpoama, Southern Ijaw LGA, some political thugs, led by the local government chairman hijacked INEC materials and disrupted the voting process. There were reports of sporadic gunshots in the polling unit. In addition, WTV received a report that a boat conveying election materials and polling officials that were deployed to 4 polling units (PUs 10, 11, 12, and 14) in Apoi Ward 15 in Kologbene Community in Southern Ijaw, was hijacked.

4. **Attack on WTV Citizen Observers and not Allowed to Observe:** WTV observers were attacked by party agents in Opolo Town Hall, Epie II Ozyi Polling Unit in Yenagoa LGA. One of the observers was beaten, their observation materials were confiscated, and they were asked to leave the polling unit.
5. **Destruction of Election Materials:** WTV also received and verified reports that fighting between party agents for APC and PDP resulted in the destruction and burning of election materials in Polling Unit 8, Ward 4 and in Ward 3 all in Ogbia LGA. Materials were also destroyed, and the process halted in PU 007, Ikarma, Okorbia, Yenagoa LGA.

Urgent Action Recommendations

Urgent actions are needed by INEC, security agencies and political parties to restore calm and ensure all eligible voters have an opportunity to vote.

INEC

1. YIAGA AFRICA's WTV calls on INEC to extend voting time from 2pm to 5pm due to the late commencement of polls to ensure all registered voters have a reasonable opportunity to vote.
2. INEC should investigate the high reports of materials being carted away and destroyed in some wards and for some polling units and ensure that votes are not recorded for those polling units. INEC should postpone voting for those locations to enable voters to participate the following day.
3. INEC should as a matter of urgency coordinate with the security agencies to provide adequate security for the polling officials deployed across the state especially in hot spot LGAs. This is also very important for the collation process.
4. INEC officials should act in utmost sense of responsibility and professionalism and must remain neutral at all times.

Security

1. YIAGA AFRICA calls on the security agencies to effectively deploy to secure the election materials and the INEC officials deployed in the field, especially from communities where observer groups have sent in reports of disruption of the process. This includes ensuring proper inter-agency coordination for effective protection of lives and properties, and in securing the process especially in the creeks.

2. Security agents should ensure that individuals disrupting the process and buying votes are arrested.
3. Security agencies should ensure that its personnel acts in utmost professionalism and remain impartial throughout the conduct of this election

Political Parties

1. YIAGA AFRICA calls on contesting political parties and candidates to stop their supporters from disrupting the process.
2. YIAGA AFRICA calls on political parties, candidates and their supporters to refrain from disrupting the process and attempts to undermine the elections.
3. Political parties and candidates should refrain from buying votes as the process continues.

Conclusion

YIAGA AFRICA WTV is fully prepared to observe and provide timely information as the process continues in Bayelsa. Our observers will continue to watch the process until the end of voting and the posting of results. In addition, our LGA result collation observers will be at the LGA result collation Centre's to observe the process and provide information on the results collation.

We call on the good people of Bayelsa state, especially the voters to not be deterred by the challenges but rather to remain patient until they cast their votes.

YIAGA AFRICA with her citizens observers is observing the election on behalf of the people of Bayelsa and Nigerians, to ensure that the people's votes are accurately counted.

We call on all people of Bayelsa, the parties and candidates, INEC and the security agencies to play their parts to ensure a peaceful, credible and conclusive process.

Thank you and God Bless the people of Bayelsa State.

Dr. Aisha Abdullahi

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Learn more about #WatchingTheVote at www.watchingthevote.org or on social media on Facebook at facebook.com/yiaga.org or on Twitter @YIAGA.

16th
NOVEMBER

Watching the Vote Preliminary Situational Statement 2019 Kogi Governorship Election

Lokoja, Kogi State

Introduction

On November 16, 2019, registered voters in Kogi turned out at the polling units to cast their vote in the 2019 governorship elections organized by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). YIAGA AFRICA Watching The Vote (WTV) deployed 500 polling unit observers to a total of 250 sampled polling units in each of the 21 Local Government Areas with 27 mobile observers roving the LGAs. These observers provided real time information on the conduct of the election across the state. The WTV polling unit observers deployed by 7:00am to the sampled polling units and will remain at the polling unit till the close of polls and posting of results at the polling units. For this election, YIAGA AFRICA Watching the Vote is deploying the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT), an advanced and proven methodology that employs well established statistical principles and utilizes sophisticated information technologies for election observation. Using this methodology, YIAGA AFRICA can independently determine if the official result announced reflects the votes cast.

In addition to the polling units and mobile observers, YIAGA AFRICA's WTV 21 result collation observers will be at the LGA results collation center to observe the process and send in reports on the collation process. YIAGA AFRICA's

Watching the vote commends the people of Kogi for their resilience, commitment and determination to cast their vote in this election. YIAGA AFRICA observed early turnout of voters at the polling units. This YIAGA AFRICA WTV preliminary situational statement is based on Watching The Vote observation findings on seven process-related issues which includes: opening of polling units and presence of polling officials and Election materials; the presence of security personnel, the commencement of accreditation and voting; deployment of the smart card readers; and presence of party agents. It also highlights critical incidents that may undermine the credibility of the election. These are preliminary findings as of 12:00 noon on election day with reports received from 221 of our 250 sampled polling units. The following data will be updated as additional reports are received from WTV observers at sampled polling units.

Watching The Vote Midday Findings

1. As at 7:30 am, YIAGA AFRICA WTV observers reported that INEC officials had arrived at 52% of polling units.
2. By 9:00 am, 79% of polling units had commenced accreditation and voting. In addition, 94% of polling units had security agents present.

3. APC party agents were seen at 97% of polling units, PDP at 78% of polling units, and SDP at 39% of polling units.
4. Card readers were observed in 98% of polling units. Other essential election materials like the: register of voters, indelible ink (marker pen), official stamp, voting cubicle, ink pad (in the voting cubicle), Governorship Ballot box, and Polling unit booklet were present in 99% of polling units
5. The Braille Ballot guides and PWD poster (Poster EC 30E) were present in 50% and 88% of polling units respectively.

Reported Critical Incidents

As at 12:00 noon, YIAGA AFRICA received and confirmed the following critical incident reports;

1. **Voter Inducement and Vote buying:** reports on voter inducement and vote buying were observed across the LGAs. Specifically, YIAGA AFRICA received reports of voter inducement and vote buying in Adavi (PU 001 Afinorere ward), Ankpa (PU 010, Ward 01), Ibaji (PU 007, Itale Iyanu ward), Idah (PU 001, Ugwod ward), Yagba East (PU 01, ward 08), Kogi K.K (PU 005, Ukwu ward) and Ajaokuta (PU 005, Deregu ward) LGA. Voters were paid as much as N5,000 in some cases in exchange for their votes. At Aluaja, Iyano Ward in Ibaji LGA, INEC officials were given N15,000 and Security agents N50,00 to compromise the process.
2. **Observers not allowed to observe at polling units:** WTV received reports of accredited observers not allowed to observe in PU 017, Ward 12 and PU 002, Adumudume ward of Dekina LGA; PU 009 ward 09 of Okene LGA, and PU 013 WARD 06 of Bassa LGA among others. This was however rectified in some cases and still pending in a few polling units.
3. **Non-use of the Smart Card Reader for Accreditation:** YIAGA AFRICA observes cases of voters by-passing the processes of accreditation. WTV observers reported card readers were not used for verifying or authenticating the PVCs and fingerprint of some voters, specifically 4 voters in PU 010 of Ward 01 (Ankpa Township Ward) in Ankpa LGA.
4. **Intimidation and Harassment:** Unknown men and party agents of some identified political parties were found to be attacking and intimidating voters in polling units of LGAs in Dekina (PU 017, Ward 12 and PU 001 Yashi), Lokoja (PU 001, Ward C), Ofu (PU 005, Ugwalawo ward), Ankpa (Ojokwu ward 3) and Igalamela/Odolu (PU 022, ward 08) LGA. WTV observers were beaten and their observation checklists destroyed. and, then the process, degenerated to sporadic shooting in PU 027, Ayingba Etiaga, Dekina LGA. YIAGA AFRICA also received reports of intimidation of journalists and sister

election observer groups like Inclusive Friends, Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room and Search for Common Ground in the full glare of security agencies who made no effort to forestall or reprimand the political thugs.

5. Disruption of election at the polling unit: There were reports of disruption of the election process in PU 015, Obehira - Ugee Ward, Okene LGA, PU 027, Ayingba Etiaga, Dekina LGA and PU 012, Crowther Memorial School Lokoja Ward A.

Preliminary Recommendations

1. YIAGA AFRICA is concerned that despite heavy deployment of security for the elections, security officials and election day materials deployed late, resulting in polling units opening late. YIAGA AFRICA calls on INEC to extend voting in the affected polling units Kogi from 2pm to 4pm in order to ensure voters are not disenfranchised. YIAGA AFRICA calls for an investigation to unravel the reasons behind the delay in security deployment.
2. YIAGA AFRICA condemns the violence and brigandage in some polling units resulting to disruption of voting. YIAGA AFRICA calls on INEC to cancel elections in those polling units with cases of snatching of ballot papers/boxes, violence, and disruption. In the spirit of transparency, YIAGA AFRICA calls on INEC to make public the list of polling units where elections are canceled. Security agencies should ensure adequate security is provided to enable voters and INEC complete the process of voting, results collation and declaration.
3. YIAGA AFRICA condemns the blatant vote buying observed within proximity of the polling units. Voters should respect the secrecy of the ballot by complying with the laid down procedure for the folding of ballot papers and voting. Security officials are encouraged to take proactive measures by reprimand any individual or group of individuals perpetrating this heinous electoral offense.
4. Party agents and voters should conduct themselves in a professional manner and refrain from preventing accredited observers and media personnel from observing and reporting the elections.
5. YIAGA AFRICA calls on all deployed security agents to provide a speedy response to critical incidents, especially the reports of violent disruption of the process and destruction of election materials in some polling units. We also encourage security personnel to remain professional and non-partisan while on duty.
6. YIAGA AFRICA also enjoins the governorship and senatorial candidates and their political parties to show maturity and respect for the voting process and laws of our country.

The candidates and the parties must restrain their agents and supporters from resorting to violence at any point in time during and after the elections. Employing extrajudicial means to redress any grievances would undermine the credibility of the electoral process and national commitment to democracy. YIAGA AFRICA calls for legal redress for the resolution of electoral disputes.

Conclusion

YIAGA AFRICA WTV will continue to observe the election and will provide timely information on the Kogi 2019 governorship election. Our observers will continue to watch the process at the end of voting and the posting of results. In addition, our LGA result collation observers will be at the LGA result collation center to observe the process and provide information on the results collation and declaration. We urge political stakeholders to show greater commitment to democracy and credible elections. YIAGA AFRICA's WTV will observe the process until the end. Our observers will remain at polling units until accreditation, voting, and counting are completed and the official results have been announced and posted by the polling officials.

We call on all people of Kogi state, the parties and candidates, INEC and the security forces to play their parts to ensure a peaceful, credible and conclusive process.

Thank you and God Bless the people of Kogi State.

Dr. Hussaini Abdu

Chair, YIAGA AFRICA Watching The Vote – Kogi Observation Mission

Samson Itodo

Executive Director, YIAGA AFRICA Watching the Vote

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17th
NOVEMBER

YIAGA AFRICA Process Statement 2019 Kogi Governorship Election

Abuja

Introduction

Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives us great pleasure to welcome you to YIAGA AFRICA **Watching The Vote (WTV) Statement on the conduct of the Governorship and Kogi West Senatorial District election.** YIAGA AFRICA deployed a total of 548 observers for the Kogi elections with 500 polling unit observers deployed to 250 sampled polling units. Polling unit observers provided reports on the conduct of the election day process from the opening of polls to the posting of results at the polling unit level. The WTV Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) data revealed that INEC officials had arrived at 52% of the sampled polling units by 7:30 am, with accreditation and voting commencing in 79% of the sampled polling units by 9am with essential electoral materials like the smart card reader present in 98% of polling units. While the PVT data demonstrated the commencement of polls in the state, the situational analysis of the process highlighted major infractions that had significant potential of impacting the credibility of the process.

This statement on the conduct of the elections is based on WTV observation of the processes of accreditation, voting, and the counting and posting of results. This statement represents a culmination of our findings from the pre-election

environment through election day and **highlights critical incidents observed that threaten the credibility of the elections.**

YIAGA AFRICA's WTV is "Driven by Data – For All Nigerians – Beholden to None!". Employing the PVT methodology – the gold standard for citizen observation – WTV deployed 500 stationary observers in pairs to a representative statistical sample of 250 polling units, and 27 mobile observers located in all 21 local government areas (LGAs) of Kogi state. WTV also deployed 21 collation centre observers to each of the LGA collation centres.

YIAGA AFRICA implemented its WTV observation to provide citizens, candidates, political parties and INEC with independent, accurate and timely information that reflects the ballots cast at polling units for the Kogi gubernatorial election and Kogi West senatorial election.

Pre-election Observation Findings

In line with YIAGA AFRICA's commitment to electoral integrity through citizen oversight of the electoral process, WTV deployed a pre-election observation (PREO) mission in Kogi in all 21 LGAs over a period of eight weeks. The WTV PREO highlights certain findings that

are consistent with emerging trends that threaten the conduct of a peaceful and credible election in Kogi. Major findings highlighted include:

1. **Political Campaigns and Rallies Marred by Violence:** Political campaigns and rallies in Kogi were marred with brigandage, assault and violence. Observers reported violent physical attacks at rallies/meetings or campaign events across the LGAs with specific reports of intimidation of candidates/supporters in Ankpa, Dekina, Idah and Ofu LGAs.
2. **Stockpiling of Arms, Ammunition and Recruitment of Political Thugs:** WTV highlighted the worrisome trend of easy access and stockpile of small arms and light weapons and the active recruitment of thugs in the state. WTV expressed concern about the possible impact of this stockpiling and recruitment on the conduct of peaceful elections in the state, especially given the lack of response by security agencies before the elections.
3. **Money Politics and Abuse of Electoral Laws:** The PREO findings indicated a trend of voter inducement, including the purchase of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) and voter information details. WTV observed political parties moving from house to house in Ankpa LGA to document names, polling unit numbers and addresses of citizens with PVCs, offering advance payments of five hundred naira (N500) and gift items

such as vehicles in several communities ahead of the election. The campaigns were a contest between the highest bidders and the trend projected a possible overbearing influence of money in the election due to the level of vote buying, community collusion and electoral thugs bargaining.

4. **Status of Election Administration and Preparations:** while the pre-election report indicated the early commencement of activities by INEC, the question on early and effective deployment of materials and personnel was a concern in the pre-election phase. The findings from WTV's monitoring revealed the reasonable compliance of INEC with the elections timetable as indicated in the conduct of preparatory activities such as recruitment and training of ad-hoc staff, stakeholder engagements and voter education amongst others, in preparations for the November 16 polls. Of important note is the role the courts played in the election, especially with the last-minute judgements that impacted on elections operations and logistics management. The conflicting nature of those judgments delivered by courts of coordinate jurisdiction complicated INEC's preparations for the elections.

Summary of Election Day Findings

On election day, YIAGA Africa received and confirmed a total of 69 incident reports

from its WTV observers. Critical incident reports capture instances that could undermine the integrity of the electoral process. Majority of the incidents observed on election day include: snatching or stuffing of ballot boxes, vote buying/bribery and accreditation of people without using card readers each recorded in over 10 polling units.

The most serious of the critical incidents reported include;

1. **Intimidation or harassment of voters and polling officials:** WTV recorded intimidation and harassment of voters, observers and polling officials by unknown armed men and party agents of some identified political parties. These cases were reported in: PU 017 Ward 12 and PU 027, Ayingba Etiaga Ward Dekina LGA, PU 001 Ward C Lokoja LGA, Ojuwo Junction Market Square, Ankpa; Lokoja (PU 001, Ward C), Ofu (PU 005, Ugwalawo ward), Ankpa (Ojokwu ward 3) and Igalamela/Odolu (PU 022, ward 08) LGA. WTV observers were beaten and their observation checklists destroyed. and, then the process, degenerated to sporadic shooting in PU 027, Ayingba Etiaga, Dekina LGA. YIAGA AFRICA also received reports of intimidation of journalists and election observer groups like Inclusive Friends, Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room and Search for Common Ground in the full glare of security agencies who made no effort to forestall or reprimand the political thugs.
2. **Ballot box snatching/stuffing:** Election infarction, including snatching and stuffing of ballot boxes and papers were reported and confirm in: PU 006 Anyigba ward, Dekina LGA, ASUTA WARD, AYETORO GBEDE UNIT II HIGH COURT PU, 005, Odolu Ajaka ward 1, 22/08/07/015, Oganaji LGEA Primary School, Anyigba Dekina, PU 008 (WTV Sampled PU) OLAMABORO WARD 3 CEREMONIAL SQUARE, PU 003 Ukwo Ward 01 OLUBUN PU, ASUTA WARD, PU 003, Obaji Ward 1, Kogi K. K LGA, PU001, Ejule/Alla Ward, Ofu LGA, PU001, Ogaki Ward 06, PU-002, Aiyetoro Gbede, PU-003, Ilemo Mopamuro, PU-004, Lokoja
3. **Vote buying/bribery:** YIAGA AFRICA received reports on vote suppression manifested in the form of denying voters access to polling units by political thugs. This was prevalent in: At Aluaja, Iyano Ward in Ibaji LGA, Lagazi/Fam Center ward which has about 5 Polling units situated closely, LEA Primary Atsagba and Central Primary School gboloko, PU 005, AGOR, PU 006, Ward 01 Ediya - North, Ajaokuta LGA, PU 010, Ward 01, Ankpa Township ward, PU001 Ugwoda Ward, Idah LGA, PU007 Itale II, Iyano Ward, Ibaji LGA, PU009, Ward 03 Kogi KK, PU01, Odole 1 Mopamuro, WARD 007 UNIT 5 IN ISANLU, YAGBA EAST, ward 08, PU 01 Isanlu, Yagba East, Ward- 10 Nadazi farm centre PU 003, PU-005 Ward Lokoja B,
4. **Accreditation of people without using Card Reader:** Aiyekpele 1 and 2. PU 022/08/08/002. Aipkele 1 and 2 Open

space, Ajaka Ward 2 Igalamela/Odolu, AT THE PU ATI-AJA, 2, PU 027 AYINGBA, Barrak 2 PU 002, Adumudume Dekina, GRA CML Primary school, Anyigba Dekina, PU 009 IN ANYINGBA COMMERCIAL SECONDARY SCHOOL, PU 004, Ugwolawo Ward 1, 05, PU 005 Ward-Deregu, Ganadga Ajaokuta, PU 005 Ugwulawo Ward 10, Ofu LGA, SAMPLED P.U, WardOdo Egbe 2 PU-005, Egbe Yagba West

5. **Violence and Attack on Observer Groups.** WTV observers were unable to observe election day processes due to issues of violence in or near the polling units in Dekina, Ankpa, Okene, Lokoja and Ibaji LGAs.

The critical incidents reported highlight some of the key challenges associated with the conduct of Kogi 2019 governorship and senatorial election.

Findings on the Election Process

YIAGA AFRICA observed that security officials and election day materials deployed late, resulting in polling units opening late. As at 7:30 am, YIAGA AFRICA WTV observers reported that INEC officials had arrived at 52% of polling units.

In addition, YIAGA AFRICA condemned the violence and brigandage in some polling units resulting in disruption of voting. YIAGA AFRICA called on INEC to cancel elections in those polling units where there were cases of snatching of ballot papers/boxes, violence, and disruption of

the polling.

In the spirit of transparency, YIAGA AFRICA called on INEC to make public the list of polling units where elections are canceled. YIAGA also called on security agencies to ensure adequate security was provided to voters and INEC in order to complete the process of voting, results collation and declaration.

Accreditation and Voting Processes

YIAGA AFRICA observed accreditation, voting, and counting at polling units in all 21 LGAs. YIAGA AFRICA's updated findings are based on reports from 233 of 250 sampled polling units.

- At 83% of polling units the card reader functioned throughout the day.
- At 91% of polling units every potential voter's fingers were checked for indelible ink before being permitted to vote.
- At 92% of polling units every potential voter's permanent voter card (PVC) was checked by the card reader. At 95% of polling units every potential voter's PVC was checked against the register of voters. At 97% of polling units no one was accredited to vote who did not have a PVC.
- At 92% of polling units every potential voter's fingerprints were checked by the card reader.

- 91% of polling units the voting cubicles were set up so no one could see how the voters marked their ballot papers. However, at 15% of polling units it was possible to see how a voter's ballot paper was marked when it was put in the ballot box.
- At 98% of polling units indelible ink was applied to the cuticle of a finger of every accredited voter.
- During accreditation and voting, at 17% of polling units voters crowded the polling officials, at 11% of polling units there were attempts by people to influence the polling officials,
- 25% of polling units completed accreditation and voting by the designated time of 2:00pm while by 3:00pm 79% of polling units had completed accreditation and voting.
- At 9% of polling units polling official recounted the ballot papers.
- At 89% of polling units the official results were posted for the public to see.

Conclusion

Ladies and gentlemen of the press, YIAGA AFRICA's data, based on two months of reports from our citizen observers, exposes serious shortcomings in the pre-election period, the election day environment and, to a lesser extent, in the conduct of the polls themselves. These issues seriously compromise the credibility of the Kogi gubernatorial and senatorial polls.

While we recognize it is the sole responsibility of INEC to conduct elections and ensure their credibility and acceptability, it is important to state clearly that there are other stakeholders whose roles are equally important in determining the credibility of elections - security agencies, political parties and their related recruits and candidates. To a great extent, the attitudes, actions and dispositions of these stakeholders could make or mar the credibility of any election.

On this particular election, while we believe, there has been significant improvement in the conduct of elections in the country, especially in INEC's conduct and processes, we note some drawbacks in election logistics management, quality of election personnel; integrity and transparency of the results collation. The challenges in Kogi state 2019 gubernatorial elections

Counting

- At 97% of polling units polling officials showed how every ballot paper was marked to everyone present.
- At 94% of polling units an APC polling agent signed the official results form (EC.8A).
- At 83% of polling units a PDP polling agent signed the official results form (EC.8A).
- At 47% of polling units a SDP polling agent signed the official results form (EC.8A).

squally lies on the role and failures of security agencies, the police in particular, political parties, the major candidates and their state and non-state accomplices. These stakeholders deliberately worked to undermine the election. They appeared to be more concerned about electoral victory than the credibility and legitimacy of the process. The unacceptable vote procurement (vote buying) and violence perpetrated by the systematically recruited and prepared party officials and thugs were carried out under the full glare of the almost nonchalant security officials. They acted helplessly as if they were under instruction not to respond to the situation, if not already prepared to support the brigandage.

Political parties failed to contest these elections according to the democratic rules of the game and instead vied for elected office based on buying votes rather than speaking to issues, manipulating the courts for political advantage, and compromising the political environment to prevent political competition. While it is political parties that have undermined the pre-election and election day environment thereby undermining the fundamental rights of voters of Kogi state to fully and freely participate in all aspects of the electoral process, it is the security agencies that have failed to maintain public order and to bring to book those responsible for electoral offenses and it is the courts that have entertained the shenanigans of political party petitions designed only to limit political competition. While INEC, like the people of Kogi state, is itself a victim of

the actions of political parties, the security agencies and the courts, once again INEC failed to put in place sufficient safeguards and operational practices to ensure the elections could be conducted despite these perennial challenges.

These elections took place against the backdrop of the 2019 general elections, those elections did not meet the expectations of many Nigerians and were a missed opportunity to enhance public confidence in the country's electoral institutions. Kogi governorship and senatorial elections, as well as the Bayelsa gubernatorial election held on the same day, provided an opportunity of all election stakeholders to change Nigeria's electoral trajectory.

Instead, the people of Kogi have not been given the opportunity to fully exercise their right to vote. As a result, the results of these elections, regardless of the outcome cannot be said to reflect the preferences of voters in Kogi. In such a circumstance, YIAGA AFRICA calls upon INEC to conduct a thorough investigation of the conduct of the Kogi governorship and senatorial elections and to conduct a new election that gives voters a genuine opportunity to exercise their right to vote. Perpetrators of violence and their sponsors should be arrested and prosecuted. Consistent with our own protocols and international best practice, YIAGA AFRICA will not release its PVT results data as the PVT estimates cannot reflect the preferences of Kogi voters because the political parties, security agencies and the courts compromised

the credibility of the Kogi governorship and senatorial elections.

We are deeply worried and concerned about this emerging trend in electoral manipulation and the deepening culture of impunity. Failure to institutionally and decisively act could undermine our democracy. Our politicians, political parties and security agencies have become important threats to our democracy and we must work to hold them to account. The Nigerian political class should be recognized as such and place in the right plinth for interrogations, increased engagement and be exposed for local and international sanction.

Despite the serious failings of the Kogi gubernatorial and senatorial elections, YIAGA AFRICA wants to thank those voters who went to the polls despite the myriad of challenges. We would also like to thank the many Nigerians across the state who volunteered to serve as non-partisan election observers on behalf of all the people of Kogi. Despite the shortcomings of the elections, YIAGA AFRICA commends the dedication and commitment of the National Youth Service Corps (NYCS) members who served as ad hoc poll officials. YIAGA AFRICA also appreciates the collaboration of our development partners and their commitment to Nigerian initiatives to ensure credible elections in our country.

YIAGA AFRICA, through the #WatchingTheVote initiative, is committed to promoting more credible elections by

providing independent information on the conduct of elections and independently verifying the accuracy of election results. #WatchingTheVote is For All Nigerians, Beholden to No One, and Driven By Data.

Long live Kogi state, long live Nigeria. Thank you.

Dr. Hussaini Abdu

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18th
NOVEMBER

Watching the Vote (WTV) Statement on 2019 Bayelsa Governorship Election Results

Transcorp Hilton, Abuja, FCT

Introduction

Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives us great pleasure to welcome you to the YIAGA AFRICA Watching The Vote (WTV) press conference on the results for the 2019 Bayelsa governorship election.

On Sunday November 17, 2019 YIAGA AFRICA released its preliminary statement on the conduct of the Bayelsa governorship election. That statement was based on data reported by YIAGA AFRICA's Watching the Vote (WTV) citizen observers who were deployed for over two months throughout the state. For the pre-election period, YIAGA AFRICA deployed 21 long-term observers across the state starting in late September. For election day, we deployed 21 mobile observers and for our Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) we deployed 500 citizens observers to a statistical sample of 250 polling units located across all eight local government areas (LGAs) of Bayelsa. As well as 8 LGA Result collation observer to the LGA Collation Centres.

YIAGA AFRICA's preliminary statement highlighted shortcomings in the pre-election period, the election day environment and the conduct of the polls on election day. In particular, PVT observers reported that there were no elections held at 61 of 250 sampled polling units and therefore potentially **24% of**

all polling units in Bayelsa did not hold elections. As a result, we released PVT results data indicating that the Bayelsa governorship election was too close to call. Therefore, YIAGA AFRICA called upon INEC to provide a detailed account of all polling units for which no election was held and to ensure elections are held for all polling units. Any decision short of this would undermine the inclusiveness of the process and would call into question the credibility of the election.

INEC has now released results for the Bayelsa governorship election without holding elections in all polling units. **INEC announced 352,552 votes or 71% for APC and 143,172 or 29% votes for PDP. These results are not consistent with the PVT estimates of between 62% and 46% for APC and 52% and 37% for PDP. This suggests that the results were manipulated during the collation process.** If the tabulation process had been conducted properly then INEC's official results would fall within the PVT estimates.

Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT)

YIAGA AFRICA WTV adopts the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology for election day observation at the polling units. The PVT is a proven and advanced

observation methodology that employs well-established statistical principles and utilizes sophisticated information technologies. YIAGA AFRICA WTV provides timely and accurate information on the conduct of accreditation, voting, and counting as well as independently verifies the official governorship results as announced by the INEC. PVTs are not exit polls. WTV citizen observers do not ask voters for whom they cast their ballot. Instead, the PVT relies on the official results from polling units for which there have been observers watching the entire process. This tested and proven election observation methodology has been deployed in over 50 countries around the world including Nigeria - most recently by YIAGA AFRICA for the 2019 presidential election.

YIAGA AFRICA's PVT sample of polling units was drawn according to well established statistical principles and is truly representative of all of the polling units because the percentage of sampled polling units for each LGA is similar to the percentage of all polling units for each LGA. For example, Brass LGA has 8.80% of all the polling units in Bayelsa (159 of 1,804)

and 8.80% (22 of 250) of the sampled polling units are in Brass LGA. While not identical, the percentages for every LGA are very close, clearly demonstrating that the PVT sample is representative of the entire state (Appendix I demonstrates the representativeness of sampled polling units).

High Percentage of Polling Units with no Election

The WTV data shows that election was not conducted in 24% (61 of 250) of YIAGA AFRICA's WTV sampled polling units. This incident was more prevalent in 28 polling units in Southern Ijaw LGA, 11 polling units in Ogbia LGA, 9 polling units in Ekeremor LGA, 7 polling units in Nembe LGA, 5 in Sagbama LGA and 1 in Yenagoa LGA of the PVT sampled polling units. Statewide this data suggests that elections may not have been held in several hundred polling units thereby seriously compromising the rights of people of Bayelsa to freely determine for themselves their elected governor.

Table 1: Distribution of Bayelsa Polling Units that Did Not Conduct Elections

LGA	PVT Sample		PVT Sample with No Elections		Percent PVT Sample with No Elections	
	Polling Units	Registered Voters	Polling Units	Registered Voters	Percent Polling Units	Percent Registered Voters
Brass	22	9,975	0	0	0%	0%
Ekeremor	27	14,812	9	5,798	33%	39%
Kolokuma/ Opokuma	20	7,926	0	0	0%	0%
Nembe	28	11,744	7	2,716	25%	23%
Ogbia	36	12,922	11	3,572	18%	28%
Sagbama	28	16,568	5	2,632	18%	16%
Southern Ijaw	59	22,347	28	10,342	47%	46%
Yenagoa	30	30,205	1	550	3%	2%
Total	250	126,499	61	25,610	24%	20%

Source: YIAGA AFRICA KOGI 2019

INEC Official Results

INEC has announced the official results for the Bayelsa election and made a return. As stated in YIAGA AFRICA preliminary statement, the PVT is not able to independently verify, regardless of the outcome, who won the Bayelsa gubernatorial election because elections did not occur in 61 of 250, or approximately 24%, of sampled polling units. This reduces the PVT sample and therefore YIAGA AFRICA cannot verify the outcome of the result.

However, the PVT is still able to determine if the collation process was conducted properly and expose manipulation during the collation process. If the official results as announced fall outside of the PVT estimated range, then the results have been manipulated during the collation process.

As Table 2 shows, the official results as announced by INEC for APC and PDP are not consistent with the PVT estimates, suggesting that the collation process may have been manipulated. **INEC announced that APC received 352,552 or 71% of the vote while the PVT estimated range is between 62% and 46% meaning that**

the largest vote share APC could have received is 62% of the vote. Similarly, INEC announced that PDP received 143,172 or 29% of the vote while the PVT estimated range is between 52% and 37% meaning that the smallest vote share PDP could have received is 37%.

Table 2: Comparison of INEC Official Results and PVT Estimates for Bayelsa Gubernatorial Election

LGA	APC			PDP		
	INEC Official		PVT Estimated	INEC Official		PVT Estimated
	Result		Range	Result		Range
Brass	23,831	69%	77% to 30%	10,410	30%	70% to 22%
Ekeremor	2,1489	54%	49% to 32%	18,344	46%	68% to 51%
Kolokuma/ Opokuma	8,934	36%	45% to 22%	15,360	62%	77% to 54%
Nembe	83,041	98%	100% to 97%	874	1%	2% to 1%
Ogbia	58,016	80%	66% to 44%	13,763	19%	55% to 33%
Sagbama	7,831	11%	27% to 9%	60,339	87%	91% to 72%
Southern Ijaw	124,803	96%	80% to 30%	4,898	4%	66% to 16%
Yenagoa	24,697	55%	68% to 44%	19,184	43%	54% to 40%
Bayelsa	352,552	71%	62% to 46%	143,172	29%	52% to 37%

Source: YIAGA AFRICA

Southern Ijaw

While Table 2 shows discrepancies in other LGAs, the most significant manipulation of the collation process was for Southern Ijaw. INEC's official result for APC is 124,803 votes or 96% while the PVT estimates the maximum vote share possible is 80%. At the same time, INEC's official result for PDP is 4,989 or 4% while the PVT estimates the minimum vote share possible is 16%.

As noted above, 46% of PVT sampled polling units in Southern Ijaw held no election, suggesting that up to half of all polling units in the LGA did not open.

However, INEC announced that a total of 130,121 votes were cast in Southern Ijaw out of 165,449 registered voters for a turnout of 79%. This is not possible given the widespread failure of polling units to hold elections across the LGA.

Conclusion

YIAGA AFRICA, through its Watching The Vote initiative, is committed to promoting more credible elections by providing independent information on the conduct of elections and independently determining if the results announced reflects the votes cast. #WatchingTheVote

is For All Nigerians, Beholden to None, and Driven By Data. Since the commencement of the Watching the Vote initiative, YIAGA AFRICA has consistently told the people of Nigeria that if election results are accurate we will confirm them, but if there is manipulation we will expose it.

The PVT data shows that there were no elections in approximately 25% of polling units and suggests that the collation process for the Bayelsa gubernatorial election was manipulated - particularly for Southern Ijaw LGA. This calls into question the official results announced by INEC and credibility of this election. While the PVT cannot determine who has won the gubernatorial election for Bayelsa, regardless of the outcome, the PVT estimates suggests that the official results were manipulated during the collation process.

YIAGA AFRICA urgently calls upon INEC to conduct an inclusive, transparent and accountable audit of the Bayelsa gubernatorial results that involves political parties and civil society. The audit must include two elements. First, it must identify all polling units that had no election on November 16 so that new elections can be held for those polling units. Second, it must recollate the results for those polling units that did hold elections on November 16 so that the correct partial results can be determined. YIAGA AFRICA stands ready to work with INEC on this audit so that the people of Bayelsa can have confidence in their elections and the results for the 2019 governorship results.

It is important to state clearly that beyond INEC, the attitudes, actions and dispositions of stakeholders like the security agencies and political parties could make or mar the credibility of any election. The Bayelsa gubernatorial election still experienced political parties building their campaign strategy around deploying sufficient money to buy the elections, acquiring arms and paying thugs who are willing to disrupt the process. This practice remains inimical to democratic development in Nigeria and regardless of what party benefits from the outcome of the election, the question on the development of our electoral democracy and the quality of participation remains a major challenge. The political class have perfected their act of undermining the process and is consistently making it difficult for INEC to conduct the elections across board. Beyond the parties are also the security agencies who are failing in their critical role of supporting the work of INEC for the safe, effective and successful deployment of materials and safeguarding the process. This failure remains a factor enabling the late commencement of polls, breach of the electoral laws and the willful commission of electoral offences.

Those found responsible, from INEC, political parties, security agencies, or any other body, for either preventing a polling unit from opening or manipulating the results during the collation process must be held accountable and brought to book. The culture of impunity in Nigeria must end. Further, Nigeria needs to retool her legal framework to address the duality of

jurisdiction of courts and timeline for the determination of pre-election cases.

Despite the serious challenges observed in the Bayelsa gubernatorial elections and the need for an audit, YIAGA AFRICA would like to thank voters who went to the polls despite the myriad of challenges and commends the people of Bayelsa for maintaining peace through the process of collation and announcement of results. We would also like to thank the many Nigerians across the state who volunteered to serve as WTV non-partisan election observers on behalf of all the people of Bayelsa. YIAGA AFRICA commends the dedication and commitment of the National Youth Service Corps

(NYSC) members who served as ad hoc polling officials. YIAGA AFRICA also appreciates the collaboration of our development partners and their commitment to Nigerian initiatives to ensure credible elections in our country.

Long live Bayelsa state, long live Nigeria.
Thank you.

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www.watchingthevote.org or on social
media on Facebook at [facebook.com/
yiaga.org](https://facebook.com/yiaga.org) or on Twitter @YIAGA.

Appendix 1

Appendix 1: Distribution of All Polling Units and PVT Sampled Polling Units for 2019 Bayelsa Gubernatorial Election							
S/no	LGA	Registered Voters	Polling Units	Percent of Total Polling Units	Sampled Polling Units	Percent of Total Sampled Polling Units	Observers
1	Brass	67,804	159	8.8%	22	8.8%	44
2	Ekeremor	125,189	198	11.0%	27	10.8%	54
3	Kolokuma/ Opokuma	52,765	144	8.0%	20	8.0%	40
4	Nembe	92,717	202	11.2%	28	11.2%	56
5	Ogbia	109,903	259	14.4%	36	14.4%	72
6	Sagbama	109,460	198	11.0%	28	11.2%	56
7	Southern Ijaw	165,449	425	23.6%	59	23.6%	118
8	Yenagoa	199,895	219	12.1%	30	12.0%	60
	Total	923,182	1,804	100.0%	250	100.0%	500

Source: YIAGA AFRICA KOGI 2019





ABOUT YIAGA AFRICA WATCHING THE VOTE

Yiaga Africa Watching The Vote is a citizen-led election observation initiative aimed at enhancing the integrity of elections in Nigeria using technological tools like SMS and evidence-based research methodologies to further election observation. The initiative is designed to promote credible elections and boost citizens' confidence in the electoral process through citizen's observation of electoral activities in the electoral cycle.

Yiaga Africa is enhancing the quality of democracy in Nigeria using the WTV as a platform for promoting cuttingedge electoral policies, credible elections, civic participation and democratic consolidation.



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