

2025 ANAMBRA STATE GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION Election Observation Report



Map of Anambra State

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Disclaimer

This Election Observation Report is based solely on field data collected from election observers deployed by LEAP Africa's implementing partner, CATYCOI, across selected polling units in Anambra State. All findings, statistics, and insights presented in this report reflect information documented directly in the observers' reports and analyzed by the CATYCOI election analyst.

The analysis was conducted independently and without influence from LEAP Africa's management, CATYCOI, or any external stakeholders. The interpretations and conclusions herein do not necessarily represent the official position of LEAP Africa, CATYCOI, or any project partners.

While every effort has been made to ensure accuracy and integrity in the analysis, the project team acknowledges that unintentional errors or omissions may exist. We apologize for any such oversight and welcome notification of corrections to be incorporated into future versions of this document.

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A detailed list of sources of all images used in this report is provided in the Appendix. We appreciate being informed of any concerns regarding copyright or image rights, so that appropriate updates can be made.

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Acknowledgment

This Election Observation Report reflects the institutional commitment of LEAP Africa under its Campaign Against Voter Apathy (CAVA) initiative, an initiative designed to strengthen Nigeria's democratic system through evidence-based civic engagement that upholds participatory governance. Using field data from the 2025 Anambra State gubernatorial election, this report provides a critical assessment of citizen participation and electoral integrity, with recommendations to strengthen Nigeria's democratic process.

The analysis highlights that democratic consolidation requires a transparent, participatory, and accountable process that secures citizens' confidence. Persistent voter apathy, transactional voting, and institutional distrust continue to challenge electoral legitimacy and citizens' engagement.

CAVA serves as a civic accountability mechanism that catalyzes citizen participation and promotes electoral transparency, reinforcing the social contract between the state and its people. Democracy, built on participation and the power to vote in or vote out, is weakened when the will of the majority does not lead to power. CAVA positions electoral trust and civic participation as essential for people-centred governance and sustainable development.

The report affirms that the will of the people must remain the foundation of democratic legitimacy. A people-chosen government is vital for electoral credibility, effective state-building, and long-term transformation. Strengthening civic participation and institutional integrity must remain central to Nigeria's democratic and development agenda.

LEAP Africa remains committed to active citizenship where state and non-state actors work together for sustainable development. We appreciate our local partner, Catch Them Young Community Initiative, and all stakeholders who contributed to CAVA. This commitment continues to expand as we engage stakeholders across Africa to strengthen active citizenship, consolidate democracy, and build the Africa we want.

Ikenna Ogbudimkpa
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Acronyms

Acronym Meaning

BVAS Bimodal Voter Accreditation System

CATYCOI Catch Them Young Community Initiative

CAVA Campaign Against Voter Apathy

CSOs Civil Society Organisations

INEC Independent National Electoral Commission

Leadership, Effectiveness, Accountability, & LEAP Africa

Professionalism Africa

NGOs Non-governmental Organisations

NSCDC Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps

PUs Polling Units

Executive Summary

The 2025 Anambra State gubernatorial election offered an opportunity to assess the state's electoral integrity, citizen engagement, and the prevailing drivers of voter apathy. Under the Campaign Against Voter Apathy (CAVA) initiative of LEAP Africa in partnership with Catch Them Young Community Initiative (CATYCOI), accredited observers were deployed across 23 polling units in 21 LGAs to monitor Election Day processes.

This Executive Summary presents key findings from the observation exercise, synthesizing data collected from field observers deployed by CATYCOI and analyzed by the team's election observer analyst. The insights reflect patterns in polling unit opening, voting processes, turnout, electoral irregularities, and the transparency of counting and result declaration.

Pre-Election Context

Before Election Day, CAVA engaged in extensive mobilization and civic education activities across the state. These included the development of advocacy briefs, courtesy visits to INEC and security agencies, a multi-stakeholder forum where public commitments to credible elections were secured, and widespread dissemination of civic and peace-focused messages across radio stations These activities helped lay the groundwork for a peaceful and orderly electoral environment.

Key Findings

1. Polling Environment

The majority of polling units opened on time, with 87% commencing as scheduled. Adequate materials were available across all units, and security personnel were widely described as professional and effective. Late opening in the remaining 13% of polling units was attributed primarily to logistical delays affecting INEC staff deployment.



Observers at the polling unit

2. Voting Process

The voting process was broadly peaceful, with 91% of polling units reporting that voters cast their ballots freely. However, significant challenges persisted. Voting commenced late in 52% of units due to delayed arrival of INEC officials or slow voter turnout. BVAS devices functioned in 91% of units but malfunctioned in 9%, largely due to network and device issues. Party agent interference and breaches of ballot secrecy were also noted in several units.

3. Election Irregularities

Vote buying was the most prevalent irregularity, observed in 61% of polling units. This practice, often linked to party agent pressure and ballot disclosure, undermined voter autonomy and the credibility of the electoral process. No incidents of violence, ballot box snatching, or result manipulation were reported.

4. Voter Turnout

Turnout across observed polling units remained low at an average of 21%, consistent with a decade-long pattern of in Anambra voter apathy State. Comparative turnout in past gubernatorial elections—10.12% (2021), 21.74% (2017), 26.32% (2013), and 16.40% (2010). This persistent highlights the nature disengagement and distrust. While women and youth participated visibly.

5. Counting and Transparency

The counting and result declaration process was the strongest aspect of the election. All polling units began counting immediately after voting, the process was conducted openly, observers and party agents were allowed to witness proceedings, and results were posted publicly at every observed location. This reflects meaningful progress in transparency and electoral professionalism.

Overall, the 2025 Anambra gubernatorial election in the polling units observed was peaceful and procedurally transparent, during the especially counting However, significant concerns, particularly vote buying, logistical delays, and party agent interference, continue to affect electoral integrity and citizen confidence. Voter turnout remains low despite extensive civic education efforts, underscoring the deep-rooted nature of apathy and the need for sustained interventions.



Introduction

LEAP Africa, through its Campaign Against Voter Apathy (CAVA) initiative, aimed to strengthen civic participation, rebuild trust in electoral institutions, and promote peaceful and credible elections in Anambra State. The initiative works through three strategic pillars:

- Mobilize: engaging INEC, security agencies, political actors, and civil society to strengthen coordination and accountability.
- Engage: educating and inspiring young people and communities through targeted civic and voter education campaigns.
- Promote: advancing peace messaging, countering misinformation, and supporting election credibility through observation and reporting.

In the months leading up to the 2025 Anambra gubernatorial election, CAVA carried out a series of preparatory activities that laid the foundation for credible and peaceful participation. These included:

- Developing and disseminating advocacy briefs on the need for coordinated and transparent elections.
- Conducting courtesy visits to INEC, security agencies, and IPAC to advocate for commitment to fair processes.
- Hosting a multi-stakeholder forum, where INEC, Police, Civil Defence, and political party representatives made on-record commitments to support a peaceful election.
- Executing statewide voter education and civic sensitization campaigns, including radio jingles, disseminating peace-focused messages to discourage electoral violence, hate speech, and voter intimidation.

As part of this broader effort, LEAP Africa, in partnership with CATYCOI, deployed accredited observers across Anambra State to monitor Election Day processes. Observers assessed the polling environment, voting experience, turnout trends, irregularities, and the transparency of counting and result declaration.



LEAP Africa and CATYCOI staff during a courtesy visit to the NSCDC Anambra state command office.

Methodology

This election observation exercise was conducted under the Campaign Against Voter Apathy (CAVA) by LEAP Africa in partnership with CATYCOI. The methodology combines structured field data collection with systematic analysis to produce evidence-based insights on the conduct of the 2025 Anambra State gubernatorial election.

Anambra State has 5,720 polling units. The 23 polling units observed, therefore, represent a targeted sample, designed to capture diverse geographic, demographic, and political contexts across the state. While not statistically representative of the entire state, the observations offer valuable qualitative insights into electoral operations, voter behaviour, and recurring irregularities.

Polling units were selected based on:

- Geographic spread across senatorial districts
- Accessibility and security considerations
- Partner organizations' operational reach

This approach ensured coverage of both urban and rural locations while aligning with logistical and security realities on election day.

Data was collected using a standardized election observation checklist, adapted from the Campaign Against Voter Apathy's election monitoring framework.

The tool captured structured data on:

- Polling environment
- Voting process
- Voter turnout
- BVAS performance
- Security presence
- Election irregularities
- · Counting and result declaration
- Observer notes and qualitative insights

Observers submitted completed checklists immediately after the close of voting and counting. They also provided scanned copies of their field reports, which served as the primary means of verification for all data analyzed.

Key Observation Findings

1. General Overview



23 Polling Units





21 Accredited Observers

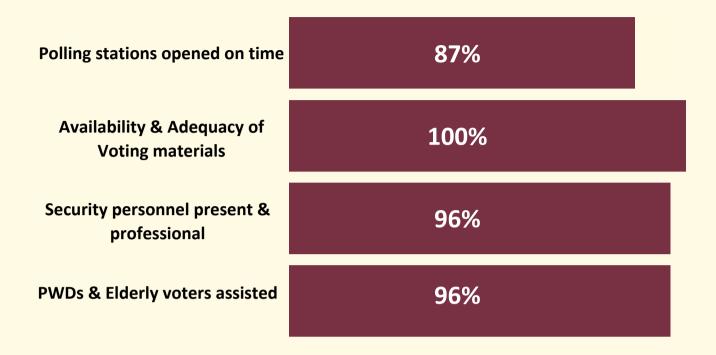


The observation exercise was designed to monitor election day processes across a representative sample of polling units in Anambra State. CAVA deployed 21 trained and accredited observers across 23 polling units in 21 LGAs.

This distribution enabled coverage of different geographic and demographic contexts. Observers monitored the full election process from the opening of polling units at 6:30 am to the conclusion of counting at 6:00 pm, allowing for a comprehensive and structured assessment of electoral conduct.



2. Polling Environment



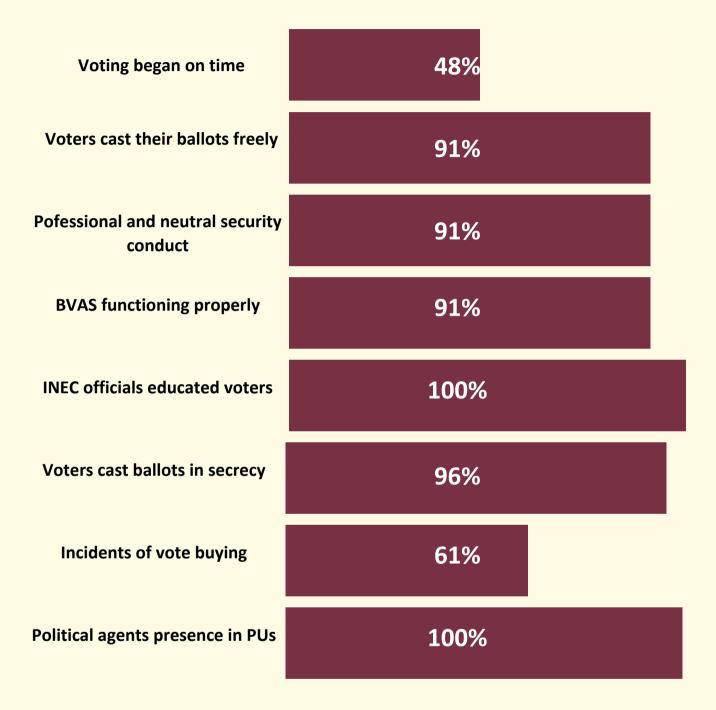
Across the polling units observed, 87% opened on time, reflecting a generally strong level of preparedness and early coordination by INEC officials. However, the remaining 13% of polling units experienced delays, with observers consistently attributing this to the late arrival of INEC staff. In these locations, polling officials were not present at the required time, resulting in delayed setup and a slower start to accreditation and voting. Some observers noted that these delays could have been avoided with improved operational oversight. As one observer noted, "The officer responsible for logistics should always ensure that all staff are at the polling unit on or before 6:00am on election day." This points to a need for strengthened logistical planning, clearer reporting lines, and tighter supervision of field personnel to ensure punctuality across all polling units.

Despite the delays in a minority of locations, the early-morning environment in most polling units remained calm and orderly. Observers highlighted the role of security personnel in maintaining structure and ensuring smooth flow.

One observer remarked that "With the help of security personnel, there was total orderliness in the polling units." This indicates that, even where logistical lapses occurred, the presence and professionalism of security operatives contributed significantly to maintaining public confidence and preventing early disruption.

These findings suggest that while INEC largely succeeded in opening polling units promptly and ensuring material readiness, operational discipline, especially around staff deployment timelines, remains an area for improvement.

3. Voting Process



The voting process revealed a mix of commendable practices and persistent operational challenges across the polling units observed. Although voting commenced promptly in **nearly half (48%)** of the locations, **52%** of polling units experienced delayed commencement of voting, mostly due to logistical setbacks. Observers consistently reported that INEC officials arrived late because vehicles to convey them to their assigned polling units were not provided on time. In some locations, however, officials arrived early, but voters themselves did not show up until after 8:30am, which also contributed to the delayed start of voting activities.

91% of voters were able to cast their votes freely, demonstrating a generally open electoral environment. However, in 9% of polling units, voter freedom was compromised due to interference by political party agents. Some observers noted instances where "Party agents were forcing voters to vote against their will" and recommended that "Party agents should not be allowed around the voters or the polling units." Such interference underscores ongoing pressure tactics used by political actors, which remain a threat to the integrity of the ballot.

The functionality of the BVAS machines was another critical factor shaping the voting experience. Across the polling units monitored, 91% reported that BVAS devices functioned properly, enabling seamless accreditation. In the remaining 9%, however, BVAS malfunctioned, either failing at the point of use, requiring troubleshooting, or experiencing network connectivity challenges. According to observers, "The BVAS became faulty at the point of accreditation but was later fixed," while in other locations "The BVAS was out of network." These incidents reinforce the need for thorough predeployment testing and the availability of backup BVAS devices, as even short delays can discourage voters and disrupt the flow of voting.

Ballot secrecy was largely upheld across polling units, with 96% reporting that voters cast their ballots without being observed. Nonetheless, 4% reported breaches, mainly due to voters deliberately showing their ballots to party agents after voting. Observers repeatedly emphasized that "Party agents should not be allowed around the cast ballot," as their proximity appears to enable coercion, vote buying, and ballot disclosure.



One of the most concerning findings was the high incidence of vote buying, reported in 61% of polling units. Observers described the practice as widespread and persistent, with party agents offering money in exchange for votes or requiring voters to reveal their ballot as proof of compliance. As one observer remarked, "There was a high rate of vote buying. Party agents should not be allowed at the polling unit or should be arrested if found paying a voter." This reinforces that vote buying remains one of the most significant threats to free and fair elections in Anambra State.

Political party agents were present at all observed polling units. While their presence is expected in elections, their conduct in many areas extended beyond legitimate oversight and into voter influence, monitoring, or coercion. Their pervasive involvement, combined with their role in vote buying, shows the need for stricter enforcement of electoral guidelines governing their behaviour.

4. Voter Turnout

Metric	Number (across PUs)	Highest	Lowest
Registered voters (displayed)	19,511	3402	171
Total voters who turned out	4,184	918	54
Gender distribution (Male)	357	150	28
Gender distribution (Female)	446	150	42
Youth	488	300	15
Observed turnout rate (%)	21	0.3	0.3

The voter turnout patterns across the observed polling units provide important insight into the broader dynamics of electoral participation in Anambra State. Across the 23 polling units monitored, a total of 19,511 registered voters were displayed, yet only 4,184 voters eventually cast their ballots. This represents an average turnout rate of 21%, which aligns closely with INEC's official statewide turnout figure of 21.35%¹. This figure confirms with a long-standing trend of declining participation in the state.

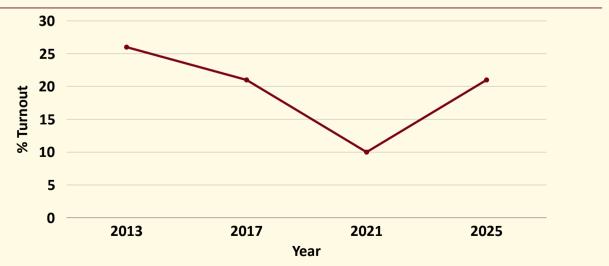
When compared with turnout from previous gubernatorial elections, 10.12% in 2021, 21.74% in 2017, 26.32% in 2013, and 16.40% in 2010¹. It becomes clear that voter apathy remains a persistent challenge. While the observed 2025 turnout is significantly higher than the extremely low turnout recorded in 2021, it still reflects a continued struggle to fully engage citizens in the electoral process.

Turnout varied widely across polling units. The highest turnout recorded was 918 voters, while the lowest was 54, highlighting uneven participation across communities.

This suggests that contextual factors, such as voter mobilisation, trust in INEC, local political dynamics, and perceptions of election competitiveness, likely influenced turnout at the micro level.

Demographically, turnout showed some encouraging patterns. Female voters (average 446) slightly outnumbered male voters (average 357), indicating that women remain consistently engaged in electoral participation. Youth participation was also visible, with an average of 488 youth voters recorded across units.

The turnout findings reinforce the critical need for sustained, long-term efforts to rebuild public trust and motivate greater voter participation. While the peaceful conduct of the election created a supportive environment for voting, the relatively low turnout indicates that logistical improvements alone are not enough. Deeprooted apathy, perceptions of credibility, and social pressures continue to shape voter behaviour in Anambra State.

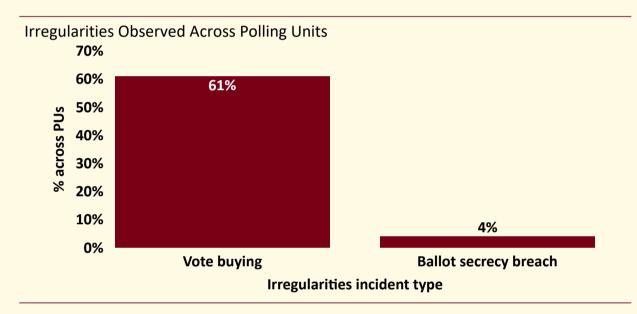


Percentage of voter turnout in Anambra state gubernatorial election since 2013 Source: INEC

5. Election Irregularities

Election irregularities were monitored across five incident types: **vote buying, violence or disruptions**, **ballot box snatching**, **manipulation of results**, and **other irregularities**.

Across all polling units observed, the election remained peaceful with zero incidents of violence, snatching, or result manipulation. However, vote buying, party agent interference, and breaches of ballot secrecy emerged as the most significant integrity concerns.





The most widespread issue was vote buying, reported in 61% of the polling units observed. Observers consistently described this as a pervasive pattern, with party agents offering cash incentives in exchange for votes. In some locations, payment was contingent on voters revealing their ballots as proof of compliance. One observer noted, "There was a high rate of vote buying. Party agents should not be allowed at the polling unit or should be arrested if found paying a voter."

This reflects not only economic pressures among voters but also systemic weaknesses in enforcement mechanisms.

Closely linked to vote buying was party agent interference, which, although not listed as a separate "incident type" in the tool, was widely documented. Party agents were present in all polling units and, in several cases, interfered directly with voters' choices. Observers described situations where "Party agents were forcing voters to vote against their will," prompting recommendations that party agents be repositioned away from voting cubicles or strictly controlled to prevent undue influence.



Breaches of ballot secrecy, reported in 4% of polling units, were also frequently associated with vote buying or coercive practices. In these cases, voters disclosed their ballot choices to party agents, often inducements. secure promised to Observers warned that "Party agents should not be allowed around the cast ballot," underscoring how enables manipulation and compromises the secrecy essential to democratic voting.

Despite these issues, there were no incidents of violence, ballot snatching, or manipulation of results in any observed polling unit. This is a significant improvement compared to previous electoral cycles in the state and suggests that pre-election peace messaging, security presence, and stakeholder commitments had a stabilizing effect on Election Day.

Overall, the irregularities observed, particularly vote buying and party agent interference, highlight persistent vulnerabilities in Anambra's electoral ecosystem. While the absence of violence and physical disruptions marks important progress, sustained efforts are needed to curb transactional voting, protect ballot secrecy, and strengthen enforcement around party agent conduct. Without addressing these systemic challenges, voter confidence and electoral fairness may continue to be undermined.

6. Counting and Result Transparency

The counting and result declaration process across the observed polling units was consistently reported as transparent, orderly, and in line with established electoral guidelines. Observers noted 100% compliance across all key indicators related to the closing and counting phases of the election.

In every polling unit observed, counting began immediately after the close of voting, without unnecessary delays. This timely transition contributed significantly to maintaining voter confidence and minimizing opportunities for interference or manipulation during the sensitive post-voting period. Observers described the atmosphere during counting as calm and well-organized, with polling officials following procedures as expected.

Transparency was a notable strength. All observers reported that the counting process was conducted openly, with votes sorted, counted, and recorded in full view of party agents, security personnel, and accredited observers. This openness reinforces the credibility of the process and ensures that stakeholders can verify the accuracy of the results as they are tallied.

Similarly, party agents and observers were allowed to witness the entire process, demonstrating adherence to the principles of inclusiveness and accountability. Their ability to observe without undue restriction reflects positively on the professionalism of INEC officials and the overall conduct of polling staff during this critical phase of the election.



LEAP Africa staff during the courtesy visit to Anambra state NSCDC office

Another key indicator of transparency was the **public posting of results** at all observed polling units. This step is essential for community-level verification and for ensuring that local outcomes align with ward-level and LGA-level collation. By publishing the results on-site, polling officials provided immediate access to the recorded outcomes, which reduces the risk of discrepancies emerging further along the collation chain.

Taken together, these findings suggest that the closing, counting, and result declaration processes were the strongest components of the Election Day procedure across the polling units monitored. The high level of transparency observed stands in contrast to some of the challenges noted earlier in the day, such as vote buying and late commencement of voting. It also signals that ongoing investments in election management and observer access are yielding positive results.

However, while the process was transparent, the broader impact of vote buying and party agent interference earlier in the day cannot be fully mitigated by transparency during counting. As such, efforts to improve the integrity of elections must address both the voting process itself and the conditions that shape voter behaviour leading up to the counting stage.

Overall, the counting and result declaration phase demonstrated a commendable level of professionalism, transparency, and adherence to procedure, contributing significantly to the credibility of the observed polling units.



Voters waiting at the PU before voting commencement

Recommendations

Based on observations across the 23 polling units monitored, several actionable recommendations emerge for strengthening the credibility, transparency, and inclusiveness of future elections in Anambra State. These recommendations address both operational gaps and systemic issues identified on Election Day.



CSOs and NGOs

Civil society actors play a critical role in strengthening democratic culture, building civic consciousness, and supporting the credibility of elections. Based on the findings from this election observation exercise, the following recommendations are proposed for CSOs and NGOs working in civic education, active citizenship, and election-focused programming:

Sustain Civic Education Beyond Election Cycles

Short-term, election-season programming is not enough to combat deep-rooted voter apathy. CSOs should:

- Implement continuous, year-round civic education, especially in communities with persistently low turnout.
- Focus on demystifying the electoral process, countering misinformation, and strengthening public understanding of democratic responsibilities.
- Promote early engagement of first-time voters through schools, youth hubs, religious groups, and community associations.

Address the Culture of Vote Buying and Voter Coercion

Given the high prevalence of vote buying (61% of observed PUs), CSOs should:

- Develop community-specific behaviour change campaigns that challenge the normalization of inducements.
- Engage traditional rulers, market unions, women groups, and youth leaders as allies to discourage vote trading.
- Work with anti-corruption and law enforcement bodies to educate citizens on the legal and ethical implications of vote buying.

Strengthen Community Watchdog and Accountability Structures

To reduce interference and manipulation in future elections, CSOs can:

- Train and deploy local community monitors who can report irregularities early.
- Facilitate social accountability dialogues between citizens, INEC, and security agencies.
- Strengthen local coalitions that hold political actors accountable before, during, and after elections.

Deepen Youth-Focused Engagement and Leadership Development

Youth turnout, while visible, still needs improvement. CSOs should:

- Build youth civic leadership pipelines through debates, campus engagements, and youth parliament simulations.
- Provide platforms that amplify youth voices in election advocacy, voter mobilisation, and political accountability.
- Equip young people with the knowledge to identify and resist manipulation by party agents.



Strengthen Collaboration and Coalition Building

No single CSO or NGO can address the structural nature of voter apathy or election irregularities. CSOs should:

- Forming stronger coalitions and joint observer networks to pool human resources and increase the number of observers deployed across all LGAs and wards.
- Coordinate voter education messaging to prevent duplication and maximize reach.
- Engage INEC and security agencies collectively to advocate for reforms and accountability.



INEC

Strengthen Early Deployment and Logistics

- Improve the coordination of Election Day transportation for polling officials to ensure all staff arrive at their polling units before 6:00am.
- Enforce stricter supervision and accountability mechanisms for ad-hoc staff punctuality.

Improve BVAS Reliability and Backup Provisions

- Conduct comprehensive, real-time functionality tests of all BVAS devices before deployment.
- Provide each ward with backup BVAS units to quickly replace faulty devices and minimize accreditation delays.

Enhance Voter Education and Sensitization

- Expand voter education efforts beyond the Election Day briefing to address misinformation, discourage ballot disclosure, and inform citizens about the importance of early arrival.
- Introduce specialized sensitization for PWD voters to improve their turnout and participation.

Reform the Structural Arrangement of Polling Units

 Redesign polling unit layouts to prevent party agents from standing close to voting cubicles or influencing voters during ballot marking.

Security Agencies

Enforce Electoral Laws Against Vote Buying

- Establish designated enforcement teams to monitor party agent activities around polling units.
- Prosecute individuals engaged in vote buying and vote selling to serve as a deterrent.

Strengthen Perimeter Control

• Maintain clear boundaries around polling units to reduce the circulation of party agents who attempt to coerce or monitor voters.

Deepen Collaboration with INEC and Observers

• Sustain the peaceful and professional conduct demonstrated in this election by maintaining coordination with INEC and observer groups.



LEAP Africa staff presenting the CAVA advocacy brief to Anambra state NSCDC commandant

Political Parties

Improve Training and Conduct Standards for Party Agents

- Provide training on electoral laws, acceptable behaviour at polling units, and non-interference guidelines.
- Sanction party agents found engaging in coercion, vote buying, or ballot monitoring.

Establish Internal Accountability Mechanisms

• Introduce disciplinary frameworks to address misconduct and strengthen commitment to credible elections.



Voters cross-checking names on the accredited voters' sheet

Appendix

Image Sources

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Ballot Box	Page 8	Election day field photo
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People holding the Nigerian Flag	Page 14	<u>Unsplash</u>
Vote Buying	Page 17	<u>iStock</u>
LEAP Africa staff during the courtesy visit to Anambra state NSCDC office	Page 19	CAVA stakeholder meeting field photo

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Amawbia Flyoverr, Awka	Page 22	Photo by Nwabu2010, 2016. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)
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Voters cross-checking names on the accredited voters' sheet	Page 25	Election day field photo



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