

Deepening Democracy: Lessons From Anambra State 2021 Governorship Election

The Electoral Hub Technical Paper 10/2021



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DEEPENING DEMOCRACY: LESSONS FROM ANAMBRA STATE 2021 GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION

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About The Electoral Hub

The Electoral Hub, an organ of the Initiative for Research, Innovation and Advocacy in Development (IRIAD), is a multidisciplinary strategic think-tank which seeks to provide solutions to improve the credibility and integrity of the electoral process. The Electoral Hub complements the roles and activities of the different institutions, stakeholders and drivers of the electoral process and governance. The Electoral Hub's aim is to strengthen electoral governance and accountability in Nigeria through research, documentation, electoral education, policy and legal influencing and impact advocacy. We believe that the integrity of the electoral process is crucial in improving the electoral governance and sustaining democracy in Nigeria. We also believe in solutions rooted in the principles of justice and equity.

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... promoting electoral knowledge, accountability and integrity

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Acronyms

A	Accord Party
AA	Action Alliance
AAC	African Action Congress
ADC	African Democratic Congress
ADP	Action Democratic Party
APC	All Progressives Congress
APGA	All Progressives Grand Alliance
APM	Allied People's Movement
APP	Action People's Party
BP	Boot Party
BVAS	Bimodal Voter Accreditation System
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CVR	Continuous Voter Registration
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IPOB	Indigenous People of Biafra
IRIAD	Initiative for Research, Innovation and Advocacy in Development
LGA	Local Government Area
LP	Labour Party
NOA	National Orientation Agency
NNPP	New Nigeria People's Party
NPC	National Peace Committee
NRM	National Rescue Movement
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PRP	People's Redemption Party
PU	Polling Unit
PVC	Permanent Voter Card
REC	Resident Electoral Commissioner
SDP	Social Democratic Party
YPP	Young Progressive Party
ZLP	Zenith Labour Party

Executive Summary

The 2021 Anambra governorship election led to the victory of Professor Charles Chukwuma Soludo of APGA. The Electoral Hub, an organ of the Initiative for Research, Innovation and Advocacy in Development, has prepared this paper to analyse the result sheets of selected polling units in Onitsha North, Awka South, and Nnewi South; outline the strengths and weaknesses of the election; and provide recommendations on how to improve the electoral systems and processes in the future.

Based on our results analysis, we highlight six major themes: mathematical inconsistencies and administrative errors, logistical issues, low voter turnout, poor utilisation of new polling units, multi-party voting, and poor quality of data.

We identify the following strengths of the election:

- Although the Anambra election was conducted in less-than-ideal circumstances¹, INEC impressively demonstrated the ability to withstand setbacks and conduct elections in the face of adversity.
- Through election observation and reporting, CSOs and observer groups helped to ensure electoral integrity and credibility during the elections.
- Despite the highly tense and insecure pre-election environment, there was a low level of violence during the elections.
- PDP, APC, and YPP provided strong opposition during this election, which not only increases voter choice, but also ensures effective scrutiny of the ruling government.
- The acceptance of election results by defeated candidates helped to ensure peace and stability in the aftermath of the election.
- There were instances of PWDs and the elderly being given priority voting.

However, the election also had **weaknesses as outlined below:**

- There were logistical issues including malfunctioning of the BVAS during voter accreditation, late deployment of election materials, and late arrival of election workers.
- Electoral malpractices such as vote buying were prominent in many PUs.
- COVID-19 protocols were poorly enforced.

¹ It was a 'struggle', and highly contested space by state and non-state actors. As noted by Dr Nkwachukwu Orji, the Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) for Anambra, the election was beyond casting votes and more about sustaining our democracy (post-election review meeting of civil society situation room, November 12, 2021).

- Voter turnout was abysmally poor, with only 10.3% of voters coming out to vote.
- Marginalised groups, such as women, youth and PWDs, were poorly represented among the candidates.

Ultimately, while we commend the efforts of stakeholders such as INEC, CSOs, observer groups, and opposition parties to ensure the success of the election, **we recommend the following actions by different stakeholders:**

- INEC should properly train ad hoc staff, urgently address logistics management, ensure that enough time is given for CVR and PVC distribution, and start uploading result sheets at ward and LGA level.
- In the near future, INEC should introduce electronic voting and transmission of results to reduce the likelihood of error.
- INEC, CSOs, and the media should engage in more effective civic and voter education, including how to vote safely during the pandemic.
- The National Orientation Agency (NOA) should deepen citizens engagement and do more in sensitising and creating awareness amongst citizens on exercising their democratic franchise.
- CSOs, NOA and the media should collaborate with INEC to get more citizens to transfer to new PUs that are closer to them.
- Security personnel should start performing their roles by arresting electoral offenders. In the near future, plans to establish a National Electoral Offences Commission should be finalised.
- INEC, CSOs, political parties, and other stakeholders must work assiduously to improve women, youth, and PWD representation in Anambra.

If all stakeholders take these steps to deepen democracy, the integrity and credibility of future elections in Nigeria will be secured.

Introduction

The Anambra governorship election was conducted on 6 November 2021 in 20 out of 21 local government areas (LGAs). Following the close of polls, the election was declared inconclusive because no election held in Ihiala LGA due to security threats. A supplementary election was held in Ihiala three days later, leading to the victory of Professor Charles Chukwuma Soludo of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA).

Just like the previous governorship elections in Edo and Ondo States, INEC used an online result viewing portal to allow citizens track the election results in real time. As a result of this portal, stakeholders can also conduct research and analysis of the primary data. In line with this, The Electoral Hub, an organ of the Initiative for Research, Innovation, and Advocacy in Development (IRIAD), has produced this paper to contribute to the understanding of the Anambra election and its results.

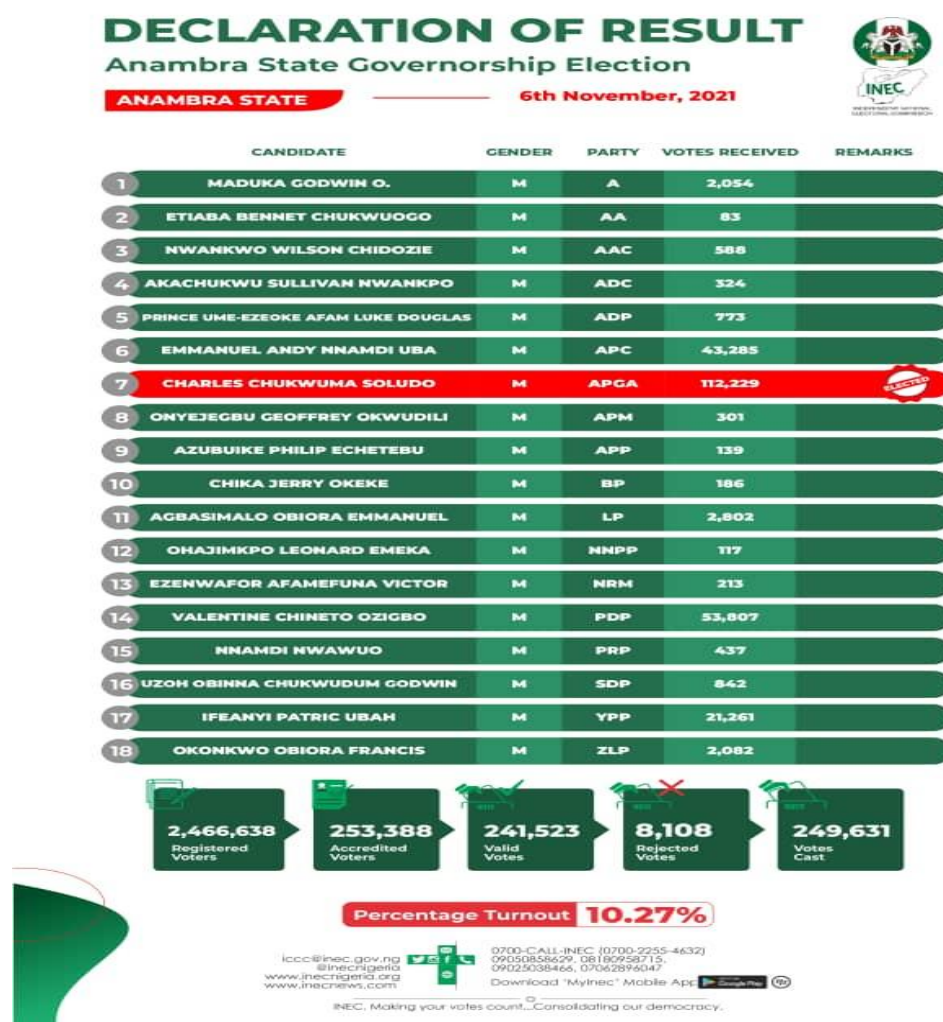
However, worth mentioning is that unlike the Edo and Ondo State elections, the Anambra State election was peculiar in a number of ways and would be better understood when situated in its peculiar context. In this case, there was a struggle for sustaining democracy given a charged pre-election environment of heavily contested space by state and non-state actors, and high insecurity characterised by violence, cultism, kidnapping and communal clashes. The election was thus conducted in less-than-ideal dynamic circumstances and was not a ‘normal’ election in this sense.

Notwithstanding this context, the election held and was engaged by multiple diverse stakeholders. Reports by observers reveal the strengths and weaknesses of the Anambra election. The Electoral Hub was part of an election coordination group consisting of observers on the field, people on the backend, and analysts (especially from the Centre for Democracy and Development). This enabled us to receive and analyse reports in real time. From these reports, we highlight important lessons to be learned from the election, and how we can use them to deepen democracy in Nigeria.

This paper analyses the 2021 Anambra election, using INEC’s result breakdown, data from the results viewing portal, and reports from observers on the field. In particular, it analyses the result sheets of selected polling units in Onitsha North, Awka South, and Nnewi South LGAs to draw out six major themes. It then outlines the strengths and weaknesses of the election, drawing lessons from them and providing recommendations on how to improve the electoral systems and processes in the future. This paper can be used by stakeholders to better understand the Anambra election, and how we can use the lessons from the election to improve the integrity and credibility of future elections in Nigeria.

Results Analysis

On 10 November 2021, official breakdowns of the governorship election results were released by INEC, declaring that Soludo was elected with 112,229 votes (46.5%), while voter turnout was 10.3% (see images below). Data from INEC's result viewing portal (see Appendix A) also reveal some wider trends about the election. The data extracted from the portal covers selected polling units in one LGA in each of the senatorial districts: Onitsha North (from Anambra North), Awka South (from Anambra Central), and Nnewi South (from Anambra South). These results reveal six major themes about the election results: mathematical inconsistencies and administrative errors, logistical issues, low voter turnout, poor utilisation of new polling units, multi-party voting, and poor quality of data.



Source: INEC Nigeria²

² INEC. (2021, November 10). Declaration of #AnambraDecides2021 Governorship Election Result [Image attached]. Facebook. <https://facebook.com/photo?fbid=263054469180953&set=a.225677069585360>

1. Mathematical Inconsistencies and Administrative Errors

From the sample of result sheets analysed, there were noticeable corrections and cancellations. Examples are the result sheets of Ward 2, Units 3 and 4 in Onitsha North, and Ward 11, Unit 1 in Awka South. Apart from cancellations and corrections, there were also obvious mathematical inconsistencies. For example, in Ward 15, Unit 4, Nnewi South, the total number of valid votes and accredited voters are recorded as 47 each, yet the sum of the votes recorded for each party is 49. Furthermore, the total number of votes is recorded as 55 instead of 49.

Similarly, in Ward 15, Unit 14, Onitsha North, the number of accredited voters is recorded as 31, yet the sum of the votes recorded for each party is 32. Furthermore, as many as 34 valid votes are recorded with 2 invalid votes, which gives a total number of 36 accredited voters, rather than 31.

INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION
STATEMENT OF RESULT OF POLL FROM POLLING UNIT
2023 ANAMBRA STATE GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION

State: ANAMBRA
Local Government Area: ONITSHA NORTH
Registration Area: WOLUWO LAYOUT
Polling Unit: TWINKLE STAR NURSERY SCHOOL

1. Number of Voters on the Register: 195
2. Number of Accredited Voters: 31
3. Number of Ballot Papers Issued to the Polling Units: 24
4. Number of Unused Ballot Papers: 15
5. Number of Spoiled Ballot Papers: 2
6. Number of Rejected Ballots: 2
7. Number of Total Valid Votes (Total Valid Votes cast for all parties): 34
8. Total Number of Used Ballot Papers (Total of #5 + #6 + #7 above): 36

S/N	POLITICAL PARTY	VOTES SCORED IN FIGURES	VOTES SCORED IN WORDS	NAME/SIGNATURE OF POLLING AGENT
1	A			
2	AA			
3	AAC			
4	ADC			
5	ADP			
6	APC	14	FOURTEEN	AN-ELIOT ASSANGECHI CHIDI
7	APGA	6	SIX	ORANKEA PRINCE JOHN
8	APM			
9	APP			
10	BP			
11	LP			
12	NNPP			
13	NRM			
14	PDP	9	NINE	OBIMWA CHUKWUD - R. CHUKWUD
15	PRP			
16	SDP			
17	YPP	2	TWO	EMEKALUOKA OKE
18	ZLP	1	ONE	MAKORUWA UGBOMBA

TOTAL VALID VOTES: 34
(Sum of Total Valid Votes under #7 above)

1. BETTER ABIOH/154 (Name of Presiding Officer) hereby certify that the information contained in this form is a true and accurate account of votes cast in this polling Unit and that the election was CONTESTED/NOT CONTESTED

6/11/2023 Date

Result Sheet for Ward 15, Unit 14 in
Onitsha North

INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION
STATEMENT OF RESULT OF POLL FROM POLLING UNIT
2023 ANAMBRA STATE GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION

State: ANAMBRA
Local Government Area: NNEWI SOUTH
Registration Area: UKPOR III
Polling Unit: UMUDIKE CENTRAL SCHOOL II

1. Number of Voters on the Register: 500
2. Number of Accredited Voters: 47
3. Number of Ballot Papers Issued to the Polling Units: 47
4. Number of Unused Ballot Papers: 15
5. Number of Spoiled Ballot Papers: 2
6. Number of Rejected Ballots: 2
7. Number of Total Valid Votes (Total Valid Votes cast for all parties): 49
8. Total Number of Used Ballot Papers (Total of #5 + #6 + #7 above): 49

S/N	POLITICAL PARTY	VOTES SCORED IN FIGURES	VOTES SCORED IN WORDS	NAME/SIGNATURE OF POLLING AGENT
1	A			
2	AA			
3	AAC			
4	ADC			
5	ADP			
6	APC			
7	APGA	17	SEVENTEEN	JH
8	APM			
9	APP			
10	BP			
11	LP	1	ONE	
12	NNPP			
13	NRM			
14	PDP	22	TWENTY TWO	IGWANTUWA JH
15	PRP			
16	SDP			
17	YPP	9	SEVENTEEN NINE	NGOROT
18	ZLP			

TOTAL VALID VOTES: 55
(Sum of Total Valid Votes under #7 above)

1. UDOCHUKWU OGBORNA (Name of Presiding Officer) hereby certify that the information contained in this form is a true and accurate account of votes cast in this polling Unit and that the election was CONTESTED/NOT CONTESTED

06-11-2023 Date

Result Sheet for Ward 15, Unit 4 in
Nnewi South

Other mathematical inconsistencies are outlined below:

- In Ward 8, Unit 9, Nnewi South, the total number of valid votes is recorded as 68, yet the sum of the votes recorded for each party is 67.
- In Ward 10, Unit 5, Nnewi South, the total number of valid votes is recorded as 27, yet the sum of the votes recorded for each party is 24.
- In Ward 2, Unit 1, Awka South, the total number of valid votes is recorded as 160, yet the sum of the votes recorded for each party is 139.

These mathematical inconsistencies indicate the high likelihood of error that comes with manual voting and recording of results.

Additionally, there were noticeable administrative errors in a number of result sheets. In Ward 2, Unit 9, Awka South, the field for registered voters is left blank, while the number of accredited voters is recorded as 34. However, the sum of the votes recorded for each party is only 16. It seems more feasible that there was an administrative error here, as the number of registered voters should have been 34, while the number of accredited voters was 16.

Furthermore, in Ward 15, Unit 5, Nnewi South, the figure 40 was inputted under the field for total number of valid votes. This seems to be an administrative error, as the sum of the votes recorded for each party is only 37. This, combined with the fact that out of 40 accredited voters there were three invalid votes, suggests that the correct figure for valid votes should have been 37.

In Ward 15, Unit 3, Nnewi South, the figure 7 was inputted under the field for total number of votes. However, given that the number of valid votes is recorded as 73, it can be surmised that the figure 7 was meant to be inputted next to the field for ZLP. This seems to be an administrative error.

INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION
STATEMENT OF RESULT OF POLL FROM POLLING UNIT
2021 ANAMBRA STATE GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION

S/N: GE/000095/AN
FORM EC RA

State: ANAMBRA Code: 5 4 1
Local Government Area: NNEWI SOUTH Code: 1 5
Registration Area: UKPOR III Code: 1 6
Polling Unit: OBUKGA HALL Code: 6 6 6

1. Number of Voters on the Register	434
2. Number of Accredited Voters	434
3. Number of Ballot Papers Issued to the Polling Units	434
4. Number of Unused Ballot Papers	421
5. Number of Spoiled Ballot Papers	
6. Number of Rejected Ballots	
7. Number of Total Valid Votes (Total Valid Votes cast for all parties)	073
8. Total Number of Used Ballot Papers (Total of #5 + #6 + #7 above)	073

S/N	POLITICAL PARTY	VOTES SCORED		NAME/SIGNATURE OF POLLING AGENT
		IN FIGURES	IN WORDS	
1	A			
2	AA			
3	AAC			
4	ADC			
5	ADP			
6	APC	11	ELEVEN	Udohun Rose
7	APGA	16	SIXTEEN	Emes. Iechita Oke
8	APM	01	ONE	
9	APP			
10	BP			
11	LP	1	ONE	
12	NNPP			
13	NRM			
14	PDP	26	TWENTY SIX	Udohun Rose
15	PRP	1	ONE	
16	SDP	2	TWO	
17	YPP	08	EIGHT	Amehopio Onyiahon
18	ZLP			
TOTAL VALID VOTES		073	SEVEN	

(Record Total Valid Votes under #7 above)

I, MEKE JOSEPH CHINHEKUN (Name of Presiding Officer) hereby certify that the information contained in this form is a true and accurate account of votes cast in this polling Unit and that the election was NOT CONTESTED.

Signature: [Signature] Date: 06-11-2021

Result Sheet for Ward 15, Unit 3 in Nnewi South

These numerous mathematical inconsistencies and administrative errors at polling unit level affect aggregates at ward, local government, and state level. It is important for INEC to address this issue by training officials to enter results accurately and, eventually, introducing electronic voting and transmission of results to reduce the likelihood of error.

2. Logistical Issues

There were numerous instances of the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS), the new technology introduced by INEC, malfunctioning during the accreditation process. This led to the cancellation of elections in some polling units. For example, in Ward 2, Unit 11, Awka South, a note was uploaded with a message that read:

Polling unit 011 in ward 02 Awka South was cancelled because they had zero records on the BVAS app and still allowed 34 people to cast their votes during the elections on the 6th of Nov 2021.

Similarly, in Ward 10, Unit 4, Nnewi South, a note was uploaded with a message that read:

There was no election in the above unit because BVAS could not verify voters. Thus, no result is generated for the unit.

Although the BVAS was successfully test-run and commended by observers during the Delta State House of Assembly by-election in September this year, this is the first major election in which the BVAS was deployed. Part of the selling point of the BVAS was that it would ensure that voter authentication is carried out smoothly and swiftly, and with two options for authentication (facial and fingerprint recognition), it would ensure that each eligible voter is able to vote. It is therefore unfortunate that the BVAS was not able to meet these targets in some polling units. Going forward, it is important for INEC to review the BVAS technology and identify and solve the problems that caused its malfunctioning during this election.

3. Low Voter Turnout

Another major issue in this election was low voter turnout, a trend that has been noticeable in Anambra State over the years. Some polling units had turnout levels of less than 5%, such as Ward 2, Unit 1 and Ward 11, Units 8 and 9 in Onitsha North. Ward 15, Unit 19 in Nnewi South had only 3% turnout, and a particularly shocking case was Ward 10, Unit 3 in Nnewi South, which had only 1.2% turnout (out of 418 registered voters, only 5 turned up to vote).

Ultimately, overall voter turnout at the election was abysmally poor, at only 10.3%. This is much less than the turnout levels in previous years (16.8% in 2010, 26.3% in 2013, and 22.2% in 2017³). This is particularly worrying and calls for urgent collaboration between INEC, civil society organisations (CSOs), and the media to engage in more effective civic and voter education that is particularly targeted at Anambrarians.

4. Poor Utilisation of New Polling Units

Another trend in this election was poor utilisation of newly created polling units (PUs). Earlier in the year, INEC embarked on a project to increase access to PUs, and in Anambra 1,112 PUs were added to the 4,608 PUs that existed previously, making a total of 5,720 PUs.⁴ The idea behind this was to promote accessibility to PUs and ensure short wait times during voting.

The Anambra elections were the first elections to be conducted with new PUs. From the sample of result sheets analysed, there were some cases where voter turnout in these

³ Okeke, C. (2018). Low Voter Turnout and Sustenance of Democracy in Nigeria: A Study of 2010-2017 Anambra State Governorship Elections, *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, Volume IX, No. III, Quarter III. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344000085>; Owoseye, A. (2017, November 9). Only 22 per cent voters partook in Anambra election – INEC. *Premium Times*. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/250009-22-per-cent-voters-partook-anambra-election-inec.html>

⁴ Orji, N. (2021, October 8). *Situation Room Dialogue Session with INEC Anambra REC* [Meeting]

PU was relatively modest. For example, in Ward 11, Awka South, one of the newly created PUs (Unit 9) had 93 registered voters, out of which 66 turned up to vote.

However, in some areas, particularly in Onitsha North, the new PUs were not utilised adequately. For example, in Ward 2, four PUs were added to the existing 14 PUs, making a total of 18. In Unit 15, there were 19 registered voters, but only 3 turned up to vote. In Units 16 and 18, there were 7 and 5 registered voters respectively, but only 2 turned up to vote in each case. The poor utilisation of new PUs was so stark in Unit 17, where only 1 out of 2 registered voters turned up to vote.

Worse still, there were cases in Onitsha North where not even a single person turned up to vote in the newly created PU (for example, in Ward 11, Unit 17, which had 2 registered voters). The implication is that human and financial resources were wasted, as extra PUs were set up and more ad hoc staff recruited. Moreover, where only one person turns up to vote (as in Ward 2, Unit 17), secrecy of the vote is affected. This is because when the result for that polling unit is announced, the person's vote will be broadcast to all observers.

Evidently, the electorate are not effectively utilising the new PUs. There is need for CSOs, NOA and the media to collaborate with INEC to get more citizens to transfer to new PUs that are closer to them.

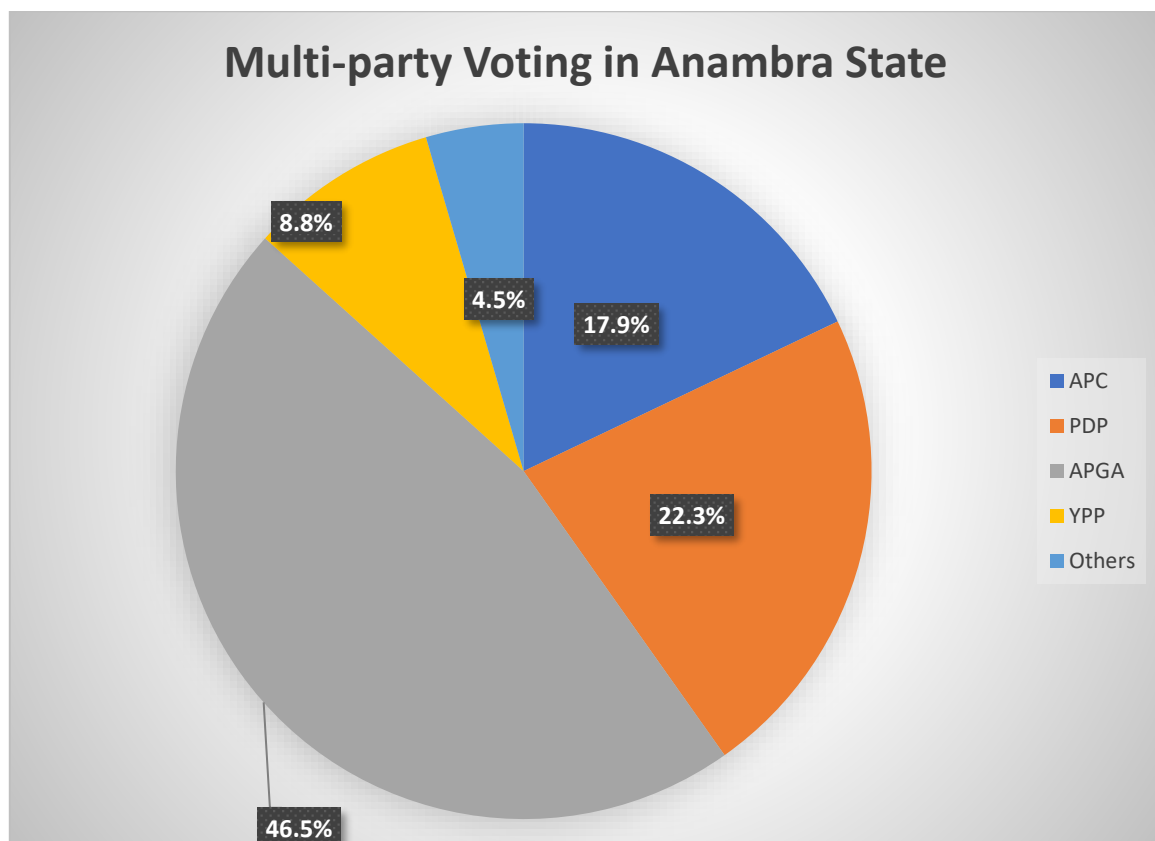
5. Multi-Party Voting

There are eighteen registered parties in Nigeria, and all of them presented candidates for the Anambra election. These are: Accord Party (A), Action Alliance (AA), African Action Congress (AAC), African Democratic Congress (ADC), Action Democratic Party (ADP), All Progressives Congress (APC), All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA), Allied People's Movement (APM), Action People's Party (APP), Boot Party (BP), Labour Party (LP), New Nigeria People's Party (NNPP), National Rescue Movement (NRM), People's Democratic Party (PDP), People's Redemption Party (PRP), Social Democratic Party (SDP), Young Progressive Party (YPP), and Zenith Labour Party (ZLP).

As we noted in our political context analysis of the election, the major parties in Anambra are APGA, PDP, and APC, while YPP is also emerging as a strong party in the state.⁵ This context set the trend toward multi-party voting in the state, as APGA gained 46.5% of the vote, PDP 22.3%, APC 17.9%, and YPP 8.8%. This is in stark contrast to elections at the national level, where PDP and APC always garner the overwhelming majority of the vote.

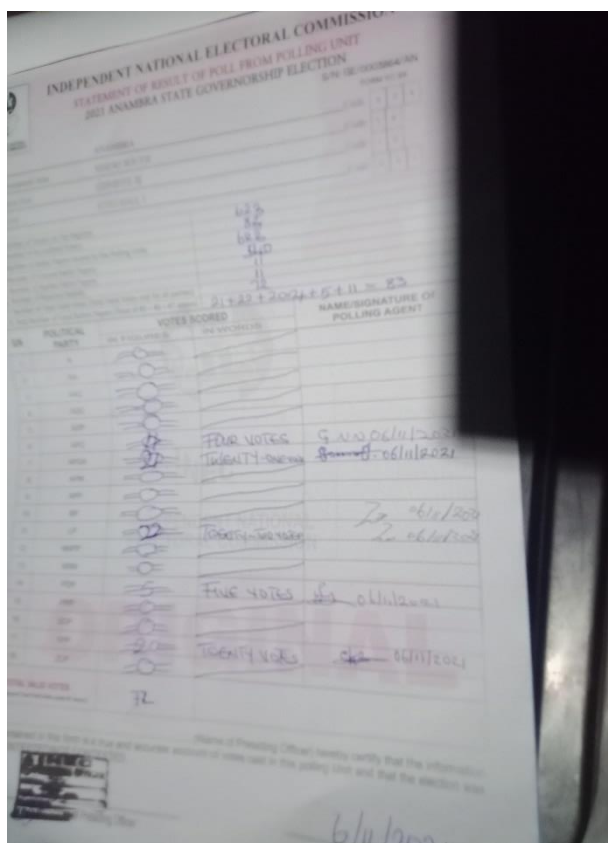
⁵ The Electoral Hub. (2021). *Political Context Analysis: 2021 Anambra Governorship Election* (The Electoral Hub Political Context Analysis Number 4/2021). <https://electoralhub.iriad.org/publications/political-context-analysis/political-context-analysis-2021-anambra-governorship-election/>

This multi-party voting, which is an important part of democracy, can be strengthened by the media, which should ensure that each candidate/party is given equal attention during the campaign period, so as to enable the citizens make an informed choice between all candidates.



6. Poor Quality of Data

A final observation has to do with the quality of data available on the results viewing portal. There were numerous instances of blurry result sheets being uploaded, with figures that were either difficult or impossible to read. For example, the case in Ward 10, Unit 1 in Nnewi South, and Ward 18, Unit 1 in Awka South (see pictures below).



Result sheet for Ward 10, Unit 1 in Nnewi South




Result sheet for Ward 18, Unit 1 in Awka South

In Ward 15, Unit 2, Onitsha North, the result sheet for the polling unit was not uploaded. What was uploaded was the summary result sheet for all polling units in that ward. While it is commendable that the summary result sheet was uploaded (as we recommended in our analysis of the Ondo elections⁶), it is imperative that the individual result sheets for each polling unit can also be accessed in order to verify the figures.

Similarly, in Ward 18, Unit 8, Awka South, the document that was uploaded to the portal was the “Publication of Result of Poll”, rather than the standard “Statement of Result of Poll” which was uploaded in other polling units (see image below). As a result, the only data included was the breakdown of votes – there was no data on accredited voters, registered voters, valid votes, and invalid votes.

⁶ The Electoral Hub. (2020). *Deepening Democracy: Lessons from Ondo State 2020 Governorship Election* (Electoral Hub Technical Paper 2/2020). <https://electoralhub.iriad.org/publications/technical-papers-briefs/deepening-democracy-lessons-from-ondo-state-2020-governorship-election/>


EC 60 (E)

INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION
PUBLICATION OF RESULT OF POLL

(ELECTION OF THE OFFICE OF GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION)
 (INDICATE THE OFFICE)

STATE: ANAMBRA

NAME: AKWA SOUTH CODE: 03
 (PU/RA/LGA/CONSTITUENCY)

S/N	NAME OF CANDIDATES (SURNAME FIRST, AND IN CAPITAL)	PARTY ACRONYM	TOTAL VOTES RECEIVED BY CANDIDATES/PARTY		AGENT'S SIGNATURE & DATE
			IN FIGURES	IN WORDS	
1	MADUKA GODWIN O.	A	1	ONE	
2	ETIABA BENNET CHUKWUODU	AA			
3	NWANKWO WILSON CHIDIOZE	AAC			
4	AKACHUKWU SULLYAN NNANKPO	ADC			
5	PRINCE UMEJEZIE AFAM LUKE DOUGLAS	ADP	1	ONE	
6	EMMANUEL ANDY NNAMDI UBA	APC	3	THREE	
7	CHARLES CHUKWUMA SOLUDO	APGA	68	SIXTY-EIGHT	20/11/20
8	ONYEJESBU GEOFFREY OKWUDILI	APM	1	ONE	
9	AZUBUIKE PHILIP ECHETESU	APP			
10	CHIKA JERRY OKIKE	BP	1	ONE	
11	AGBAMALO OBIORA EMMANUEL	LP			
12	CHAJIMKPO LEONARD EMEKA	NNPP			
13	EZENWAFOR AFAMEFUNA VICTOR	NRM			
14	VALENTINE CHINETO OZIGBO	PDP	13	THIRTEEN	18/11/20
15	NNAMDI NNANWUO	PRP			
16	UZOHI OBIOMA CHUKWUDUM GODWIN	SDP	1	ONE	
17	IFEANYI PATRICK UBAH	YPP	4	FOUR	20/11/20
18	OKONKWO OBIORA FRANCIS	ZLP			

PREPARED BY:

NAME: SOLOMON EGENE SIGNATURE: [Signature]
 POSITION: PO ID NO:

Publication of Result of Poll with only breakdown of votes

Furthermore, in Ward 15, Unit 7, Nnewi South, the field for registered voters was left blank. In Ward 2, Unit 5, Akwa South, and Ward 8, Unit 6, Nnewi South, the field for accredited voters was also left blank. These missing data make it impossible for external researchers to calculate voter turnout in those polling units.

To improve the amount and quality of data available on the portal, INEC officials should be informed to fill out all the fields on the results sheet, not just the number of votes for each party. Furthermore, officials should be trained on how to take high quality pictures of the result sheets and upload them in a way that all figures are visible. A further recommendation is for INEC to separately upload aggregated result sheets at ward and LGA level to aid research and analysis. With as many as 5,720 polling units in Anambra State, the results are too disaggregated to allow for analysis on a more holistic level.

Ultimately, given that this is just the third major election in which the result portal has been used, it is highly commendable and improvements have been made. It is hoped that the quality of data on the portal will continue to improve in subsequent elections, taking into account the recommendations made above.

Lessons from the Election

The Anambra election highlights important strengths and weaknesses. From these, we can learn lessons about what to emulate and what to avoid in future elections.

1. Strengths of the Election

a) Role of INEC

Despite the numerous setbacks faced by INEC in the pre-election phase, INEC made some commendable efforts to address them. One major setback was the burning of INEC's Awka office and the attack of some of its local government offices in the state. Despite the immense loss of property that occurred as a result of these attacks, INEC was able to rebuild its office and replace the lost materials in time for the election.

Another setback was the shortage of ad hoc staff due to the insecurity in the state. The Resident Electoral Commissioner for Anambra State, Dr Nkwachukwu Orji, stated that some of the trained ad hoc staff backed out at the last moment due to insecurity.⁷ To address this, there were incidents of INEC personnel conducting emergency ad hoc staff training on the field.⁸

A further setback was in terms of transportation. Dr Orji explained that some of the transporters that were mobilised and collected 50% of their sign-on fee backed out at the last moment, leaving some of the ad hoc staff stranded.⁹ Nevertheless, INEC found alternative ways to get ad hoc staff to the polling units, albeit later than scheduled.

Finally, although there were many identified glitches in terms of voter accreditation by the BVAS, these were corrected by INEC's ICT team with the result that in the supplementary election that held in Ihiala, there was no report of BVAS malfunctioning during accreditation.¹⁰ Moreover, the BVAS was successful in terms of uploading results, as by the early hours of 7 November, the day after the election, results from 4,987 out of 5,634 PUs (88.5%) had been uploaded to the portal.¹¹

⁷ Text of a Press Statement by the Resident Electoral Commission (REC) of Anambra State, Dr Nkwachukwu Orji, on Opening and Closing of Polls for the Anambra State Governorship Election held at the Collation Centre, INEC State Headquarters, Awka, on Saturday 6th November 2021

⁸ CDD West Africa [@CDDWestAfrica]. (2021, November 6). *The INEC personnel conducted an emergency Adhoc staff training at 10:59 a.m. since the Adhoc staff provided by INEC to [Image attached]* [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/cddwestafrica/status/1456960727625785345?s=21>

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ INEC. (2021, November 11). *The Anambra Governorship Election 2021* [Press release]. <https://web.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=263884812431252&set=pcb.263883605764706>

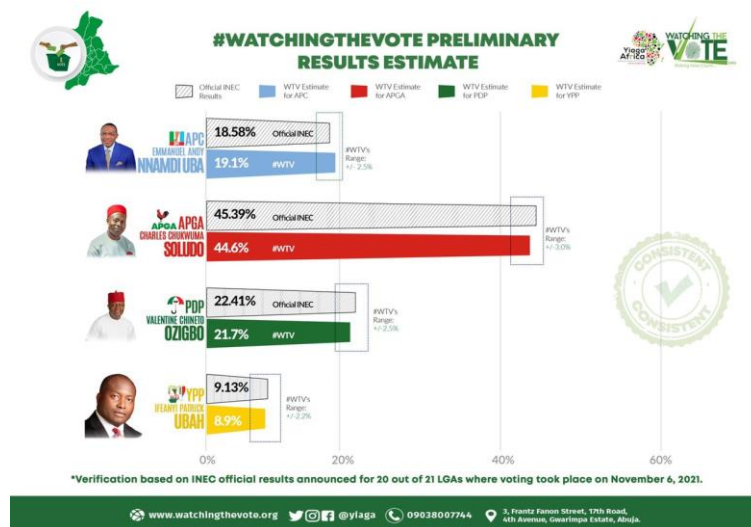
¹¹ Ibid

Ultimately, although the Anambra election was conducted in less-than-ideal circumstances, INEC impressively demonstrated the ability to withstand setbacks and conduct elections in the face of adversity.

b) CSOs and election observers

CSOs and election observer groups also contributed immensely to the elections. INEC approved 72 domestic observer groups and 5 international observer groups for the Anambra elections,¹² and we have earlier noted that the mere acceptance of observers is evidence of the openness of the electoral process.¹³ Through the presence of observers on the field, electoral practitioners and the general public were able to get real-time reports of events during the election.

Reports from observers also help to legitimise elections. Yiaga Africa, for example, conducted a parallel vote tabulation, and confirmed that its preliminary results estimate was consistent with INEC's official result of 20 LGAs.¹⁴ Such reports help to increase the credibility of election results. Therefore, through election observation and reporting, CSOs and observer groups helped to ensure electoral integrity and credibility during the Anambra elections.



Parallel Voter Tabulation by Yiaga Africa¹⁵

¹² INEC (n.d.). *List of Accredited Domestic and Foreign Observer Groups for Anambra State Governorship Election Scheduled for 6th November, 2021*. <https://inecnigeria.org/list-of-accredited-domestic-and-foreign-observer-groups-for-anambra-state-governorship-election-scheduled-for-6th-november2/>

¹³ The Electoral Hub. *Political Context Analysis: 2021 Anambra Governorship Election*, op. cit.

¹⁴ #NotTooYoungToRun [@YIAGA]. (2021, November 9). 12.20pm. *CONSISTENT #WatchingTheVote Preliminary Results Estimate shows that, INEC official result of the 20 LGAs released is CONSISTENT with Yiaga* [Image attached] [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/yiaga/status/1457745854845145094?s=11>

¹⁵ Ibid

c) Low level of violence

Observers revealed that despite the highly tense pre-election environment, there was a low level of violence during the election. Apart from a few standalone incidents like election officials being attacked by hoodlums in Ihiala, election day was largely peaceful. This low level of violence can be attributed to the efforts of stakeholders in the pre-election period who encouraged Anambrarians to embrace peace.

Also notable was the signing of a peace accord by most of the candidates a few days to the elections.¹⁶ This peace accord was facilitated by the National Peace Committee (NPC). The NPC similarly facilitated the signing of peace accords in previous elections, such as the Edo and Ondo elections. Such peace interventions are highly impactful and should be continued in subsequent elections.

d) Strength of opposition

APGA has produced the Governor in Anambra state since 2006. However, PDP and APC provided strong opposition during this election, having garnered 22.3% and 17.9% of the vote respectively. Moreover, YPP as a smaller party also demonstrated immense strength, having won the election in Nnewi North LGA and having gained 8.8% of the overall vote. The existence of these strong opposition parties is important not only to increase voter choice, but also to ensure effective scrutiny of the ruling government.

e) Acceptance of election results

Another strength of this election was the acceptance of election results by defeated candidates. After the results were declared, the first runner-up, Valentine Ozigbo of the PDP, and the third runner-up, Ifeanyi Ubah of the YPP, released statements congratulating Soludo.¹⁷ Ubah also specifically stated that he would not challenge the election results in court. We have earlier stated that the refusal of defeated candidates to concede defeat heightens tensions that could escalate to violence in the post-election

¹⁶ Adenekan, S. (2021, November 4). #Anambradecides: Soludo, Uba, Ozigbo, others sign peace accord. *Premium Times*. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/ssouth-east/493420-anambradecides-soludo-uba-ozigbo-others-sign-peace-accord.html>

¹⁷ Oyero, K. (2021, November 10). Anambra election: PDP's Ozigbo concedes defeat, congratulates Soludo. *Punch*. <https://punchng.com/breaking-anambra-election-pdps-ozigbo-concedes-defeat-congratulates-soludo/>; Oyero, K. (2021, November 10). Anambra election: Ubah congratulates Soludo, says he won't challenge results in court. *Punch*. <https://punchng.com/anambra-election-ubah-congratulates-soludo-says-he-wont-challenge-results-in-court/>

period.¹⁸ In any case, the contesting of election results in courts leads to numerous litigations that could subvert the electoral process. Given the context of legal controversies that have surrounded previous elections in Anambra,¹⁹ such lengthy litigation could affect stability in the state. The willingness of candidates to accept the results of this election is therefore commendable, as it helped to ensure peace and stability in the aftermath of the election.

f) Inclusion of PWDs

Observers on the field noted instances of persons with disabilities (PWDs) and the elderly being given priority voting. An example of this was in Ward 2, Unit 1, Ihiala. In future elections, PWD inclusion can be promoted even further by ensuring that polling units are accessible to persons with different kinds of disabilities.

2. Weaknesses of the Election

a) Logistical issues

A major logistical issue in this election was the malfunctioning of the BVAS during voter accreditation, which affected many polling units. In some polling units, the elections were even cancelled due to the BVAS malfunctioning. The BVAS was meant to solve the logistical issues with the smart card readers in previous elections, yet it failed to do so. To ensure that this device is fit for purpose, it is therefore important for INEC to review the BVAS technology and ensure that such malfunctioning does not recur in future elections.

Another logistical issue relates to late deployment of election materials and late arrival of election workers. Although polls were scheduled to open by 8:30am, we received reports that in some polling units, election workers did not arrive until at least 9:00am. In fact, in some polling units, voting did not start until as late as 12:00-1:00pm. This late opening of polls also happened during the supplementary election in Ihiala LGA on 9 November. When combined with the malfunctioning of the BVAS, the result was long wait times that led INEC to extend the time for close of polls from 2:30pm to 4:00pm.

¹⁸ The Electoral Hub. (2020). *Elections and COVID-19: Lessons from Ghana's 2020 General Elections* (Electoral Hub Discussion Paper 3/2020). <https://electoralhub.iriad.org/publications/discussion-papers/elections-and-covid-19-lessons-from-ghanas-2020-general-elections/>

¹⁹ See The Electoral Hub. (2021). *Quick Facts About Anambra Governorship Elections Since 1999*. <https://electoralhub.iriad.org/elections/anambra/decides2021/quick-facts-about-anambra-governorship-elections-since-1999>

These logistical issues were not unexpected, given that INEC faced a herculean task. With over 2.5 million registered voters, Anambra has more voters than the Republic of Liberia (2,476,356²⁰). It also has more voters than Gambia (856,719²¹), Guinea-Bissau (761,676²²), and Cape Verde (392,899²³) combined. When this is combined with the setbacks faced by INEC including its office being burned and the sit-at-home order issued by the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB), it was evident that logistical issues would be inevitable on election day.

Ultimately, these frequent logistical issues lead to frustration and agitation on the part of voters. In fact, we received reports that in Ward 1, Units 1-6 in Dunukofia, angry voters were tearing and destroying their Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) because the BVAS failed to accredit them and nothing was done about it. These issues also contribute to voter apathy and lack of confidence in the process, because after facing such frustration voters might be dissuaded from coming out to vote in subsequent elections. It is therefore important for INEC to urgently address logistics management by fixing the issues with the BVAS, planning early, deploying materials on time, and making backup arrangements for transportation.

b) Electoral malpractices

Electoral malpractices such as vote transactions (buying and selling) were also observed during the election. For example, in Ward 14, Units 10 and 11 in Dunukofia, we received reports that PDP was competing with APGA in vote buying. Both parties initially offered ₦3,000 for votes. PDP increased the amount to ₦6,000 and APGA followed suit by increasing its amount to ₦6,000 as well. Indeed, at some point the amount was raised to ₦10,000. We also received reports of vote buying between APC and APGA party agents in Ward 2, Unit 2 in Ihiala.

This vote buying happened despite the presence of security personnel, who are reported to have “looked the other way”.²⁴ By virtue of section 130 of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended), vote buying and selling are electoral offences that attract a penalty of ₦100,000 fine or 12 months’ imprisonment or both. In future elections, security personnel must ensure that they perform their roles by arresting electoral offenders. In

²⁰ <https://www.necliberia.org/>

²¹ <https://allafrica.com/stories/202107070740.html>

²² <https://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/3081/>

²³ <https://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/3597/>

²⁴ Sahara Reporters. (2021, November 7). *Police Officers ‘Looked The Other Way’ As Massive Vote-Buying Marred Anambra Poll* —Election Observer Group. <http://saharareporters.com/2021/11/07/police-officers-%E2%80%98looked-other-way%E2%80%99-massive-vote-buying-marred-anambra-poll-%E2%80%94election>

the near future, the plans to establish a National Electoral Offences Commission should be finalised to further increase the prosecution of electoral offenders.

Another electoral malpractice was alleged by Dr Michael Otu, the Collation Officer for Orumba North LGA. Dr Otu claimed that he signed the election result under duress, and that the INEC Electoral Officer for the LGA, Mrs Comfort Omorogie, was complicit in this.²⁵ In response, the Returning Officer, Professor Florence Obi, constituted a panel to look into the result for Orumba North. In the end, the panel accepted the results and declared that APGA had won in the LGA.²⁶ Nevertheless, it is important for INEC to further investigate this issue internally to ensure that the INEC staff had not indeed been compromised.

c) Poor enforcement of COVID-19 protocols

According to INEC's policy on conducting elections during the pandemic, on election day all voters will be required to wear masks, there will be a two-tier queuing system at the polling units, voters will be brought into the voting area periodically to prevent overcrowding, and tags and twines will be used to ensure crowd control and maintenance of social distance.²⁷ However, like in the Edo and Ondo elections, these protocols were largely ignored during the Anambra election. As shown in the pictures below, there was overcrowding without any obvious use of masks by voters. INEC and CSOs need to do more to educate voters on how to vote safely, and ensure that these protocols are strictly enforced during elections.

²⁵ Sahara Reporters. (2021, November 7). *Anambra Election: I Signed Result Under Duress—Collation Officer For Orumba North Council Area*. <http://saharareporters.com/2021/11/07/anambra-election-i-signed-result-under-duress%E2%80%9494collation-officer-orumba-north-council-area>; Njoku, L. *et al.* (2021, November 9). Candidates upbeat as INEC concludes Anambra guber. *The Guardian*. <https://guardian.ng/news/candidates-upbeat-as-inec-concludes-anambra-guber/>

²⁶ Chukindi, J. (2021, November 8). APGA wins controversial Orumba North LGA poll, heads to victory with 18 LGs. *Daily Post*. <https://dailypost.ng/2021/11/08/apga-wins-controversial-orumba-north-lga-poll-heads-to-victory-with-18-lgs/>

²⁷ INEC. (2020). *Policy on Conducting Elections in the Context of the COVID-19 Pandemic* (INEC Policy Number 01/2020). <https://www.inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/INEC-POLICY-ON-CONDUCTING-ELECTIONS-IN-COVID19.pdf>



Overcrowding during the supplementary election at Ward 2, Unit 1, Ihiala



Overcrowding at Unit 11, Ward 14 in Dunukofia

d) Poor voter turnout

A final weakness of this election was poor voter turnout, with only 10.3% of voters coming out to vote. There are many possible reasons for this poor turnout, which is one of the lowest in the history of elections in the state. Firstly, the pre-election environment in Anambra State was very tense, as there were many cases of gun violence, armed robbery, cultism, inter-communal conflicts, kidnapping, and other forms of violence. It is therefore possible that people refrained from coming out to vote due to fears of violence.

Secondly, it is likely that the influence of the separatist group, IPOB, also discouraged some people from voting. Although IPOB suspended the sit-at-home order before the election, it is possible that there was still voluntary compliance by some would-be voters. Indeed, in Ihiala LGA, election officials were attacked by hoodlums who claimed to be enforcing IPOB's sit-at-home order.²⁸ This was one of the reasons the election in the LGA had to be postponed.

Thirdly, the history of voter apathy and non-voting in Anambra State likely contributed to the low voter turnout. As discussed in our political context analysis,²⁹ Anambrarians seem to be disinterested in elections particularly at the state level, having recorded poor turnout levels in previous elections. Indeed, due to insecurity in the pre-election period, there was ineffective civic and voter education on the part of both INEC and CSOs.

²⁸ The Cable. (2021, November 7). #AnambraDecides: No election in Ihiala LGA, says collation officer. <https://www.thecable.ng/breaking-no-election-in-ihiala-lga-says-collation-officer>

²⁹ The Electoral Hub. *Political Context Analysis: 2021 Anambra Governorship Election*, op. cit.

This means that little was done to address this history of voter apathy in the state, further contributing to the poor voter turnout during the election.

Fourthly, some voters were likely disenfranchised due to the fact that continuous voter registration (CVR) was only open for about a month and devolved to ward level for only about one week before it ended. Even with this little time for voters to register, the distribution of PVCs for new voters only started a few days to the election and was concentrated at the local government level.³⁰ It is unlikely that all PVCs were collected during this short period, thereby leading to the disenfranchisement of would-be voters. In future elections, enough time should be given for CVR and distribution of PVCs before an election is conducted.

Finally, it is also possible that the coronavirus pandemic contributed to low turnout, due to fears of contracting the virus by coming out to vote. Having seen previous elections where COVID-19 protocols have not been observed, some voters, particularly the sick and elderly who are most prone to the virus, might have decided not to vote to protect their health.

Ultimately, there are numerous factors that contribute to poor voter turnout, and the particularly low turnout during this election shows that the issue must be addressed urgently. A multifaceted approach must be adopted by all stakeholders to address each of these factors that contribute to low voter turnout in Anambra State.

e) Poor representation of marginalised groups

A final weakness of the election was the poor representation of marginalised groups among the candidates. It is not sufficient for marginalised groups to participate in elections as voters – they must also be represented in governance by contesting and winning elections. During the Anambra election, no single candidate was a woman, youth (i.e. under the age of 40) or PWD. This means that they could not even pass through the first stage of becoming a candidate before going to the next stage of struggling to win the election. This sets a negative precedent for poor representation in the state. Going forward, INEC, CSOs, political parties, and other stakeholders must work assiduously to improve women, youth, and PWD representation in Anambra.

³⁰ The Cable. (2021, November 5). *INEC: Why PVCs were distributed hours before Anambra governorship election*. <https://www.thecable.ng/inec-why-pvcs-were-distributed-hours-before-anambra-governorship-election>

Conclusion

The 2021 Anambra governorship election was conducted under incredibly difficult circumstances, particularly due to insecurity in the state. However, through the efforts of stakeholders such as INEC, CSOs, observer groups, and opposition parties, the election was conducted successfully. We commend INEC for its ability to address the numerous setbacks it faced, CSOs and observer groups for their diligence in monitoring the elections, stakeholders especially the National Peace Committee for their peace interventions, opposition candidates for their willingness to accept the election results and concede defeat, and INEC staff for granting PWDs priority voting.

Despite these strengths, it is clear that there are many areas that require improvement. Going forward, we recommend the following actions for different stakeholders:

- INEC should ensure that ad hoc staff are properly trained to prevent numerous mathematical inconsistencies, administrative errors, and poor quality of data uploaded on the results viewing portal.
- In the near future, INEC should introduce electronic voting and transmission of results to reduce the likelihood of error.
- INEC should start uploading aggregated result sheets at ward and LGA level on the results viewing portal.
- INEC, CSOs, and the media should engage in more effective civic and voter education that is particularly targeted at Anambrarians.
- The NOA should deepen citizens engagement and do more in sensitising and creating awareness amongst citizens on exercising their democratic franchise.
- CSOs, NOA and the media should collaborate with INEC to get more citizens to transfer to new PUs that are closer to them.
- INEC should urgently address logistics management by fixing the issues with the BVAS, planning early, deploying materials on time, and making backup arrangements for transportation.
- Security personnel must ensure that they perform their roles by arresting electoral offenders. In the near future, the plans to establish a National Electoral Offences Commission should be finalised.
- INEC should further investigate the controversy surrounding the results for Orumba North internally to ensure that the INEC staff had not indeed been compromised.
- INEC and CSOs should do more to educate voters on how to vote safely, and ensure that COVID-19 protocols are strictly enforced during elections.

- INEC should ensure that enough time is given for CVR and distribution of PVCs before an election is conducted.
- INEC, CSOs, political parties, and other stakeholders must work assiduously to improve women, youth, and PWD representation in Anambra.
- INEC should promote PWD inclusion even further by ensuring that polling units are accessible to persons with different kinds of disabilities.

If all stakeholders take these steps to deepen democracy, the integrity and credibility of future elections in Nigeria will be secured.

Appendix: Table of Results for Selected Polling Units in Onitsha North, Awka South, and Nnewi South LGAs

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
1	ONITSHA NORTH	Ward 2 (G.R.A.)	Unit 1	- APGA: 30 - PDP: 14 - APC: 3 - YPP: 4 - ZLP: 1	1,109	52	4.7%	52	-
			Unit 2	- APGA: 29 - PDP: 23 - APC: 2 - YPP: 4 - LP: 1	1,011	62	6.1%	59	3
			Unit 3	- APGA: 32 - PDP: 17 - APC: 24 - YPP: 2 - ZLP: 2 - LP: 2	925	81	8.8%	79	2
			Unit 4	- APGA: 28 - PDP: 23 - APC: 20 - YPP: 2 - ZLP: 1 - LP: 1	753	79	10.5%	76	3

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- AAC: 1					
			Unit 5	- APGA: 18 - PDP: 32 - APC: 15 - YPP: 2 - ZLP: 2 - LP: 1	838	70	8.4%	70	-
			Unit 6	- APGA: 30 - PDP: 20 - APC: 8 - YPP: 3 - ZLP: 1 - LP: 1 - SDP: 1	730	67	9.2%	64	3
			Unit 7	- APGA: 45 - PDP: 12 - APC: 3 - YPP: 1 - ZLP: 1	747	62	8.3%	62	-
			Unit 8	- APGA: 16 - PDP: 5 - APC: 11 - ZLP: 2 - LP: 1	395	37	9.4%	35	2
			Unit 9	- APGA: 27	373	54	14.5%	53	1

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- PDP: 12 - APC: 7 - YPP: 1 - ZLP: 2 - LP: 2 - SDP: 1 - ADP: 1					
			Unit 10	- APGA: 12 - PDP: 13 - APC: 5 - ADP: 1	225	32	14.2%	31	1
			Unit 11	- APGA: 20 - PDP: 12 - APC: 2 - YPP: 1 - AAC: 1	564	36	6.4%	36	-
			Unit 12	- APGA: 25 - PDP: 30 - APC: 10 - YPP: 4 - ZLP: 3	717	72	10%	72	-
			Unit 13	- APGA: 24 - PDP: 19 - APC: 14 - YPP: 1	672	59	8.8%	59	-

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- SDP: 1					
			Unit 14	- APGA: 31 - PDP: 18 - APC: 2 - YPP: 3	744	54	7.3%	54	-
			Unit 15	- APGA: 1 - PDP: 2	19	3	15.8%	3	-
			Unit 16	- APGA: 2	7	2	28.6%	2	-
			Unit 17	- PDP: 1	2	1	50%	1	-
			Unit 18	- PDP: 1 - APC: 1	5	2	40%	2	-
		TOTAL	18	- <u>APGA: 370</u> - PDP: 254 - APC: 127 - YPP: 28 - ZLP: 15 - LP: 9 - AAC: 2 - SDP: 3 - ADP: 2	9,836	825	8.4%	810	15
		Ward 11 (Ogbe Umuonicha)	Unit 1	- APGA: 28 - PDP: 16 - APC: 27 - YPP: 4	480	79	16.5%	78	1

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- ZLP: 1 - PRP: 2					
			Unit 2	- APGA: 25 - PDP: 9 - APC: 40 - YPP: 3 - SDP: 1 - ADC: 1	662	79	11.9%	79	-
			Unit 3	- APGA: 14 - PDP: 8 - APC: 38 - YPP: 3	628	68	10.8%	63	5
			Unit 4	- APGA: 37 - PDP: 26 - APC: 13 - YPP: 1 - ZLP: 1 - LP: 1 - ADP: 1	656	86	13.1%	80	6
			Unit 5	- APGA: 12 - PDP: 17 - APC: 14 - YPP: 1 - ADP: 1	239	47	19.7%	45	2

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
			Unit 6	- APGA: 35 - PDP: 32 - APC: 6 - YPP: 1 - LP: 1 - A: 1	436	76	17.4%	76	-
			Unit 7	- APGA: 27 - PDP: 46 - APC: 43 - YPP: 1 - AAC: 2 - ADP: 1 - APP: 1	1,059	122	11.5%	121	1
			Unit 8	- APGA: 19 - PDP: 23 - APC: 19 - ZLP: 1	647	62	9.6%	62	-
			Unit 9	- APGA: 18 - PDP: 18 - APC: 15 - ZLP: 2 - PRP: 1	585	57	9.7%	54	3
			Unit 10	- APGA: 7 - PDP: 19 - APC: 20	310	50	16.1%	50	-

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- YPP: 4					
			Unit 11	- APGA: 24 - PDP: 13 - APC: 35 - YPP: 4 - ADP: 3 - PRP: 1	719	83	11.5%	80	3
			Unit 12	- APGA: 39 - PDP: 11 - APC: 15 - ZLP: 1 - ADP: 2	477	70	14.7%	68	2
			Unit 13	- APGA: 11 - PDP: 32 - APC: 13	368	56	15.2%	56	-
			Unit 14	- APGA: 13 - PDP: 17 - APC: 23 - YPP: 2	758	58	7.7%	55	3
			Unit 15	- APGA: 20 - PDP: 24 - APC: 29	384	73	19%	73	-
			Unit 16	- APGA: 3	3	3	100%	3	-

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
			Unit 17	-	2	-	-	-	-
		TOTAL	17	- APGA: 332 - PDP: 311 - APC: 350 - YPP: 24 - ZLP: 6 - LP: 2 - AAC: 2 - SDP: 1 - ADP: 8 - PRP: 4 - ADC: 1 - A: 1 - APP: 1	8,413	1,069	12.7%	1,043	26
		Ward 15 (Woluwo Layout)	Unit 1	- APGA: 11 - PDP: 10 - APC: 14 - YPP: 17 - NNPP: 1	1,099	54	4.9%	53	1
			Unit 2	- APGA: 18 - PDP: 8 - APC: 23	559	54	9.7%	49	5
			Unit 3	- APGA: 29	440	45	10.2%	44	1

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- PDP: 10 - APC: 2 - YPP: 3					
			Unit 4	- APGA: 24 - PDP: 11 - APC: 13 - YPP: 5 - ZLP: 13 - LP: 2 - NRM: 1	547	73	13.3%	69	4
			Unit 5	- APGA: 21 - PDP: 8 - APC: 23 - YPP: 5 - ZLP: 5 - AAC: 1	522	63	12.1%	63	-
			Unit 6	- APGA: 19 - PDP: 6 - APC: 16 - YPP: 10 - ZLP: 3	661	55	8.3%	54	1
			Unit 7	- APGA: 10 - PDP: 14 - APC: 11 - YPP: 6	675	44	6.5%	44	-

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- ADP: 2 - PRP: 1					
			Unit 8	- APGA: 14 - PDP: 10 - APC: 3 - YPP: 10	794	37	4.7%	37	-
			Unit 9	- APGA: 11 - PDP: 4 - APC: 4 - YPP: 4 - PRP: 1	554	24	4.3%	24	-
			Unit 10	- APGA: 21 - PDP: 14 - APC: 11 - YPP: 5 - ZLP: 1 - LP: 1 - A: 1	687	60	8.7%	54	5 ³¹
			Unit 11	- APGA: 9 - PDP: 7 - APC: 10 - YPP: 5 - LP: 1	442	33	7.5%	33	-

³¹ According to the result sheet, out of 60 accredited voters, there were 54 valid votes and 5 invalid votes. This implies that one voter was accredited but did not vote.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- SDP: 1					
			Unit 12	- APGA: 12 - PDP: 11 - APC: 18 - YPP: 7 - ZLP: 1 - PRP: 1	548	51	9.3%	50	2 ³²
			Unit 13	- APGA: 29 - PDP: 8 - APC: 2 - ZLP: 3	521	43	8.3%	42	1
			Unit 14	- APGA: 6 - PDP: 9 - APC: 14 - YPP: 2 - ZLP: 1	195	31	15.9%	34	2 ³³
			Unit 15	- APGA: 40 - PDP: 6 - APC: 20	632	66	10.4%	66	-
			Unit 16	- APGA: 9 - APC: 2 - ZLP: 1	59	17	28.8%	13	4

³² Out of 51 accredited voters, there were 50 valid votes and 2 invalid votes. This implies an administrative error.

³³ There seem to be administrative errors here. The number of accredited voters is recorded as 31, yet the sum of the votes recorded for each party is 32. Furthermore, as many as 34 valid votes are recorded with 2 invalid votes. This implies that the total number of accredited voters should be 36.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- A: 1					
			Unit 17	- APGA: 12 - APC: 4 - YPP: 1	30	18	60%	17	1
		TOTAL	17	- <u>APGA: 295</u> - PDP: 136 - APC: 190 - YPP: 80 - ZLP: 28 - LP: 4 - AAC: 1 - SDP: 1 - ADP: 2 - PRP: 3 - A: 2 - NNPP: 1 - NRM: 1	8,965	768	8.6%	746	27
2	AWKA SOUTH	Ward 2 (Amawbia I)	Unit 1	- APGA: 102 - PDP: 23 - APC: 7 - YPP: 3 - LP: 1	1,237	160	12.9%	160 ³⁴	21

³⁴ There seems to be an administrative error here. The total number of valid votes is recorded as 160, yet the sum of the votes recorded for each party is only 139.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- AAC: 1 - A: 2					
			Unit 2	- APGA: 106 - PDP: 25 - APC: 5 - ADC: 1	1,495	156	10.4%	137	19
			Unit 3	- APGA: 83 - PDP: 21 - APC: 3 - ZLP: 2 - LP: 2 - SDP: 1 - A: 1	959	116	12.1%	113	3
			Unit 4	- APGA: 40 - PDP: 8 - APC: 1	571	53	9.3%	49	4
			Unit 5	- APGA: 34 - PDP: 13 - APC: 9 - YPP: 2	452	³⁵	-	58	-
			Unit 6	- APGA: 49 - PDP: 16	482	83	17.2%	82	1

³⁵ The number of accredited voters is not recorded on the results sheet. However, given that the number of votes cast is 58, we can reasonably assume that the number of accredited voters was also 58.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- APC: 14 - YPP: 1 - LP: 1 - APM: 1					
			Unit 7	- APGA: 50 - PDP: 9 - APC: 6 - YPP: 6 - ZLP: 1 - ADP: 1 - A: 1	311	74	23.8%	74	-
			Unit 8	- APGA: 38 - PDP: 3 - APC: 4 - LP: 1	262	46	17.6%	46	-
			Unit 9	- APGA: 11 - PDP: 5	-	34 ³⁶	-	16	-
			Unit 10	- APGA: 37 - PDP: 5 - APC: 2 - YPP: 2 - LP: 1 - ADP: 1	114	56	49.1%	48	8

³⁶ This seems to be an administrative error. The field for registered voters is left blank, while the number of accredited voters is recorded as 34. Yet, only 16 votes were cast. It seems more feasible that the number of registered voters is 34, while the number of accredited voters is 16.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
			Unit 11	ELECTION CANCELLED³⁷					
			Unit 12	- APGA: 20 - PDP: 2 - SDP: 1	34	23	67.6%	23	-
		TOTAL	12	- <u>APGA: 570</u> - PDP: 130 - APC: 51 - YPP: 14 - ZLP: 3 - LP: 6 - AAC: 1 - SDP: 2 - ADP: 2 - ADC: 1 - A: 4 - APM: 1	5,917	801	13.5%	806	56
		Ward 11 (Awka VII)	Unit 1	- APGA: 80 - PDP: 16 - APC: 33 - YPP: 4 - ZLP: 1 - LP: 2	1,133	150	13.2%	141	9

³⁷ A note was uploaded with a message that read, "Polling unit 011 in ward 02 Awka South was cancelled because they had zero records on the BVAS app and still allowed 34 people to cast their votes during the elections on the 6th of Nov 2021".

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- AAC: 1 - SDP: 4					
			Unit 2	- APGA: 58 - PDP: 15 - APC: 27 - ZLP: 1 - SDP: 1	644	107	16.6%	102	5
			Unit 3	- APGA: 81 - PDP: 22 - APC: 45 - YPP: 1 - ZLP: 1 - PRP: 1	754	156	20.7%	151	5
			Unit 4	- APGA: 59 - PDP: 11 - APC: 35 - ZLP: 1	731	107	14.6%	106	1
			Unit 5	- APGA: 88 - PDP: 13 - APC: 33	564	135	23.9%	134	1
			Unit 6	- APGA: 42 - PDP: 13 - APC: 5	672	60	8.9%	60	-
			Unit 7	- APGA: 63 - PDP: 12	845	129	15.3%	119	10

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- APC: 40 - YPP: 4					
			Unit 8	- APGA: 17 - PDP: 8 - APC: 1	37	28	75.7%	26	2
			Unit 9	- APGA: 31 - PDP: 17 - APC: 11	93	66	71%	59	7
		TOTAL	9	- <u>APGA: 519</u> - PDP: 127 - APC: 230 - YPP: 9 - ZLP: 4 - LP: 2 - AAC: 1 - SDP: 5 - PRP: 1	5,473	938	17.1%	898	40
		Ward 18 (Nise II)	Unit 1	- APGA: 40 - PDP: 19 - APC: 11 - YPP: 4 - ZLP: 1	720	-	7.4%	-	_ ³⁸

³⁸ The figures for registered voters, valid votes, and invalid votes are not visible due to the blurriness of the result sheet.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- AAC: 1 - A: 4					
			Unit 2	- APGA: 49 - PDP: 29 - APC: 5 - YPP: 1 - ZLP: 2 - A: 1 - BP: 1	620	90	14.5%	88	2
			Unit 3	- APGA: 27 - PDP: 10 - APC: 9 - YPP: 2	291	55	18.9%	48	7
			Unit 4	- APGA: 34 - PDP: 12 - APC: 20 - A: 1	346	70	20.2%	67	2 ³⁹
			Unit 5	- APGA: 55 - PDP: 17 - APC: 11 - YPP: 14 - ZLP: 1 - LP: 1	754	111	14.7%	102	9

³⁹ Out of 70 accredited voters, there are 67 valid votes and 2 invalid votes, implying that one accredited voter did not vote.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- PRP: 1 - A: 2					
			Unit 6	- APGA: 83 - PDP: 20 - APC: 10 - YPP: 21 - ZLP: 2 - AAC: 1 - A: 1 - APP: 1 - BP: 1	804	140	17.4%	140	-
			Unit 7	- APGA: 68 - PDP: 16 - APC: 12 - YPP: 6 - AAC: 1 - APP: 1	602	107	17.8%	104	3
			Unit 8	- APGA: 68 - PDP: 13 - APC: 3 - YPP: 4 - SDP: 1 - ADP: 1	-	-	-	-	_40

⁴⁰ The figures for registered voters, accredited voters, valid votes, and invalid votes are not given.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- A: 1 - APM: 1 - BP: 1					
			Unit 9	- APGA: 59 - PDP: 13 - APC: 9 - YPP: 28 - ZLP: 2 - LP: 1 - AAC: 1 - SDP: 2 - APP: 1	699	116	16.6%	116	-
			Unit 10	- APGA: 10 - PDP: 3 - APC: 3 - YPP: 2	51	18	35.3%	18	-
		TOTAL	10	- <u>APGA: 493</u> - PDP: 152 - APC: 93 - YPP: 82 - ZLP: 8 - LP: 2 - AAC: 4 - SDP: 3 - ADP: 1	4,887	707	14.5%	683	23

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- PRP: 1 - A: 10 - APP: 3 - APM: 1 - BP: 3					
3	NNEWI SOUTH	Ward 8 (Ezinifite I)	Unit 1	- APGA: 7 - PDP: 1 - YPP: 2 - LP: 38	472	48	10.2%	48	-
			Unit 2	- APGA: 9 - PDP: 6 - APC: 1 - YPP: 4 - LP: 35 - BP: 1	447	56	12.5%	56	-
			Unit 3	- APGA: 16 - PDP: 1 - APC: 2 - YPP: 3 - LP: 33	431	55	12.8%	55	-
			Unit 4	- APGA: 15 - PDP: 7 - APC: 5 - YPP: 4	441	64	14.5%	64	-

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- LP: 32 - A: 1					
			Unit 5	- APGA: 19 - PDP: 1 - APC: 4 - YPP: 2 - LP: 27 - AAC: 1	426	54	12.7%	54	-
			Unit 6	- APGA: 10 - PDP: 1 - APC: 3 - YPP: 1 - LP: 21	375	⁴¹	-	36	-
			Unit 7	- APGA: 7 - PDP: 2 - APC: 3 - YPP: 1 - LP: 14	283	27	9.5%	27	-
			Unit 8	- APGA: 10 - APC: 3 - YPP: 2 - LP: 16 - AAC: 1	550	32	5.8%	32	-

⁴¹ The number of accredited voters is not recorded on the results sheet. However, given that the number of votes cast is 36, we can reasonably assume that the number of accredited voters was also 36.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
			Unit 9	- APGA: 19 - PDP: 2 - APC: 2 - YPP: 5 - LP: 38 - AAC: 1	577	68	11.8%	68 ⁴²	-
		TOTAL	9	- APGA: 112 - PDP: 21 - APC: 23 - YPP: 24 - LP: 254 - AAC: 3 - A: 1 - BP: 1	4,002	404	10.1%	440	-
		Ward 10 (Ezinifite III)	Unit 1	- APGA: 21 - PDP: 5 - APC: 4 - YPP: 20 - LP: 22	623	83	13.3%	72	11
			Unit 2	- APGA: 12 - APC: 3 - YPP: 14	549	44	8%	43	1

⁴² There is a mathematical inconsistency here. The total number of valid votes is recorded as 68, yet the sum of the votes recorded for each party is 67.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- ZLP: 1 - LP: 12 - PRP: 1					
			Unit 3	- APGA: 2 - LP: 3	418	5	1.2%	5	-
			Unit 4	ELECTION CANCELLED⁴³					
			Unit 5	- APGA: 9 - PDP: 2 - APC: 5 - YPP: 3 - LP: 3 - SDP: 1 - APM: 1	428	27	6.3%	27 ⁴⁴	-
			Unit 6	- APGA: 8 - PDP: 2 - APC: 1 - YPP: 5 - LP: 2 - NNPP: 1	331	20	6%	19	1
			Unit 7	- APGA: 3 - PDP: 2 - APC: 6	267	16	6%	16	-

⁴³ A note was uploaded with a message that read, "There was no election in the above unit because BVAS could not verify voters. Thus, no result is generated for the unit".

⁴⁴ There is a mathematical inconsistency here. The total number of valid votes is recorded as 27, yet the sum of the votes recorded for each party is 24.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- LP: 4 - A: 1					
		TOTAL	7	- APGA: 55 - PDP: 11 - APC: 19 - YPP: 42 - ZLP: 1 - LP: 46 - SDP: 1 - PRP: 1 - A: 1 - NNPP: 1 - APM: 1	2,616	195	7.5%	182	13
		Ward 15 (Ukpor III)	Unit 1	- APGA: 20 - PDP: 15 - APC: 5 - YPP: 4 - ZLP: 4 - LP: 6 - ADP: 1 - APM: 2	587	58	9.9%	57	1
			Unit 2	- APGA: 15 - PDP: 4 - APC: 10	516	56	10.9%	51	5

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- YPP: 9 - ZLP: 6 - LP: 7					
			Unit 3	- APGA: 16 - PDP: 26 - APC: 11 - YPP: 8 - LP: 1 - SDP: 2 - PRP: 1 - APM: 1 - ZLP: 7 ⁴⁵	494	73	14.8%	73	-
			Unit 4	- APGA: 17 - PDP: 22 - YPP: 9 - LP: 1	520	47	9%	47 ⁴⁶	-
			Unit 5	- APGA: 10 - PDP: 7 - APC: 13	290	40	13.8%	40 ⁴⁷	3

⁴⁵ The figure 7 was inputted under the field for total number of votes. However, given that the number of valid votes is recorded as 73, it can be surmised that the figure was meant to be inputted next to the field for ZLP. This seems to be an administrative error.

⁴⁶ There are mathematical inconsistencies here. The total number of valid votes and accredited voters are recorded as 47 each, yet the sum of the votes recorded for each party is 49.

⁴⁷ The figure 40 was inputted under the field for total number of valid votes. This seems to be an administrative error, as the sum of the votes recorded for each party is 37. This, combined with the fact that out of 40 accredited voters there were three invalid votes, suggests that the correct figure for valid votes should be 37.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- YPP: 4 - LP: 3					
			Unit 6	- APGA: 15 - PDP: 2 - APC: 16 - LP: 2	200	35	17.5%	35	-
			Unit 7	- APGA: 34 - PDP: 6 - APC: 22 - YPP: 17 - LP: 10	_48	91	-	89	2
			Unit 8	- APGA: 17 - PDP: 2 - APC: 6 - LP: 1 - NNPP: 1	127	27	21.3%	27	-
			Unit 9	- APGA: 2 - APC: 8 - YPP: 3 - LP: 3	535	16	3%	16	-
			Unit 10	- APGA: 14 - PDP: 5 - APC: 8	171	42	24.6%	41	1

⁴⁸ The field for registered voters was left blank, making it impossible to calculate voter turnout.

S/N	LGA	Ward	Polling Unit	Votes	Registered Voters	Accredited Voters	Voter Turnout	Valid Votes	Invalid Votes
				- YPP: 11 - LP: 2 - ADC: 1					
			Unit 11	- APGA: 10 - PDP: 5 - APC: 6 - YPP: 7 - LP: 1	140	29	20.7%	29	-
		TOTAL	11	- <u>APGA: 170</u> - PDP: 94 - APC: 105 - YPP: 72 - ZLP: 19 - LP: 35 - SDP: 2 - ADP: 1 - PRP: 1 - ADC: 1 - NNPP: 1 - APM: 3	3,580	514	14.4%	505	12

Source: INEC Result Viewing Portal (<https://inecelectionresults.com>)



About The Electoral Hub

The Electoral Hub is a multidisciplinary strategic think tank committed to strengthening electoral governance, and accountability in Nigeria. The Electoral Hub works to enhance electoral knowledge, integrity and credibility through research, documentation, electoral education, policy and legal influencing, and impact advocacy.

