

VOTER RISE

REPORT ON PVC COLLECTION SURVEY





Disclaimer

The data contained in this report is only up-to-date as of Thursday, 22 December 2022. Some of it is subject to change during the natural course of events. SB Morgen cannot accept liability for any errors or omissions that may follow such events that may invalidate data contained herein.

Our researchers employed one-onone interviews, desk research and polling to collate the available data. Our editors sifted through the data and prepared the report, using various proprietary tools to fact-check and copy-edit the information gathered. Our publicly released reports are formatted for easy and quick reading and may not necessarily contain all the data that SB Morgen gathered during a given survey. Complete datasets can be made available on request.

All forecasts were built using data from a variety of sources. A baseline of accurate and comprehensive historical data is collected from respondents and publicly-available information, including from regulators, trade associations, research partners, newspapers and government agencies.



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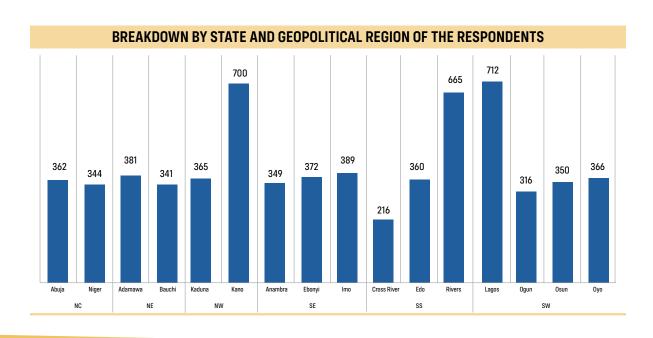
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Executive Summary

SBM Intelligence surveyed 6,588 voters in 16 states midway into the PVC collection timetable issued by INEC to ascertain how Nigerians who desire to vote, and who have completed the Continuous Voter Registration (CVR) process are faring with regards to the collection. The breakdown by state and geopolitical region of the respondents is shown below:



The findings are summarised in the chart below:

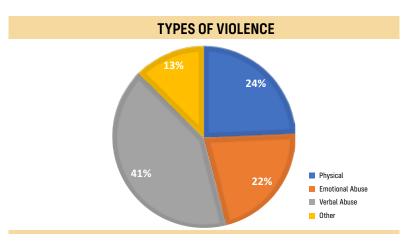
Total Respondent count	******	100%
Those who desire to vote	*********	97%
Completed CVR Process (Physical Capture)	$\textcolor{red}{\textbf{constraints of the constraints}}$	94%
Tried to pick up PVC	*****	90%
Successfully picked up PVC	*********	79%
Encountered violence when trying to pick PVC	****	24%





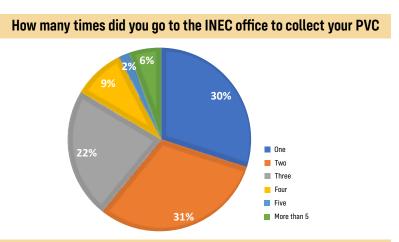
Executive Summary cont'd

A small percentage (4%) dropped off between completing their CVR and trying to pick up their PVCs (90%). This shows a high desire to vote amongst the respondents. Of the total respondents, 79% have been able to successfully pick up their PVCs, halfway through the collection process representing an 11% drop from those who have tried to pick up their PVCs. However, nearly a quarter of the respondents said they experienced violence and/or abuse in when trying to pick their PVCs up. This is something that INEC needs to look into and urgently resolve urgently. The breakdown of the types of violence encountered is shown below:



Four out of every five of our respondents have successfully picked up their PVCs, while almost all respondents expressed a desire to vote in February's elections.

In addition, a majority of those who have picked up have had to visit the INEC offices multiple times to get the PVCs. Only 30% of the respondents were able to get their PVCs the first time they tried to collect.





The subsequent sections of the report will provide details along the key demographic lines as well as recommendations that can be implemented in the second half of the PVC collection window to close the gap and eliminate violence from the collection experience.

The key recommendations from the study are detailed below:

- 24% of the respondents experienced some form of violence in the PVC collection process. This needs to be investigated, and measures put in place to forestall such occurrences going forward.
- There is a marked gap between the collection rates for those registering to vote for the first time (predominantly younger people) and those transferring their PVCs to new polling units. Concerted efforts need to be put in place to close this gap.
- The reasons given to Nigerians for PVCs not being available for pickup do not engender trust. INEC needs to be more transparent

with the actual reasons and call for logistical help where needed. Cases, where voters can find themselves on the Voters Register, displayed on the CVR portal, but their PVCs cannot be found and/or they are told they cannot be found on the system need to be documented and investigated. A citizen's complaint portal on the INEC portal should be incorporated for these purposes.

- Registrants needing multiple visits to the INEC office to get their PVCs is inefficient and costly to the registrant. Ultimately, some may give up. INEC needs to leverage the data it has collected to keep the registrants informed of the status of their PVCs from the comfort of their homes and only require them to come to the INEC office when there is confirmation that their PVCs are available for collection.
- Beyond a survey of this nature, INEC needs to publish PVC collection statistics publicly routinely every week, to enable Nigerians track and provide information to support the targeting of advocacy efforts.



Background



In the lead up to the 2023 elections, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) closed the Continuous Voter Registration (CVR) on July 31st, 2022¹. While there was litigation to extend the CVR indefinitely, the closure has been maintained. The voter register grew to an initial 95 million registered voters, according to INEC, at the close of the CVR after 12.29 million new voters completed the CVR process before the deadline. However, after a clean-up of the voter data using the Automated Biometric Identification System (ABIS), 2.7million registrants were delisted, bringing the final number of registered voters

to 93.52 million according to an October 2022 announcement by INEC².

After this, on 2 December 2022, INEC announced a collection timetable for the PVC from 12 December 2022 to close on 22 January 2023³. INEC has maintained that only Nigerians with PVCs will be able to vote in the 2023 general elections, despite challenges to this. In addition, it has also maintained that the PVC is integral to its Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS), which will be deployed during the elections to eliminate rigging⁴. It is therefore important to ascertain

¹INEC, extend voter registration exercise - Daily Trust

^{2|}NEC: Preliminary number of registered voters stands at 93.5m | TheCable

² INEC announces dates for PVC Collection | Premium Times Nigeria

No PVC, no vote - INEC tells electorate | Premium Times Nigeria



that all registered voters who desire and have made attempts to collect the PVCs can collect the cards seamlessly as they will be otherwise disenfranchised.

SBM Intelligence, therefore, carried out this survey midway through this collection period to guide PVC collection advocacy and efforts in the second half of the PVC collection.

The aim is to minimise those who may be disenfranchised due to not getting their PVC in this window. This national survey sought to ascertain therefore the following:

- CVR registration versus CVR capture completion. Have those who completed CVR been able to pick up their PVCs?
- If they have been able to, how many attempts did they have to make?
- If they have not been able to, why?
- Do they trust the reasons given?
- Did they experience any violence or abuse in the collection process?



Methodology

SBM designed a questionnaire not exceeding 20 questions and translated the same to local languages where necessary.

These questionnaires were administered face-to-face in 16 states spread across all six geopolitical zones in the country.

A total of 6,588 respondents were surveyed.

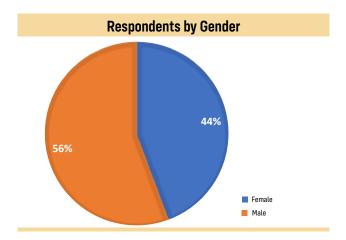
We ensured that the respondents cut across the following groupings.

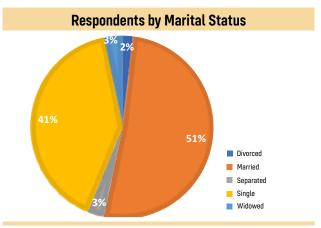
- Rural vs Urban
- Gender
- Age distribution
- Location distribution
- Various employment statuses

The study focused on people who intend to vote in the elections, and as a result, we ignored respondents who were not registered voters.

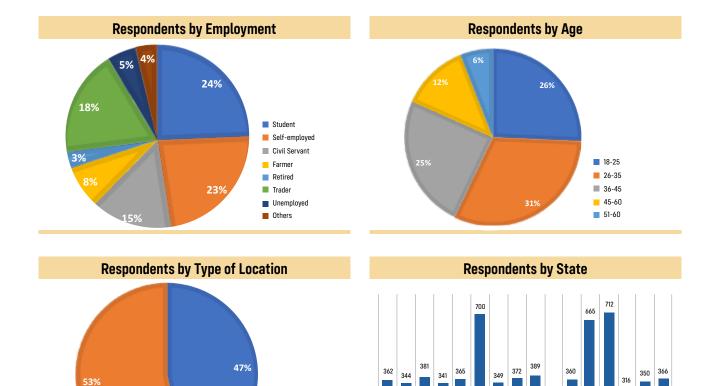
The study focused primarily on those who expressed a desire to vote in the 2023 elections and therefore had started the CVR process.

Quantitative analysis of these responses was carried out, and the results are presented in the subsequent sections of this report.

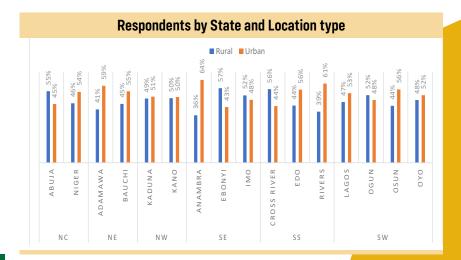








Our researchers ensured coverage of both rural and urban respondents across all the locations covered to get a true representation of possible differences in access to PVC collection that may be due to what type of location the respondents live. Below is a breakdown of by the state of distribution into rural versus urban respondents.



Urban

The analysis in this report will be along the lines of location (State and/or if it is rural versus urban), age and, where necessary, gender. These are the lines where our analysis has shown significant variances that can provide stakeholders with guidance and insight.



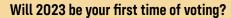
Voter Profile

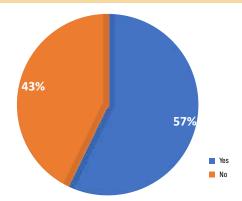
The respondents were asked three key questions to establish what type of registrant they were. The next section provides insight into this, which, when taken together with the demographic information, provides a snapshot of the types and distribution of voters going into the 2023 elections.

43% of our respondents are first-time voters, and most of them are young people.

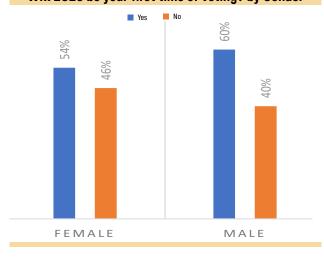
First-Time vs Returning Voters

The study sought to ascertain what proportions of the respondents were first-time voters and those who would have voted in previous elections. A very significant 43% are first-time voters.

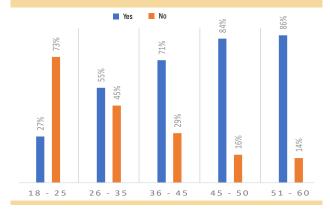




Will 2023 be your first time of voting? by Gender



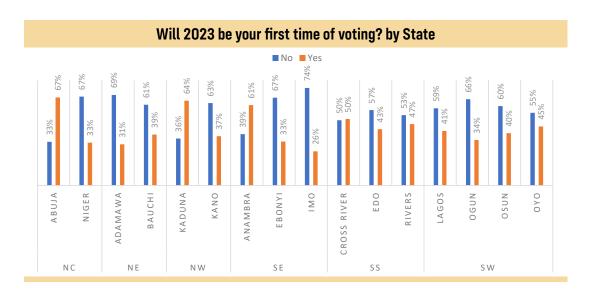
Will 2023 be your first time of voting? by Age



There is a greater percentage of first-time voters amongst the female respondents.

As expected, age is a great differentiator for this question, and generally speaking, most first-time voters are younger people.



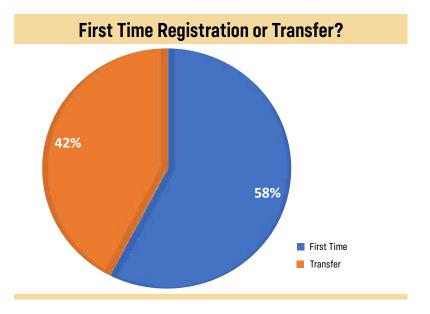


Regarding location, there is a more significant occurrence of first-time voters in the more urbanised locations such as Abuja, Kaduna and Anambra. The exception to this is Lagos, where this trend is reversed. In most of the other locations, there are more returning voters than first-time voters.

First-Time Registration or Transfer of Existing PVC to New Polling Unit

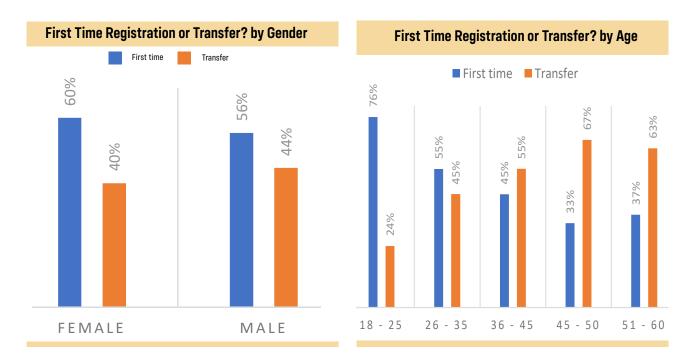
As a follow-up to the question above, the respondents were asked if their registration was for a first-time PVC or if they were transferring an existing PVC to a new polling unit due to relocation.

42% of respondents were transfer voters.
This is a huge percentage as previous research indicates that most people who move do not attempt to transfer their PVCs



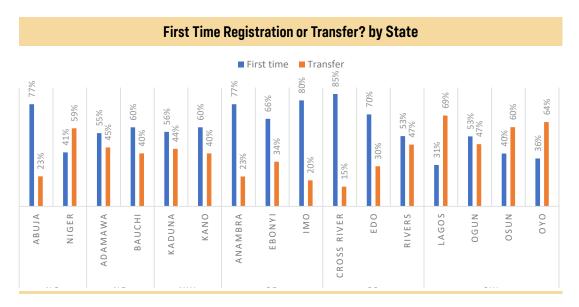


42% of the respondents were transferring their PVCs. In previous research, it has been suggested that those who relocate hardly attempt to transfer their PVCs because they believe the process is cumbersome. Most resigned to either returning to their original registered polling unit to vote or chose not to vote. It is, therefore, a success on INEC's part with regards to streamlining the process as well as educating the public on the streamlined process, and a testament to the increased desire of voters to participate in the 2023 elections that such a statistically significant number of respondents a transferring their PVCs.



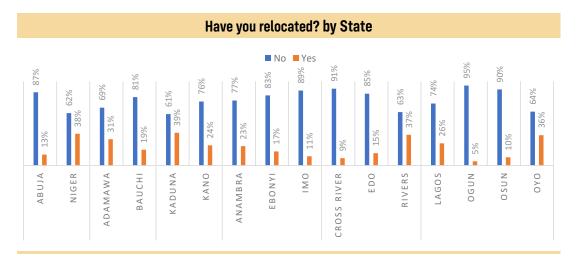
There are marginally more women transferring than men, though the general trend is that more people across genders are first-time voters. However, when disaggregated by age, as expected, the first-time registrants occur more heavily amongst the younger first-time voters, while a larger portion of the older people are transferring, likely due to relocation to new places.





States in the South East and South-South showed the greatest representation of first-time registrants, with Cross River (85%), Imo (80%) and Anambra (77%) leading. The more urbanised centres like Lagos (69%) and Oyo (64%) led with regards to the PVC transfers, indicative of these locations being large migrant pullers and having a greater degree of internal relocation within the states.

We followed this question up by asking if the respondents had relocated recently.

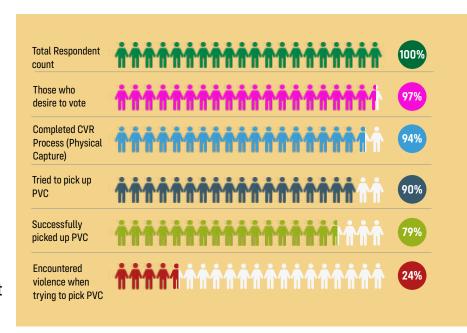


While the percentage of PVC transfers in most of the states was greater than 30%, only three states had more than 30% responding as recently relocated – Niger (38%), Oyo (36%) and Adamawa (31%). This suggests that many of those who are attempting to transfer their PVCs towards the 2023 elections have lived in their current locations for a longer period but may either have returned to where they registered originally to vote in previous elections or simply did not vote due to not transferring their PVCs. This may suggest a likelier voter turnout in the 2023 elections, as more people move their PVCs to polling units closer to where they currently live, making voting easier.



Willingness and ability to vote

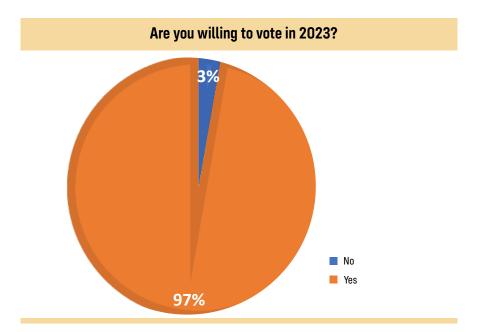
The study sought to establish the willingness of the respondents to vote in the 2023 elections and then place this side by side with their potential ability to vote, based on their completion of the CVR process and finally against their current actual ability to vote which is only confirmed by if they have been able to collect their PVCs successfully. The chart below summarises this.



The subsequent sections will dive into deeper details for each of the questions.

Desire To Vote

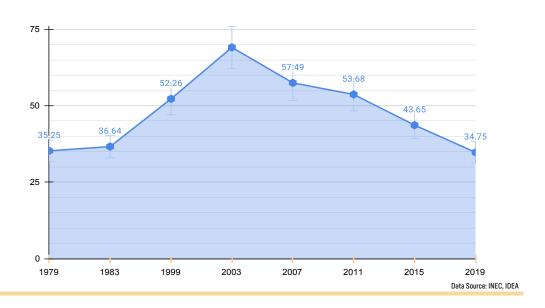
97% of the respondents expressed a desire to vote in the 2023 elections.

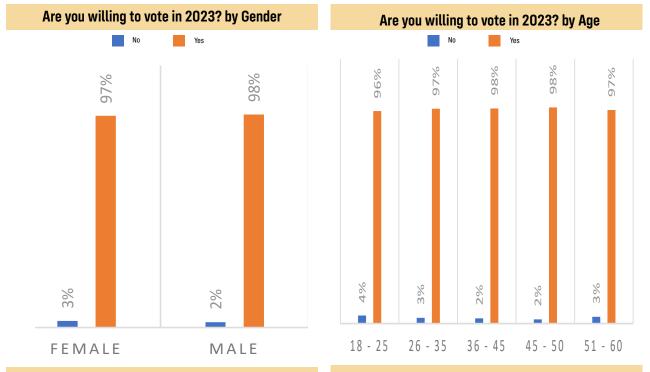


This is an overwhelming majority of the respondents, indicative of 2023 being an election where there is likely to be a reversal of the trend of decreasing voter turnout in elections since 2003.



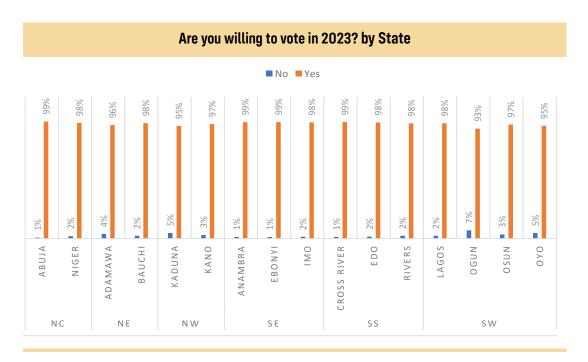
% of voters' turnout for presidential election, 1959 till date





There is no significant variance by gender or by age on this question.

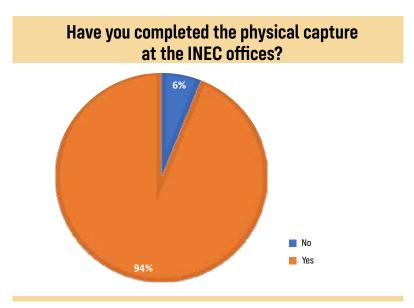




When disaggregated by location, Ogun (7%) and Oyo (5%), and Kaduna (5%) have the highest percentages who responded in the negative. However, even these are below 10%, representing a high desire to vote across the board.

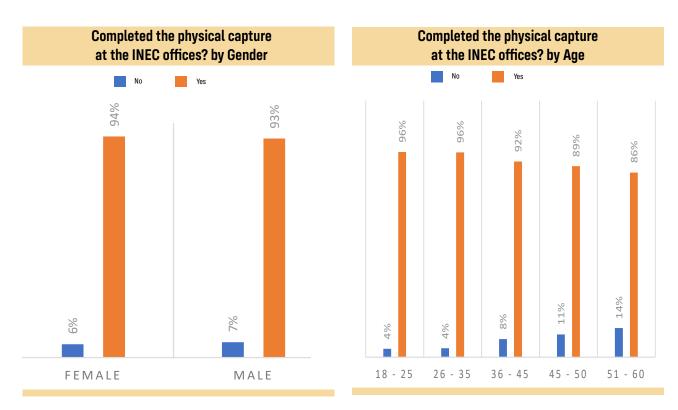
Completion of CVR

94% of the respondents have completed their CVR process by going through the physical data capture at the INEC offices.

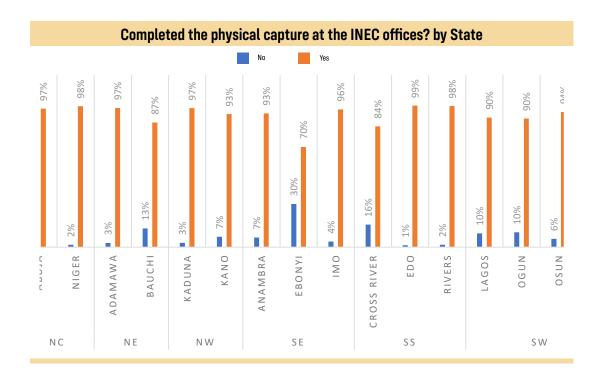


While this is 3% lower than the percentage that indicated a desire to vote, it is a very high figure, once again indicative of the elevated interest in being able to vote in the 2023 elections.



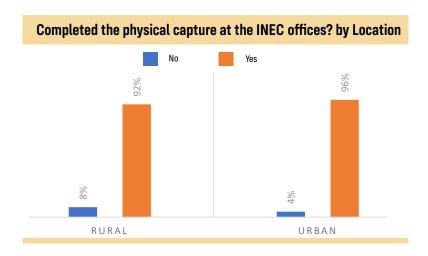


There is no significant variance by gender. However, when disaggregated by age, the trend is that a greater percentage of the younger respondents completed their physical capture at the INEC offices, with a full 10% gap between the youngest demographic (18 - 25) and the oldest (51 - 60).



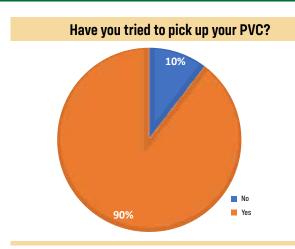


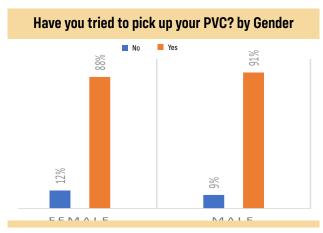
30% of the Ebonyi respondents were unable to complete their physical capture, a significant 24% above the average of 6%. Other states above this average include Cross River (16%), Bauchi (13%), Lagos (10%), Ogun (10%), Kano (7%) and Anambra (7%).

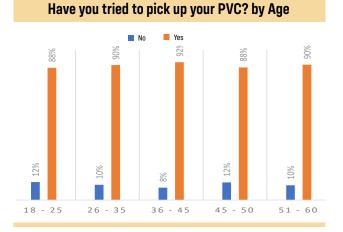


This question was further disaggregated by location type. 4% more respondents in rural areas were unable to complete their physical data capture to complete their CVR process.

Attempts to Pick Up PVC

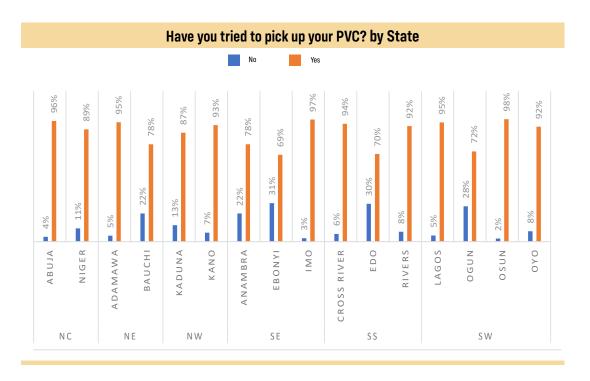




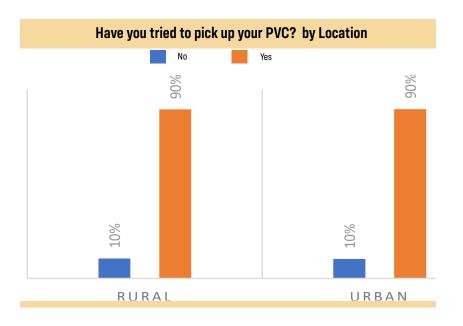


The percentage of men that attempted to pick their PVCs was 3% more than the women, a marginal difference. In the same vein, the variance by age has the 18 -25 and the 45 - 50 respondents 2% below the average at 88%, and those between 26 - 35 2% above the average at 92%. Our view therefore is that this variance on this question is not significant enough to conclude that there are differences by gender or age that warrant a differentiation in strategy to drive collection attempts.





Ebonyi respondents had the highest percentage responding in the negative to this question at 31%, correlating the state's performance with regards to completion of the CVR process with 30% negative responses. However, in Edo, which has the second-highest negative responses at 30%, only 1% stated they could not complete their CVR process, showing a 29% difference between those who completed the CVR process and those who attempted to pick up their PVCs. Other states with such high negative responses include Ogun (28%), Bauchi (22%) and Anambra (22%).

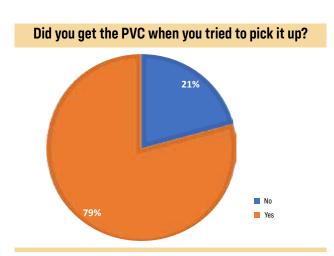


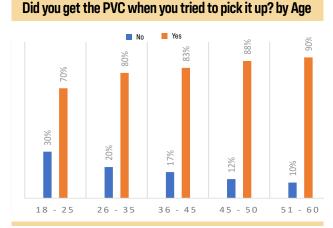
There is no variance by location type.

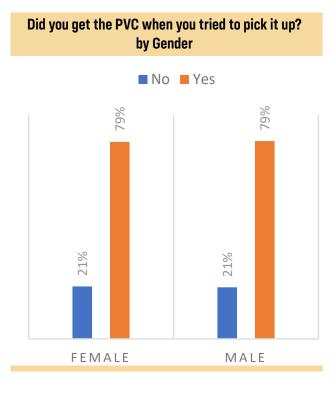


Success At PVC Pickup

Only 79% of the respondents who attempted to pick up were successful at obtaining their PVCs when they attempted to pick up at the designated locations.

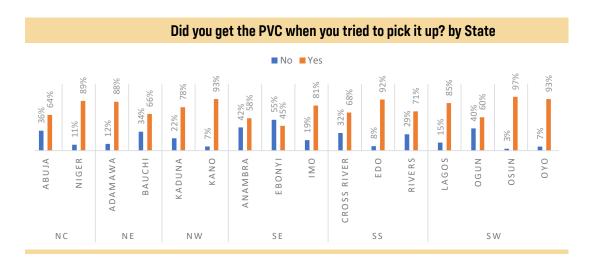




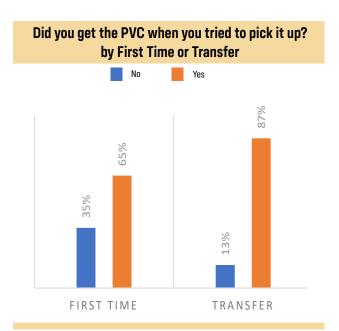


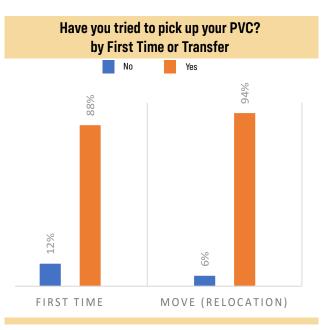
There is no variance in this question by gender. By age, however, a significant variance emerges. Only 70% of those between 18 – 25 were successful in picking up their PVCs, 9% less than the average and 20% less than those aged 51 – 60. The general trend is that the older the respondents, the higher the percentage of those who could pick up their PVCs. This is important, because there is no significant variance in the percentage of each category that actually attempts to pick up their PVCs. There needs to be an engagement of INEC to ascertain why younger applicants are finding it harder to pick up their PVCs despite trying and bridge this gap urgently.





Ebonyi is the only state where more than half (55%) of those that tried to pick up their PVCs were unable to get them. It is closely followed by Anambra, where 42% were unable to. In Ogun, Abuja, Bauchi and Cross River, over 30% of the respondents could not pick up their PVCs when they tried, and Rivers and Kaduna have above 20%. These locations require urgent attention from INEC and Civil Society Advocacy groups to ascertain why the pickup success rates are so poor to intervene to drive and accelerate successful collection.



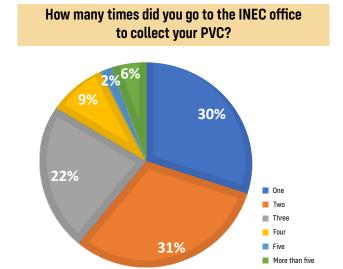


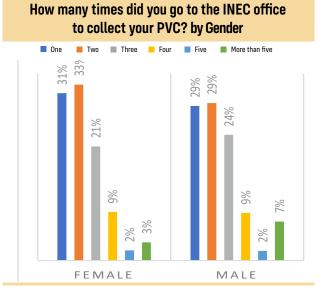


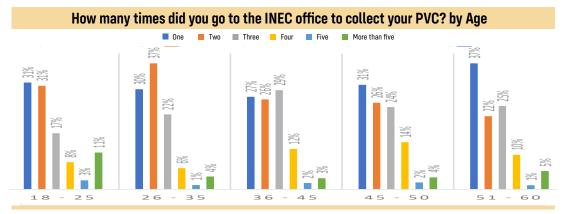
When this is disaggregated by whether these are first-time registrants or if they are transferring their PVCs, we see a significant variance. While 87% of those who transferred their PVCs were able to pick up, only 65% of new PVC registrants were able to pick them up. This represents a 22% difference, very significant when compared with the fact that there is only a 6% difference between the first-time registrants and transfers for those who attempted to pick up their PVCs. Because there are more first-time registrants amongst the younger respondents, it reiterates the need to engage INEC and advocate – it is not for a significant lack of effort to pick up PVCs on the part of the young registrants that they have not received their PVCs.

Number of Pickup Attempts Before Success

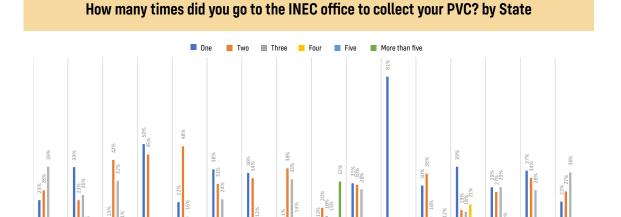
Only 30% of the respondents could pick up their PVCs on their first attempt. While there is some variance by location and age, this is a more general challenge that requires a holistic view.











EDO

SS

CROSS RIVER

LAGOS

OGUN

SW

OSUN

Our SBM researchers observed on the ground that each attempt to collect the PVCs at the INEC offices took between three to four hours. The implication of this is that for each day the respondents attempted to pick up their PVCs, they had to forfeit either work or schooling. In addition, they incurred transport costs for each attempt. It is, therefore, remarkable that despite this, 90% have attempted to collect and 79% have collected successfully. It is therefore important for INEC to streamline the actual collection process to

Reduce the time it takes to collect in each attempt.

KANO

ANAMBRA

EBONYI

SE

KADUNA

NW

BAUCHI

NIGER

ADAMAWA

ΝE

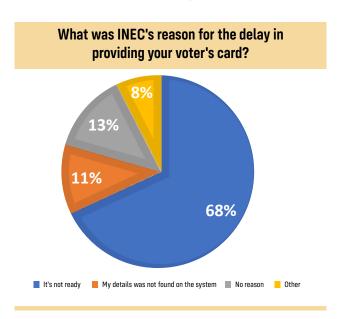
ABUJA

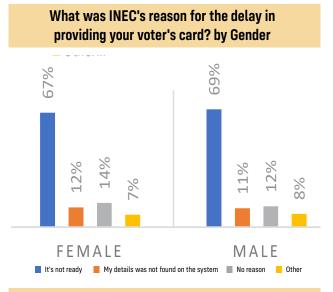
 To utilise the emails and phone numbers provided during registration to communicate the availability of PVCs for pickup to registrants and thereby minimise the number of attempts they have to make to get their PVCs

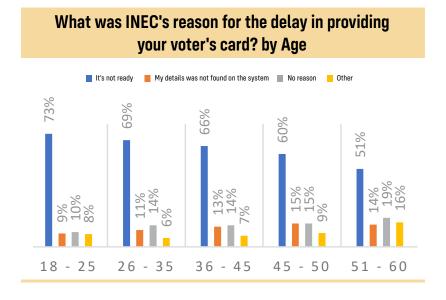


Reasons for delay in PVC availability

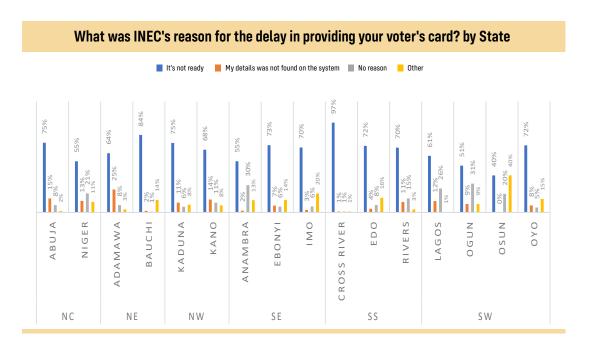
The most prevalent reason given was the INEC officials simply stating that the PVCs were not ready. In some cases, this was despite the respondent having checked their PVC status on the INEC CVR portal and finding it there. Another 11% were told that their details were not found on the system, and 13% were not given any specific reason but were simply told to come back later.



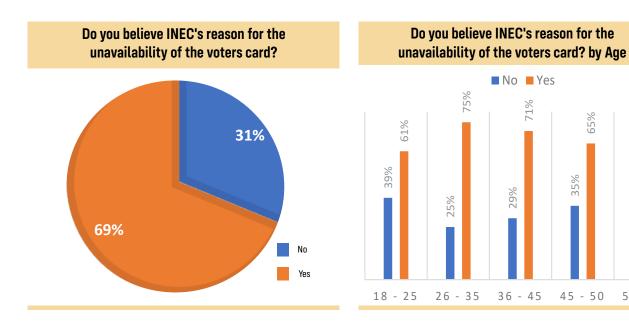








As with the previous section on how many times the respondents attempted before successful pickup, this also requires a holistic approach to ascertain why registrants who have completed the CVR process and are attempting to pick up their PVCs are getting this feedback. As shown below, trust in these explanations amongst the respondents, while at 69%, is likely to deteriorate as the elections get closer if they are still unable to pick up their PVCs. In some locations like Osun, Edo, Abuja and Imo, the majority already do not trust these reasons. In others like Lagos, Ebonyi and Anambra, nearly half of the respondents do not trust the reasons.



51 - 60



Do you believe INEC's reason for the unavailability of the voters card? by State

DO YOU BELIEVE INEC'S REASON FOR THE UNAVAILABILITY OF THE VOTERS CARD? BY STATE

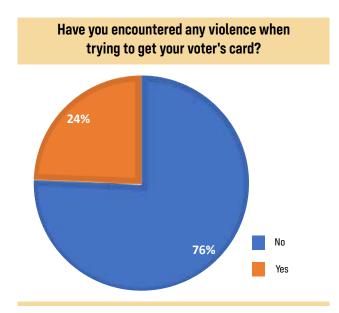


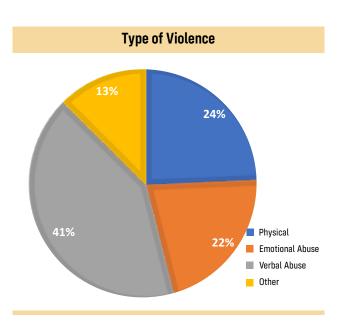


Experience of violence in PVC collection

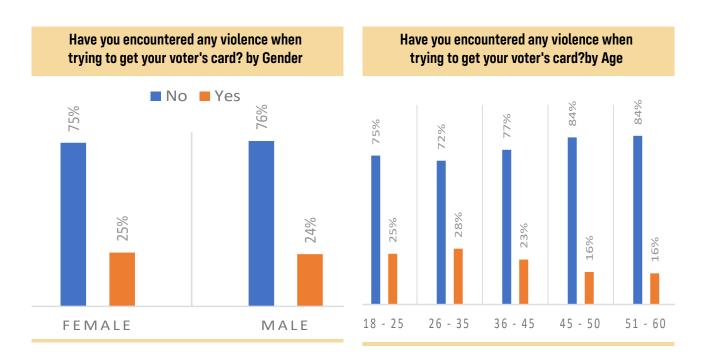
A previous SBM study showed that violence and the fear of violence in the electoral process were among the top three reasons why registered voters decided to stay away from voting on election day. While much of this violence is associated with voting on election day and partisan campaigns, encountering violence or abuse in the voter registration process will doubtless contribute to solidifying the fear of more violence and abuse on election day, potentially leading to voter apathy.

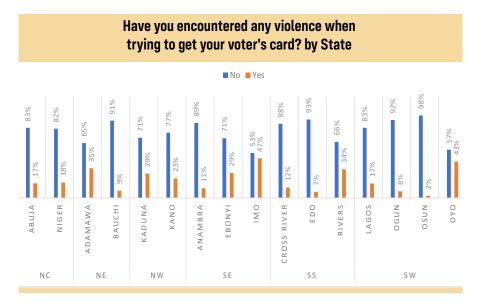
In this study, respondents were asked if they experienced violence or abuse in the PVC collection process. 24% responded in the affirmative. Of these, the majority were classified as verbal abuse (41%), followed by physical violence (24%) and emotional abuse (22%).







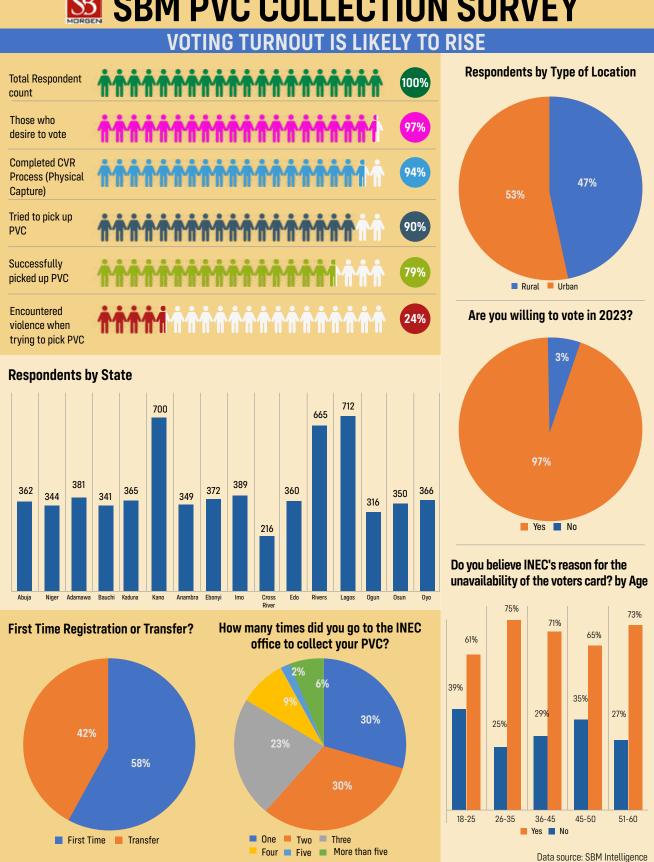




Imo leads with the largest percentage of respondents having experienced some form of violence or abuse when trying to pick up their PVCs, at 47%, closely followed by Oyo (43%), Adamawa (35%), Rivers (34%) with Kaduna and Ebonyi tied at 29%.



SBM PVC COLLECTION SURVEY





The study shows that there is a very high degree of interest in voting in the 2023 elections and that amongst those who desire to vote, 94% of them went ahead to complete the CVR. In addition, 90% have tried to get their PVCs, even if they have had to visit up to six times to do so. This cuts across both first-time registrants and voters who are transferring their PVCs to new polling units closer to their current locations. All these indicate an electorate going the extra mile to ensure they can exercise their franchise in the 2023 general elections.

In addition, INEC must be commended for improving the process to the degree where Nigerians trust it enough to engage it and try to carry out PVC transfers which most have ignored for multiple election cycles prior. In addition, a 79% successful collection rate in this survey is a marked improvement on the 41% recorded in the first survey carried out in July 2022.

Our study indicates a very high interest in the 2023 General Elections. 97% of respondents indicate that they are willing to go the extra mile to ensure that they vote in February.

Yet the gaps exist, and these gaps must be closed in the second half of this PVC collection window to empower all willing Nigerians to exercise their right to vote at the ballots in 2023. Some of these gaps are highlighted below:

- 24% of the respondents experienced some form of violence in the PVC collection process.
 This needs to be investigated and measures put in place to forestall such occurrences going forward.
- There is a marked gap between the collection rates for those registering to vote for the first time (predominantly younger people) and those transferring their PVCs to new polling units. Concerted efforts need to be put in place to close this gap.
- The reasons given to Nigerians for PVCs not being available for pickup do not engender trust. INEC needs to be more transparent with the actual reasons and call for logistical



help where needed. Cases, where voters can find themselves on the Voters Register, displayed on the CVR portal, but their PVCs cannot be found and/or they are told they cannot be found on the system needs to be documented and investigated. A citizen's complaint portal on the INEC portal should be incorporated for these purposes.

- Registrants needing multiple visits to the INEC office to get their PVCs is inefficient and costly to the registrant. Ultimately, some may give up. INEC needs to leverage the data it has collected to keep the registrants informed of the status of their PVCs from the comfort of their homes and only require them to come to the INEC office when there is confirmation that their PVCs are available for collection.
- Beyond a survey of this nature, INEC needs to routinely publish PVC collection statistics
 publicly weekly, to enable Nigerians tracks and provide information to support the
 targeting of advocacy efforts.



About SBM

SBM Intelligence is an Africa-focused geopolitical research and strategic communications consulting firm that addresses the critical need for political, social, economic and market data, and big data analytics. We employ various methods of data collection. Our Data Collection Methodology team advises on data collection methods for all ONS social and business surveys. With clients both within the business and the wider government community, we aim to provide expert advice on data collection procedures and carry out research leading to improvements in survey quality.

Since 2013, we have provided data analytics and strategic communication solutions to clients across various sectors in Nigeria, Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, South Africa, the UK, France and the United States.