



## A NIGERIAN PERSPECTIVE ON THE 2007 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

### RESULTS FROM PRE- AND POST- ELECTION SURVEYS

**August 2007**

This report is based on the results of two surveys conducted by IFES. The first was conducted before the election between February 13<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup>, 2007 and involved 2,410 Nigerian adults. The second survey was conducted among 2,416 Nigerian adults after the election between May 3<sup>rd</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>, 2007, except in Osun state, where interviewing was delayed until May 18<sup>th</sup> to May 20<sup>th</sup> due to a high level of political violence immediately following the election. Interviews for both surveys were conducted in each of Nigeria's 36 states and the federal capital territory and are representative of the Nigerian adult population. Face-to-face interviews were carried out by Practical Sampling International under the direction of IFES. The sampling error for both the pre- and post- election surveys is plus or minus two percentage points. As in any public opinion survey, question wording and the practical difficulties of conducting surveys can introduce additional error or bias.

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# Executive Summary

This report documents the opinions of the Nigerian people at an important time in their country's history—just before and after the historic elections that resulted in Nigeria's first ever hand over in power between one elected civilian ruler to another elected civilian. Overall, Nigerians show optimism in their society, the institutions that comprise it, and the future direction in which newly elected leaders will take them. At the same time, many show caution toward and disappointment in some aspects of government, especially when evaluating the conduct of the recent elections. Here is a summary of the key findings of IFES' pre- and post- election surveys. A more detailed examination of the results will follow in the subsequent sections.

## Media and the elections

State-run media are the main vehicle by which the majority of Nigerians get access to information on topics relating to politics and government; State Radio stations and the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) are the two most utilized media outlets for information on these topics.

In addition to getting information from formal media outlets, Nigerians also gather information on matters related to politics and government from relatives, friends, and acquaintances. In fact, more Nigerians report obtaining information on politics and government from friends and family on a daily or at least weekly basis than from any other source.

Nigerians are positive in their assessment of the media and largely hold that both state- and privately-owned media were objective in their coverage of the recent elections and of specific election-related topics. What is more, Nigerians' confidence in the media and belief in their effectiveness has increased since before the election.

## Is Nigeria a democracy?

The Nigerian people show caution in estimating whether or not their country is a democracy. Just under half believe it is, and, perhaps surprisingly, the recently held elections have done little to change this estimation. Roughly as many said Nigeria was primarily a democracy in the two months before the elections as did in the weeks following the election. Nonetheless, the holding of elections is at the core of people's thinking on this issue. For many, the holding of the elections was a principal reason for judging Nigeria to be a democracy. Similarly, many of those who say that Nigeria is not primarily a democracy list perceived shortcomings in the election process as their reason for this assessment. This suggests that shoring up the country's electoral process will go a long way in giving Nigerians confidence in the direction their country is going.

## Dissatisfaction but hope in leaders and institutions

Nigerians express dissatisfaction with the current situation of their country, and concerns about poverty, unemployment, corruption, and inadequate infrastructure weigh heavily on the public's mind. Nonetheless, there is an air of optimism in the wake of elections. Since two months before the elections, the percentage of Nigerians who are satisfied with the current state of Nigeria has slightly increased. Although a large number of Nigerians express grave dissatisfaction with the overall situation in Nigeria, many hope newly elected leaders will be able to make progress on important national issues. Furthermore, most major institutions and leaders enjoy more of the public's confidence after the election than they did just two months before the April polls. In fact, the courts and the military can in some ways be considered winners of this election, as confidence in these institutions has increased more than that for any other major institution—about a quarter more hold at least moderate confidence in the courts and the military now than in February of this year.

## Public estimations of INEC, EFCC, and ICPC all fall

In contrast, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) are the only institutions that fail to benefit from Nigeria's post-election mood. Confidence in INEC is lower in the period after the election than it was just two months before, and fewer after the election hold that INEC is effective in the discharge of its duties. And while a majority of six in ten still holds at least a moderate degree of confidence in INEC, a similarly sized majority says that INEC makes decisions that favor particular people or interests. Likewise, belief in the effectiveness of the EFCC and the ICPC has dropped, and as many hold that the EFCC is a

neutral body guided in its work only by the law as believe the EFCC makes decisions that favor particular people or interests.

### **Political power and powerlessness**

Many Nigerians feel politically powerless and say ordinary people have little influence over how things are run in Nigeria. However, at the same time the public shows a commitment to and hope in the holding of elections. A majority believe elections are the most effective method for selecting leaders and believe elections provide a chance for ordinary people to influence decision making. This belief that elections provide an avenue to exercise one's political voice has increased by more than ten percentage points since the election.

However, although Nigerians remain hopeful at the prospect of finding political voice through the ballot box, more than three-quarters believe that, aside from by voting, ordinary people cannot make their voices heard. This expression of political powerlessness may in part come from an underdeveloped political party system. In established democracies, political parties serve as important conduits for aggregating and advocating for citizens' demands and providing a framework for political participation. However, few among the Nigerian public think most of the major parties have clear proposals to deal with the issues confronting Nigeria, and a plurality considers parties only moderately effective in communicating their ideas to the public. At the same time, Nigerians firmly hold that political parties are important to Nigerian democracy.

When it comes to women finding their own political power, a strong majority of the Nigerian public supports women engaging in party politics by running for office. Not surprisingly, women are more supportive of the idea of other women running for office than are men. Yet, support for female candidates among women drops when women consider the possibility of their own daughter running for office.

### **Were the elections free and fair?**

In thinking specifically about the recent presidential and parliamentary elections, the public overwhelmingly believes they were necessary, but many express concern that they were chaotic and rigged. Furthermore, roughly as many Nigerians say the elections were free and fair as hold the opposite view, and only a very narrow majority is confident that the results of the presidential and parliamentary elections accurately reflect the way people voted.

Nigerians show disappointment in the overall conduct of the April elections. Although in February of this year Nigerians were hopeful the elections would go well, post-election assessments show that the public's pre-election expectations of fairness were not met. Furthermore, the plurality of Nigerians holds that these recent elections were not as free and fair as those held in 2003.

An examination of specific topics related to election administration helps to pinpoint some of the issues that resulted in the public's lack of confidence in the elections. Nearly half of the Nigerian public doubts that the ballot was truly secret, and more than a third believe the existing methods of challenging election violations are inadequate. Furthermore, a large number identify the lack of impartiality in the counting, tabulation, and announcement of results as a weak point in the process. While the competency and impartiality of polling station staff are regarded favorably by a majority, those who are unsatisfied with their competency and impartiality are also much more likely to question the validity of the elections.

### **Electoral experiences**

Voters largely report that procedures at the polls were followed. However, a third say that, contrary to proper procedures, candidates' representatives were directly outside the polling place advocating for voters to select their candidate. Additionally, one in ten or more report a lack of privacy provided to them when marking the ballot, inadequately secured ballot boxes, or a breakdown in the process of inking of fingers and other procedures aimed at curing duplicate voting. One in ten also claim to have personally witnessed an act of election-related violence, and one in four Nigerians say someone offered them a reward to vote a particular way.

Notwithstanding the fact that many report delayed openings of five hours or more at polling stations, the majority of registered voters voted in these elections. However, a sizable number of registered voters did not cast their ballots due to insufficient materials, concerns about rigging or violence, or because of a general lack of interest in the elections process.

### **Election violence**

A majority of the Nigerian public considers election-related violence in Nigeria to be a major problem. According to ordinary Nigerians on the ground, this electoral violence occurred mainly during and before the election; few thought the violence was mainly a post-election phenomenon. Those who claim to have witnessed election violence firsthand, believe political parties were behind many of the incidents throughout the election period. Somewhat contradictorily, while Nigerians consider these elections to be more violent than those in 2003, a majority also characterize the recent elections as “peaceful” rather than “violent,” and a majority is at least somewhat satisfied in the performance of the police and security officials in keeping these elections peaceful and free of conflict.

### **Corruption and politics**

A large majority of public thinks that corruption is a common problem in Nigeria, and one in three say they have been asked by a public official to pay a bribe, most pointing their finger at the police. Even though most think corruption is commonplace, nearly all believe it is wrong to pay to obtain access to public utilities, get treatment in a government hospital, receive a good grade from a teacher, or to avoid a police fine. Even so, a quarter or more believe these actions, while wrong, are sometimes justifiable.

When it comes to corruption in the realm of politics, the majority thinks it is wrong for an ordinary person to sell a vote in return for goods or money, but more than a third also think it is understandable to do so. The same is true for the reverse side; most think it is wrong for political parties to offer money to people in return for their votes, but a third think it is wrong yet understandable for parties to engage in this practice.

Roughly half believe the government of Nigeria is addressing the issue of corruption in politics to at least a moderate extent. In terms of money as it pertains to political parties, a narrow majority says it does not know how political parties get money to finance their campaigns, but a large majority doubts the motivations of those who contribute and believes that those who donate money to political parties do so with the expectation that they will get something in return rather than out of support for the party’s policies.

### **NGOs in Nigerian society and the elections**

A majority of Nigerians views Nigerian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as necessary components of Nigerian society and show interest in working for an NGO without pay to solve community problems. However, very few Nigerians are aware of opportunities to join or work for an NGO.

The public views NGOs’ role in the recent elections positively, and an even larger majority of the public thinks Nigerian NGOs should provide oversight and disseminate information in the election period than did in February of this year. A majority also feels that the involvement of these Nigerian NGOs made the election more free and fair.

Nigerians have a similar attitude toward the international NGOs and foreign governments assisting with the elections. Nigerians’ awareness of international NGOs and foreign governments assisting with the election has doubled since February 2007. Coupled with this dramatic increase in awareness, Nigerians hold a strong belief that the involvement of international NGOs in the election process is positive, and around half believe the assistance from international governments and NGOs benefits the Nigerian people.

Perhaps because of the NGO community’s active engagement during the period surrounding the elections, awareness of NGOs active in Nigeria has increased dramatically since the two months before the election.

### **Looking forward to local government elections**

Before the end of 2007, all local governments throughout Nigeria will hold elections for government councilors. However, roughly 40% of Nigerians say they are unaware of the upcoming local government elections in their area, and few can correctly name the duties of the State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC), the body charged with conducting local government elections.

These local government elections are occurring throughout Nigeria at a time when a majority describes the performance of its local government as fair or poor. Nonetheless, many Nigerians are demonstrating interest toward and optimism in the local government elections similar to that which was seen in the months before the recent presidential and parliamentary elections. Most

ordinary Nigerians hold at least moderate interest in local government elections, and a majority believes the elections will be conducted at least somewhat fairly.

## Media and Electoral Awareness

In the two months before the election, Nigerians report seeking information on politics and government more often than following the election. Radio remains the most popular source for information on politics and government, with television and newspapers trailing behind. When presented with a list of several possible sources of information about politics and government, a large number of adults in Nigeria report obtaining their information from two state media outlets: State Radio stations and the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). However, informal sources are also widely used. In fact, Nigerians report obtaining information on politics and government from friends and family on a daily or at least weekly basis more than from any other source.

In both the pre- and post- election environments, Nigerians are positive in their assessment of the media and media coverage of the elections. A majority of Nigerians say both state- and privately-owned media are objective in their general coverage and their coverage of specific election-related topics. Most Nigerians think the media's coverage of the election was informative on a variety of election issues. Overall, Nigerians' confidence in the media and belief in their effectiveness in carrying out their duties has increased since before the election.

### Majority feel informed about political and economic developments

In the period immediately following the elections, a solid majority of six out of ten Nigerians say they have at least a fair amount of information on political developments in Nigeria, and two in ten (22%) say they are very informed. On the flip side, a quarter (26%) say they have not too much information on political developments, and more than one in ten (14%) say they have no information at all. These results are consistent with self-reported information levels before the election.

Similarly, 65% say they have a great deal or fair amount of knowledge about economic developments in Nigeria. However, roughly a third feel less informed and say they have not too much (25%) or no information at all (9%).

### How much information do you have about ...?

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
➤ Political developments in Nigeria		
Great deal	22%	22%
Fair amount	40%	39%
Not too much	26%	26%
None at all	11%	14%
Don't know / Refused	1%	1%
➤ Economic developments in Nigeria		
Great deal	24%	--
Fair amount	41%	--
Not too much	25%	--
None at all	9%	--
Don't know / Refused	*	--

### **Radio most popular means of obtaining information**

Radio is the most popularly used means of obtaining information on politics and government in Nigeria. Following the election, a third of all Nigerians (34%) say they listen to the radio for this purpose every day. Roughly as many (31%) say they listen to the radio for news on politics and government at least a few times a week.

A little more than four in ten (44%) watch television for news on politics and government at least a few times a week. However, only 16% percent say they watch television daily to gain information on politics and government—about half as many as those who listen to the radio daily.

Only about a quarter (23%) read newspapers at least a few times a week, with fewer than one in ten (7%) saying they pick up the paper on a daily basis and nearly half (47%) saying they never read the newspaper.

### **Nigerians engaged – but less so than before the elections**

When these same questions were asked in February—just two months before the election—even more reported daily or weekly consumption of news. While radio is still the preferred method of obtaining news, TV saw the biggest increase in popularity after the election. Before the elections, nearly six in ten (58%) Nigerians watched TV daily or weekly for information on politics and government compared to fewer than half (44%) in the post election environment—a 14 percent difference. More also listened to the radio (73% vs. 65%) or read newspapers (29% vs. 23%) before than after the election.

### **How often do you (insert) for news on politics and government ...?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
<b>&gt; Listen to the radio</b>		
Every day	37%	34%
A few times a week	36%	31%
A few times a month	11%	14%
Once a week or less	6%	9%
Never	9%	10%
Don't know / Refused	*	2%
<b>&gt; Watch television</b>		
Every day	22%	16%
A few times a week	36%	28%
A few times a month	11%	15%
Once a week or less	9%	16%
Never	21%	23%
Don't know / Refused	1%	3%
<b>&gt; Read the newspaper</b>		
Every day	9%	7%
A few times a week	20%	16%
A few times a month	11%	13%
Once a week or less	9%	14%
Never	50%	47%
Don't know / Refused	2%	3%

**Majorities think privately- and state-owned media are objective in general coverage...**

Before the election, solid majorities of seven in ten agreed that privately- (70%) and state-owned (70%) media were objective in their coverage of social and political developments in Nigeria. However, most only somewhat, rather than strongly, believed in the objectivity of the media's coverage. Only roughly a quarter strongly believed that the privately-owned media were objective. Slightly fewer (21%) felt strongly that the state-owned media were objective in their coverage of social and political topics.

These opinions are somewhat at odds with the European Union Election Observation Missions' media monitoring reports.<sup>1</sup> Based on the monitoring of about five weeks of media coverage in the pre-election period, EU media monitoring reports show that the PDP was given disproportionate coverage on state-owned

**The privately-owned media in Nigeria provide objective coverage of the social and political developments in Nigeria**

	February 2007 n = 2410
Strongly agree	26%
Somewhat agree	44%
Somewhat disagree	14%
Strongly disagree	4%
Don't know / Refused	12%

**The state-owned media in Nigeria provide objective coverage of the social and political developments in Nigeria**

	February 2007 n = 2410
Strongly agree	21%
Somewhat agree	49%
Somewhat disagree	14%
Strongly disagree	6%
Don't know / Refused	9%

radio and TV stations and that the preponderance of this coverage was positive (as opposed to negative or neutral). The PDP, Nigeria's largest political party, also received more attention on privately-owned radio and TV stations, but privately owned stations gave more parity to coverage of the PDP and other major parties than did state-owned stations.

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<sup>1</sup> European Union Election Observation Mission Federal Republic of Nigeria: Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions (2007, April). Retrieved July 24, 2007, from <http://www.eueom-ng.org/>

### **And also objective on specific election topics**

After the election, we asked citizens about the objectivity of the media on two specific election-related topics—coverage of candidates and parties and coverage of political developments and controversies in the pre-election period. These post-election evaluations of the objectivity of the media's election-related coverage are largely consistent with, but slightly more positive than, overall evaluations from before the election.

As was the case before the election, majorities of roughly seven in ten hold that the privately- and state-owned media were objective in their coverage of parties and candidates standing for election (69% vs. 70%) and objective in their coverage of the political developments and controversies in the pre-election period (67% vs. 67%).

However, when looking only at the top rating—strongly agreeing that the media were objective in their coverage—we see that attitudes toward the media have somewhat improved. More in the post-election period strongly agree that private media were objective in their coverage of candidates (33%) and political controversies (33%) than strongly agreed in the pre-election period that coverage of general social and political developments was objective (26%). Ratings of the state-owned media paint a similar picture. More in the post-election period strongly agree that the state-owned media were objective in their coverage of candidates (30%) and political controversies (28%) than strongly agreed in the pre-election period that coverage of general social and political developments was objective (21%).

### **The privately-owned media provided objective coverage of parties and candidates standing in these elections**

	May 2007 n = 2416
Strongly agree	33%
Somewhat agree	36%
Somewhat disagree	8%
Strongly disagree	4%
Don't know / Refused	18%

### **The state-owned media provided objective coverage of parties and candidates standing in these elections**

	May 2007 n = 2416
Strongly agree	30%
Somewhat agree	40%
Somewhat disagree	14%
Strongly disagree	5%
Don't know / Refused	10%

### **The privately-owned media provided objective coverage of the political developments and controversies in the pre-election period**

	May 2007 n = 2416
Strongly agree	33%
Somewhat agree	34%
Somewhat disagree	9%
Strongly disagree	5%
Don't know / Refused	19%

### **The state-owned media provided objective coverage of the political developments and controversies in the pre-election period**

	May 2007 n = 2416
Strongly agree	28%
Somewhat agree	39%
Somewhat disagree	18%
Strongly disagree	5%
Don't know / Refused	11%

### **Media's coverage of elections informative**

Three-quarters of Nigerians (74%) believe that the media's coverage of political parties' campaign activities was informative. More than a third say the coverage of this topic was very (37%) rather than merely somewhat (37%) informative. At the other end of the spectrum, two in ten (22%) say that the media's coverage of parties' campaign activities was not informative, with only a handful (5%) believing the coverage was not informative at all.

Ratings of the media's coverage of candidates and parties' manifestos are also high. Roughly seven in ten (72%) say that the media's coverage of candidates was informative, with slightly more rating it as somewhat rather than very informative (39% vs. 33%). Likewise, seven in ten (70%) believe the coverage of political parties' manifestos was informative, with the bulk of these saying the coverage was somewhat rather than very informative (41% vs. 29%).

### **Confidence in the media on the rise**

Two months before the elections, Nigerians expressed moderate confidence in the media. A six-in-ten majority (58%) said it had confidence in the media. However, the plurality (40%) said it had only a fair amount of confidence, and only two in ten (18%) held a great deal of confidence in Nigeria's media. In contrast, a little more than a third (36%) lacked confidence, with one in ten (10%) saying they had no confidence at all in the media.

In the weeks following the elections, confidence in the media strengthened, with three-quarters of Nigerians (73%) expressing confidence in the media. What is more, the percentage of Nigerians saying they have a great deal of confidence has nearly doubled over pre-election levels (33% vs. 18%). Fewer also say they have no confidence at all in the Nigerian media (6% vs. 10%).

### **More also believe the media is effective in its mission**

Fitting with increased confidence in the media, more Nigerians after the election think the media are effective in carrying out their duties than before. Seventy-five percent believe the media are effective in carrying out their duties. Before the election a smaller, but still solid, majority believed the media was effective (63%). Few either before (7%) or after (5%) the elections think the media is not at all effective.

### **Was media coverage of the following election-related issues very informative, somewhat informative, not too informative, or not at all informative?**

	May 2007 n = 2416
➤ Political Parties' campaign activities	
Very informative	37%
Somewhat informative	37%
Not too informative	17%
Not at all informative	5%
Don't know / Refused	4%
➤ Information on candidates	
Very informative	33%
Somewhat informative	39%
Not too informative	17%
Not at all informative	6%
Don't know / Refused	5%
➤ Political parties' manifestos	
Very informative	29%
Somewhat informative	41%
Not too informative	18%
Not at all informative	6%
Don't know / Refused	6%

### **Do you have a great deal of confidence, a fair amount, not too much, or none at all in the media in Nigeria?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Great Deal	18%	33%
Fair amount	40%	40%
Not too much	26%	15%
None at all	10%	6%
Don't know / Refused	6%	5%

### **How effective are the media in Nigeria in carrying out the duties that are their responsibility?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Very effective	20%	34%
Somewhat effective	43%	41%
Not too effective	24%	15%
Not at all effective	7%	5%
Don't know / Refused	6%	5%

## Nigerian Television Authority and State Radio stations have biggest nationwide appeal

When we asked Nigerians about the different ways in which they get information on topics related to politics and government, only two media outlets had a strong national appeal—the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and State Radio stations. More than half of Nigerians tune into NTA (54%) or their State Radio station (55%) at least a few times a week. Further, these are the only two media outlets that capture the attention of at least 40% of the adult population in each and every region of Nigeria.

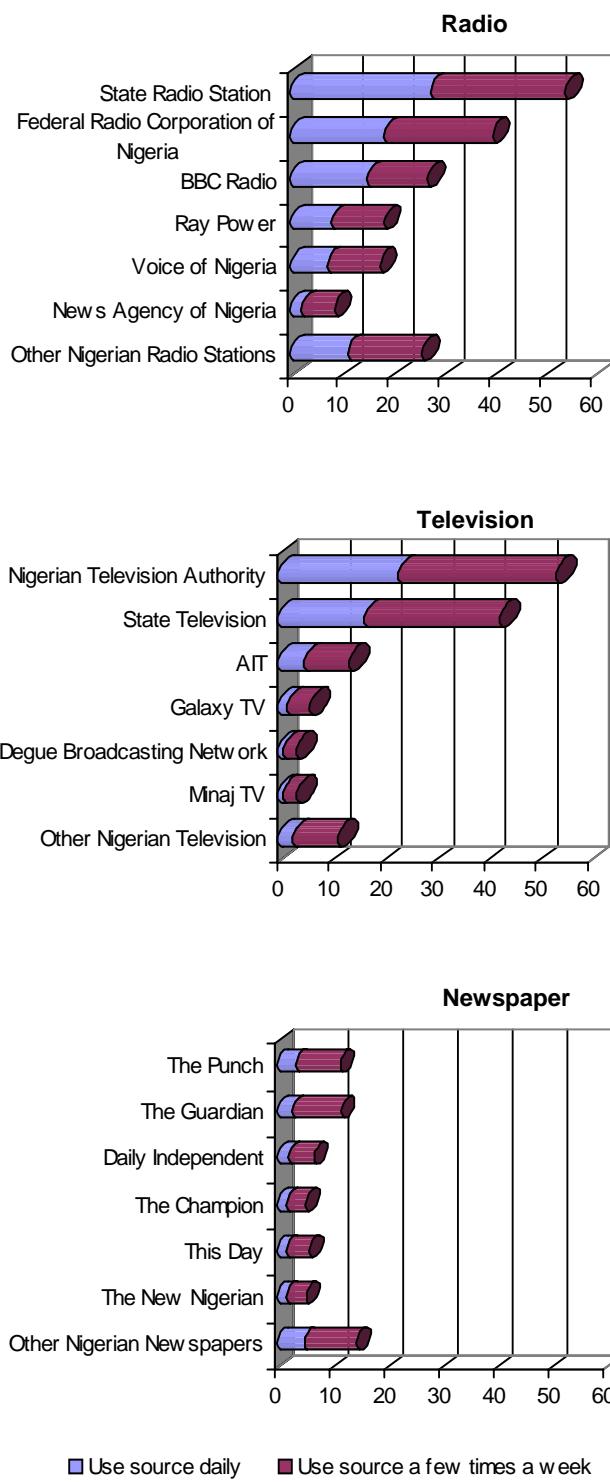
## Regional approach is needed for media campaigns

While NTA and State Radio stations garner strong nationwide attention, each individual region of Nigeria has its own distinctive media market. The existence of these separate media markets suggest that any future media campaigns should look closely at the region and population targeted.

Lagos's media market is very competitive, and several media outlets have a strong showing. Roughly half of Lagosians watch the television stations AIT (61%), NTA (58%), State TV (54%), Galaxy (48%), or other TV stations (58%) at least a few times a week for news. Radio stations command the attention of somewhat fewer but still a substantial portion of the population, with State Radio (44%) and Ray Power (41%) having the biggest audiences and 40% listening to other radio stations.

The media markets in the remainder of the country are more consolidated. In the South East, the television station NTA (74%) stands out against the rest of the media outlets as the most used for news on politics and government, with nearly three-quarters of the adult population of the South East saying they watch NTA for information daily or a few times a week. State Television (57%), State Radio (55%) and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (44%) also command the weekly or daily attention of a significant share of the population.

**% Who Use for Source Daily or Weekly for Information on Politics and Government**



10

Similarly, NTA is the most utilized news source in the South South—63 percent say they watch NTA at least a few times a week for news. More than half also tune into State Television (57%) or State Radio (53%) on at least a weekly basis.

Unlike the rest of the South, where TV is somewhat more utilized for news, radio is slightly more popular in the South West. The State Radio station is the most popular source for information on politics and government. Roughly half or more listen to State Radio (65%) or the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (53%) daily or a few times a week. The two most popular TV channels, NTA (53%) and State Television (48%) are watched daily or weekly by half or less of the population.

Radio more clearly dominates as the preferred mode for getting news in both the North East and the North West. In the North East, the three most used sources for news are all radio stations—State Radio (66%), the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (49%), and the BBC (45%). The State Television station (44%) and NTA (42%) are also quite popular, with more than four in ten saying they use these as sources of information on politics and government either daily or a few times a week.

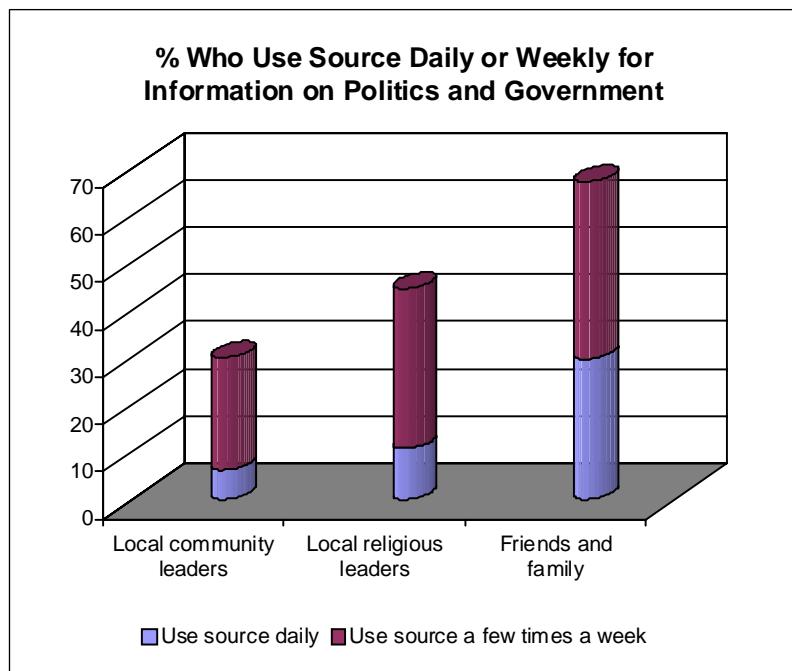
In the North West, BBC radio, which broadcasts daily in Hausa, stands out as the single most utilized source of information with a slim majority of 52% of those in the North West saying they listen to the BBC for news at least a few times a week. The State Radio station (46%) and NTA (43%) are also widely utilized for news.

Lastly, in the North Central region, the NTA (58%), the State Radio station (52%), and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (43%) are most widely used for information on politics and government.

### **Informal sources play big role in information gathering**

In addition to the use of formal media sources detailed above, we asked how often people get information on politics and government from friends and family, local religious leaders, and local community leaders.

For many, these informal sources are important means of obtaining information on politics and government. In fact, more say they get information from friends and family (68%) on a daily or weekly basis than any other source. Large minorities also rely heavily on information from local religious leaders (45%) and local community leaders (30%).



## **Democracy and the Power of the People**

Just under half of Nigerians say that Nigeria is a democracy, a judgment that the recent elections have done little to change—roughly as many said Nigeria was primarily a democracy in the two months before the elections as in the weeks following the historic polls. And while the elections themselves did not change overall public opinion about the position of Nigeria as a democracy, they decidedly factored into people's assessments. The holding of elections or, conversely, the perceived shortcomings in the electoral process were prime factors for Nigerians in determining whether or not their country is a democracy.

Many Nigerians feel politically powerless and claim that ordinary people have little influence on the way things are run. However, at the same time, Nigerians show a commitment to and hope in the holding of elections. A majority believe elections are the most effective method for selecting leaders, and nearly three out of five Nigerians believe elections provide a chance to influence decision making. This belief that elections provide the opportunity to exercise one's political voice has increased among Nigerians by more than ten percentage points since the election. But, while Nigerians remain hopeful at the prospect of finding political voice through the ballot box, more than three-quarters say that in between elections cycles ordinary people cannot make their voices heard.

A large majority of Nigerians recognizes the importance of political parties to Nigerian democracy, but few think that most of the major parties have clear proposals to deal with the issues Nigeria confronts, and a plurality considers parties only moderately effective in communicating their ideas to the public.

In regard to women in politics, a strong majority of the Nigerian public supports women engaging in party politics by running for office. However, overall support drops when considering the possibility of one's own daughter becoming a candidate—this drop in support is more precipitous among women than men. Additionally, Nigerians belonging to a Christian faith are more likely to support women's involvement in politics than those identifying themselves as Muslim.

**Most think democracy means observance of political rights**

When Nigerians were asked to cite what it means to them to live in a democracy, most mention the following of basic political rights such as freedom of speech (34%), equal rights for all citizens (11%), the right to vote (8%), freedom of movement (6%), the right to run for political office (3%) or rule by laws (2%). Few mention items related to economic rights such as eradicating poverty or promoting economic development (4%) or the provision of basic infrastructure such as water or electricity (6%)

**Could you tell me what it means to you to live in a democracy?†**

February  
2007  
n = 2410

Freedom of speech/expression	34%
Government of the people by the people / No military government	16%
Equal rights	11%
General freedoms (not specified)	9%
Right to vote	8%
Freedom of movement	6%
Government provides basic amenities (water, power, etc)	6%
Peaceful government	4%
Fundamental human rights	4%
Government eradicates poverty / promotes economic development	4%
Free and fair government	3%
Right to run for political office	3%
Following the Constitution / Rule of law	2%
Security is guaranteed	1%
Others	2%
Don't know / Refused	17%

†Totals exceed 100%. Respondents were allowed to give multiple responses

### **Plurality, but not a majority, holds that Nigeria is a democracy**

A plurality of Nigerians (45%) believes that Nigeria is a democracy. However, as many decisively say that Nigeria is not a democracy (22%) or, when asked to choose between these two options, offer that Nigeria is at the same time a democracy and not a democracy (23%).

### **Do you believe that Nigeria is primarily a democracy today, or that it is not primarily a democracy today?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Democracy	47%	45%
Not a democracy	35%	22%
Both equally [Volunteered]	9%	23%
Don't know / Refused	1%	1%

### **Elections do little to change judgments...**

Since the elections, fewer assert that Nigeria is not a democracy (22% vs. 35%). However, this shift in opinion has not resulted in an increase of those who resolve that Nigeria is a democracy. As many judge Nigeria to be a democracy after the elections as did beforehand (45% vs. 47%). Instead, the most notable change is an increase in the percentage of people who place Nigeria in a democratic gray zone and volunteer that Nigeria is simultaneously is and is not a democracy (23% vs. 9%).

### **Yet elections play a major role in assessments of whether or not Nigeria is a democracy**

We asked those who judge Nigeria to be a democracy to identify the main features that make Nigeria a democracy. It is not a surprise that just weeks after the election, the plurality cite the right to vote or the holding of elections (45%), demonstrating that the recent elections weighed heavily on Nigerians minds when evaluating whether or not Nigeria is a democracy. Most of the rest cite other political rights and the observance of basic freedoms such as the freedom of speech (31%), the freedom of movement (6%), or the right to run for office (4%).

### **What, to you, are the main features that make Nigeria a democracy?†**

	May 2007 n = 1079*
Right to vote / Have elections	45%
Freedom of expression/ speech	31%
Civilian government in Nigeria	15%
Freedom of movement	6%
Right to run for political office	4%
Increased development / Government provides basic social provisions	4%
Good governance / Separation of powers / Rule of law	3%
Fundamental human rights	2%
Others	6%
Don't know / Refused	5%

†Totals exceed 100%. Respondents were allowed to give multiple responses

\*Asked only of those who say Nigeria is primarily a democracy today

At the same time, the conduct of the elections had a nearly equivalent influence on Nigerians' reasons for saying Nigeria is not a democracy. More than a third say Nigeria is not a democracy because the election was rigged and their vote did not count (23%) or, more generally, because ordinary people cannot influence politics (13%).

Significant numbers believe that Nigeria is not a democracy because of limited freedom of speech (19%) or human rights (4%). One in five cite shortcomings in the way elected officials conduct themselves, saying that leaders' actions are biased and influenced by factors other than the law (8%), elected leaders act no differently than military dictators (6%), or that the government is corrupt and not transparent (6%).

Few name economic rights as reasons their country is or is not democratic.

#### Roughly half believe judicial system gives equal treatment to all

Approximately half of Nigerians believe that Nigeria's judicial system treats all equally, but the plurality (40%) thinks this is true only to a moderate extent. Only one in ten (9%) strongly believe that justice in Nigeria is blind.

In fact, more hold strong opinions in the opposite direction. Roughly two in ten (18%) strongly believe that Nigeria's judicial system is unbiased and applies the law equally to all.

#### Majority of Nigerians feel alienated from political power

Two out of three Nigerians (67%) believe that people like them have little or no influence on the way things are run in Nigeria. Roughly one in three hold this position firmly and strongly agree that people like them have little or no influence on the way things are run in Nigeria.

On the flip side, roughly a third disagree that ordinary people are powerless, with 14% strongly rejecting this notion. An additional 17% somewhat disagree that ordinary people have no influence on the way things in Nigeria are run.

Compared with responses from February of this year, the percentage of Nigerians who feel a general sense of political estrangement has slightly increased. Since the election, somewhat more strongly agree that people like them are unable to influence decision making (32% vs. 26%).

#### What are the main reasons why you say Nigeria is primarily not a democracy?†

	May 2007 n = 525*
Election was rigged / My vote does not count	23%
No freedom of expression / speech	19%
People have little influence on politics	13%
Leaders do not perform duties according to the law / Leaders do not represent the interests of the people	8%
Leaders are dictators / No difference between current civilian government and previous military government	6%
Corruption / Government is not transparent	6%
Human rights violations	4%
No equality before the law / Not equal opportunity for all	4%
No benefits from democratic rule / We do not have basic amenities/social provisions	4%
Unemployment / Economy is not improving	3%
Others	9%
Don't know / Refused	8%

†Totals exceed 100%. Respondents were allowed to give multiple responses

\*Asked only of those who say Nigeria is not primarily a democracy

#### Our judicial system is unbiased and applies the law equally to all people

	February 2007 n = 2410
Strongly agree	9%
Somewhat agree	40%
Somewhat disagree	24%
Strongly disagree	18%
Don't know / Refused	9%

#### People like you have little or no influence on the way things are run in Nigeria

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Strongly agree	26%	32%
Somewhat agree	34%	35%
Somewhat disagree	18%	17%
Strongly disagree	20%	14%
Don't know / Refused	3%	2%

### **Strong belief in the importance of elections...**

Despite a general feeling that they have little or no ability to influence the way things are run in Nigeria, Nigerians continue to show hope in the ability of elections to make a difference and firmly place their weight on the importance of elections for their country. Three-quarters (75%) believe that elections are the most effective way to select Nigeria's leaders, and a plurality holds this view strongly (40%). Only roughly a quarter (23%) have doubts that elections are the most effective method for selecting leaders.

### **And strong hope in the power of elections to make one's voice heard**

Continuing in this vein of hope for the potential power of elections, fewer, but still a solid majority, believe that elections give ordinary people a chance to influence decision making in Nigeria. Roughly six in ten of Nigerians (58%) hold that voting gives ordinary people a chance to influence decision making.

However, a clear plurality (37%) believes this is only moderately true and somewhat agrees that elections help ordinary people influence decision making. Fewer (21%) strongly believe that elections are an opportunity to have their voice heard. In fact, as many (21%) hold the opposite opinion and strongly disagree that elections give voice to the ordinary person's will.

### **Recent polls reinforce belief in the significance of elections**

More maintain that elections are the most effective method for selecting Nigeria's leaders (75% vs. 71%) than held this opinion before the elections. Further, the elections had a big impact on feelings of political efficacy. Many more consider elections to be an opportunity for ordinary Nigerians to influence decision making than held this to be true two months before the election (58% vs. 46%).

### **Disaffection from inability to have voice heard outside of election cycles**

Although Nigerians are largely hopeful about what good elections might bring, more than three in four (77%) say that in between elections cycles there is no way for ordinary people to have their voices heard. What is more, the plurality (40%) is very pessimistic, strongly agreeing with this statement.

### **Residents of the South West feel most politically disenfranchised**

Those who live in the South West region (not including Lagos)<sup>2</sup> feel more politically alienated than those who live in other parts of the country. Pluralities or majorities of South West residents strongly agree that people like them have little or no influence on the way things are run in Nigeria (48%), strongly disagree that voting gives them a chance to influence decision making (37%), and strongly agree that in between elections there is no way for ordinary people to have their voices heard (56%).

### **Men and women perceive different avenues to political voice**

Women and men share a general sense of political alienation and are equally likely to strongly agree that they have little or no influence on the way things are run in Nigeria (31% vs. 32%). However, men are more likely than women to believe they can find their political voice through voting—more men than women strongly agree that voting gives them a chance to

### **Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
<b>➤ Elections are the most effective way to select leaders in Nigeria</b>		
Strongly agree	34%	40%
Somewhat agree	37%	35%
Somewhat disagree	18%	13%
Strongly disagree	9%	10%
Don't know / Refused	3%	2%
<b>➤ Voting gives people like you a chance to influence decision making in Nigeria</b>		
Strongly agree	11%	21%
Somewhat agree	35%	37%
Somewhat disagree	23%	20%
Strongly disagree	28%	21%
Don't know / Refused	3%	2%

### **People may be able to select their leaders in elections, but in between elections there is no way for an ordinary person to have his voice heard**

	May 2007 n = 2416
Strongly agree	40%
Somewhat agree	37%
Somewhat disagree	13%
Strongly disagree	9%
Don't know / Refused	1%

<sup>2</sup> The South West region includes Ekiti, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, and Oyo states.

influence decision making (24% vs. 17%). However, men are more likely than women to feel politically shut out in between election cycles. Men are more likely than their female counterparts to strongly agree that in between elections there is no way for ordinary people to have their voices heard (35% vs. 43%).

### **Majority deem political parties key to Nigerian democracy...**

Political parties are a cornerstone of representative democracies as parties help link citizens to state power and institutions by aggregating and fighting for social interests and providing a framework for their political inclusion and participation.

A large majority of Nigerians (81%) recognize the importance of political parties and argue that parties are necessary for Nigerian democracy, and more than half regard them as very necessary. Only a handful believe that political parties are not needed (5%)

### **Yet a plurality regards them as only moderately effective in communicating with the public...**

Broadly consistent with pre-election opinions, six in ten Nigerians believe that political parties are effective in representing their ideas and principles to the Nigerian public. However, more believe that political parties are only somewhat effective (39%) in this regard than hold that political parties are very effective (24%).

On the opposite end of the spectrum, a sizable minority of about one in three believes that political parties are not too (25%) or not at all effective (9%) in reaching out to the Nigerian public to explain their goals and principles.

### **And few think most major parties have clear proposals to move forward**

Fewer than one in five Nigerians (18%) believe that most major parties have clear proposals to address the issues facing the country. Instead, the majority (63%) holds that only some major parties have clear ideas as to how to move the country forward. Just over one in ten (13%) say no parties have clear plans for action.

#### **In your opinion, how necessary are political parties for democracy in Nigeria?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Very necessary	49%	54%
Somewhat necessary	36%	27%
Not too necessary	10%	11%
Not at all necessary	2%	5%
Don't know / Refused	3%	2%

#### **In general, how effective do you think political parties in Nigeria are in representing their ideas and principles to the Nigerian public?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Very effective	12%	24%
Somewhat effective	49%	39%
Not too effective	26%	25%
Not at all effective	9%	9%
Don't know / Refused	4%	3%

#### **In your opinion, do most, some, or none of the major political parties in Nigeria have clear proposal to address the issues facing the country?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Most do have clear proposal	14%	18%
Only some have clear proposal	63%	63%
None have clear proposal	17%	13%
Don't know / Refused	7%	7%

### **Majority support women running for office...**

A large majority of the population (70%) supports women's democratic right to run as candidates for political office, with the plurality (44%) giving strong support and 26% saying they somewhat support the idea.

Somewhat fewer, but still a solid majority, say they would encourage their daughter to run for office. In addition to the 40% that say they would strongly encourage their daughters' plans, 24% say they would somewhat encourage their daughter to become involved in politics as a candidate.

However, nearly one in three somewhat (11%) or strongly (18%) oppose women running for office and, when the question is personalized to their own daughter, support further erodes. More than one in three say they would discourage their daughter from running for office, with a quarter (25%) saying they would strongly discourage their daughter from vying for political office.

### **Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose women becoming involved in politics as candidates for office?**

	May 2007 n = 2416
Strongly support	44%
Somewhat support	26%
Somewhat oppose	11%
Strongly oppose	18%
Don't know / Refused	1%

### **Please tell me whether you would encourage your daughter to become involved in politics as a candidate? Would you strongly encourage her, somewhat encourage her, somewhat discourage her, or strongly discourage her?**

	May 2007 n = 2416
Strongly encourage	40%
Somewhat encourage	24%
Somewhat discourage	11%
Strongly discourage	25%
Don't know / Refused	1%

**But support not equally felt by all**

The largest differences in support for women running for political office stem from religious affiliation. Christians are about 20 percentage points more likely than their Muslim counterparts to strongly support women running for office (54% vs. 33%) and their own daughter running for office (49% vs. 29%).

In terms of gender, women are more likely than men to throw strong support behind the idea of women running for political office and to support their daughter if she were to run. Five in ten (51%) women say they strongly support women becoming involved in politics by running for political office compared to just short of four in 10 men (38%). Likewise, more women than men say they would strongly encourage their daughter were she to run for political office (43% vs. 36%).

Men's support for women candidates remains relatively unchanged whether talking about women in the abstract or their own daughter in particular (38% vs. 36%). However, women are more supportive of their female counterparts in general running for office than they are of their own daughter becoming involved in politics by becoming a candidate for office (51% vs. 43%).

Some geographical differences exist as well. There is a small urban–rural divide when examining women running for office in general, with urban dwellers being somewhat more likely than those who live in rural areas to strongly support the idea (48% vs. 42%). However, the difference between urban and rural communities disappears when considering their daughter's involvement. Four in ten Nigerians in urban (41%) and rural (39%) environments would strongly encourage their daughter running for political office.

And those who live in the North West are the least supportive of women being candidates. Minorities of roughly three in ten or fewer of those who live in the North West region say they strongly support women running for office (29%) or would strongly encourage their daughter to do so (25%). In contrast, pluralities or majorities of those in the remainder of the country say they strongly support women running for office (North Central 59%; Lagos 55%; South East 53%; North East 47%; South South 46%; South West 46%) and would strongly encourage their daughter becoming involved in politics by becoming a candidate (North Central 53%; Lagos 41%; South East 47%; North East 39%; South South 46%; South West 45%).

## Evaluations of Leaders and Institutions

Although Nigerians are overall more dissatisfied than satisfied with the current situation in their country, there is an air of optimism in this post-election environment. Compared to two months before the election, the percentage of Nigerians who are satisfied with the state of Nigeria today has slightly increased, although issues related to poverty, unemployment, corruption, and inadequate infrastructure continue to top the list of concerns. Further evidence of this post-election optimism is born out in the belief that leaders will be able to make progress on these issues and in the ratings of confidence in and effectiveness of major institutions. Nearly every major institution and leader is evaluated more positively in the weeks after the election than it was before the election.

Only the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) fail to benefit from Nigeria's post-election mood. Confidence in INEC is lower in the period after the election than it was just two months before, and fewer believe that INEC, the EFCC, and the ICPC are effective in the discharge of their duties than did in February of this year. In this vein, many express sentiments that INEC and the EFCC are not neutral bodies guided in their work only by the law but rather make decisions that favor particular people or interests.

### Majority discontent with the state of Nigeria...

Two-thirds of Nigerians (67%) are dissatisfied with the current state of their country, with more than a third (38%) citing extreme discontent. Few of the one in three (32%) who say they are satisfied give top marks to the overall situation in Nigeria today (9%).

### But slight elevation in mood detected

Despite a prevailing mood of dissatisfaction, satisfaction rates have changed very slightly in recent months. Four percent more say they are satisfied with the overall situation in Nigeria than did two months before the election (32% vs. 28%).

**Could you tell me if you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied, or not satisfied at all with the overall situation in Nigeria today?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Very satisfied	4%	9%
Somewhat satisfied	24%	23%
Not too satisfied	33%	29%
Not satisfied at all	37%	38%
Don't know / Refused	1%	1%

### **Economic conditions continue to be of major concern**

As in the pre-election environment, economic-related concerns such as poverty and food scarcity (41%), unemployment (38%), and inadequate basic infrastructure such as clean drinking water and a stable power supply (36%) continue to be the issues Nigerians are most concerned about. A large number of Nigerians (30%) also think that pervasive corruption and bribery is one of the biggest problems Nigeria faces as a country.

### **In your opinion, what are the biggest problems Nigeria faces as a country – that is, the problems that are of most concern to you?†**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Poverty / Low standard of living / Starvation	37%	41%
Unemployment	35%	38%
Inadequate public utilities / No basic amenities	30%	36%
Corruption / Bribery	37%	30%
Inadequate social welfare provisions / Poor education system/medical care	12%	16%
Violence/crime	12%	12%
Bad roads / Transportation issues	11%	12%
Lack of good governance / Political instability / Political thuggery	16%	11%
Economic issues / Inflation / Low level of industrialization	13%	10%
Fuel scarcity	17%	4%
Religious/ethnic/cultural divisions	3%	4%
Others	11%	10%
Nothing	1%	*
Don't know / Refused	1%	*

†Totals exceed 100%. Respondents were allowed to give multiple responses

## Nigerians have hope in their leaders

Although Nigerians believe their country has big issues to tackle, they are largely confident that their leaders will make a difference. After asking what they saw as the most pressing issues facing Nigeria today, we asked citizens to rate how likely it was that various leaders would be able to make improvements or progress on the issues of greatest concern to them.

Among the elected officials asked about, Nigerians hold the most hope in their newly elected President Umaru Yar'Adua. A two-thirds majority thinks it is likely the president will make progress on Nigeria's biggest problems, with people nearly evenly split in thinking he will be either very likely (31%) or merely somewhat likely (36%) to tackle Nigeria's biggest problems. Fewer than one in ten (8%) expect that the newly elected president will not make any significant changes.

Nigerians have almost equally high hopes that the vice president will be a force for change. More than six in ten believe newly elected Vice President Goodluck Jonathan will be very (28%) or somewhat likely (36%) to make improvements on Nigeria's biggest problems. Fewer than three in ten think he is not too likely (19%) or not likely at all (8%) to make a difference.

Continuing in this attitude of hope, majorities of six in ten think the senator (60%) and representative (59%) from their area are likely to make positive changes. However, in both cases more think their senator (38% vs. 22%) and representative (36% vs. 23%) are only somewhat rather than very likely to make improvements on the biggest problems. Roughly two in ten think it is not too likely these leaders will be agents of change, and an additional one in ten expect that senators (9%) and representatives (9%) will make no improvements at all when confronting the biggest issues Nigeria faces as a country.

Somewhat fewer, but still a majority, have hope in local-level leaders. Fifty-five percent expect that their local government councilor will be able to make progress on the major issues facing Nigeria, with the bulk of these believing it is only somewhat likely their local government councilor will be a force for change on major issues (40% vs. 15%). On the contrary, a substantial minority is less hopeful and thinks it not too likely (27%) or not likely at all (14%) that the local government councilor will be able to make a difference.

## And how likely do you think it is that the following leaders will be able to make improvements or progress on the issues that you've just named?

May  
2007  
n = 2416

> The newly elected President	
Very likely	31%
Somewhat likely	36%
Not too likely	18%
Not likely at all	8%
Don't know / Refused	8%
> The newly elected Vice President	
Very likely	28%
Somewhat likely	36%
Not too likely	19%
Not likely at all	8%
Don't know / Refused	9%
> The newly elected Senator from this area	
Very likely	22%
Somewhat likely	38%
Not too likely	22%
Not likely at all	9%
Don't know / Refused	10%
> The newly elected Representative to the House from this area	
Very likely	23%
Somewhat likely	36%
Not too likely	22%
Not likely at all	9%
Don't know / Refused	10%
> Your Local Government Councilor	
Very likely	15%
Somewhat likely	40%
Not too likely	27%
Not likely at all	14%
Don't know / Refused	3%

### Solid or slim majorities express confidence in elected officials

Among the offices asked about, state governors enjoy the most confidence of the Nigerian public, with 65% saying they have a great deal or fair amount of confidence in their newly elected state governor. The newly elected president (61%) and the newly elected vice president (59%) are very close behind with each having the confidence of six in ten of Nigerian adults. Confidence in local government councilors is somewhat lower. Nevertheless, a slim majority of Nigerians (52%) says it has a great deal or fair amount of confidence in their local government councilor.

At the opposite end of the scale, in each instance only a small minority says it has no confidence at all in these leaders (newly elected state governor 13%; newly elected president 12%; newly elected vice president 12%; local government councilors 16%).

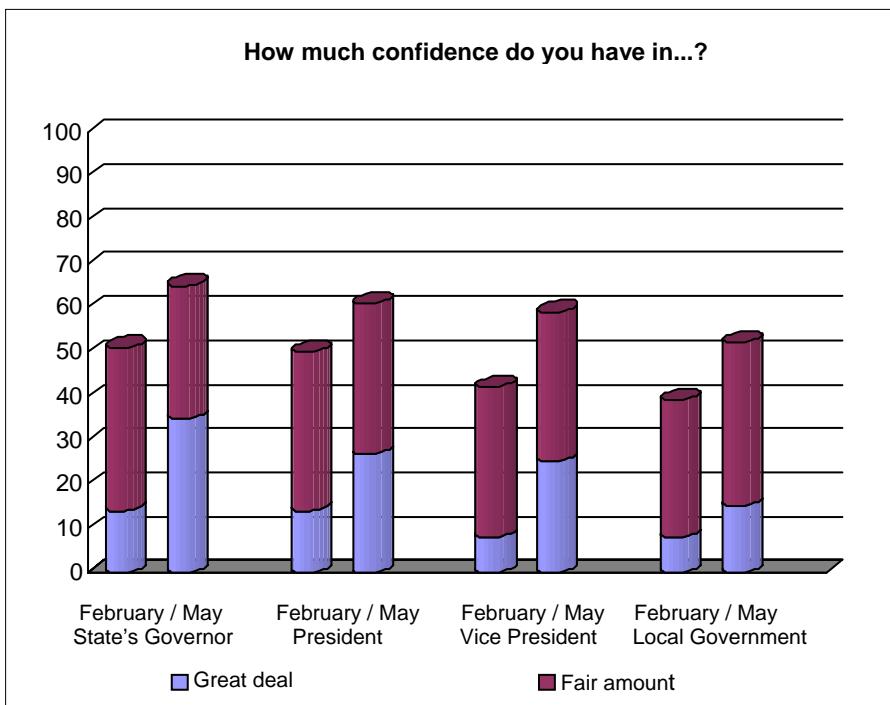
#### Elected officials get a bump in confidence...

The level of confidence expressed in each of these officials is ten or more percentage points higher than it was before the elections.

In February, only two months before the elections, a narrow majority of Nigerians expressed a great deal or fair amount of confidence in the incumbent state governor,

compared to the solid majority that now says it has at least a fair amount of confidence in the newly elected governor (51% v. 65%).

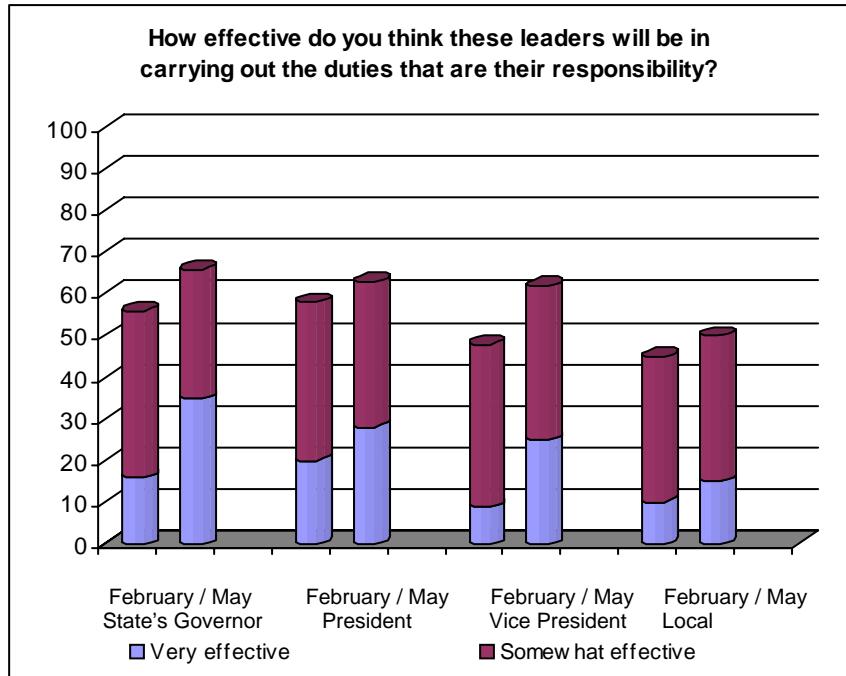
Likewise, before the elections fewer had confidence in the president (50% vs. 61%) and vice president (42% vs. 59%) than expressed confidence in the newly elected occupants of those positions after the elections. Even local government councilors, who were not up for election in April, enjoyed a post-election bump in confidence levels. In February, a four in ten minority said it had a great deal or fair amount of confidence in its local government councilors compared to just over half in the post-election period (39% vs. 52%).



### And in perceived effectiveness

Ratings of effectiveness have also increased. A majority of 66% says it believes its newly elected state governor will be very or somewhat effective in carrying out his duties—up ten percentage points from ratings in February of this year (56%).

Likewise, more think the newly elected president (63% vs. 58%) and vice president (62% vs. 48%) will be effective in carrying out their duties than thought the same



of their respective predecessors two months before the elections. And even though local government councilors were not up for election in April, the public also views councilors more favorably. Somewhat more say their local government councilor is somewhat or very effective in carrying out his duties than did in February (50% vs. 45%).

### Nearly all regard religious leaders favorably

Overwhelming majorities of Nigerians have confidence in their religious leaders (90%) and regard them as effective (89%). What is more, solid majorities hold these opinions strongly and say they have a great deal (60%) of confidence in their religious leaders and believe that their religious leaders are very effective in carrying out their duties (61%).

Regard for community leaders also run high, although not quite as high as for religious leaders. Three-quarters have a great deal (33%) or fair amount (41%) of confidence in local community leader and believe local community leaders are very (34%) or somewhat effective (41%).

The high level of confidence and the perceived effectiveness of religious and community leaders has risen since the pre-election period. About 10% more say they have confidence in religious (80% vs. 90%) and community leaders (63% vs. 74%) today than did before the election. Likewise, more say religious (82% vs. 89%) and community leaders (67% vs. 75%) are effective.

### Confidence in military is high and growing

Confidence in the military ranks among the highest of all institutions asked about. A full three-quarters of Nigerians say they have a great deal (38%) or fair amount (37%) of confidence in Nigeria's military forces, and very few (8%) say they have no confidence at all in the military.

What is more, the high level of confidence in the military is largely a result of a post-election boost in confidence. Nearly a quarter more express confidence in the military now than did just two months before the elections (75% vs. 52%) when only a scant majority said it had a great deal or fair amount of confidence in the military.

The same is true for ratings of military effectiveness. Seventy-six percent of Nigerians believe that the military is effective in carrying out its duties. This is a 19% increase since

### Do you have a great deal of confidence, a fair amount, not too much, or none at all in ...?

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
<b>&gt; Your Religious Leaders</b>		
Great deal	42%	60%
Fair amount	38%	30%
Not too much	15%	5%
None at all	4%	3%
Don't know / Refused	1%	2%
<b>&gt; Local Community Leaders</b>		
Great deal	20%	33%
Fair amount	43%	41%
Not too much	26%	16%
None at all	8%	8%
Don't know / Refused	3%	3%

### How effective are each of these in carrying out the duties that are their responsibility?

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
<b>&gt; Your Religious Leaders</b>		
Very effective	41%	61%
Somewhat effective	41%	28%
Not too effective	14%	6%
Not effective at all	3%	3%
Don't know / Refused	2%	2%
<b>&gt; Local Community Leaders</b>		
Very effective	21%	34%
Somewhat effective	46%	41%
Not too effective	23%	17%
Not effective at all	7%	6%
Don't know / Refused	3%	2%

### Do you have a great deal of confidence, a fair amount, not too much, or none at all in the Nigerian military forces?

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Great deal	17%	38%
Fair amount	35%	37%
Not too much	30%	15%
None at all	14%	8%
Don't know / Refused	5%	3%

### How effective are the Nigerian military forces in carrying out the duties that are their responsibility?

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Very effective	18%	38%
Somewhat effective	39%	38%
Not too effective	28%	14%
Not effective at all	11%	7%
Don't know / Refused	3%	2%

February of this year when 57% believed the military to be effective.

The large increase in confidence and effectiveness ratings seen in Nigeria in the post-election phase has placed the military among the most respected institutions in Nigeria.

### **Confidence in police is low but up from pre-election levels**

The high level of confidence Nigerians hold in the military contrasts starkly with their confidence in the police force, which has the lowest confidence and effectiveness ratings of all institutions polled. According to a survey conducted by the CLEEN foundation in 2005, the police are regarded as the most corrupt institution in Nigeria.<sup>3</sup> The Nigerian police have been accused of torturing prisoners and holding them without levying charges,<sup>4</sup> and during this election period, there were clashes between civilians and police and allegations of police inaction and police involvement in election-related violence and vote rigging.<sup>5</sup>

Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that only a minority of fewer than four in ten (37%) has at least a fair amount of confidence in Nigeria's police force. Instead, the majority says it has not too much (29%) or no confidence at all (32%) in the police. Likewise, a four in ten minority (39%) believes the police are at least somewhat effective in carrying out their duties, but more hold the opinion that the police are not too (31%) or not at all (29%) effective in the discharge of their duties.

Despite the lack of confidence in the police and the widespread belief that the police are at least somewhat ineffective in carrying out their duties, these numbers are higher than those observed in the pre-election period when even fewer had at least moderate confidence in the police (25%) or thought the police were at least somewhat effective (31%). Again, this small increase in confidence and effectiveness ratings—(12% and 8%, respectively)—occurred in spite of allegations of police inaction and misconduct during the 2007 elections.

#### **Do you have a great deal of confidence, a fair amount, not too much, or none at all in the police?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Great deal	5%	11%
Fair amount	20%	26%
Not too much	33%	29%
None at all	40%	32%
Don't know / Refused	2%	2%

#### **How effective are the police in carrying out the duties that are their responsibility?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Very effective	5%	11%
Somewhat effective	26%	28%
Not too effective	36%	31%
Not effective at all	31%	29%
Don't know / Refused	2%	2%

<sup>3</sup> National Crime Victimization Survey (2005). Retrieved July 24, 2007, from <http://www.cleen.org/National%20Crime%20Survey.%20full%20report%202005%20in%20frequencies.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup>Nigerian Police Torture 'Routine.' (2007, March 9). BBC News. Retrieved July 23, 2007, from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6435787.stm>

<sup>5</sup> Police beat up protesters in Nigerian capital. (2007, April 23). Agence France Presse. Retrieved June 28, 2007, from Lexis Nexis; Mahtani, D. (2007, February 13). Katsina site for political sparring. Financial Times. Retrieved June 28, 2007, from Lexis Nexis; Nigerian journalist beaten by police, in coma. (2007, May 4). Agence France Press. Retrieved June 28, 2007, from Lexis Nexis.

Election or "Selection?" Human Rights Abuses and Threats to Free and Fair Elections (2007, April). Retrieved July 23, 2007, from <http://hrw.org/backgrounder/africa/nigeria0407/nigeria0407web.pdf>

### **Confidence in courts on par with that of the military**

Nigeria's courts enjoy confidence levels on par with that of the military. Seventy-five percent of Nigerians say they have a great deal (35%) or fair amount (40%) of confidence in the courts. This confidence is up considerably from before the elections when roughly half (49%) expressed at least a fair amount of confidence. In fact, this 26% jump in confidence between February and May of this year is the largest enjoyed by any institution over the election period.

In this same vein, the effectiveness ratings of the court increased more dramatically than those of any other institution. More believe courts are very (35%) or somewhat effective (42%) in carrying out their duties now than before the elections when a much smaller majority held this opinion (13% very effective; 41% somewhat effective).

The dramatic upsurge in the ratings of the court may be attributed to the recent performance of the judiciary involving the candidacy of Vice President Atiku Abubakar. With only a few days remaining before the presidential election, the Supreme Court cleared Vice President Abubakar to run as a presidential candidate in the election.<sup>6</sup> INEC had disqualified Abubakar in March over allegations of corruption, but the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that INEC did not have the power to disqualify Abubakar.<sup>7</sup> Nigerians' confidence and perception of the courts' effectiveness may have been impacted by this landmark decision, which in many people's minds served to solidify the role of the judiciary as an independent institution.

Nigerians are also largely confident in the effectiveness of civil servants. Majorities of six in ten say they have at least a fair amount of confidence in government employees (61%) and hold that government employees are at least somewhat effective in carrying out their duties (62%). However, in both cases most of the people say it has only a fair amount, as opposed to a great deal, of confidence and regards civil servants as only somewhat, as opposed to very, effective.

Nevertheless, these opinions are more favorable after the elections than they had been before when fewer than half of Nigerians said they had confidence in government employees and only half (51%) said government employees were effective in carrying out their responsibilities.

### **Do you have a great deal of confidence, a fair amount, not too much, or none at all in the courts?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Great deal	11%	35%
Fair amount	38%	40%
Not too much	31%	15%
None at all	16%	7%
Don't know / Refused	3%	4%

### **How effective are the courts in carrying out the duties that are their responsibility?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Very effective	13%	35%
Somewhat effective	41%	42%
Not too effective	31%	15%
Not effective at all	12%	6%
Don't know / Refused	3%	3%

Very effective 13% 35%

Somewhat effective 41% 42%

Not too effective 31% 15%

Not effective at all 12% 6%

Don't know / Refused 3% 3%

### **How effective are government employees in carrying out the duties that are their responsibility?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Very effective	10%	17%
Somewhat effective	41%	45%
Not too effective	34%	29%
Not effective at all	13%	7%
Don't know / Refused	2%	3%

### **Do you have a great deal of confidence, a fair amount, not too much, or none at all in government employees?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Great deal	8%	16%
Fair amount	37%	45%
Not too much	38%	27%
None at all	15%	9%
Don't know / Refused	2%	3%

<sup>6</sup> Timberg, C. (2007, April 17). Nigerian Court Overturns Ban on Accused Candidate. *The Washington Post*, p. A16.;

<sup>7</sup> Clottey, P. (2007, April 17). Opposition Party Spokesman Reacts to Nigeria Court Ruling. VOA News. Retrieved July 25, 2007, from Lexis Nexis.

### Confidence in INEC erodes

Nigerian and international observers have charged INEC with failing to conduct free and fair elections.<sup>8</sup> Yet, despite criticism of the polls and INEC's conduct, the majority of Nigerians still have confidence in this election management body.

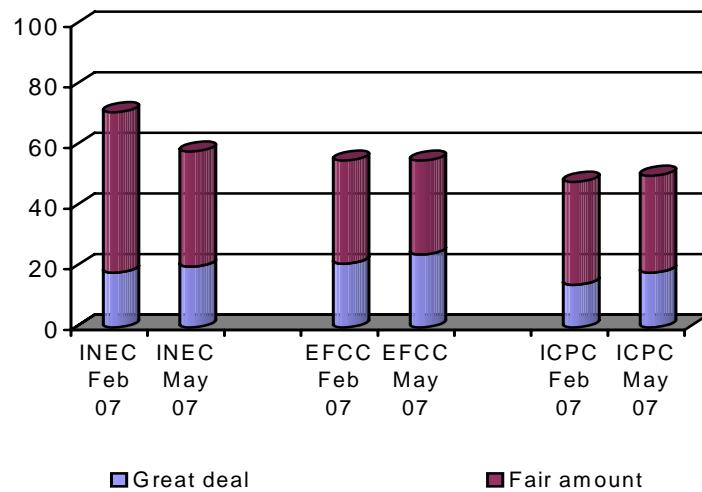
Roughly six in ten say they have at least a fair amount of confidence in INEC, with the plurality expressing a fair amount (38%), rather than a great deal (20%), of confidence. At the other end of the spectrum, roughly one-third expresses not too much (16%) or no confidence at all (18%) in INEC.

The amount of confidence the public holds in INEC today is down substantially from pre-election levels when a seven in ten majority held a great deal (18%) or fair amount (53%) of confidence.

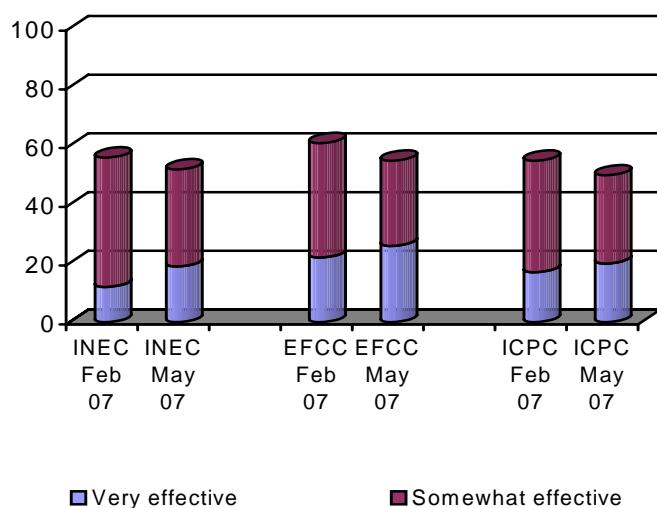
INEC fares similarly in evaluations of its effectiveness. A narrow majority (52%) says INEC is effective in carrying out its duties, although the plurality believes it is only somewhat (33%) rather than very effective (19%), and a large minority says INEC is not too (24%) or not at all effective (20%).

The public's belief in INEC's effectiveness is down slightly from February when 56% percent of the public believed INEC was very (12%) or somewhat (44%) effective in the discharge of its duties.

How much confidence do you have in...?



How effective are INEC, EFCC and ICPC in carrying out the duties that are their responsibility?



### Trust in EFCC and ICPC remains flat, but perceptions of effectiveness fall slightly

While INEC was the most-watched institution in this election period because of its mandate to organize and administer the elections, the roles of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)<sup>9</sup> and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC)<sup>10</sup> were also heavily scrutinized when these commissions were drawn into election-related controversies. The EFCC in particular came under fire when, in the pre-election period, it published a list of 135 indicted politicians who the anticorruption agency said should not be allowed to run in the

<sup>8</sup> What Nigerian Election Observers Say. (2007, April 23). *BBC News*. Retrieved July 25, 2007, from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6582979.stm> 23 April 2007; Herskovits, J. (2007). Nigeria's Rigged Democracy [Electronic version]. *Foreign Affairs*, 86(4), 115

<sup>9</sup> The EFCC was established in 2004 to combat financial and economic crimes. The Commission is empowered to prevent, investigate, prosecute and penalize economic and financial crimes and is charged with enforcing the provisions of other laws and regulations relating to economic and financial crimes.

<sup>10</sup> The ICPC is charged with examining the practices and procedures of public entities which may facilitate corruption and educating Nigerians about bribery, corruption and related offences. The Commission is empowered to investigate and prosecute cases of corruption and has the powers to search, seize, arrest and summon persons for examination. The ICPC was established in September 2000 and declared constitutionally valid in June 2002.

forthcoming polls. Some charge the EFCC's list was motivated by political bias against members of the opposition, and others took advantage of the opportunity to construct and circulate their own fake versions of the list to target political opponents.

Despite these controversies, there remains a moderate level of trust in both the EFCC and the ICPC. Consistent with opinions in the pre-election period, a slim majority (55%) says it has at least a fair amount of confidence in the EFCC, and roughly half say they have confidence in the ICPC (50%). In both instances, the plurality expresses only a fair amount, rather than a great deal, of confidence in these institutions.

Although confidence in the EFCC and the ICPC remain stable, evaluations of the performance of their duties have not. Somewhat fewer believe the EFCC (55% vs. 61%) and the ICPC (50% vs. 55%) are effective in carrying out their duties in the weeks after the elections than in the months before the elections.

### **INEC, EFCC, and ICPC only institutions not to benefit from elevated post-election optimism**

Close watchers of the Nigerian elections and the controversies that surrounded them may be surprised that roughly half or more of the public still hold at least a moderate level of confidence in INEC, the EFCC, and the ICPC and roughly half hold that they are at least somewhat effective in the discharge of their duties. However, a few additional facts help to put these opinions into context.

Firstly, while a majority holds confidence in these institutions, their rankings relative to other major institutions is low. In fact, the police force is the only institution less trusted and seen to be less effective than these three institutions. What is more, these are the only three institutions that fail to benefit from the optimistic mood Nigerians hold in the period directly after the elections. In this post-election period, Nigerians are hopeful that newly elected leaders will make positive changes on issues they care about, and every other institution—including the police—are evaluated more positively after the elections than they were only two months before the elections. This, in the context of this election-induced optimism, it is striking that confidence in INEC fell by 15 percentage points, confidence in the EFCC and the ICPC remains unchanged, and effectiveness ratings of all three institutions fell by a few percentage points—6% in the case of the EFCC, 5% in the case of the ICPC, and 4% for INEC.

**Doubts about independence lie underneath evaluations of confidence and effectiveness of INEC**

In the wake of the elections, election observers are calling into question INEC's independence and impartiality.<sup>11</sup> The survey results show that these are doubts are shared by many in the public.

When asked to choose between two opposing statements—whether INEC is a neutral body guided in its work only by the law or whether INEC makes decisions that favor particular people or interests—a slim majority select the statement that INEC is biased (53%), while four in ten (40%) lean more toward the description of INEC as a neutral body.

Not surprisingly, nearly all of those who have little or no confidence in INEC select the statement describing bias over the picture of INEC as a neutral body (93% vs. 31%). However, even many of those who express confidence in INEC, doubt its independence. Nearly a third (31%) of those who say they have at least moderate confidence in INEC, also say INEC favors particular people or interests.

Further evidence that low confidence in INEC stems at least in part from doubts about its independence is given in people's reasons for expressing low trust in INEC. We asked those who said they had not too much or no confidence at all in INEC to tell us why. Nearly all Nigerians who hold low confidence in INEC mention some element of bias or prejudicial treatment when describing why they lack confidence in this institution.

**With which of the following statements do you agree more?**

	May 2007 n = 2416
INEC performs its duty as neutral body guided in its work only by the law	40%
INEC makes decisions which favor particular people or interests	53%
Don't know / Refused	7%

**Can you tell me why you have so little/no confidence in INEC?\***

	May 2007 n = 814+
Involved in falsification/rigging of elections	30%
Lack of independence / under control of the government	20%
They are biased / not trustworthy	29%
Corruption / accept bribes	13%
Ineffective / not serious in discharging their duties	8%
Other	6%
Don't know / Refused	4%

\*Totals exceed 100%. Respondents were allowed to give multiple responses

+ Asked only of those who said they have not very much or no confidence at all in INEC

<sup>11</sup> An Election Programmed to Fail: Preliminary Report on the Presidential and National Assembly Elections Held on Saturday, April 21, 2007 (2007, April). Retrieved July 23, 2007, from [http://www.american.edu/ia/cdem/nigeria/report\\_070421.pdf](http://www.american.edu/ia/cdem/nigeria/report_070421.pdf)

### **Many also question motives behind the EFCC's actions**

When choosing between these same two options—a neutral body guided only by the law or an institution that favors particular people or interests—opinion is equally split in evaluation of the EFCC. As many choose the description of the EFCC as favoring particular people or interests as choose the description of the EFCC as a neutral body (42% vs. 43%). Unlike INEC, about which nearly all had an opinion one way or the other, 15% refrained from making a judgment about the EFCC (15%).

The majority of those who have at least a fair amount of confidence in the EFCC also hold that it is a neutral body guided in its work only by the law (67%), yet more than a quarter who have at least a fair amount of confidence in the EFCC hold that there is some degree of bias to the EFCC's decision making process (27%).

### **National Orientation Agency—lesser known, but plurality thinks it is a neutral player**

While not as widely recognized an institution—judging by the high percentage of respondents who are unable to evaluate its performance (36%)—the National Orientation Agency (NOA) played a significant role in the recent elections. The NOA is one of the main institutions responsible for voter education leading up to the recent elections. In addition, the NOA contributed 4,000 election monitors to polling stations across the country.

Despite the relatively low level of awareness about this institution, the plurality of Nigerians judge the NOA to be a neutral body guided in its work only by the law (41%). Just short of a quarter (23%) agree more with the statement that describes NOA as favoring particular people or interests.

### **With which of the following statements do you agree more?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

EFCC performs its duty as neutral body guided in its work only by the law	43%
EFCC makes decisions which favor particular people or interests	42%
Don't know / Refused	15%

### **With which of the following statements do you agree more?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

NOA performs its duty as neutral body guided in its work only by the law	41%
NOA makes decisions which favor particular people or interests	23%
Don't know / Refused	36%

## Electoral Awareness and Evaluations

Most Nigerians express moderate or high interest in the recent elections, which produced the first hand over in power between two elected civilian heads of state. Most also say they were reasonably well informed about how the elections were organized and run. However, despite moderate to high interest in the elections and self-reported information levels about them, just two months before the elections, one in three Nigerians could not accurately identify in which month the polls would take place.

The public overwhelmingly believes that these elections were necessary, yet after the election many express concern that they were chaotic and rigged and as many Nigerians say the elections were free and fair as hold the opposite view. Although Nigerians were hopeful of what the elections would bring, when pre-election predictions as to the fairness of the polls are compared to post-election assessments, we see that the elections' fairness did not meet the public expectations. In February of this year, few expected that the elections would be not at all free and fair, but in the weeks following the polls, a quarter of Nigerian adults said the presidential and parliamentary elections were not at all free and fair. What is more, the plurality of Nigerians holds that the recent elections were not as free and fair as those held in 2003.

An examination of the specifics reveals that nearly half of the Nigerian public doubts that the ballot is truly secret and more than a third believe that the existing methods of challenging election violations are inadequate. Further, a large number pin point the lack of impartiality in the counting, tabulation, and announcement of results as a weak point in the process. And while the competency and impartiality of polling station staff are regarded favorably by a majority, those who are unsatisfied with the competency and impartiality of polling station staff are also much more likely to question the validity of the elections.

### Most show interest in the elections

Seven in ten Nigerians express interest in the recent presidential and parliamentary elections. In addition to the 29% who described their interest as high, 42% show moderate interest in the election. Only a quarter are relatively uninterested (26%).

Nigerians of all ages show similar levels of interest in the elections. However, interest was higher in the northern parts of Nigeria than in the remainder of the country. A third or more of those in the Northern regions (North East 45%; North Central 40%; North West 33%) showed high interest in the elections. In comparison, only a quarter or less of those in the south showed a high level of interest in the elections (23% South West; 22% South South; Lagos 18%; South East 12%).

Those who live in rural areas are also slightly more likely than urban dwellers to say they had a high level of interest (31% vs. 27%). Further, men (36%) and Muslims (35%) were more likely to show high interest in the elections than women (22%) or Christians (25%).

### Majority at least moderately well informed about how elections organized and run

A majority of more than six in ten says it has at least a moderate amount of information about how the recent presidential and parliamentary elections were run and organized, although the bulk of these say they have a fair amount (42%) of information rather than a great deal (21%). Conversely, a little more than a third (35%) lack knowledge and say they have little (25%) or no knowledge at all (10%) about how the recent presidential and parliamentary elections were organized and run.

These levels of information are consistent with those observed in the pre-election period when 66% of Nigerians had at least a fair amount of information on how elections in general were

In general, would you describe your interest in the recent presidential and parliamentary elections as high, medium, or low?

	May 2007 n = 2416
High	29%
Medium	42%
Low	26%
Don't know / Refused	2%

In general, how much information would you say you have about how the recent presidential and parliamentary elections were organized and run?

	May 2007 n = 2416
Great deal	21%
Fair amount	42%
Not too much	25%
None at all	10%
Don't know / Refused	2%

run and organized and a third (33%) reported having little or know knowledge of how elections in Nigeria are organized and run.

### **Shortly before election, roughly a third unclear about date of the polls**

When asked two months before the elections, nearly two in three (65%) said they were aware that elections were on the horizon and could correctly identify the month in which the elections were to be held. However, one in three thought the elections would be in a month other than April (30%) or said they were not aware that elections where scheduled (2%).

### **Some people are aware that Nigeria will be having elections in the upcoming weeks while others are not. Are you aware that elections are coming up?**

February  
2007  
n = 2410

Yes, held in April	65%
Yes, but month unknown or incorrect	30%
No, not aware	2%
Don't know / Refused	3%

### **Elections heralded as necessary...**

Nigerians clearly establish their commitment to the holding of elections. When asked to choose between describing the recent elections as useless or necessary, a decisive majority say they were necessary (70%) rather than useless (27%).

### **But some concerned over their conduct**

However, public opinion is more split when choosing to describe the elections as chaotic versus orderly and clean versus rigged. Although the majority says the recent elections were orderly (55%), a sizable minority of roughly two in five (42%) say they were chaotic. Similarly,

And when it comes to choosing between describing the elections as clean versus rigged, a slim majority of Nigerians (55%) says that rigged better depicts the elections. Just more than a third (37%) say they were clean.

### **I'm going to read you some pairs of words. Please tell me which of the two you think best describes the recent presidential and parliamentary elections**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

➤ Useless or Necessary	
Useless	27%
Necessary	70%
Don't know / Refused	3%
➤ Chaotic or Orderly	
Chaotic	42%
Orderly	55%
Don't know / Refused	3%
➤ Clean or Rigged	
Clean	37%
Rigged	55%
Don't know / Refused	9%

### **Public opinion split on whether elections were free and fair**

Although most international and domestic observation missions that observed the Nigerian elections were unanimous in finding that the 2007 polls were plagued by inadequate organization, widespread procedural irregularities, and outright fraud,<sup>12</sup> ordinary Nigerians' assessment of the elections is mixed.

Roughly as many Nigerians judge the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections to be at least somewhat free and fair (47%) as hold that the elections were not too or not at all free and fair (49%). Specifically, 22% of the electorate believe that the recent elections were very free and fair, and an additional 25% judge them to have been somewhat free and fair. By contrast, roughly a quarter (24%) say the elections were not too free and fair, and another quarter (25%) conclude that the elections were not at all free and fair.

Opinion is also split along regional lines. Those who live in the North East and North Central areas evaluate the elections particularly highly—42% of those in the North East and 31% of residents of the North Central region believe the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections were completely free and fair. By contrast, just over half of those in the South East (53%) say the election was not at all free and fair.

### **Pre-election expectations of fairness disappointed**

Post-election assessments of the 2007 polls' fairness do not meet the public's pre-election expectations. More people anticipated the elections would be at least somewhat free and fair before the election than assess them that way in the weeks after the elections (63% vs. 47%). More

specifically, in February of this year a solid majority of more than six in ten said they anticipated completely (26%) or somewhat (37%) free and fair elections. In contrast, in post-election evaluations of the elections, just under half thought they were completely (22%) or somewhat (25%) free and fair.

At the other end of the scale, fewer than three in ten before the election anticipated that the elections would be not too free and fair (20%) or would be not at all free and fair (9%), while in the post-election period, roughly half assess that the elections were not too (24%) or not at all (25%) free and fair.

The most noticeable change between before and after the election was an increase in the number of people who judged the elections to be not at all free and fair. Few before the elections anticipated that the elections would not be at all free and fair, but in the weeks following the polls a quarter of Nigerian adults said that the presidential and parliamentary elections were not at all free and fair (9% vs. 25%).

### **In your opinion, how free and fair were the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections?**

	May 2007 n = 2416
Completely free and fair	22%
Somewhat free and fair	25%
Not too free and fair	24%
Not at all free and fair	25%
Don't know / Refused	3%

### **How free and fair do you expect the upcoming 2007 elections to be? Will they be completely free and fair, somewhat free and fair, not too free and fair, or not at all free and fair? (Show Card and Read Out)**

	February 2007 n = 2410
Completely free and fair	26%
Somewhat free and fair	37%
Not too free and fair	20%
Not at all free and fair	9%
Don't know / Refused	8%

<sup>12</sup> European Union Election Observation Mission Federal Republic of Nigeria: Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions (2007, April). Retrieved July 25, 2007, from <http://www.eueom-nq.org/>  
 Preliminary Findings of IRI's International Election Observation Mission: Nigeria's Elections Below Acceptable Standards (2007, April 22). Retrieved July 24, 2007, from <http://www.iri.org/africa/nigeria/2007-04-22-nigeria.asp> *Election Monitoring Report: Compiled by the Election Monitors on the Nigerian Presidential Elections* (2007, April). Retrieved July 23, 2007, from [http://www.kiwanja.net/miscellaneous/NMEM\\_Election\\_Report.pdf](http://www.kiwanja.net/miscellaneous/NMEM_Election_Report.pdf)

### Assessments of elections becoming more divided over time

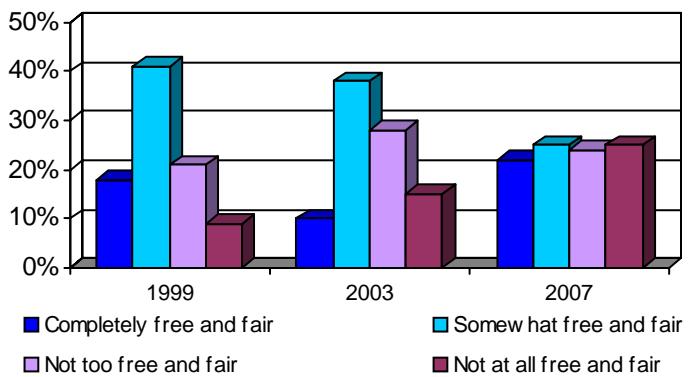
Clear pluralities judge the 1999 (41%) and 2003 (38%) Presidential elections to be somewhat free and fair, with many fewer believing that these elections were either completely free and fair (18% 1999; 10% 2003) or not at all free and fair (9% 1999; 15% 2003).

However, when it comes to judging the 2007 elections, there is no longer a clear public inclination one way or the other. Instead, Nigerians are roughly equally divided in believing the elections were completely (22%), somewhat (25%), not too (24%), or not at all free and fair (25%), while 3% of the electorate refrain from passing judgment one way or the other.

### Large plurality think 2007 elections less free and fair than those held in 2003

When asked whether they thought the 2007 elections were more free and fair than, less free and fair than, or as free and fair as the elections in 2003, a plurality of more than four in ten Nigerians judges that these recently held elections were less free and fair than the 2003 presidential elections (47%). Three in ten (29%) hold the opposite view, saying these recent elections were more free and fair than the 2003 presidential elections, while an additional 15% believe that the 2003 and 2007 elections were roughly equally free and fair.

In your opinion, how free and fair were the recent elections?



### Overall, when you compare these recent presidential and parliamentary elections to the presidential and parliamentary elections held in 2003, would you say these recent elections were...?

	May 2007 n = 2416
More free and fair than 2003	29%
Less free and fair than 2003	47%
About as free and fair as 2003	15%
Don't know / Refused	9%

**Narrow majority confident election results match way people voted**

A narrow majority (54%) of the Nigerian public says it has at least a fair amount of confidence that the election results accurately reflect the way people voted in the parliamentary election. At the same time, four in ten say they have not too much (21%) or no confidence at all (20%) that the election results mirror the will of the people.

Similarly, a narrow majority have a great deal (24%) or fair amount (30%) of confidence that the results of the presidential election reflect the way people actually voted, but four in ten express little (19%) or no (23%) confidence in the accuracy of the presidential election results.

**Now, thinking only about the recent PARLIAMENTARY elections, how much confidence, if any, do you have that the election results accurately reflected the way people voted in the PARLIAMENTARY election?**

	May 2007 n = 2416
Great deal	21%
Fair amount	33%
Not too much	21%
None at all	20%
Don't know / Refused	5%

**Thinking only about the recent PRESIDENTIAL elections, how much confidence, if any, do you have that the election results accurately reflected the way people voted in the PRESIDENTIAL election?**

	May 2007 n = 2416
Great deal	24%
Fair amount	30%
Not too much	19%
None at all	23%
Don't know / Refused	4%

**More than a third believe existing means to challenge election violations are inadequate**

A 56% majority holds that Nigeria's electoral system provides adequate means to challenge election violations, with 20% strongly believing in the system's ability to protect rights. The remaining 36% only somewhat agree that existing means are adequate to challenge election violations.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, more than a third (36%) disagree that the electoral system has adequate means to challenge election violations, and nearly two in ten (17%) strongly disagree that existing provisions are sufficient.

**Nearly half doubt the confidentiality of the vote**

In the months before the election, we asked if, in general, people thought their votes in Nigerian elections were kept confidential by election authorities. Six in ten agree that their vote is kept confidential, but the plurality only somewhat (42%) rather than strongly (18%) agrees with this statement. Roughly a third hold the opposite opinion and somewhat (22%) or strongly (13%) disagree that their vote is kept confidential by election authorities in Nigeria.

When speaking specifically about the recent presidential and parliamentary elections, a third of Nigerians believe it is possible for someone to find out how a person in their neighborhood voted (33%). An additional 15% volunteer that even though the vote is supposed to be secret, they think it might be possible for someone to find out how someone in their area voted. Only four in ten (42%) positively

**Would you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree that Nigeria's electoral system provides adequate means to challenge election violations?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

Strongly agree	20%
Somewhat agree	36%
Somewhat disagree	19%
Strongly disagree	17%
Don't know / Refused	9%

**My vote is kept confidential by election authorities in Nigeria**

February  
2007  
n = 2410

Strongly agree	18%
Somewhat agree	42%
Somewhat disagree	22%
Strongly disagree	13%
Don't know / Refused	6%

**Even though the vote is secret, do you believe that someone can find out how a person in your neighborhood voted in these recent presidential and parliamentary elections?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

Yes	33%
No	42%
Maybe [Volunteered]	15%
Don't know / Refused	11%

assert that the vote is secret and do not believe that someone can find out how a person in their neighborhood voted in the recent presidential and parliamentary elections.

**Majority believes laws and regulations governing the elections are effective...**

Two-thirds of Nigerians (66%) say the general laws and regulations governing the elections contributed to making them free and fair.

**Yet some pre-election expectations disappointed**

This result represents a decrease since before the election. Two months before the election, 71% of Nigerians thought the general laws and regulations governing the process would be at least somewhat effective in helping to ensure the presidential and parliamentary elections would be free and fair.

Likewise, when considering only those Nigerians who were aware of the new Electoral Act passed by the National Assembly in 2006, more before the election believed that the law would prove to be at least somewhat effective in helping to make the elections free and fair than, after the election, judged the Act to have been effective (79% vs. 66%).

**How effective or ineffective do you think this will be/was in helping to ensure the presidential and parliamentary elections were free and fair?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
<b>➤ The general laws and regulations governing the process</b>		
Very effective	23%	28%
Somewhat effective	48%	38%
Not too effective	19%	20%
Not at all effective	4%	8%
Don't know / Refused	5%	6%

**How effective do you think this new Electoral Act will be/was in helping to make the upcoming/recent election both free and fair?**

	February 2007 n = 509+	May 2007 n = 418+
Very effective	23%	36%
Somewhat effective	56%	30%
Not too effective	14%	24%
Not effective at all	5%	8%
Don't know / Refused	3%	1%

+Asked only of respondents who are aware of the Electoral Act

### **Election procedures largely thought to be effective**

Support on specific measures is almost equally high as for general laws and regulations.

Majorities of roughly six in ten say the electronic voter registration process (63%), monitoring of the election by international observers (63%), monitoring by independent Nigerian observers (61%), local election commissions (59%), and representatives of different parties on the Independent National Electoral Commission (58%) were at least somewhat effective helping to make the elections free and fair.

### **How effective or ineffective you think this will be/was in helping to ensure the presidential and parliamentary elections are free and fair?**

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
<b>➤ The electronic voter registration process for registering voters</b>		
Very effective	28%	29%
Somewhat effective	41%	34%
Not too effective	15%	19%
Not at all effective	5%	13%
Don't know / Refused	11%	5%
<b>➤ The monitoring of the election process by international observers</b>		
Very effective	28%	28%
Somewhat effective	42%	35%
Not too effective	21%	20%
Not at all effective	4%	8%
Don't know / Refused	5%	10%
<b>➤ The monitoring of the election process by independent Nigerian observers</b>		
Very effective	25%	27%
Somewhat effective	41%	34%
Not too effective	23%	21%
Not at all effective	7%	10%
Don't know / Refused	5%	8%
<b>➤ The local election commissions</b>		
Very effective	20%	25%
Somewhat effective	40%	34%
Not too effective	26%	21%
Not at all effective	8%	13%
Don't know / Refused	6%	8%
<b>➤ Representation of different political parties on the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)</b>		
Very effective	26%	27%
Somewhat effective	42%	31%
Not too effective	22%	22%
Not at all effective	6%	14%
Don't know / Refused	5%	6%

### **Large majorities satisfied with voter information**

Large majorities of more than seven in ten are satisfied with the availability of information on where and when to vote (77%) and information on voting procedures and how to mark ballots (72%). In both instances, these groups are roughly equally split into those who express high levels of satisfaction and those who express only moderate satisfaction.

While a minority of fewer than two in ten express some dissatisfaction with the information available, fewer than one in ten Nigerians express extreme dissatisfaction with the information on where and when to vote (7%) and information on voting procedures and how to mark the ballot (8%).

### **Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you were with the following aspects of the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

> Information on where and when to vote	
Very satisfied	37%
Somewhat satisfied	40%
Somewhat unsatisfied	13%
Very unsatisfied	7%
Don't know / Refused	3%
> Information on voting procedures and how to mark the ballot	
Very satisfied	35%
Somewhat satisfied	37%
Somewhat unsatisfied	16%
Very unsatisfied	8%
Don't know / Refused	5%

### **Polling station staff and facilities also receive good marks**

Somewhat smaller majorities of roughly six in ten or more express satisfaction with the competency shown by polling staff (65%), the impartiality of polling station staff (58%), or the adequacy of the facilities and equipment at the polling station (58%). However, in all three cases more express moderate rather than high satisfaction.

Furthermore, sizable minorities show at least moderate dissatisfaction with the competency shown by polling staff (29%), the impartiality of polling station staff (34%), or the adequacy of the facilities and equipment at the polling station (37%), and one in ten or more express extreme dissatisfied with this aspect of the election administration process.

### **Role of police and impartiality in vote count questioned by a third or more**

A 59% majority is at least moderately satisfied with the performance of the police and security officials in keeping elections peaceful and free of conflict. In addition to the more than a quarter (28%) who say they are very satisfied with the performance of the police and security officials in these elections, 31% are somewhat satisfied with their performance.

But on the contrary, roughly a third (35%) of Nigerians are dissatisfied, with 17% expressing great dissatisfaction with the performance of the police and security officials in keeping the elections peaceful and free of conflict.

Similarly, a majority of 58% says it is satisfied with the impartiality in the counting, tabulation, and announcement of election results for the presidential and parliamentary elections, with somewhat more showing moderate (32%) rather than high levels (26%) of satisfaction and a third expressing moderate (19%) or severe dissatisfaction (15%).

### **Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you were with the following aspects of the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

➤ Competency of the polling staff	
Very satisfied	29%
Somewhat satisfied	36%
Somewhat unsatisfied	19%
Very unsatisfied	10%
Don't know / Refused	6%
➤ Impartiality of polling station staff	
Very satisfied	26%
Somewhat satisfied	32%
Somewhat unsatisfied	19%
Very unsatisfied	15%
Don't know / Refused	8%
➤ Adequacy of facilities and equipment at the polling station	
Very satisfied	26%
Somewhat satisfied	32%
Somewhat unsatisfied	22%
Very unsatisfied	15%
Don't know / Refused	6%
➤ Performance of the police and security official in keeping these elections peaceful and free of conflict	
Very satisfied	28%
Somewhat satisfied	31%
Somewhat unsatisfied	18%
Very unsatisfied	17%
Don't know / Refused	5%
➤ Impartiality in the counting, tabulation, and announcement of results	
Very satisfied	26%
Somewhat satisfied	32%
Somewhat unsatisfied	19%
Very unsatisfied	15%
Don't know / Refused	8%

### Lack of satisfaction with tabulation of votes is biggest threat to Nigerians' confidence in elections

Advanced statistical analysis shows that of all aspects of the election administration process asked about—the voter registration process, information on where to vote, availability of information on voting procedures, competency and impartiality of polling station staff, adequacy of the facilities and equipment, performance of the police and security officials, and impartiality in the tabulation and announcement of results—lack of confidence in the counting, tabulation, and announcement of election results undercuts the public's confidence in the election system more than any other factor.

For instance, a solid majority of those who are very (85%) or somewhat (64%) satisfied with the process of counting and announcing results say the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections were free and fair. In stark contrast, few of those who are somewhat (30%) or very (10%) dissatisfied with the process of counting and announcing results believe the elections were free and fair.

Aside from the issue of the tabulation and announcement of results, confidence in the impartiality and competency of polling station staff has a major impact on electoral confidence. More than seven in ten of those who are very satisfied with impartiality (78%) or competency (73%) believe the elections to be free and fair. This figure drops closer to half when looking at those who are somewhat rather than very satisfied. Fifty-six percent of those who are somewhat satisfied with the impartiality of the polling station staff and 52% of those who are somewhat satisfied with the competency of the staff believe the election was free and fair. On the flip side, only a handful of those who are very dissatisfied with the staff's impartiality (11%) or competency (10%) believe the elections were at least somewhat free and fair.

### Nonvoters more dissatisfied with the setup and administration of the election

Three in ten or more of those who report not voting in the elections are at least moderately dissatisfied with the processes surrounding the election. Roughly three in ten nonvoters are dissatisfied with the voter registration process (30%), information on where and when to vote (31%), and information on voting procedures (33%). Four in ten or more are dissatisfied with the competency (40%) or impartiality (44%) of polling staff, and nearly half voice discontent with the adequacy of polling facilities and equipment (47%). A slim majority of nonvoters (53%) questions the impartiality in the counting, tabulation, and announcement of results.

### Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you were with the following aspects of the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections?

	May 2007 Voters n=1584+	May 2007 Non-voters n=790+
<b>&gt; The electronic voter registration process for registering voters</b>		
Very / Somewhat satisfied	83%	61%
Very / Somewhat dissatisfied	17%	30%
Don't know / Refused	*	9%
<b>&gt; Information on where and when to vote</b>		
Very / Somewhat satisfied	85%	59%
Very / Somewhat dissatisfied	15%	31%
Don't know / Refused	*	10%
<b>&gt; Information on voting procedures and how to mark the ballot</b>		
Very / Somewhat satisfied	80%	54%
Very / Somewhat dissatisfied	19%	33%
Don't know / Refused	*	14%
<b>&gt; Competency of the polling staff</b>		
Very / Somewhat satisfied	76%	43%
Very / Somewhat dissatisfied	24%	40%
Don't know / Refused	1%	17%
<b>&gt; Impartiality of polling station staff</b>		
Very / Somewhat satisfied	69%	37%
Very / Somewhat dissatisfied	29%	44%
Don't know / Refused	2%	19%
<b>&gt; Adequacy of facilities and equipment at the polling station</b>		
Very / Somewhat satisfied	67%	37%
Very / Somewhat dissatisfied	32%	47%
Don't know / Refused	1%	17%
<b>&gt; Performance of the police and security official in keeping these elections peaceful and free of conflict</b>		
Very / Somewhat satisfied	70%	38%
Very / Somewhat dissatisfied	29%	48%
Don't know / Refused	1%	14%
<b>&gt; Impartiality in the counting, tabulation, and announcement of results</b>		
Very / Somewhat satisfied	60%	33%
Very / Somewhat dissatisfied	37%	53%
Don't know / Refused	3%	14%

+Based on those who confirmed they personally cast their own vote or did not personally case their own vote in the Presidential and Parliamentary elections

Furthermore, those who did not turn out to cast their ballots in the elections are more than ten percentage points less likely than those who voted to say they are at least somewhat dissatisfied with the electronic voter registration process (30% vs. 17%), information on when and where to vote (31% vs. 15%), information on voting procedures (33% vs. 19%), competency of polling staff (40% vs. 24%), impartiality of polling staff (44% vs. 29%), adequacy of facilities and equipment (47% vs. 32%), performance of the police and security officials (48% vs. 29%), and impartiality in the counting and tabulation of results (53% vs. 37%).

This suggests that lack of confidence in the elections plays at least some role in citizens' decision whether or not to vote.

# Voter Registration

The delays and weaknesses that hampered Nigeria's voter registration for the 2007 elections appear to have had little effect on Nigerians' overall satisfaction with the process. In fact, most Nigerians report being at least somewhat satisfied with the voter registration process, and a vast majority of Nigerian adults reports having registered to vote for the 2007 elections.

To ensure the accuracy of the list of registered voters in Nigeria, a preliminary list of registered voters was made available at local governments, area councils, and wards so that Nigerians could verify that their information was correct. Even so, only half of registered voters were aware of the possibility to check their information. However, of those who knew about and took advantage of the opportunity to verify their information, an overwhelming majority found their information to be correct. On the other hand, those with incorrect information report that the errors in their information were often not corrected.

## Nigerians satisfied with voter registration process

Delays and technical logistics plagued the voter registration process in Nigeria. In an effort to prevent irregularities witnessed in the 2003 election, INEC employed an electronic voter registration process to take pictures and thumbprints to create voter ID cards.<sup>13</sup> Inadequate and malfunctioning machines, an insufficient number of machines, and numerous other problems slowed down the voting registration exercise and forced INEC to extend the end of the registration period twice.<sup>14</sup> However, in spite of the glitches reported in the voter registration process, a strong majority of Nigerians report satisfaction with the voter registration process for the 2007 elections. Three-quarters (75%) of Nigerians report being satisfied with the voter registration process, with roughly equal percentages being very satisfied (38%) and somewhat satisfied (37%). Fewer Nigerians (22%) say they are dissatisfied with the voter registration process—with only one in ten (9%) expressing strong dissatisfaction with the process.

### Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you were with the following aspects of the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections

#### ➤ Voter registration process

	May 2007 n = 2416
Very satisfied	38%
Somewhat satisfied	37%
Somewhat dissatisfied	13%
Very dissatisfied	9%
Don't know / Refused	3%

## Registration delays due to logical difficulties rather than political bias, according to a plurality of Nigerians

Part of the explanation for the high levels of satisfaction with the voter registration process may come from the fact that nearly half (48%) of Nigerians hold that the setbacks and delays were understandable given the complexity of the task.

### Which is closer to your own view: Delays in the voter registration process were understandable given the complexity of registering people in Nigeria, OR delays were a deliberate attempt by some to influence the outcome of the elections?

	February 2007 n = 2410
Delays understandable	48%
Delays an attempt to influence elections	33%
Don't know / Refused	19%

However, one in three (33%) hold the opposite view and speculate that the delays in voter registration were born of a desire to influence the outcome of the elections. Another one in five (19%) refrain from making a judgment one way or the other.

<sup>13</sup>Nigerian voter registration scheduled to finish after multiple delays. (2007, February 2). *International Herald Tribune*. Retrieved June 28, 2007, from <http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2007/02/02/africa/AF-POL-Nigeria-Elections.php>.

<sup>14</sup> Logistical Glitches Mar Nigeria's Voter Registration. (2006, November 26). VOA News. Retrieved July 27, 2007, from Lexis Nexis. Senan, M. (2007, January 31). Last-minute rush for Nigeria polls. *BBC News*. Retrieved July 27, 2007, from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6314547.stm>

### **Majority aware of new electronic system adopted for voter registration**

In an effort to curb electoral fraud in the 2007 elections, INEC introduced a computerized process for registering voters. In the pre-election period, seven in ten Nigerians (72%) reported being aware of the adoption of the new electronic system for voter registration. On the flip side, only roughly a quarter (23%) say they were not aware of the new computerized process for registering voters.

**Some people are aware that Nigeria will be using a new electronic system for voter registration, known as the electronic voter register, for the upcoming election while others are not? Are you aware of this or not?**

	February 2007 n = 2410
Yes	72%
No	23%
Don't know / Refused	4%

### **Most Nigerians registered to vote in these recent elections**

Despite the major delays that plagued the voter registration process in Nigeria, a majority says it was registered to vote for the recent elections. Consistent with results from the pre-election survey, nearly nine in ten (87%) say they were registered to vote for these recent elections. Alternatively, only slightly more than one in ten (13%) say they were not registered to vote for these 2007 elections.

**Were you registered to vote in these recent elections?**

(Pre-election version: *And are you registered to vote for these 2007 elections?*)

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Yes	89%	87%
No	11%	13%
Don't know / Refused	*	*

### **Trouble finding center and administration issues prevent some from registering**

Of Nigerians who said they were not registered to vote in the two months before the election, roughly three in ten cited reasons related to the registration process.

Specifically, a plurality of two in ten (19%) said they could not get to or find the registration center. Another one in ten attempted to register but encountered difficulties with the registration process, specifically large crowds at the registration center (4%), irregularities by registration attendants (3%), or lack of materials (2%), or the registration center was closed (2%).

Respondents also failed to register out of a lack of faith in the election process. Roughly one in ten said they did not vote because they believed their vote would not count (12%) or the election results would be falsified (7%), and 16% did not register because they had no intention of voting.

Three in ten cited personal issues as reasons for not being able to vote, including being too busy (15%) or being sick or out of town (14%).

**Can you please tell me why you're not registered?**

	February 2007 n = 275+
Couldn't get to/find registration center	19%
I don't want to vote	16%
No time/chance to register / Too busy	15%
Sick / Out of town during registration period	14%
My vote doesn't count	12%
No reason to vote because election will be rigged	7%
Too many people when I went	4%
Tried to but couldn't because of irregularities by registration attendants	3%
No materials when I went	2%
Registration center was closed when I went	2%
Others	4%
Don't know / Refused	6%

+ Asked only of those who say they did not register to vote for these recent elections

### **Half not aware of chance to verify and correct registration information**

Following the voter registration period, preliminary registration lists were displayed at local governments, area councils, and wards to allow citizens to verify that their registration information was correct. When registered voters were asked if they were aware of the preliminary listing that was displayed after the voter registration period, roughly as many say there were not aware of the public display of the registration lists (47%) as report knowing about the opportunity (49%) to verify and, if needed, correct their information.

Awareness of the preliminary listing of registered voters was constant throughout the different regions of Nigeria, with Nigerians in all of regions demonstrating the same level of awareness. Similarly, urban and rural respondents show no difference in their levels of awareness. However, men were more likely than women to be aware of the preliminary listing of registered voters (51% vs. 42%).

### **Of those in the know, majority made effort to verify registration information**

Among the registered voters who were aware of the preliminary listing of voter registration information, a majority went in person to verify that the information was correct. Two-thirds (66%) report going to their local government, area council, or ward to verify their registration information. Only roughly one-third (34%) say they were aware of the opportunity but did not go to verify their information.

### **Information on preliminary listing of registered voters usually correct...**

Of registered voters who went to verify their information on the preliminary list, most report that their information was listed correctly. Upwards of nine in ten (93%) say their voter information was correct, while only a handful of respondents (6%) report that their information on the preliminary listing was incorrect.

### **But incorrect information often not updated**

Of the handful of respondents who say that their information on the preliminary listing of registered voters was incorrect, many (59%) report that, to the best of their knowledge, their information was not updated.

### **Were you aware or not aware that after the voter registration period, the preliminary listing of registered voters was displayed in your local government and area council or ward so that citizens could verify that their information was correct?**

May 2007 n = 2090+	
Aware	47%
Not aware	49%
Don't know / Refused	4%
+Asked only of those who say they were registered to vote	

### **Did you go in person to verify that your information on this list was correct?**

May 2007 n = 977+	
Yes	66%
No	34%
Don't know / Refused	*
+Asked only of registered voters who were aware of the preliminary listing	

### **And was this information correct or incorrect?**

May 2007 n = 640+	
Correct	93%
Incorrect	6%
Don't know / Refused	1%
+Asked only of registered voters who went in person to verify that their information was correct on the preliminary listing of registered voters	

### **To the best of your knowledge was this information updated or not?**

May 2007 n = 38+	
Yes, updated	37%
No, not updated	59%
Don't know / Refused	4%
+Asked only of registered voters who say their information was incorrect on the preliminary listing of registered voters	

# Political Participation and Electoral Behavior

As discussed earlier in this report, most Nigerians express moderate to high interest in the 2007 elections. This interest is again demonstrated in relatively high attendance at election rallies and voter turnout in the April 21st presidential and parliamentary elections and the postponed elections held in some areas on April 28th. Turnout among eligible voters was somewhat lower in the postponed elections held on the 28th than in the originally scheduled elections on April 21st. Nonetheless, the majority of registered voters voted on both dates.

Yet, of some concern, a sizable number of Nigerians who were registered to vote did not cast ballots in these elections due to insufficient materials, concerns about rigging or violence, or because of a general lack of interest in the elections process. A large percentage of successful voters also report that their polling place opened late, with delays of five hours or more frequently occurring.

Voters largely report that procedures at the polls were followed. However, one third say that, contrary to proper procedures, candidates' representatives were advocating for voters to select their candidate directly outside the polling place. Additionally, one in ten or more report a lack of privacy when marking the ballot, inadequately secured ballot boxes, or a break down in the process of inking of fingers and other procedures aimed at curing duplicate voting.

Importantly, nearly all Nigerians agree that they have enough information to make wise decisions when voting, and most also hold information gained from religious leaders as well as relatives and community leaders to be important when deciding whom to vote for. At the same time, three-quarters of voters say the candidates talking about issues that are important to them and their personal opinion of the candidate are deciding factors in their electoral choices.

While the overwhelming majority of voters say they felt safe voting for whomever they wanted in the election, a sizable number report that they were pressured to vote a particular way or offered a reward in return for their vote. What is more, 15% admit that being offered a reward played a major role for them in deciding whom to vote for.

## Campaign rally attendance highest among men and rural inhabitants

Many ordinary Nigerians actively participated this campaign season by attending a rally for one of the candidates contesting the election. Seventeen percent say they attended a campaign rally for one of the candidates in the parliamentary elections, and nearly as many (13%) report that they went to a rally for one of the candidates in the presidential election.

Attendance at campaign rallies is most prevalent among men and those living in rural areas of Nigeria. One in four men say they attended a rally for one of the candidates in the parliamentary election (24%) and one in five (20%) rural inhabitants report attending a parliamentary election rally compared to 10% of women and 14% of urbanites.

Similarly, two in ten (19%) men and nearly as many of those who live in rural areas (15%) say they attended a campaign rally for one of the presidential candidates. Participation rates for women (8%) and urbanites (11%) are lower.

### Did you attend a campaign rally for one of the candidates in the...?

May  
2007  
n = 2416

#### ➤ Parliamentary election

Yes	17%
No	81%
Don't know / Refused	1%
➤ Presidential election	
Yes	13%
No	85%
Don't know / Refused	1%

### **Support and curiosity motivate attendance at election rallies...**

Three in four or more of those who attended a parliamentary (73%) or presidential (82%) rally say they did so in order to show support for the candidate. Four in ten also say they were motivated to attend out of curiosity about what the parliamentary (40%) or presidential candidate (40%) had to say.

### **But some admit to being paid for their attendance**

Roughly one in ten (9%) say they attended a rally for a parliamentary candidate because someone gave them money or a gift to attend. Nearly as many (7%) admit that they attended a rally for a presidential candidate at least in part because they were offered something in return for their attendance.

### **Why did you attend a rally?\***

	May 2007	Parliamentary Election n=419+	Presidential Election n=324++
To show my support for the candidate	73%	82%	
I was curious or interested in what the candidate had to say	40%	40%	
A friend or relative wanted me to	15%	14%	
Someone gave me some money or a gift to attend	9%	7%	
My local chief wanted me to	4%	4%	
My employer or teacher wanted me to	3%	3%	
My religious leader wanted me to	1%	1%	
Some other reason	3%	3%	
Don't know / Refused	2%	1%	

\*Totals exceed 100%. Respondents were allowed to give multiple responses

+Asked only of respondents who attended a campaign rally for one of the candidates in the parliamentary elections

++Asked only of respondents who attended a campaign rally for one of the candidates in the presidential election

### **Two in three adult voters say they participated in the presidential election**

Two thirds of Nigerian adults (66%) report that they voted in the presidential election.<sup>15</sup> When only respondents who report that they are registered to vote are considered, the turnout for the April 21st elections is 76%

Most Nigerian adults who say they did not vote, were not registered to do so (13%), but three in 20 (16%) were registered yet did not turn out to the polls on election day. In addition, a small number (2%) admit that they personally did not cast their own ballot, but rather someone else voted on their behalf.

### **Voter turnout in presidential election**

	May 2007	All Adults n=2416	Registered Voters n=2090+
Yes, personally cast own vote*	66%	76%	
Someone cast my vote for me*	2%	3%	
Registered but didn't vote and no one voted for me**	16%	18%	
Not registered to vote	13%	n/a	
Don't know / Refused	3%	3%	

\*Based upon respondents who say they are registered

<sup>15</sup> Note that it is commonly known that slightly more report that they voted in an election than actually did participate. This phenomenon is also true for many behaviors that are seen to be socially desirable.

### Lack of materials, security concerns, and doubts about fairness depress turnout

When registered voters who did not cast a ballot in this election were asked why they did not vote in this election, a sizable number say they turned up at the polls but were not able to vote because of a lack of ballots and/or ballot boxes (24%).

Roughly one in ten of registered voters decided to stay at home out of concern about security (13%), while many others did not turn out because they did not think their vote would count (14%) or because they were not interested (5%).

Others did not vote because they were away from their place of registration (8%) or could not vote due to health-related issues (9%).

### Most successful voters found locating polling place and following procedures easy

Seven in ten of those who voted in the presidential election say it was very easy for them to locate the appropriate polling place. Most of the rest (24%) say it was somewhat easy. Only one in 20 voters thought it was somewhat (4%) or very (1%) hard to locate the appropriate polling place.

The majority of voters also found it easy to understand and follow the procedures at the polls. Virtually all voters thought it was very (65%) or somewhat (28%) easy to understand

the procedures. Only roughly one in 20 thought it was somewhat (6%) or very (1%) hard to understand and follow voting procedures.

### Why didn't you vote in this election?

	May 2007 n = 385+
No ballot box/materials	24%
Results known in advance / Vote won't be counted / Rigged	14%
Security / Violence concerns	13%
Health issue / Sick	9%
Traveled / Away from place of registration	8%
Too busy / Not interested	5%
Name not on voter list	4%
Didn't want to because of what I saw in the election for governor the week before	4%
Lost/didn't have voter card	3%
Line too long	1%
Other	6%
Don't know / Refused	10%

+Asked only of registered voters who say they did not vote in the April 2007 presidential elections and no one cast a vote on their behalf

### Sometimes the experience of voters varies from one area to the next. For these next several questions, we would like to know about YOUR experiences at your polling station on the DAY of the PRESIDENTIAL election

	May 2007 n = 1584+
Ability to locate appropriate polling place	
Very easy	71%
Somewhat easy	24%
Somewhat hard	4%
Very hard	1%
Don't know / Refused	0%
Ability to understand and follow the procedures at the polling place	
Very easy	65%
Somewhat easy	28%
Somewhat hard	6%
Very hard	1%
Don't know / Refused	0%

+ Asked only of registered voters who say they personally cast their own vote in the April 2007 presidential elections

## **Two in five voters say their polling station opened late**

Half of voters (50%) say their polling place opened on time. However, two in five say there were delays. Another 10% of voters were unsure whether or not their polling place opened on time.

### **Delays of five hours or more not uncommon**

We asked voters who said their polling place did not open on time to tell us approximately when it opened. Some of the polls opened just a couple hours later than the eight o'clock official start time. However, the majority of those who say their polling place did not open on time say it opened five or more hours late (62%).

### **For these presidential elections, did the polling place where you voted open on time or not OR do you not know when it opened?**

	May 2007 n = 1584+
Yes, opened on time	50%
No, did not open on time	40%
Don't know / Refused	10%
+ Asked only of registered voters who say they personally cast their own vote in the April 2007 presidential elections	

### **What time did your polling place open?**

	May 2007 n = 626+
9:00 – 9:59	1%
10:00 – 10:59	3%
11:00 – 11:59	12%
12:00 – 12:59	19%
1:00 – 1:59	21%
2:00 – 2:59	15%
3:00 – 3:59	11%
4:00 – 4:59	6%
5:00 – 5:59	6%
6:00 – 6:59	2%
7:00 – 7:59	1%
Don't know / Refused	5%
+ Asked only of registered voters who say they personally cast their own vote in the April 2007 presidential elections	

### **Voters report improper electioneering**

A third of Nigerians (34%) who voted in the presidential election report that candidates or their representatives were directly outside the polling station advocating for their candidate, but most other basic election procedures were followed

### **Nearly all voter cards checked**

Nearly all successful voters in the presidential elections say that the polling clerk checked their voter card to confirm their eligibility to vote at that polling station (94%) and that their name was on the voting list (98%). However, one in twenty (6%) say no one checked their eligibility.

### **Procedures to prevent duplicate voting mostly—but not completely—followed**

Verifying that the voter does not already have his or her finger inked, the inking of voters' fingers, and the marking of the voter card are all important steps to prevent multiple ballots being cast by the same person.

Nearly all voters in the presidential election (89%) say that, before they voted, a polling station attendant verified that there was no ink mark already on their hand and marked their thumb with ink (94%). Fewer, but still a large majority of voters (85%), say the attendant marked or punched a hole through the voter card.

More than three-quarters of voters (77%) say all three procedures were followed. Very few (2%) say none were—their finger was not checked for ink or marked with ink, nor was their voter card marked.

**Please tell me whether this took place or did not take place when you went to vote at your polling station for the PRESIDENTIAL election**

May  
2007  
n = 1584+

➤ Candidate representatives were DIRECTLY outside the polling station advocating for voters to vote for their candidate	
Yes	34%
No	59%
Don't know / Refused	6%
➤ The polling clerk checked your voter card to confirm your eligibility to vote at that polling station	
Yes	94%
No	6%
Don't know / Refused	1%
➤ Your name on the voter list	
Yes	98%
No	*
Don't know / Refused	2%
➤ A polling station official checked your left thumb to see if there was an ink mark on your thumb	
Yes	89%
No	11%
Don't know / Refused	1%
➤ A polling station official marked the cuticle of your left thumb with ink	
Yes	94%
No	6%
Don't know / Refused	*
➤ The polling station official marked the back of your voter's card with an X or punched a hole through the card	
Yes	85%
No	13%
Don't know / Refused	2%

### **Not all received each of the ballots...**

One in 20 voters (6%) did not receive a copy of each of the ballots on the day of the presidential election, although most did (93%). Three in 20 (15%) did not receive information on how to mark ballots.

### **Or were able to vote in privacy**

While the majority of voters in the election were able to vote in privacy, three in 20 (15%) say they were not able to vote in such a way that no one else could see how they marked their ballot.

### **Two in 20 voters say ballot box not properly secured**

Likewise, an 86% majority of voters says the ballot box into which they placed their ballot was sealed so that no one could open it, but two in 20 voters (11%) say the box into which they placed their ballot was not properly sealed to guard against tampering.

### **Nearly one in three Nigerians say parliamentary elections were delayed in their area**

Due to inadequate materials and the misprinting of ballots, the voting for parliamentary seats was delayed in some constituencies around Nigeria—from the 21st of April to the 28th.

According to the results of this survey, 30% of voting-age Nigerians report that the parliamentary election in their area was delayed and took place on a different day than originally scheduled. The delayed elections affected more than half of the voting-age population in Lagos (59%) and the South South (59%). Elections were also delayed for nearly four in ten people in the South East (38%). Fewer in the South West (23%), North Central (22%), North East (21%), and North West (16%) were affected by delayed elections.

### **Voter turnout in delayed parliamentary elections somewhat lower than that of presidential**

A slim majority (56%) of registered voters in areas where parliamentary elections were delayed report that they voted in these delayed elections. This is in comparison to the 76% nationwide turnout of registered voters for the presidential and parliamentary elections held on April 21st.

What is more, in the areas where parliamentary elections were delayed, three in ten (31%) of those who voted in the presidential election on the 21st report that they did not return to cast their

### **Please tell me whether this took place or did not take place when you went to vote at your polling station for the PRESIDENTIAL election**

May  
2007  
n = 1584+

➤ You received your own copy of each of the ballots	
Yes	93%
No	6%
Don't know / Refused	1%
➤ When you were handed ballots, a polling station official gave you instructions on how to fill out the ballots	
Yes	84%
No	15%
Don't know / Refused	1%
➤ You were able to vote with privacy so that no one else could see how you were voting	
Yes	83%
No	15%
Don't know / Refused	2%
➤ The ballot box into which you placed your ballot was sealed so that no one could open it	
Yes	86%
No	11%
Don't know / Refused	4%

+Asked only of registered voters who say they personally cast their own vote in the April 2007 presidential elections

### **As you may know, in some areas of Nigeria the elections for some of the seats in Parliament were delayed and took place on a DIFFERENT day than the presidential election. Were any of the PARLIAMENTARY elections postponed in this area?**

May  
2007  
n = 2090+

Yes	30%
No	60%
Don't know / Refused	11%
+Asked only of registered voters	

### **Did you vote in these postponed PARLIAMENTARY elections**

May  
2007  
n = 619+

Yes	56%
No	44%
Don't know / Refused	*
+Asked only of registered voters who say that some of the parliamentary elections were postponed in their area	

ballot in these delayed elections. At the same time, 17% of those who did not vote in the April 21st Presidential election came out to vote in the delayed elections.

**Doubts about fairness,  
general disinterest, and lack  
of materials depressed  
turnout**

When eligible voters in these areas were asked why they did not vote in the postponed election, roughly two in ten say they stayed at home because they did not think the vote would be free and fair (15%) or because they did not like the way the previous gubernatorial and/or presidential elections had been conducted (4%).

Why didn't you vote in this election?		May 2007 n = 269+
No ballot box/materials	15%	
Results known in advance / Vote won't be counted / Rigged	15%	
Security / Violence concerns	5%	
Health issue / Sick	5%	
Traveled / Away from place of registration	10%	
Too busy / Not interested	15%	
Name not on voter list	2%	
Didn't want to because of what I saw in the election for governor/president the week before	4%	
Lost/didn't have voter card	2%	
Line too long	0%	
Other	8%	
Don't know / Refused	20%	
+Asked only of registered voters who say they did not vote in the April 2007 presidential elections and no one cast a vote on their behalf		

### **Delayed poll opening for rescheduled poll**

As with the presidential and parliamentary elections that took place on April 21st, a good number of voters (29%) say their polling place did not open on time, with the majority of these voters (60%) saying the opening was delayed by five hours or more.

### **For these parliamentary elections, did the polling place where you voted open on time or not OR do you not know when it opened?**

May  
2007  
n = 347+

Yes, opened on time	62%
No, did not open on time	29%
Don't know / Refused	10%

+Asked only of registered voters who say that some of the parliamentary elections were postponed in their area and they voted in these postponed elections

### **What time did your polling place open?**

May  
2007  
n = 99+

9:00 – 9:59	0%
10:00 – 10:59	2%
11:00 – 11:59	13%
12:00 – 12:59	21%
1:00 – 1:59	20%
2:00 – 2:59	9%
3:00 – 3:59	7%
4:00 – 4:59	6%
5:00 – 5:59	12%
6:00 – 6:59	4%
7:00 – 7:59	2%
Don't know / Refused	3%

+Asked only of registered voters who personally cast their own vote in the April 2007 presidential election and say their polling place did not open on time

**Voters report similar level of compliance between postponed April 28th elections and April 21st elections**

Consistent with reports from voters in the presidential and parliamentary elections held on April 21st, among those who voted in the delayed parliamentary elections on April 28th, 40% say candidate representatives were directly outside the polling station advocating for people to vote for their candidate.

Also like the April 21st polls, about one in 20 (7%) voters in the 28th election say that the polling clerk did not confirm their identity against their voter cards. Fewer than one in 20 voters (3%) say their name was not on the voter list.

Two in 20 did not have their fingers checked to verify they had not already voted (9%), and roughly one in 20 (7%) say their fingers were not inked when they went to vote. Nearly three in 20 (13%) say the polling station attendant did not mark their voter card to indicate they had voted.

One in 20 report not getting their own copy of each of the ballots, and some voters (13%) say they were not given instructions on how to fill them out.

A sizeable number of voters (19%) say they were not able to vote in such a way that no one else could see how they were voting.

**Please tell me whether this took place or did not take place when you went to vote at your polling station for the PRESIDENTIAL election**

May  
2007  
n = 347+

➤ Candidate representatives were DIRECTLY outside the polling station advocating for voters to vote for their candidate	
Yes	40%
No	51%
Don't know / Refused	8%
➤ The polling clerk checked your voter card to confirm your eligibility to vote at that polling station	
Yes	91%
No	7%
Don't know / Refused	2%
➤ Your name on the voter list	
Yes	94%
No	3%
Don't know / Refused	3%
➤ A polling station official checked your left thumb to see if there was an ink mark on your thumb	
Yes	89%
No	9%
Don't know / Refused	2%
➤ A polling station official marked the cuticle of your left thumb with ink	
Yes	91%
No	7%
Don't know / Refused	2%
➤ The polling station official marked the back of your voter's card with an X or punched a hole through the card	
Yes	84%
No	13%
Don't know / Refused	4%
➤ You received your own copy of each of the ballots	
Yes	92%
No	6%
Don't know / Refused	2%
➤ When you were handed ballots, a polling station official gave you instructions on how to fill out the ballots	
Yes	85%
No	13%
Don't know / Refused	3%
➤ You were able to vote with privacy so that no one else could see how you were voting	
Yes	79%
No	19%
Don't know / Refused	3%
➤ The ballot box into which you placed your ballot was sealed so that no one could open it	
Yes	84%
No	10%
Don't know / Refused	6%

+Asked only of registered voters who say they personally cast their own vote in the April 2007 presidential elections

### **Almost all feel empowered to make wise choices when voting**

Nigerians overwhelming say they had enough information to make wise decisions when voting in the elections. Roughly half (49%) strongly agree and most of the rest somewhat agree that they had enough information to make wise decisions when voting. Very few felt they lacked information (3%). Many of those who said they did not have enough information wish information on party manifestos and plans for the future had been more available.

### **Opinion of religious leaders very important in electoral choices**

Almost half (44%) of Nigerians who voted in the recent elections say the opinions of their religious leaders were very important in their deciding whom to vote for. Most of the rest (34%) say the opinions of religious leaders were somewhat important to them. Only a small minority say that religious leaders' opinions about parties and candidates were not too (15%) or not at all important in their deciding whom to vote for (8%).

The opinions of fathers, brothers, and other relatives were almost as influential as those of religious leaders. More than a third cite their relatives' opinions as very important (37%), and an additional third say the opinions of relatives figured into their choices somewhat (34%). Conversely, nearly three in ten say the opinions of fathers, brothers, or other relatives were not too (18%) or not at all important (10%).

Community leaders also influenced decisions, with a two-thirds majority saying the opinions of local community leaders were very (31%) or somewhat (35%) important. Conversely, a sizable minority says that the opinions of community leaders were not too (24%) or not at all (10%) important in its decision to vote for a particular candidate or political party.

Men and women place roughly equal importance on the opinions of religious leaders, relatives, and community leaders in electoral choices. Respondents living in rural areas are more likely than their urban counterparts to say the opinions of religious leaders (47% vs. 40%) and community leaders (36% vs. 24%) are very important in their deciding whom to vote for.

**In general, do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree that you had enough information to make wise decisions when voting in these elections?**

May  
2007  
n = 1584+

Strongly agree	49%
Somewhat agree	46%
Somewhat disagree	2%
Strongly disagree	1%
Don't know / Refused	2%

+Asked only of registered voters who say they personally cast their own vote in the April 2007 presidential elections

**How important are the opinions of the following people in your decision to vote for a particular candidate or political party?**

May  
2007  
n = 1584+

#### ➤ Your religious leaders

Very important	44%
Somewhat important	34%
Not too important	15%
Not important at all	8%
Don't know / Refused	*

#### ➤ Your father, brother, or other relatives

Very important	37%
Somewhat important	34%
Not too important	18%
Not important at all	10%
Don't know / Refused	*

#### ➤ Your local community leaders

Very important	31%
Somewhat important	35%
Not too important	24%
Not important at all	10%
Don't know / Refused	*

+Asked only of registered voters who say they personally cast their own vote in the April 2007 presidential elections

## **Issues and general assessments of candidates weigh heavily on voters decisions**

Three-quarters of voters say that the candidate talking about issues important to them (75%) and their own general opinion or assessment of the candidate (75%) both played major roles in their deciding whom to vote for. An additional two in ten say each of these played a minor role.

A solid majority report the candidate's political party affiliation (65%) figured heavily into their decision. Another quarter cite political affiliation as playing minor roles in their decision. Only one in ten (11%) say that party affiliation was not at all important. The candidate's political party made more of a difference to PDP adherents than to those whose alliances are closer to other political parties. A majority (72%) of those who say the PDP is the party that best represents their aspirations says the candidate's party is a major decision making factor compared to 62% of those who name a political party other than the PDP as best representing their aspirations.

Roughly as many say the candidate's personality mattered to their decision making as regard the candidate's party to be important. A little more than six in ten (63%) report the candidate's personality figured heavily into their decision. Another quarter (26%) say it played a minor roles in their decision of who to vote for, and one (11%) in ten says the candidate's personality didn't matter at all.

## **Religion and ethnicity are of moderate importance**

Nigerians are nearly equally split in the importance religion plays in their choices. Roughly a third say religion was a very important factor (31%) in their decision, a third say the candidate's religion (32%) played a minor role in their decision, and another third say the candidate's religion was not at all important to them and played no role in their decision (34%).

The candidate's ethnicity affected decisions even less than religion. More say the candidate belonging to their own ethnic group was not at all important than say it was a very important factor when deciding whom to vote for (37% vs. 25%). A third say the candidate belonging to their own ethnic group was somewhat important to them and played a minor role in their decision making process (34%).

**There are many different reasons why people vote for a candidate. For each of these, please tell me if this played a major role, minor role, or no role at all in your decision of whom to vote for in these presidential and parliamentary elections**

May  
2007  
n = 1584+

### ➤ The candidate talked about issues that are important to you

Major role	75%
Minor role	19%
No role at all	6%
Don't know / Refused	1%

### ➤ Your own opinion or assessment of the candidate

Major role	75%
Minor role	18%
No role at all	6%
Don't know / Refused	1%

### ➤ The candidate represented a political party you like

Major role	65%
Minor role	24%
No role at all	11%
Don't know / Refused	1%

### ➤ You like the candidate's personality

Major role	63%
Minor role	26%
No role at all	11%
Don't know / Refused	1%

### ➤ The candidate's religious views

Major role	31%
Minor role	32%
No role at all	34%
Don't know / Refused	3%

### ➤ The candidate belongs to your ethnic group

Major role	25%
Minor role	34%
No role at all	37%
Don't know / Refused	3%

### ➤ The candidate offered you a reward for your vote

Major role	15%
Minor role	21%
No role at all	61%
Don't know / Refused	4%

+Asked only of registered voters who say they personally cast their own vote in the April 2007 Presidential elections

### **More than a third say money had some influence on their vote**

While the majority says that money was not at all important (61%), more than a third of those who voted in the elections say that being offered a reward for their vote played a major (15%) or minor role (21%) in their deciding whom to vote for in the presidential and parliamentary elections.

### **Carrot and stick tactics widely used to try to influence vote...**

Nearly a third of voting-age Nigerians say someone attempted to bribe or pressure them to vote a certain way in the parliamentary and/or presidential election. Specifically, 25% say they were offered a reward or gift and 21% say they were pressured to vote a certain way. More than one in ten (16%) say both tactics were used—they were both offered a reward or gift and pressured—while 30% report that one or the other occurred.

Those who personally cast their own vote in the presidential election are more likely to have experienced carrot and stick tactics than were nonvoters. Twenty-eight percent of voters say they were offered a reward or gift to vote for a certain candidate compared to 18% of those who did not personally cast their own vote. Similarly, 22% of voters say they were pressured to vote a certain way. The same is true for only 17% of nonvoters.

The use of rewards or gifts to influence votes was particularly prevalent in the North East where nearly four in ten (38%) report that someone tried to offer them a reward or gift to vote for a certain candidate. At the opposite extreme, money for votes was much less common in Lagos (7%) and the South West (13%). The rest of the country stands in between these two poles (North West 29%; South East 26%; North Central 22%; South South 22%).

On the other hand, the South East (30%) and North East (27%) have higher incidences of general pressure. Approximately three in ten in those regions say they experienced some form of pressure compared to those in Lagos (11%) and the South West (11%), who report the fewest attempts to use pressure to sway their vote. Roughly two in ten in the remainder of the country say they experienced some pressure (South South 23%; North West 20%; North Central 15%).

Financial incentives are more likely to be offered to men than women (27% vs. 23%) and to those living in rural areas as opposed to town or urban dwellers (27% vs. 21%), whereas the general use of pressure is roughly equal for both men and women and those living in rural and urban areas.

### **Yet most felt safe in voting for whomever they wanted**

Looking in particular at those who voted in the recent presidential election, we see that voters on the whole felt safe in making their electoral choices. Six in ten (59%) say they felt very safe to vote for whomever they wanted, and an additional 32% say they felt somewhat safe in making their choices. In contrast, just short of one in ten say they felt somewhat (7%) or very (1%) pressured to vote a particular way.

### **On or before the presidential and parliamentary elections, did anyone try to...?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

➤ Offer you a reward or gift of any kind to vote for a certain candidate in the election	
Yes	25%
No	74%
Don't know / Refused	1%
➤ Pressure you to vote for a certain candidate in the election	
Yes	21%
No	78%
Don't know / Refused	1%

### **How safe or pressured did you feel voting in these elections? Did you feel very safe or somewhat safe to vote for whomever you wanted or did you feel somewhat pressured or very pressured to vote a particular way?**

May  
2007  
n = 1584

Very safe	59%
Somewhat safe	32%
Somewhat pressured	7%
Very pressured	1%
Don't know / Refused	*

+Asked only of registered voters who say they personally cast their own vote in the April 2007 presidential elections

# Election-Related Violence

Those who observed the period surrounding the election find that Nigeria's recent 2007 elections were marred by widespread reports of election violence.<sup>16</sup> Consistent with this picture, a majority of those surveyed consider election-related violence in Nigeria to be a major problem. And according to ordinary Nigerians on the ground, electoral violence occurred mainly during and before the election; few thought the violence was mainly a post-election phenomenon. What is more, one in ten Nigerians claim to have personally witnessed an act of election-related violence. These first hand witnesses believe that political parties were behind many of the incidents throughout the election period.

Somewhat contradictorily, while Nigerians consider these elections to have been more violent than in 2003, a majority also characterize the recent elections as peaceful rather than violent. One possible explanation is that Nigerians' characterization of the recent elections as peaceful may have more to do with the relative success of the first civilian-to-civilian transfer of power in Nigeria rather than the level of electoral violence.

## Majority describes the 2007 elections as peaceful...

A majority of Nigerians describes these elections as peaceful. When asked which word best describes the recent presidential and parliamentary elections, over half (56%) say "peaceful" better describes the recent election than "violent" (41%).

### Which of these better describes the recent presidential and parliamentary elections—peaceful or violent?

May 2007 n = 2416	
Peaceful	56%
Violent	41%
Don't know / Refused	2%

## But most Nigerians think election-related violence is a problem

A strong majority (86%) thinks that election-related violence in Nigeria is a problem, with six in ten (61%) saying election-related violence is a major problem in Nigeria and a quarter (25%) saying it is minor problem. In comparison, only roughly one in ten (10%) say election-related violence is not a problem at all.

### Is election-related violence in Nigeria a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem at all?

May 2007 n = 2416	
Major problem	61%
Minor problem	25%
Not a problem at all	10%
Don't know / Refused	3%

The problem of election-related violence has permeated the country as majorities or pluralities of all regions of the country view election-related violence as a major problem. Election violence is felt to be most pervasive in the South West. Given the reports of election-related violence in this region (where this survey's field work was delayed in Osun state as a result of high levels of violence), it is no surprise that a staggering 82% say election-related violence is a major problem. Opinions are nearly as strong throughout the rest of the country. Six in ten or more in Lagos (68%), the South East (67%), the South South (63%), and the North West (60%) agree that election-related violence is a major problem, and nearly half of the residents in the North Central (48%) and North East (47%) regions say election-related violence is a major problem.

<sup>16</sup> IFES. (2007). *Reports I - VI on the Electoral Violence Education and Resolution Project in Nigeria..*

### Bulk of violence occurred during or before the election

Among those who say election-related violence is a problem, a majority says that the violence surrounding the election occurred mainly before or during the election. Over one-third (37%) think that most violence occurred mainly during the election, and roughly one-quarter (24%) say it occurred before the election. Fewer (12%) believe most violence occurred after the election. In addition, almost one in five (17%) volunteered that the election-related violence occurred in equal proportion before, during, and after the election.

Somewhat perplexing is the handful of respondents (7%) who volunteered that there was no violence surrounding the most recent election despite previously saying that election-related violence is a problem.

### To the best of your knowledge, did the violence surrounding these most recent elections take place mainly before, during, or after the elections?

May  
2007  
n = 2091\*

Mainly before	24%
Mainly during	37%
Mainly after	12%
All equally [Volunteered]	17%
Was no violence [Volunteered]	7%
Don't know / Refused	4%

\*Asked only of those who say election-related violence is a major or minor problem

### One in ten have first hand knowledge of violence

Twelve percent of Nigerians say they personally witnessed election-related violence in their area, and 29% say they personally heard of election-related violence in their area. However, a majority (56%) does not know of any specific first- or second-hand accounts of election-related violence in their area.

Confirming reports of a high level of electoral violence in Nigeria's cities, respondents in urban regions are slightly more likely to have seen or heard of any electoral violence in their area than those in rural regions (46% vs. 38%), and seven in ten Lagosians (70%) report personally hearing of electoral violence in their region compared to residents in other regions (South East 55%; South South 44%; South West 42%; North West 40%; North East 28%; North Central 26%).

### Did you personally see or hear of any violence related to these presidential and parliamentary elections in this area?

May  
2007  
n = 2417

Yes, personally saw	12%
Yes, heard of	29%
No	56%
Don't know / Refused	3%

### Witnesses say political parties are behind electoral violence

Of those who personally saw or heard of any election-related violence in their area, a majority believe that supporters of political parties instigated the violence. Nearly one in three (29%) attribute the electoral violence in their area to PDP followers. Other political parties identified as instigators of electoral

### Can you tell me who instigated this violence?

May  
2007  
n = 987\*

PDP members/thugs/supporters	29%
AC members/thugs/supporters	7%
ANPP members/thugs/supporters	4%
DPP members/thugs/supporters	2%
Political party members/thugs/supporters (unspecified)	14%
Local youth	9%
Others	4%
Don't know / Refused	36%

\*Asked only of those who personally saw or heard of election-related violence in their area

violence include AC (7%), ANPP (4%), and DPP (2%). Fourteen percent were unable to provide specific details on the party behind the violence but think the instigators were general political party supporters. Supporters of political parties were not the only initiators of election-related violence, almost one in ten (9%) say local youths were to blame for violence in their area. However, a little more than a third do not know who instigated the electoral violence in their area.

**Plurality regards the 2007 elections as more violent than the 2003 presidential elections**

Those who think election-related violence is a major or minor problem say by a wide margin that the 2007 elections were more violent than the 2003 presidential elections. Roughly four in ten (43%) say the recent elections were more violent than those in 2003. Thirty five percent hold the opposite view and say these recent elections were less violent than those held in 2003 (35%). Fewer than two in ten (16%) contend that the level of election-related violence was the same for both elections.

**When you compare the level of election-related violence in these recent presidential and parliamentary elections to the elections held in 2003, would you say...?**

May  
2007  
n =2091\*

Recent elections were more violent than 2003	43%
Recent elections were less violent than 2003	35%
Level of violence in 2007 and 2003 was about the same	16%
Don't know / Refused	7%

\*Asked only of those who say election-related violence is a major or minor problem

# Corruption and Money and Politics

Both low-level on-the-street corruption and corruption in politics have become everyday parts of life for nearly all Nigerians. A large majority of Nigerians thinks that corruption is a common problem, and one in three say they have been asked by a public official to pay a bribe. The police are most often named as requesting bribes from the general public. Despite the fact that most think corruption commonplace in Nigerian society, nearly all believe it is wrong to pay to gain access to public utilities, get treated in a government hospital, get good grade from a teacher, or avoid a police fine. Nonetheless, a quarter or more believe these actions, while wrong, are sometimes justifiable.

When it comes to corruption in the realm of politics, the majority thinks it is wrong for an ordinary person to sell a vote in return for goods or money, but more than a third also think it is understandable to do so. The same is true from the reverse side; most think it is wrong for political parties to offer money to people in return for their vote, but a third think it also understandable for them to do so. At the same time, a quarter of Nigerian adults admit that someone tried to offer them a reward or gift to vote for a certain candidate in the election.

Roughly half believe the government of Nigeria is addressing the issue of corruption in politics to at least a moderate extent. A narrow majority says it does not know how political parties get money to finance their campaigns, but a large majority also thinks that those who contribute to a political campaign do so primarily with the expectation that they will get something in return, rather than out of support for the party's policies.

## Nigerians regard corruption as a pervasive problem

Nearly all believe that corruption is a fact of life in Nigeria. Three in four (76%) say that corruption is very common, with most others saying that corruption is somewhat common (17%) Very few are of the opinion that corruption is somewhat (3%) or very rare (1%).

## One in three asked to pay a bribe

A third (33%) of Nigerians say they have been personally asked by a public official to pay a bribe, with one in five (21%) saying they have been asked to pay a bribe more than once. On the contrary, a six in ten majority says it has never been asked for a bribe.

Experience with corruption varies significantly by gender. Almost half of men (45%) say they have been asked to pay a bribe at least once, with 31% reporting that they have been asked for a bribe from a public official more than once. In contrast, 22% of women say they have been asked to pay a bribe, with 12% saying this has happened more than once.

### In your opinion, how common is corruption in Nigeria?

February  
2007  
n = 2410

Very common	76%
Somewhat common	17%
Somewhat rare	3%
Very rare	1%
Don't know / Refused	3%

### Have you ever been asked for a bribe by a public official?

February  
2007  
n = 2410

Yes, once	12%
Yes, more than once	21%
Never	63%
Don't know / Refused	3%

### **Police initiate most acts of official bribery**

The majority of those who have been asked to pay a bribe (65%) say the Nigerian police force initiated the request.

### **Corruption bad – but sometimes understandable**

Nigerian adults were asked about many different acts of corruption that may take place in order to get access to basic services or, in some cases, that result in some personal gain. In each situation presented, the vast majority of Nigerians answered that it is wrong to engage in the act, and many believe that this behavior is punishable.

Specifically, nearly all (93%) believe it is wrong to have to pay local government council authorities in order to gain access to public utilities, and the majority (63%) believe that it is also punishable. However, three in ten (30%) think it is understandable to pay local government council authorities to get public utilities. Very few (6%) think it is not wrong to pay local government council authorities to get access to public utilities.

Similarly, 84% of Nigerian adults believe it is wrong to pay for treatments in a government hospital, where treatment is supposed to be free. Nearly half (47%) think that this is not only wrong but also punishable. An additional 37% believe it is wrong, but believe it is understandable to do so. Fewer than two in ten (15%) think it is not wrong to pay for treatments in a government hospital.

More than nine in ten (95%) think it is wrong to pay a school teacher or university professor in exchange for a good grade or to pay a policeman to avoid a fine. Furthermore, two-thirds or more believe these acts are punishable. However, there is more sympathy for bribing a policeman to avoid a fine than for paying a teacher or professor for a good grade. Somewhat more say it is wrong but understandable to pay a policeman than hold that it is wrong but understandable to pay

### **What agency/agencies did the official(s) work for?\***

February  
2007  
n = 873+

Policemen / Nigerian police force	65%
National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) / Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN)	8%
University / Academic institution / School	7%
Local Council / Government official	6%
Law enforcement agencies	3%
Custom official	3%
Road Safety Commission	2%
Court	2%
Hospital / Health center	2%
Others	5%
Don't know / Refused	5%

\* Respondents were allowed to give only one response. Respondents who have been asked for a bribe more than once were asked about the last bribe they paid.

+Asked only of respondents who say they have been asked for a bribe by a public official at least once

### **I will read to you some actions that may be taken by people in Nigeria. Can you tell me if each of these actions is not wrong, wrong but understandable, or wrong and punishable?**

February  
2007  
n = 2410

> Pay local government council authorities to get public utilities	
Not wrong	6%
Wrong but understandable	30%
Wrong and punishable	63%
Don't know / Refused	1%
> Pay for treatments in government hospital	
Not wrong	15%
Wrong but understandable	37%
Wrong and punishable	47%
Don't know / Refused	1%
> Pay a school teacher/university professor for a good grade for your child	
Not wrong	4%
Wrong but understandable	24%
Wrong and punishable	71%
Don't know / Refused	1%
> Pay a policeman to avoid a fine	
Not wrong	4%
Wrong but understandable	29%
Wrong and punishable	66%
Don't know / Refused	1%

a teacher (29% vs. 24%). In both instances, only a small handful (4%) think these acts are not wrong.

#### **Vote buying wrong but understandable according to some**

In February, two months before the elections, Nigerians were nearly unanimous (93%) in thinking it is wrong to receive payment in exchange for voting for a particular party or candidate. In fact, in February, the majority held that it is both wrong and punishable to receive payment in exchange for voting for a particular party or candidate (65%). At the same time, more than a quarter (28%) believed that, while engaging in vote buying is wrong, it is also understandable to receive money in exchange for a vote. Only a small handful (6%) thought there is nothing wrong with receiving something in return for a vote.

In the post-election environment, vote buying is still frowned upon; however, more believe the act is understandable. More than eight in ten (86%) say it is wrong for people to accept money in return for voting a particular way, with nearly half of Nigerians thinking it is wrong and punishable for ordinary people to take something in return for their vote. However, roughly four in ten (48%) say doing so is understandable. After the elections, 12% say there is nothing wrong with ordinary people accepting money or goods in return for voting for a particular person or party.

Nigerians' are somewhat harsher in their judgment of political parties and candidates engaging in vote buying than they are of their fellow citizens' involvement. More than eight in ten (87%) say it is wrong for political parties to offer money in return for votes. However, an even larger percentage believe it is punishable for political parties to offer money than believe it is punishable for people to accept money in return for votes (55% vs. 48%). On the flip side, as with ordinary people accepting money from candidates, one in ten (11%) believe it is not wrong for political parties or candidates to offer ordinary people money or goods in return for votes.

**I will read to you some actions that may be taken by people in Nigeria. Can you tell me if each of these actions is not wrong, wrong but understandable, or wrong and punishable?**

February  
2007  
n = 2410

➤ **Receive payment in exchange for voting for a particular party or candidate**

Not wrong	6%
Wrong but understandable	28%
Wrong and punishable	65%
Don't know / Refused	1%

**Do you think it is not wrong, wrong but understandable, or wrong and punishable for ORDINARY PEOPLE to ACCEPT money or goods in return for voting for a particular person or party?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

Not wrong	12%
Wrong but understandable	38%
Wrong and punishable	48%
Don't know / Refused	2%

**Do you think it is not wrong, wrong but understandable, or wrong and punishable for political PARTIES or CANDIDATES to OFFER ordinary people money or goods in return for votes?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

Not wrong	11%
Wrong but understandable	32%
Wrong and punishable	55%
Don't know / Refused	2%

### **Most think vote buying is common**

Two months before the elections, three in four Nigerians thought vote buying was a common occurrence in Nigerian elections, with people being equally split between thinking it happens in elections all the time (37%) or most of the time (38%). Two in ten thought that ordinary Nigerians are offered something in return for their vote only some of the time (15%) or believed this happens rarely (4%).

Thinking about these recent elections in particular, roughly three in four believe vote buying was a common occurrence. In fact, nearly half of voting-age Nigerians say vote buying occurred very often in the April 2007 elections (48%). An additional 30% believe it occurred somewhat often. Only two in ten think it was somewhat (11%) or very (8%) rare for ordinary Nigerians to be offered money or goods to vote for a particular party or candidate.

However, there is evidence of a slight decrease in vote buying when looking at specific knowledge of people being offered money or goods in return for voting a specific way. In February of this year, 37% of Nigerians say they had a close friend or relative who was offered something in return for their vote in the 2003 presidential election. When asked this same question in May in reference to the 2007 elections, 33% said they know of a close friend or relative who received something in return for their vote.

### **One in four admit to being offered a reward for their vote**

A quarter of Nigerians (25%) say that on or before the elections, someone offered them a reward or gift to vote for a certain candidate. When only those who actually voted in the April 2st1 elections are considered, the figure jumps slightly to 28%.

**As you may know, there are reports around election time that ordinary Nigerians are offered money or goods to vote for a particular party or candidate in the election. Do you think that this happens...?**

February  
2007  
n = 2410

All the time	37%
Most of the time	38%
Some of the time	15%
Rarely	4%
Don't know / Refused	5%

**As you may know, there are reports around election time that ordinary Nigerians are offered money or goods to vote for a particular party or candidate in the election. Thinking about these 2007 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, do you think that this happened...?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

Very often	48%
Somewhat often	30%
Somewhat rarely	11%
Very rarely	8%
Don't know / Refused	4%

**Do you know any close friends or relatives who were offered money, goods, or other material things to vote for a particular candidate in the April 2003 (pre-election)/April 2007 (post-election) presidential and parliamentary elections?**

February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
[April 2003 Elections]	[April 2007 Elections]

Yes	37%	33%
No	57%	62%
Don't know / Refused	7%	5%

**On or before the elections, did anyone try to offer you a reward or gift of any kind to vote for a certain candidate in the election?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

Yes	25%
No	74%
Don't know / Refused	1%

### Roughly half think government confronts corruption in politics

When it comes to tackling corruption in politics, roughly half (52%) think the government of Nigeria addresses the issue to at least a moderate extent, but the bulk of these think that the government confronts corruption to only a moderate (34%) rather than large (18%) extent. An additional three in ten (31%) think the government of Nigeria addresses the issue of corruption to a small extent.

Only one in ten (12%) hold that the government does nothing to address corruption in the political realm.

### To what extent, if at all, do you think the government of Nigeria is addressing the issue of corruption in politics?

February  
2007  
n = 2410

Large extent	18%
Moderate extent	34%
Small extent	31%
Not at all	12%
Don't know / Refused	4%

### Low awareness of how political parties finance campaigns

A majority of Nigerians admit not knowing how political parties obtain funds to finance their election campaigns. Roughly one in ten or more reply that they think political parties get funds from the government (14%) or from contributions from party supporters and members (11%). Nearly as many believe parties get money from lead party members or political “godfathers” (8%); loans or donations from friends, relatives, and acquaintances (8%); or bank loans (8%).

As a point of contrast, when party leaders, NGO activists, and journalists were asked about this topic,<sup>17</sup> most answered that, while funds from the state treasury (via INEC) and contributions from party supporters and members were important, big money donations from multinationals, former military leaders, and political godfathers were in practice the biggest sources of funding for major parties.

### As you know, political parties need funds to finance their operations and activities during election campaigns. Do you know how political parties in Nigeria obtain the funds to finance their election campaigns?\*

February  
2007  
n = 2410

Funds from Government	14%
Contributions or donations from party supporters/members	11%
Party executive members / Political godfathers / Party leaders	8%
Loans from banks	8%
Donations from relatives or friends	6%
From their own savings	5%
Business people	2%
Through corrupt acts / Embezzlement of public funds	2%
Borrow from friends / Individuals	2%
Others	5%
Don't know / Refused	57%

\*Totals exceed 100%. Respondents were allowed to give multiple responses

<sup>17</sup> Buerkle, K. (2006, July). *Political Party Financing in Nigeria*. F. Clifton White Applied Research Center for Democracy and Elections at IFES.

### **Half agree media coverage of money matters is credible**

Half believe the media covers issues relating to the way political parties get and spend money in a credible and balanced way. However, more think this is true to only a moderate (37%) rather than a large (14%) extent. Four in ten hold the opposite view and believe the media's coverage relating to how political parties get and spend money is only partially (29%) or not at all (12%) credible and balanced.

### **Few think parties follow regulations for transparency in political party financing**

There is near unanimity that political parties do not always disclose their sources of funding. Only 5% believe political party funding financing provisions are always followed. An additional 22% think parties disclose their sources of funding some of the time. However, a six in ten majority think political parties rarely (25%) or never (37%) disclose how they obtain money to finance their operations and activities.

### **Majority think quid pro quo governs political donations**

Two-thirds of those surveyed believe people who contribute to political campaigns do so because they expect something in return when the party gets into power. Only one in ten believe donations are motivated by general support for the policies the party advocates. Fifteen percent volunteer that both reasons motivate donations—donations are made out of general support for the policies the party advocates and also out of an expectation for some direct benefit in return.

In this regard, the opinions of the Nigerian public closely resemble those of the informed elite, the majority of whom also argue that donations both big and small stem from the expectation of a future payoff. The largest donors expect the largest payoffs such as state contracts, political appointment, or increased power within the party.<sup>18</sup>

### **And to what extent, if at all, do you think that the media covers issues relating to the way political parties get and spend money in a credible and balanced manner?**

February 2007 n = 2410	
Large extent	14%
Moderate extent	37%
Small extent	29%
Not at all	12%
Don't know / Refused	8%

### **As far as you know, do political parties in Nigeria publicly disclose the sources of funding they use to finance their operations and activities always, some of the time, rarely, or never?**

February 2007 n = 2410	
All the time	5%
Some of the time	22%
Rarely	25%
Never	37%
Don't know / Refused	11%

### **What do you think is the primary motivation of those who contribute financially to political campaigns: because they support the policies being advocated by the party or because the contributors expect something in return when the party gets into power?**

February 2007 n = 2410	
Support party policies	9%
Expect something in return	67%
Both [volunteered]	15%
Don't know / Refused	9%

<sup>18</sup> Buerkle, K. (2006, July).

# Non-Governmental Organizations in Nigeria

Overall, Nigerians provide a positive assessment regarding the role of local and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the recent elections. A majority of Nigerians views Nigerian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as necessary components in Nigeria, and awareness of active NGOs has increased since two months before the election.

Support for a role for Nigerian NGOs in the election electoral process has also increased. An even larger majority thinks Nigerian NGOs should provide oversight and disseminate information in the election period than held this position in February of this year, and a majority believes the involvement of these Nigerian NGOs made the election more free and fair.

Nigerians share a similar attitude toward the international NGOs and foreign governments assisting with the elections. Awareness among Nigerians of international NGOs and foreign governments assisting with the election has doubled since February 2007. Coupled with this dramatic increase in awareness, Nigerians strongly believe that the involvement of international NGOs in the election electoral process in Nigeria is positive, and around half believe assistance from foreign governments and NGOs benefits the Nigerian people.

## Majorities think NGOs are necessary

Consistent with results from before the election, a majority of Nigerians thinks NGOs in Nigeria are necessary. Roughly six in ten (59%) say NGOs are necessary. The plurality (34%) says NGOs are very necessary, and a quarter (25%) believe they are somewhat necessary. Roughly one in ten (8%) say NGOs are not too necessary, and even fewer (6%) say they are not at all necessary.

### In your opinion, how necessary are non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Nigeria?

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Very necessary	36%	34%
Somewhat necessary	27%	25%
Not too necessary	8%	8%
Not at all necessary	3%	6%
Don't know / Refused	27%	27%

## Awareness of active NGOs on the rise

There has been a large increase in the awareness of active NGOs in Nigeria since the pre-election survey. In comparison to the quarter of respondents (24%) who said they knew of NGOs active in the country prior to the election, more than a third (39%) are aware of NGOs active in Nigeria after the election. Alternatively, the percentage of respondents who do not know of any NGOs active in Nigeria has dropped from four in ten (42%) before the election to roughly only a quarter (23%) after the election.

### Do you know of any non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are active in Nigeria?

	February 2007 n = 2410	May 2007 n = 2416
Yes	24%	39%
No	42%	23%
Don't know what NGO is	25%	27%
Don't know / Refused	9%	11%

Despite this shift in awareness of active NGOs in Nigeria, roughly a quarter of respondents (27%) continue to remain unsure of what an NGO is. These results suggest that, while NGOs may have become more visible during the election for those already familiar with the concept of what an NGO is, the visibility of these organizations may not have translated into a shift of basic understanding of what an NGO is.

### **Involvement of Nigerian NGOs made recent election more free and fair**

Of Nigerians familiar with NGOs, a strong majority thinks the involvement of Nigerian NGOs in the recent election made the election more free and fair. Almost two-thirds say the involvement of Nigerian NGOs in providing oversight and information made the recent elections more free and fair. A little more than two in ten, (23%) say Nigerian NGOs made the election a lot more free and fair, and an additional four in ten (40%) think Nigerian NGOs made it somewhat more free and fair.

On the contrary, only one in ten (10%) of those familiar with NGOs believe that the involvement of Nigerian NGOs made the elections less free and fair, and only a handful (3%) think the involvement made the elections a lot less free and fair. However, a minority of fewer than two in ten (17%) says the role of local NGOs in providing oversight and information in the elections had no difference on the election.

### **Increased support for Nigerian NGOs' role in the election process**

With post-election results showing a strong belief that Nigerian NGOs made the recent elections more free and fair, it is not surprising that there has been an increase in support for Nigerian NGOs playing a role in providing oversight and information on the election electoral process since the election.

Support for a role for Nigerian NGOs in the election electoral process among those who are aware of what an NGO is has increased from three in five (62%) in the pre-election period to a larger majority of four in five (79%) in the post-election period.

With this increase in support for a role for local NGOs, the percentage of supporters who think the government should administer the election without outside input has dropped from roughly a quarter (26%) to less than one in five (15%).

### **Nigerians are interested in volunteering for NGOs...**

Of Nigerians familiar with NGOs, a majority says it would be interested in working without pay for an NGO that is working to solve problems in the local community. Over six in ten (63%) say they would be interested in volunteering for an NGO, with just as many saying they are very interested as saying they are somewhat interested. Alternatively, only three in ten (34%) say they would not be interested in giving their time to an NGO without receiving pay.

### **And do you think that the involvement of NIGERIAN non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in providing oversight and information made these recent elections...?**

May 2007 n = 1486*
A lot more free and fair
Somewhat more free and fair
Somewhat less free and fair
A lot less free and fair
Made no difference
Don't know / Refused

\*Asked only of those who understand what NGOs are.

### **Do you think NIGERIAN non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should play a role in providing oversight and information on the election process in Nigeria? Or should the government be able to administer elections without input from other groups in Nigerian society?**

February 2007 n = 1578*	May 2007 n = 1486*
NGOs should play a role	62%      79%
Government should run elections without outside input	26%      15%
Don't know / Refused	12%      6%

\*Asked only of those who understand what NGOs are.

### **How interested would you be in giving your time without any pay in return to work for a non-governmental organization (NGOs) that is working to solve problems in your community?**

February 2007 n = 1578*
Very Interested
Somewhat Interested
Not too Interested
Not at all Interested
Don't know / Refused

\*Asked only of those who understand what NGOs are.

### **But do not know of any opportunities to join NGOs**

Although the public largely supports the work of NGOs and expresses an interest in being involved with an NGO, most Nigerians are not aware of any opportunities to join. Roughly eight out of ten of those who are familiar with the concept of an NGO (82%) do not know of any opportunities to join one. Only one in ten (12%) are aware of opportunities to join such organizations.

### **Are you aware of any opportunities for you to join such organizations?**

February  
2007  
n = 1578\*

Yes	12%
No	82%
Don't know / Refused	7%

\*Asked only of those who understand what NGOs are.

### **Most think international NGO involvement in elections is positive**

A majority of more than seven in ten of those familiar with NGOs believe that the involvement of international NGOs in the election process in Nigeria is positive. Three in ten (31%) say it is very positive, and an additional four in ten (42%) believe their involvement is somewhat positive.

Only a small number believe the involvement of international NGOs in the election process is somewhat (6%) or very negative (2%).

### **Do you think that international non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) involvement in the election process in Nigeria is...?**

May  
2007  
n = 1486\*

Very positive	31%
Somewhat positive	42%
Somewhat negative	6%
Very Negative	2%
Don't know / Refused	18%

\*Asked only of those who understand what NGOs are.

### **Dramatic increase in awareness of international NGOs and governments assisting with the elections**

Awareness of international NGOs and governments assisting with the April 2007 elections in Nigeria has doubled since the pre-election period.

Before the elections, only three in ten of those familiar with NGOs (29%) were aware that international NGOs and foreign governments were helping with the elections. Instead, the majority (66%) said it was not aware of such efforts by the international community.

However, a complete reversal occurred after the election. In the post-election period, the majority is now (62%) aware of the efforts of international NGOs and governments in assisting with the elections, while a minority of roughly three in ten (33%) remains unaware of the international community's efforts.

### **Were you aware that there were INTERNATIONAL non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and governments assisting with the April 2007 elections in Nigeria?**

(Pre-election version: Are you aware that there are INTERNATIONAL non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and governments assisting with the April 2007 elections in Nigeria?)

February  
2007  
n = 1578\*

May  
2007  
n = 1486\*

Yes	29%	62%
No	66%	33%
Don't know / Refused	4%	5%

\*Asked only of those who understand what NGOs are.

### **International NGOs and governments benefit Nigerians**

Roughly half (49%) of those familiar with the concept of an NGO think the electoral assistance provided by international NGOs and governments provides benefits to the Nigerian people. However, almost one-third (31%) believe the assistance provided by international NGOs and governments has no effect on the Nigerian people. Only a very small handful (3%) believes the assistance provided by international NGOs and governments is damaging to Nigerians.

### **In your opinion, does the assistance provided by these international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and governments assisting with the April 2007 election in Nigeria...?**

	May 2007 n = 1486*
Provide benefits to the Nigerian people	49%
Have no effect on the Nigerian people	31%
Damage the Nigerian people	3%
Don't know / Refused	17%

\*Asked only of those who understand what NGOs are.

## Local Government Elections

Before the end of 2007, all local governments throughout Nigeria will hold elections for government councilors. A majority of Nigerians says it is aware of the upcoming local government elections in its area, yet four in ten are unaware of plans to have local government elections. Familiarity with the existence of the State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC), the body charged with conducting local government elections, is widespread, but few Nigerians can correctly name its duties.

Furthermore, the local government elections are occurring throughout Nigeria at a time when a majority describes local government performance as fair or poor. Nonetheless, many Nigerians are demonstrating interest and optimism in the local government elections similar to what was seen in the months before the recent presidential and parliamentary elections. However, public opinion remains nearly evenly split as to whether local government elections are important enough to bother with.

### Performance of local government below par

When asked to assess the performance of their local government in solving problems in their community, a narrow majority of Nigerians rates its local government performance as fair (38%) or poor (17%). Alternatively, one-third (34%) of Nigerians rate the performance of their local government as good, though only a handful (9%) think the performance is excellent.

### How would you rate the performance of your local government in solving problems in your community—excellent, good, fair, or poor?

	May 2007 n = 2416
Excellent	9%
Good	34%
Fair	38%
Poor	17%
Don't know / Refused	2%

**Roughly four in ten would turn to local-level officials or elected representatives to solve problems**

When Nigerians were asked to name whom they would go to if they had a problem that required the help of a local-level official or elected representative, a plurality of four in ten of Nigerians says it would turn to local-level officials or elected representatives. Specifically, two in ten (19%) would seek assistance from their councilor or any local government official, roughly three in 20 (15%) say they would turn to their local government chairman, and a handful (4%) would consult their ward councilor or head.

A sizeable percentage (23%) would rather turn to local traditional or religious leaders, including traditional rulers or elders (17%), district heads (3%), or religious leaders (3%).

One in ten say they would seek help from community leaders, with 8% saying they would go to community leaders without specifying the position, and very few saying they would go to youth leaders (1%) or the Landlord Association (1%) with problems.

Few mentioned turning to the police (2%), a family member (1%), or a party officer (1%).

Perhaps signifying an absence of information on whom to contact first in their local government, roughly two in ten (18%) do not know whom they would go to first to address a problem that required the help of a local-level official or elected representative.

**Nigerians familiar with the State Independent Electoral Commissions...**

Each of the 36 states in Nigeria has its own State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC). The main responsibility of the SIEC is to conduct local government elections. When asked how much they have heard or read about SIECs, a majority of Nigerians expresses some familiarity with the SIEC. Upwards of six in ten say they have heard or read something about the SIECs, with the bulk saying they have heard or read a fair amount (28%) rather than a great deal (16%). At the same time, more than a quarter (28%) say they know nothing at all, and an additional two in ten (19%) have read or heard only a little bit about these state-level election management bodies.

**If you had a problem that required the help of a local-level official or elected representative, whom would you go to FIRST?**

	May 2007 n = 2416
<b>Local government officials</b>	<b>38%</b>
Local government chairman	15%
Councilor/Local government other (not specified)	19%
Ward councilor/head	4%
<b>Traditional / Religious Leaders</b>	<b>23%</b>
Traditional rulers/Elders	17%
Religious leaders	3%
District head	3%
<b>Community Leaders</b>	<b>10%</b>
Landlord Association	1%
Youth leader	1%
Community leaders (not specified)	8%
<b>State / Federal government official</b>	<b>1%</b>
State senator/House of Representatives member	1%
Governor	*
<b>Others</b>	<b>6%</b>
Police	2%
Party officer	1%
Family member	1%
Other	2%
<b>Nobody</b>	<b>1%</b>
<b>Don't know /</b>	<b>18%</b>
<b>Refused</b>	<b>5%</b>

**How much have you heard or read about State Independent Electoral Commissions (SIEC) before?**

	May 2007 n = 2416
Great Deal	16%
Fair Amount	28%
Not too Much	19%
None at all	28%
Don't know / Refused	9%

### **But few can correctly name the duties of State Independent Electoral Commissions**

Of Nigerians who have at least some knowledge of SIECs, few can correctly identify the Commissions' duties. Fewer than two in ten (15%) could correctly name that the main responsibility of SIECs is to organize local government elections.

### **Do you know what the duties of State Independent Electoral Commissions are?**

May  
2007  
n = 1512\*

Organize local government elections	15%
Organize all or part of all elections state/local level	60%
Organize/assist with state-level (governors') elections	11%
Other	1%
Don't know / Refused	17%

\*Asked only of those who have heard or read about State Independent Electoral Commissions

Instead, a majority (60%) incorrectly identifies the SIECs' duty as organizing all or part of all elections at the state or local level. An additional one in ten (11%) believe incorrectly that the duty of SIECs is to organize or assist with the state-level governors' elections, and nearly two in ten of those who say they have at least some knowledge of State Independent Electoral Commissions (17%) say they do not know or refuse to answer about what the duties of SIECs are.

### **Majority aware of upcoming local government elections**

Before the end of 2007, all local governments throughout Nigeria will hold elections to elect government councilors. When asked if they knew if their area was planning to hold local government

### **Many areas of Nigeria will be having local government elections this year to elect local government councilors; do you know if your area is scheduled to have local government elections this year or not?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

Yes, plans to have local government elections in this area	60%
No plans to have local government elections in this area	13%
Don't know / Refused	28%

elections this year, a majority says it knows its area will be holding an election. A majority of six in ten (60%) Nigerians is aware of plans to hold a local government election in its area this year. However, many are not aware of the upcoming local government election in their area. Specifically, nearly three in ten (28%) say they do not know or refuse to answer if there will be an election, and an additional more than one in ten (13%) wrongly believe there are no plans to hold local government elections in their area this year.

Knowledge of upcoming local government elections is particularly high in the South South (75%) and North East (74%), where three-quarters of adults are aware of the local government elections coming up in their area.

### **Most have moderate interest in local government elections**

As for recent presidential and parliamentary elections, seven in ten have at least moderate interest in local government elections, with the bulk expressing moderate (45%) interest, and an additional 26% saying their interest in local elections runs high. At the other end of the scale, one-quarter (26%) say their interest in the local government elections in their area is low.

### **And would you describe your interest in local government elections in this area as high, medium, or low?**

May  
2007  
n = 2416

High	26%
Medium	45%
Low	26%
Don't know / Refused	3%

### Nigerians optimistic that local government elections will be free and fair

Consistent with the hope and high expectations demonstrated by Nigerians in the months leading up to the presidential and parliamentary elections, Nigerians have high expectations for the upcoming local government elections in their area, and a majority of Nigerians expresses optimism on the holding of local government elections.

The majority expects the local government elections in its area to be free and fair, although more believe their local government election will be only somewhat free and fair (32%) than maintain it will be completely free and fair (27%) Less than one-quarter think the local government election in their area will be not too (13%) or not at all free and fair (9%) and another two in 10 (19%) refrain from making a judgment either way.

Uncertainty as to how to judge the upcoming local elections runs the highest in the South West region, where there was a particularly high level of electoral violence in the April 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections. Four out of ten (42%) residents in the South West refrain from predicting whether the local government in their area will be free and fair.

### Half of Nigerians think local elections are not important

Interest in local government elections may be widespread, but one in two Nigerians do not think that local elections are important enough to bother with. When asked about local elections, roughly as many believe local elections are not important enough to bother with (48%) as report thinking local elections are important enough to bother with (49%).

### When local government elections are held in your area, do you think they will be ...?

	May 2007 n = 2416
Completely free and fair	27%
Somewhat free and fair	32%
Not too free and fair	13%
Not at all free and fair	9%
Don't know / Refused	19%

### Most local elections aren't important enough to bother with—do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with this statement?

	May 2007 n = 2416
Strongly agree	15%
Somewhat agree	33%
Somewhat disagree	27%
Strongly disagree	22%
Don't know / Refused	4%