



THE CENTRE FOR PUBLIC POLICY ALTERNATIVES
(cpparesearch.org)

NIGERIA 2015: ELECTION REPORT

Outline:

A. FACTORS AND EVENTS THAT SHAPED OUTCOMES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

1. **Insecurity** especially the threat of BOKO HARAM
 - Number of deaths, refugees and displaced citizens in the North-East (statistics from Council on Foreign Relations)
 - Missing Chibok girls
 - Baga massacre and loss of territories by the Nigerian military/government
2. Poor **economic** performance
 - Unpopular approach to petrol subsidy reform – withdrawal of petrol subsidies on Jan 1, 2012
 - Naira devaluation and volatile foreign exchange rate
 - Decline in revenue and savings (ECA, SWF and foreign reserves)
 - Rising debt profile
 - Unprecedented import waivers
 - Inability to fund budgetary proposals (delayed salaries)
 - i. In Benue, workers insisted that they voted against the incumbent because of the non-payment of salaries for 6 months.
3. Perception of **Corruption**
 - Oduagate scandal
 - Non-trial of government officials and agents by the EFCC or ICPC despite prevalence of public allegations
 - i. Petrol subsidy payment racket
 - ii. Alleged missing \$20 billion dollars
4. New media
 - Rise of social media
 - Agenda-setting by social media
5. Endorsements and patronages
 - Lobbyist groups and associations e.g. TAN
 - Influence of national leaders e.g. Obasanjo and Babangida
 - The use of Obas, traditional rulers and other leaders to rally voters
 - Religion and ethnic politics
 - The support of ethnic militia groups – MASSOB, OPC etc

6. Role of think tanks and research institutes incl. opinion polls
 - CPPA
 - Afrobarometer
 - Chatham House (Well-received Buhari speech)
7. Strategic engagement and international community
 - Political mergers and coalitions – realignment of political forces
 - International community
 - Diaspora community
8. Increased effectiveness of INEC
 - Deployment of new technology (card readers)

B. UNIQUENESS OF THE POLL

1. The use of new technology for voter accreditation – card readers
2. The competitiveness of the polls – no winner emerged until the final round of vote count
3. The Jega factor – carriage and integrity of INEC and its Chairman in coordinating the process
4. Nigeria's first female presidential candidate
5. Outliers: the election is mainly between two parties

C. FACTS FROM THE ELECTION

1. Voter apathy: prevalent in some of Nigeria's most educated and economically viable regions. Paradoxically, states decimated by the insurgency exhibited the overall highest voter turnout.
2. Stronghold check: The aggregate votes from the North-West exceeded the votes from the South-East and the South-South.
3. South-East: Voted the least for the APC candidate with less than 20,000 votes in 4 out of 5 states.
4. South-West: Had the best balance of votes (even distribution).
5. South-South: Had the most uneven votes between both candidates of the PDP and the APC.

D. FUTURE IMPACT/PROJECTIONS

Legislative configuration

1. But for one seat to the Labour party, only two parties (APC and PDP) constitute the **Senate**
2. With the governing party having no Senate representative from the South-East, the Senate President will not emerge from this region.
3. David Mark, Senate President for two terms with a fifth appearance in the Senate will become a floor member of the Senate.