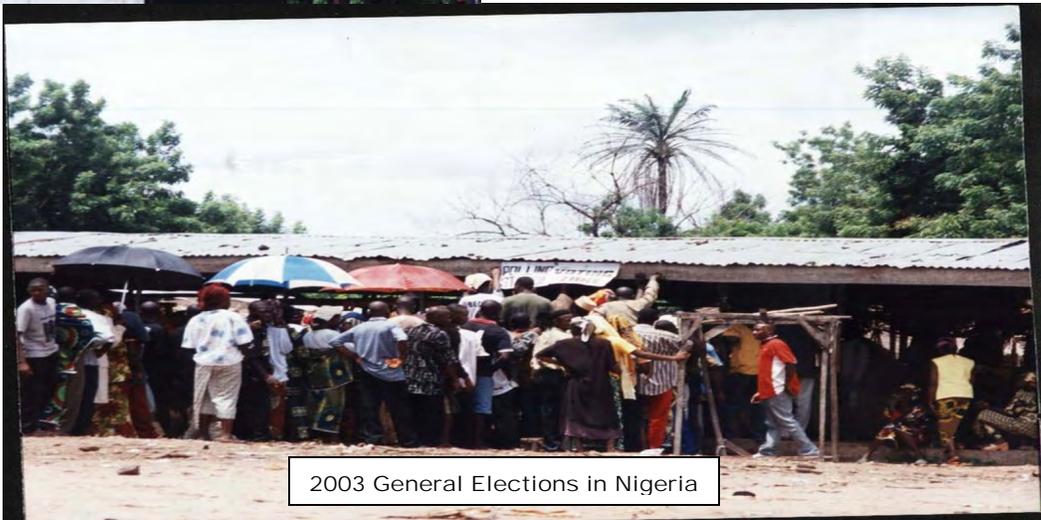


PARTNERSHIPS FOR ADVOCACY & CIVIC EMPOWERMENT (PACE)

*A Consortium of the Centre for Development and Population Activities, Global Rights
and the Institute for Democracy in South Africa*

END OF PROJECT REPORT

May 30, 2002 – May 31, 2004



2003 General Elections in Nigeria



Submitted by



The Centre for Development and Population Activities
Cooperative Agreement No. 620-A-00-02-00100

August 2004

**THIS END OF PROJECT REPORT IS PRESENTED BY PARTNERSHIPS FOR
ADVOCACY & CIVIC EMPOWERMENT
(PACE)**

*A Consortium of the Centre for Development and Population Activities, Global Rights,
and The Institute for Democracy in South Africa. Funding was provided by the United
States Agency for International Development*



AUGUST 2004

Table of Contents

Executive Summary.....		2
Section 1.0	Background	6
Section 2.0	Start-up Phase: June - November 2002	7
Section 3.0	Funding Levels and Budget Priorities	9
Section 4.0	The 2003 Nigeria Elections	11
	4.1 Electoral Reform	11
	4.1.1 Planning Meeting of Electoral Reform Network.....	12
	4.1.2 Ethics and Value Seminar.....	12
	4.1.3 Advocacy to INEC/SIECs and Public Agencies.....	13
	4.2 Voter Registration	13
	4.3 Verification of the Voters' Register	14
	4.4 The General Elections	14
	4.4.1 Voter Education/Mobilization.....	15
	4.4.1.1 Voter Outreach.....	15
	4.4.1.2 IEC & Media Campaigns.....	19
	4.4.2 Election Monitoring	20
	4.4.2.1 Support to TMG for Planning Elections Monitoring.....	21
	4.4.2.2 Monitoring of General Elections by Domestic Groups.....	22
	4.4.2.3 ERN Forum on Domestic Monitoring.....	27
	4.5 Supporting Women Candidates	27
	4.5.1 Workshop on Affirmative Action for Women.....	28
	4.5.2 WRAPA/WLDCN Response on Party's Nomination.....	29
	4.5.3 PACE Post-Election Retreat for Women Aspirants.....	30
	4.6 Post Election Activities.....	31
	4.6.1 Technical Meeting on Nigeria's Electoral Geography.....	31
	4.6.2 ERN Post Election Reform Planning Meeting.....	31
	4.6.3 ERN Post Election Advocacies.....	32
	4.6.4 Women's Participation in Political Processes.....	32
	4.6.5 Women's Performance in the 2003 Elections.....	32
	4.6.6 Continuous Voter registration.....	33
	4.7 PACE Support for Local Government Elections.....	34
	4.7.1 Civic/Voter Education.....	34
	4.7.2 Local Government Election Monitoring.....	34
Section 5.0	Conflict Management	36
	5.1 The Year I Conflict Programme	36
	5.1.1 National Initiatives.....	36
	5.1.1.1 Eminent Persons Group Roundtables.....	37
	5.1.1.2 Security Initiative.....	39
	5.1.1.3 Students as Political Midwives.....	40
	5.1.1.4 Toolkit on Reducing Electoral Violence.....	41
	5.1.2 Community-based Initiatives.....	41
	5.2 Issue Based Initiatives.....	43
	5.2.1 Rapid Response.....	43
	5.2.2 Specialized Election Observation.....	45
	5.2.3 Communications Hub	46
	5.3 The Year II Conflict Programme.....	48
	5.3.1 Election Monitoring (Local Government).....	48
	5.3.2 Public Safety & Security Meeting	49
	5.3.3 Mainstreaming Conflict Management.....	49
	5.3.4 Building the Capacity of Practitioners.....	50
	5.3.5 CRESNET Transformation.....	51
	5.3.6 Organizational Support.....	51
	5.3.7 Local Government Reform Meeting.....	51

	5.3.8	Roundtable Dialogue on Niger-Delta.....	52
	5.3.9	Public Dialogue and Discussions.....	53
	5.3.10	Women in Peace Building.....	53
5.1		Programme Constraints.....	56
Section 6.0		Transparency and Accountability	58
	6.1	The Freedom of Information Bill Clears Hurdles in the National Assembly	58
	6.2	Report Card Training Workshop.....	59
	6.3	National Summit on Transparency & Accountability.....	60
	6.4	Training Workshop on Transparency & Accountability.....	60
	6.5	ZCC Advocacy on the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act...61	
	6.6	Use of Report Card at the LG by ZCC Coalition Members.....	62
	6.7	CSO Monitoring of Public Officials & Government Processes.....	62
	6.8	CSO-Media Interactive Workshop.....	63
	6.9	Continued Publication of the <i>Legislative Mandate</i>	63
Section 7.0		Constitutional Reform	64
	7.1	A Gender Perspective in the Review of Local Government Councils	64
	7.2	Dialogue & Awareness on the Constitution.....	64
	7.3	Constitutional Working Group Meetings Generate Ideas and Communiqués	65
	7.4	CFCR Publication.....	65
Section 8.0		Capacity Building	66
	8.1	Organizational Capacity Building	67
	8.1.1	Start-up Workshops.....	67
	8.1.2	Organizational Needs Assessment and Capacity Building.....	68
	8.2	Technical Capacity Building	68
	8.2.1	South African Study Tour	68
	8.2.2	CSO Training on Legislative Advocacy	69
	8.2.3	Training on the Basic Principles of Transparency and Accountability	70
	8.2.4	CEDPA Partners Cascade Technical Capacity Trainings.....	70
	8.2.5	Strategic Planning Meetings FOIC, ZCC, ERN, CFCR & CAPP.....	71
	8.2.6	Transparency in Nigeria Annual General Meeting.....	71
	8.2.7	TOT Workshops on Constitution Making & Constitutionalism	71
Section 9.0		Performance Indicator Report	73
Section 10.0		Success Stories	82
Section 11.0		Response to Challenges	90
Section 12.0		Lessons Learned	92

Appendices

- Appendix I: The PACE Story: A Pictorial Rendition of Successes
- Appendix II: PACE Performance Monitoring Plan
- Appendix III: PACE Year I Workplan
- Appendix IV: PACE Year II Workplan
- Appendix V: Key PACE Sub-grantees Summary Report
- Appendix VI: PACE-Related Reports, Publications, and Other Documents
- Appendix VII: PACE Subprojects Financial Status -- Summary

List of Abbreviations

APS – Annual Programme Statement
AOCOED – Adeniran Ogunsoya College of Education
BOCODEP – Borno Coalition for Development and Progress
CAPP – Community Action for Population Participation
CDD – Centre for Democracy and Development
CEDPA – Centre for Development and Population Activities
CFCR – Citizen’s Forum for Constitutional Reform
CFSJE – Christian Foundation for Social Justice and Equality
CIRDDOC – Civil Resource Development and Documentation Centre
CMRC – Conflict Management Resource Centre
COCIN – Church of Christ in Nigeria
COWAN – Country Women’s Association of Nigeria
CRD – Centre for Research and Documentation
CRESNET – Conflict Resolution Network
CSO – Civil Society Organization
DAG – Democratic Action Group
DFID – Department for International Development (UK)
DG – Democracy and Governance
ERA – Electoral Reform Act
ERN – Electoral Reform Network
ESUT – Enugu State University
EU – European Union
FEWA – Federal of Ebonyi Women Association
FIDA – Federation of International Women Lawyers
FOI – Freedom of Information
FOIC – Freedom of Information Coalition
FOMWAN – Federation of Muslim Women’s Association of Nigeria
FRCN – Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria
FWHRD – Foundation for Women’s Health Research and Development
GADA – Gender and Development Action
GAT – Gender Action Team
HT – Hello Tomorrow
Idasa – Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IDIC – Integrated Development Initiative Council
IEC – Information, Education and Communication
IFES – International Foundation for Elections
IHRLG – International Human Rights Law Group
INEC – Independent National Electoral Commission
IPC – International Press Centre
IPCR – Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution
IRI – International Republican Institute
IWD – International Women’s Day
JDPC – Justice, Democracy and Peace Committee
LDW – League of Democratic Women
LEMT – Labour Election Monitoring Team
LGRN – Local Government Reform Network

MCDF – Muslim-Christian Dialogue Forum
MOSOP – Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People
MRA – Media Rights Agenda/Freedom of Information Coalition
MULAC – Muslim League for Accountability
NACWYCA – Center for Women, Youth and Community Action
NAN – News Agency of Nigeria
NAWOJ – Nigerian Association of Women Journalists
NAWOPEG – National Women Peace Group
NBC – Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation
NCWS – National Council of Women Society
ND – HERO – Niger Delta Human and Environmental Resource Organization
NDI – National Democratic Institute
NDPD – Niger Delta Professionals for Development
NGO – Non-Governmental Organization
NOA – National Orientation Agency
NTA – Nigerian Television Authority
NULGE – National Union of local Government Employees
OPC – Odua Peoples Congress
OSIWA – Open Society for Women in Africa
PACE – Partnership for Advocacy and Civic Empowerment
SIEC – State Independent Electoral Commission
TCG – The Covenant Group
TMG – Transition Monitoring Group
TIN – Transparency in Nigeria
TOF – The Ogoni Foundation
TOT – Training of Trainers
UI – University of Ibadan
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
UNEAD – United Nations Electoral Assistance Division
UNEAP – United Nations Electoral Assistance Programme
USAID – United States Agency for International Development
WACOL – Women’s Aid Collective
WIDRI – Women in Detention Rights Initiative
WIN -- Women in Nigeria
WOW – Women of Worth
WLDCN – Women Law and Development Centre in Nigeria
WRAPA – Women’s Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative
YEDA – Youth Environment and Development Association
ZCC – Zero Corruption Coalition

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Partnership for Advocacy and Civic Empowerment (PACE) Project, a two-year project conducted from May 2002 to May 2004, was designed to provide civil society assistance in Nigeria in four key areas:

- **Elections and electoral reform;**
- **Constitutional reform;**
- **Transparency and accountability;** and
- **Conflict management.**

It also supported the two cross-cutting areas of women's participation and organizational and technical capacity building. It was funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)/Nigeria under Cooperative Agreement Number 620-A-00-02-00100.

The PACE Cooperative Agreement was managed by the Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA). Two other international organizations -- the International Human Rights Law Group (Law Group), and the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) served as major subcontractors. In addition, the PACE Project supported 61 Nigerian non-governmental organizations and civil society organizations as sub-grantees.

The Intermediate Results of the PACE Project were:

1. More effective participation by civil society in conflict management, public deliberations and oversight of government;
2. Increased participation of civil society in elections and electoral processes;
3. Increased women's participation in the electoral processes;
4. Increased civil society knowledge of electoral processes;
5. Increased capacity of civil society organizations (CSOs) to promote transparency and accountability;
6. Increased demand by civil society for transparent and accountable governance;
7. Increased capacity of civil society to address/manage/resolve conflict peacefully;
8. Increased utilization of media for peace-building;
9. Increased collaboration between CSOs and law enforcement entities;
10. Increased networking among community-based peace building organizations
11. Increased engagement of CSOs in constitutional reform;
12. Increased public dialogue to build consensus on critical constitutional issues;
13. Increased number of petitions to integrate gender concerns into constitutional reform;
14. Increased organizational and technical capacity of CSOs; and
15. Increased capacity of CSO networks to provide services to their member organizations.

This report provides a detailed review of the PACE Project's achievements in these 15 areas.

The mandate of the PACE Project to support civic engagement was given added relevancy when the Government of Nigeria announced that elections would be held in 2003. At USAID's request, the PACE consortium amended its workplan and budget and became intensively involved in efforts to ensure that the 2003 elections were conducted in a credible and peaceful manner. The PACE Project played a major role in improving civil society monitoring of and participation in local, state and national elections. These actions have helped to deepen democracy, and they are building blocks for further improvements in election processes in the future.

The second year of the PACE Project laid the foundation for effective transparency and accountability engagements and a shift towards greater institutionalization of responsiveness on the part of public institutions and stakeholders in decision making and elective positions. These changes were largely achieved by empowering Nigerian civil society through rights and civic awareness creation, enhancement of participation, and voice facilitation. One landmark achievement attributable to the collective efforts of a coalition of Nigerian civil society groups and networks supported by the PACE project has been passage of the Freedom of Information Bill

by the House of Representatives. The FOI Bill criminalizes the withholding of information from those in need and seeks to make public records and information much more available and accessible. At the same time, it seeks to protect public records and information to the extent consistent with public interest and protection of personal privacy. The passage of the FOI Bill, which still must be passed by the Senate and signed by the President, has been widely applauded by a cross-section of Nigerians. It is viewed as a critically needed reform in the legal environment that will significantly enable the oversight role of civil society in governance. A related bill, the Whistle Blowers Bill, has reached an advanced stage in the legislative advocacy process. Largely promoted by the PACE-supported Zero Corruption Coalition, the bill is intended to have substantial bearing on the national anti-corruption drive.

The PACE Project was successful in getting civil society groups to work together and cluster around an issue. Within the context of PACE, many CSOs have formed informal networks as well as more formal coalitions. Advocacy has become issue-driven, with the example of the Electoral Reform Network, the Freedom of Information Coalition, Zero Corruption Coalition, Nigerian Women Waging Peace, and the coalition of women's NGOs seeking to increase women's political participation.

State-civil society engagements are increasingly becoming a strategy for widening participation of citizens in policy and decision making. For example, civil society representatives are being invited to join decision making bodies, public and political decision making institutions and structures are becoming increasingly transparent and responsive, and key public actors are moving towards adoption of the principle of accountability to constituencies. Nigeria's civil society is now a key stakeholder in election monitoring and administration. Similarly, enduring lessons have been learned and internalized in legislative advocacies and engagements. The success of the FOI Bill is likely to inform engagement with other governance structures, particularly the executive arms and local governments. At a broader level, Nigerian civil society has realized the importance of mainstreaming civic awareness, empowerment and communication for influencing policies.

A broader reflection on the totality of two years of PACE implementation against the background of a dynamic programming and contextual challenges will indicate that Nigeria undertook a nation-wide voter registration exercise and carried out four elections and post-election tribunals. The country confronted high-level constitutional challenges involving efforts to impeach the president and the validity of election laws. For women and other groups, the 2003 elections held high hopes for increased and more meaningful roles as elected and appointed officials. And for many communities, the elections invited an expansion of tensions and violence beyond their traditional boundaries. Within this climate, Nigeria continued to grapple with the issues of a declining economic outlook, endemic corruption, and growing social issues that directly affect confidence in the country's democratic transition.

Given this context, the PACE Project made major progress in influencing changes in the legal framework impinging on transparency and accountability and in creating an enabling environment for addressing corruption in a sustainable and effective manner in the near future. In the end it is instructive to note that the Nigerian civil society, the centerpiece of the PACE Project, rose up to the challenges presented by this intervention. Despite its diverse historical differences and varied capacity endowments, civil society made a giant and collective leap in the direction of strengthening Nigeria's democracy.

Following are some of the PACE Project's major accomplishments in its four major program areas.

Elections and Electoral Reform

- PACE partners deployed 4,620 election monitors in 19 of Nigeria's 36 states. The involvement of the Federation of Muslim Women's Association of Nigeria and the Muslim League for Accountability represents the first time that a Muslim or a women's organization has managed a large-scale monitoring effort in Nigeria.
- PACE's voter mobilization campaign, with the slogan "Vote Wisely", was recognized by more than 45 percent of Nigerians, according to a post-election opinion survey commissioned by the

United Nations Elections Assistance Programme (UNEAP). The campaign used radio, television and various print materials in multiple languages as well as voter education workshops, rallies and other public events.

- Electoral violence was substantially mitigated through well-focused conflict management intervention in the five critical states identified by USAID. As a result, no major incidence of violence was recorded in these states during the national and subsequent local government elections conducted in March 2004. Vigorous voter education and mobilization and involvement of communities and gatekeepers in violence mitigation significantly enhanced electoral participation and bestowed a reasonable degree of credibility to the general and local elections.
- PACE partners served on the Independent National Election Commission (INEC) – Civil Society Joint Consultative Forum on election processes and reform. This helped to improve the overall relationship between the Government of Nigeria and CSOs.
- In The *Eminent Persons Group* effectively engaged government and civil society to improve election administration and reduce the potential for widespread violence.
- PACE contributed to a better understanding of Nigeria’s electoral geography and electoral system, distilling specific elections and electoral practices and behavior specific to each of the country’s six geo-political zones.

Constitutional Reform

- To involve people in the process of constitutional reform, PACE partners widely disseminated a simplified version of the Nigerian constitution. They also initiated informed public dialogue and debates around contentious constitutional issues within the Nigerian civil society. This has resulted in a better appreciation of the complexities and challenges involved in the constitutional reform process in Nigeria’s diverse and emerging democratic context.
- A coalition of PACE-supported women CSOs effectively engaged the Federal Technical Review Committee on the Review of the Structure of Local Governments. The Review Committee has requested the coalition’s inputs into its discussions.

Transparency and Accountability

- Progress in advancing the Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill and the Whistle Blowers Bill in the legislative process represents a major advance in making government more accountable to civil society organizations and ordinary citizens.
- Through capacity building training on the use of “performance report cards” PACE has empowered its civil society partners to negotiate an institutional framework for accountability, responsibility and transparency in governance, with empowered grassroots groups improving their oversight of their elected representatives.

Conflict Management

- PACE has successfully initiated the process of integrating women into national peace building efforts aimed at nurturing and consolidating Nigeria’s democracy, with visible national-level activities. The Nigerian Women Waging Peace movement, an informal clustering of PACE-supported women civil

society partners, national women leaders and prominent women politicians, gives women a voice in national peace building efforts.

- PACE partners organized community activities in areas identified as volatile or vulnerable to violence. For example, in Kaduna State a consortium of conflict management and peace building groups conducted an electoral conflict assessment and paid advocacy visits to conflict stakeholders. In Plateau State a consortium of CSOs conducted advocacy visits, interactive forums and road shows. In Kano State a consortium of community associations organized a meeting on reducing youth vulnerability to electoral violence.
- In order to ensure that security agencies were prepared to address possible conflict during the elections, PACE helped to establish an information-sharing committee of senior representatives of national security agencies. The committee shared information on community volatility and vulnerability and developed appropriate response mechanisms.
- Following the murder of an opposition leader from the Delta Region, PACE brought together four human rights organizations in order to defuse the tense situation. This quick response appeared to reduce the threat of violence and led to further collaboration during the election period.

Women's Participation

- PACE targeting of women CSOs through technical capacity building and financial assistance promoted their greater participation in the electoral processes. A positive outcome has been modest but meaningful gains and increases in the number of women in the state and national houses of assemblies and in elected and appointed local government councils positions. In addition, women's organizations effectively engaged the political parties in support of women aspirants denied nominations in party primaries.

Organizational and Technical Capacity Building

- PACE initiated a process of capacity self-assessment with a reasonable number of its national-level civil society partners and networks. However, time and resource constraints did not permit the implementation of a well-defined and articulated capacity building assistance and support plan that resulted from the self-assessment exercise.

Lessons Learned

The key lessons learned from the PACE Project can continue to inform consortium partners, the wider Nigerian civil society, and USAID programming and management approaches in the key PACE intervention focal areas. Following are the main insights gained during project implementation.

- It was very important for implementing partners and consortium partners to be flexible in adjusting to shifts in the programme environment.
- While coordinating activities across three international organizations was both programmatically and administratively challenging, the opportunity to share experiences and expertise was valuable.
- Leveraging resources through collaboration *and* coordination among international organizations has been important beyond the urgencies of the 2003 elections.
- Combining under one consortium, activities in four very divergent focus areas, with differing levels of CSO engagement and expertise, may reduce programme intensity and impact.

Acknowledgements

Partnerships for Advocacy and Civic Empowerment (PACE) is a consortium made up of the Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) as prime, and its two partners, Global Rights (formerly, International Human Rights Law Group) and the Institute for Democracy of South Africa (Idasa). Over two years, the three partners, working in coordination with more than 20 well-respected Nigerian NGOs, implemented a coordinated intervention to strengthen civil society -- promoting transparency and accountability, conflict mitigation, ensuring citizens' constitutional rights.

Their work contributed immensely to the success of the 2003 elections. During its first year, activities of the PACE project were mainly directed towards ensuring successful implementation of the Federal and State elections, including the presidential election. Following elections, second-year activities focused on pushing through certain legislative measures to ensure greater freedom to information, conflict mitigation, and women's roles in peace building. This *Final Project Report* documents the successes and challenges of the PACE project.

On behalf of CEDPA, I gratefully acknowledge the support of the United States Agency for International Development in Nigeria (USAID/Nigeria) in providing funds for project implementation. The support and guidance provided by the USAID Democracy and Governance Team played a key role during the implementation period. Worthy of special mention are Ms. Minnie Wright, Mr. Charles Cutshall, and Ms. Bose Eitokpah.

The CEDPA Washington team -- Rosann Wisman, Shawn Dick, Trish Ahern, Cynthia Green, Sue Richiedei and Mari Clarke -- made valuable inputs to ensure that this report attains the high standards of CEDPA.

The cooperation and inputs of all consortium partners and Project and Country Directors -- Dr. Jibrin Ibrahim, Global Rights Nigeria and Derrick Marco, Idasa Nigeria -- and their staff were critical to the successful compilation of this *PACE End-of-Project Report*. All Nigerian civil society partners and sub-grantees that were involved in the PACE project implementation are hereby acknowledged. Their periodic and final sub-project reports were fundamental to the outcome of this report.

The active participation and contributions of all the PACE/CEDPA project staff that have made this final drive toward articulating a comprehensive report after two years of hard but fruitful work are hereby acknowledged: Maisha Strozier, PACE Project Director; Dr. Joyce Mangvwat, Program Director; Dr. Kola Oyediran, PACE Monitoring and Evaluation Officer; and all PACE Programme Officers and supporting staffs, including Tijjani Mohammed, David Omozuafor, Rachael Okegbola, Olachie Ogden, Hauwa Umar, and Domini Goyo.

Finally, special recognition goes to Dr. Mohammed D. Ibrahim, CEDPA/Nigeria Deputy Country Director, and Joseph Majiyagbe, CEDPA/Nigeria Director of Finance and Administration, who gave their time and insights in the editing and final casting of this final *PACE End-of-Project Report*.

Paulina Makinwa Adebusoye, D.Sc.
Country Director
CEDPA/Nigeria

SECTION 1.0 BACKGROUND

In December 2001, a consortium of three international organizations – the Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA), the International Human Rights Law Group (Law Group), and the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) was formed in response to USAID/Nigeria’s Annual Programme Statement (APS) for a two-year civil society assistance programme. The new project had four programme focus areas:

- **Elections/electoral reform**
- **Constitutional reform**
- **Transparency and accountability**
- **Conflict management.**

Along with integrated programming in the four focus areas, there was the expectation of substantive programming in two crosscutting areas:

- **Women’s participation**
- **Organizational and technical capacity-building**

As the lead organization, CEDPA coordinated programming and administrative requirements, allowing each organization to use its institutional strengths and experience to deliver results expected under clear performance indicators. Since the mid-1980s CEDPA has been a key USAID implementing partner in reproductive health with a broader women’s empowerment programme. Beginning in 1997 CEDPA began working in Democracy and Governance (DG), forming local and state coalitions of women’s groups and community-based organizations known as 100 Women Groups. For the past two decades, CEDPA has effectively worked to strengthen networks of grassroots and professional women’s organizations to address priority issues in Nigeria. CEDPA developed several innovative initiatives focusing not only on the practical needs of women, but the processes through which laws, policies, and public decision-making are carried out. Additionally CEDPA’s work with Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) provided broad-based experience with organizational capacity building of NGOs.

Since the inception of the PACE Project, the International Human Rights Law Group has changed its name to Global Rights. After more than two years of experience as a key USAID Nigeria implementing partner for the civil society programme, the Law Group had established a strong policy development and advocacy programme, particularly in the areas of constitutional reform, transparency and accountability, and electoral reform. It was instrumental in the formation of national coalitions in each of three of the four focus areas that had led civil society in defining key reform issues, developing policy positions, and effectively advocating for legislative change.

Idasa was new to Nigeria, but had vast experience in conflict management and peace building, NGO capacity building, elections, and transitioning democracies, not only in South Africa, but also in other countries in southern and eastern Africa. Recognized for its success in adapting both traditional and innovative approaches that acknowledge the differing social, cultural, and political context of conflict, Idasa brought the experience of other African nations to the PACE programme.

In late May 2002, CEDPA signed a Cooperative Agreement with USAID for the \$5.5 million award covering the two-year period, May 31, 2002 through May 31, 2004. Subsequent to the signing of the agreement, CEDPA entered into sub-agreements with the Law Group and Idasa. In July 2002, the consortium adopted the name Partnerships for Advocacy and Civic Empowerment (PACE).

The sections that follow highlight the key activities and accomplishments of the PACE Project, emphasizing the project's focus in the first project year on working toward credible and peaceful 2003 elections. The second project year entailed considerable refocusing to address other economic and political issues, particularly the implementation of transparency and accountability engagement activities, monitoring of local elections, and civil society assessments and capacity building initiatives.

Appendix I, *The PACE Story: A Pictorial Rendition of Successes*, summarizes the major results of PACE's work. Appendix II contains the approved PACE Performance Monitoring Plan. Appendix III contains the PACE Year 1 Workplan, while Appendix IV contains the PACE Year II Workplan. Appendix V contains summary reports from the key PACE sub-grantees, which were mainly non-governmental organizations and community-based groups. Appendix VI lists PACE-related reports, publications and other documents that provide more information about PACE activities and accomplishments. Appendix VII lists the 61 Nigerian sub-grantees and provides information on their expenditures.

SECTION 2.0 PROJECT START-UP: JUNE-NOVEMBER 2002

The PACE proposal provided three months for start-up activities, June-August 2002. However, start-up took longer than expected, extending into November 2002. The most important factors included:

- **Early changes in the Year I programme to focus on election monitoring and voter education.** USAID/Nigeria requested PACE to focus on the 2003 elections and therefore to make major revisions in the project workplan and budget. The changes affected the responsibilities of consortium partners as well as budget allocations. Over the first four months of the project, these changes were negotiated between the consortium partners and with USAID. Thus finalizing and obtaining approval of the workplan, performance monitoring plan, and budget took much longer than anticipated. During September through November 2002, the consortium worked on planning and development of collaborative relationships with local CSO partners and other international organizations and donor groups.
- **Relocation of the CEDPA PACE Project staff to Abuja.** Challenges in arranging initial meetings and other communications with USAID and among consortium partners quickly led to the decision that CEDPA open a project office in Abuja. The process of identifying and leasing office space took three months; with the CEDPA Abuja Office officially opening on September 19, 2003 as part of the official launching of the PACE Project.
- **Longer and more involved process for developing the Performance Monitoring Plan (PMP) and Year I Workplan than anticipated.** While the process was collaborative, leading to more clarity on the expectations of both USAID and consortium partners, scheduling the large number of meetings and making the many adjustments in the plans extended the start-up process beyond the planned 30-60 days.
- **Establishment of an Idasa/Nigeria office.** With the arrival of the Idasa Nigeria Country Director in early September 2002, the Idasa Office was officially established within the CEDPA Abuja Office. Prior to his arrival, the Idasa Director from the Pretoria office visited Nigeria to participate in programme planning and Programme Officer Joseph Shopade worked closely with other partners and USAID on workplans and the PMP.
- **Harmonizing of consortium budgets, reporting, and other procedures.** CEDPA was well-positioned as the prime contractor to bring its more than 15 years of partnership experience with USAID in Nigeria as well as knowledge of USAID regulations. This capacity and experience served as guidance to other consortium partners and sub-grantees. CEDPA established systems to ensure that they were in compliance with USAID programme and reporting requirements such as performance monitoring plans, workplans, and financial management systems.

These factors relating to the start-up phase, and especially the new project emphasis on elections and accompanying workplan adjustments, combined with the equally challenging task of settling into a new partnership under a USAID mechanism new to all three partners, extended the start-up phase into November.

Despite the challenges, there were many notable achievements during the start-up period:

- A **series of planning meetings** during June-August 2002 with the Transition Monitoring Group, Electoral Reform Network, Zero Corruption Coalition, Citizens Forum for Constitutional Reform, Freedom of Information Coalition, and Gender and Development Action and other key CSO partners to define further the PACE programme focus;
- **CSO Partner pre-assessment and selection** activities providing useful insights into capacity needs and technical knowledge of partners in PACE project thematic issues;

- A **proposal writing workshop** on October 2-4, 2002 for partners in the seven PACE focus states – Bauchi, Lagos, Kano, Rivers, Delta, Plateau, and Ebonyi;
- An **Ethics and Values Seminar** for civil society activists going into partisan politics;
- **Media Messages and Strategy Development Workshop** for Verification of the Voter Registry exercise and for the 2003 elections;
- Extensive **awareness-creation support for voter registration** in September 2002, despite many false starts from the government and only 10-days notice from the Independent National Elections Commission (INEC);
- Establishment of a **CEDPA-National Democratic Institute (NDI) partnership** on support to election observations to encourage broader participation of women and Muslims as election monitors;
- A **Women and Human Rights Forum** on November 20, 2002 organized in conjunction with Gender and Development Action; and
- An **assessment of CRESNET** and planning meetings to establish priority states and activities to address election-related conflict.

Thus, a strong foundation for the project was laid.

SECTION 3.0 FUNDING LEVELS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES

USAID fully funded the PACE Project at the \$5.5 million level in the early weeks of the project. This allowed the project to move forward without fear of delays in disbursement of funds.

During the proposal development discussions among the three consortium partners in January 2002, clear funding levels for each of the partners were established based on project responsibilities. These agreements were formalized in CEDPA’s sub-agreements with the Law Group and Idasa. The shift in Year I focus to election monitoring and voter education required budget adjustments. While CEDPA retained responsibility for working with the National Democratic Institute (NDI), USAID’s new implementing partner on elections monitoring, the Law Group was asked to step up voter education/mobilization activities, while retaining resources for Year II work on electoral reform, constitutional reform, and transparency and accountability. As shown in Table 1, over the first 18 months of the project, CEDPA increased the funding levels for both Idasa and the Law Group to reflect increased expectations in the areas of election-related conflict and voter education/mobilization.

CEDPA had initially planned more significant state-level programming on integrating peace building into the activities of its women-focused NGOs working at the state level. Given the difficulties entailed in developing women’s peace building networks, PACE managers decided that the resources could be more effectively deployed within the context of the Idasa strategy that included significant women’s participation.

Table 1: PACE Consortium Original and Reprogrammed Budgets

Partners	Original Budget (\$)	Reprogrammed Mar-03 (\$)	Reprogrammed Nov-03 (\$)	Comments
CEDPA	2,526,090	2,281,090	2,294,925	CEDPA Transferred \$250,000 to Idasa in Years I and II to cover increased costs of election activities, capacity building and other activities. In Year I CEDPA transferred \$65,000 to GR for increased voter education and mobilization.
Law Group	1,925,000	1,990,000	1,906,056	Between November 2003 and end of project in June, 2004, an anticipated sum of \$84,000 to be under-spent budget (including \$65,000 transferred by CEDPA in March, 2003) by GR was transferred to CEDPA to cover costs of increased NGO needs assessment and project close out activities.
Idasa	1,048,910	1,228,910	1,299,019	CEDPA transferred \$180,000 to Idasa in Year I for rapid response and election-related conflict reporting. In Year II, another \$75,000 was transferred for consortium-level work on organisational capacity and peace building through the Eminent Persons Initiative.
Totals	5,500,000	5,500,000	5,500,000	

In addition to changes in the overall budgets, each partner reprioritized Year I expenditures to reflect increased election-related programming. Of the \$1.5 million program expenditures during the PACE Project’s first 18 months, 69 percent were spent on election-related activities.

As shown in Table 2, the final expenditures showed that election-related activities accounted for 37 percent of the PACE Project’s total expenditures. Conflict management made up 35 percent of the total expenditures.

Table 2. Total PACE Project Expenditures by Programme Area May 31, 2002 – June 30, 2004	
Election processes	\$2,040,706
Constitutional reform	\$683,789
Transparency and accountability	\$848,818
Conflict management	\$1,926,687
Total	\$5,500,000

The previous discussion regarding the programme adjustments necessitated by USAID's emphasis on the elections should not be interpreted as disagreement with this decision. Given the historical antecedents relating to alternating and second elections in Nigeria as well as the strong signals that emanated from analysis of the political context at the period leading to the 2003 elections, having free and fair elections was critically important to keep Nigeria's transition to democracy on course.

However, there were tradeoffs in shifting focus to the elections in terms of meeting the objectives of other PACE project components such as transparency and accountability, constitutional reform, and capacity building of CSOs. The period of the elections was also much longer than anticipated. But overall the shift was strategic and beneficial to PACE programming.

SECTION 4.0 THE 2003 NIGERIA ELECTIONS

The PACE Project was actively involved in working toward improved election procedures, greater involvement of civil society in the election process, voter registration and education, and other measures to support democratic processes. Programming activities was challenging due to the uncertainty of the election timeframe, a late start on planning by the donor community and civil society organizations, and much confusion among Nigerian election officials regarding election processes and resources.

PACE's engagement with the 2003 elections commenced with the voter registration process. PACE was able to effect mobilization of potential voters to register, and it actively participated in the final voters' register validation process. As part of its planned post-election activities, PACE partnered with the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) to advocate with the Independent National Electoral Commission to adopt a continuous voters' registration and update system. In addition to increases in the number of registered voters compared with the 1999 election, the credibility of the voters' register itself has significantly addressed some of the contentious post-election issues that emerged and the general acceptability of the 2003 elections.

Civil society engagement with the INEC was itself unprecedented in 2003, leading to the wider recognition of the Nigerian civil society as important stakeholders in election monitoring and administration. Some of the major domestic monitors were PACE partners, including TMG, the Federation of Muslim Women's Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN), Electoral Reform Network (ERN) and host of other state-level NGOs that monitored the four elections, providing important statements and clarity to the conduct of the elections nationwide and in USAID focal states.

With the 2003 elections largely considered as a crossroad in Nigeria's democratic transition and political history, the involvement in election monitoring and administration of CSO groups and networks supported by PACE was widely viewed as having contributed to improving the elections' context and in reducing the tensions that were witnessed during the pre-and post-election periods. The involvement of CSO groups and networks has positively influenced the credibility and acceptability of the outcome of the Nigerian elections. Voter participation increased, and the incidence of violence was lower than in past elections.

Throughout the election period, the PACE consortium was an active participant on various committees and working groups established by the international donor community and later by the INEC in an effort toward coordinating election assistance in Nigeria. to provide support to civil society organizations. These included: committees for election donors and international organizations; an elections partners committee made up of donors, implementing international agencies and local civil society organizations; and working groups on election monitoring, voter education and election-related conflict. PACE participation led to a number of collaborations that allowed PACE to leverage its resources and focus programming on its areas of strength. Key collaborations included:

- Extensive technical support from the National Democratic Institute (NDI) on training, deployment, and data collection and analysis for PACE-supported election monitoring activities;
- Support from the British Department for International Development (DFID) on development of media messages and strategies;
- PACE provision of CSO panelists/participants for DFID-supported media training of journalists on election reporting;
- Ongoing dialogue with the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division (UNEAD), the European Union, DFID, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the International Republican Institute (IRI), the Open Society for Women in Africa (OSIWA), the MacArthur Foundation, the Canadian Embassy, and other donor groups and international organizations to coordinate ongoing support to local CSOs; and
- DFID support of the Communications Hub that played a central role in disseminating timely and accurate information on potential threats to peaceful elections around the country.

In November 2002, NDI was brought in as USAID's lead implementing partner on election monitoring. It was at this point that the PACE election programme began to really take shape. NDI had extensive technical experience in election monitoring training and in deploying election monitors in a vast geographic terrain like Nigeria's. NDI's new role led to a very quick assessment of priorities and identification of staff and resources to engage the appropriate local partners on training and deployment, data collection and analysis. NDI's involvement freed the PACE consortium to focus its energies on the partners' strengths – mobilization of CSOs for election monitoring and broad-based awareness creation through media, IEC and voter education events.

In addition to voter education and election monitoring, the PACE Project was actively engaged in efforts to promote effective and transparent processes that encouraged civil society participation at all levels of the elections. Throughout the PACE election programme, women's participation was a key theme. Much of the programme emphasized increasing voter turnout among women, the number of women and women-focused organizations monitoring the elections, and the number of women elected and appointed to public office.

4.1 Electoral Reform/Advocacy

While there was significant public debate over the election laws at both the constitutional level and at the level of the Electoral Act, much more public attention was focused on the election procedures, timetables, and resources. Additionally, a number of court decisions set the stage for a radically different framework for the 2003 elections than originally anticipated. A court decision made space for 30 parties to contest for offices. While encouraging more public dialogue on the important issues, the decision placed more demands on resources and led to even more confusion in an already uncertain environment. Additionally, court deliberations on a number of other issues caused delays to a timetable that was already quite fluid. In this environment, PACE partners were able to provide some leadership in engaging civil society, INEC, and other public agencies in discussions on meaningful reform. However, the clear emphasis was on the urgency of carrying out the 2003 elections.

4.1.1 Planning Meeting of the Electoral Reform Network

With assistance from the Law Group, the Electoral Reform Network (ERN) was established to bring civil society organizations together around the 2003 elections and to advocate changes in the existing electoral act, which was considered deficient because it originated from a military government. In collaboration with the Law Group, the ERN convened a two-day Stakeholders' Meeting on October 30-31, 2002 in Abuja. The meeting was an opportunity to review the state of the electoral process, while also developing strategies for further advocacy. More than 60 participants representing 47 civil and community-based organizations from across the country attended the meeting.

Participants reviewed ERN's activities, the state of the elections, INEC preparations and the Electoral Act 2002, and developed strategies to meet the advocacy goals of the group. The meeting was also the start of a process of compiling a list of all state electoral laws and guidelines. Attendees concluded that ERN must engage the National Assembly, the Presidency, and INEC in a proactive dialogue to ensure the success of the elections. This included media campaigns, advertisements and other advocacy programmes.

ERN subsequently engaged the committees on elections of the National Assembly and articulated the views of Nigerian civil society on the Electoral Act. It advocated that the National Assembly, Senate and INEC positions on the Act be harmonized. The ERN's input was widely acknowledged; parts of it were adopted by the House of Representatives.

4.1.2 Ethics and Values Seminar for Civil Society Activists Going into Partisan Politics

On September 25-27, 2002, the Law Group organized an ethics and values seminar for civil society activists going into partisan politics. Civil society activists who had participated in partisan politics for the previous three years, those planning to participate in the 2003 elections, those planning to enter partisan politics in the near future, and other civil society activists and academia attended the seminar.

The seminar considered political values, attitudes and behaviors, particularly as they affect the transition from civil society activism to active involvement in partisan politics; the political process in Nigeria; violence and elections in the Fourth Republic; the role of the security services and the media; codes of ethics for civil society activists; and strategies for networking amongst civil society activists going into partisan politics and civil society organizations.

The seminar identified the following challenges for civil society activists going into partisan politics:

- The need to build a constituency at the local level even as they continue advocacy on national issues;
- The need to struggle for liberalization of party processes to strengthen the content and importance given to platforms; and
- The need to see involvement in politics as not only an avenue to political power, but also a means gaining experience and engaging the power structure on ways to transform Nigerian society.

At the end of the seminar, the following resolutions were adopted:

- The political objectives of civil society activists going into partisan politics should include the promotion of the respect for the rule of law, due process, constitutional reform, and a culture of debate, tolerance, transparency and accountability. Activists should represent ideas that are pro-poor, gender sensitive, and reflect good governance and political liberalization.
- Civil society activists going into partisan politics should be guided by the values and principles of truthfulness, honesty, accountability, social justice and proper work ethics.
- Civil Society Organizations should constructively engage civil society activists going into politics and design a mechanism of accountability including a report card on each of them.
- In the short term, all civil society organizations in Nigeria should intensify efforts to advocate for the liberalization of the formation and operation of political parties.
- In the long term, civil society activists with similar ideological persuasion should initiate the process for the formation of a political party /parties of their own.
- There should be public financing of political parties and candidates. In this regard, the National Assembly should enact legislation to regulate campaign financing.
- The political parties should broaden their internal democracy practices and respect their own rules and guidelines for the conduct of primaries and intra-party affairs.
- The mass media in the country should ensure that they adhere to the Electoral Act, which provides that all candidates be given equal treatment and access.
- The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) should be repositioned to organize the 2003 elections in a free and transparent manner. In this regard, there is the need for timely release of funds, funding to be charged to the consolidated revenue fund of the federation based on appropriation by the National Assembly, and for INEC leadership to assert its independence.
- Civil society should condemn INEC, registration officials, and political parties for the fraudulent manipulation of the just concluded voters' registration process that led to the disenfranchisement of millions of Nigerian in spite of production of materials for 70 million voters.

The seminar encouraged participants to contest for elective positions as a strategy for reforming the electoral system. It also provided a forum for articulating an agenda for change, in addition to equipping the participants with skills for becoming effective political change agents.

4.1.3 Advocacy to INEC/SIECs and Other Government Agencies

PACE consortium partners CEDPA, Idasa, and the Law Group actively monitored the work of INEC and supported ERN, TMG, and other CSO partners as these groups advocated for more effective management of election processes, more engagement of civil society on decisions regarding timeframes, polling station set-up, staffing, guidelines for monitors, and other critical issues.

PACE election partners and sub-grantees registered to monitor the elections participated in more than 30 meetings with the INEC. Both the Law Group and TMG served on the Joint INEC-Civil Society Consultative Forum, which was established by INEC in November 2002 to ensure that the general public and civil society groups were kept informed of progress on the elections and engaged in deliberations on guidelines for election monitoring.

CSO partners reported many positive outcomes from advocacy to INEC and the State Independent Electoral Commissions (SIECs). The most significant at the national level were:

- Relaxation of accreditation requirements;
- Loosening of procedures for observation IDs/vehicle movement; and
- Adjustments in materials delivery procedures, security arrangements and other election operations after the April 12, 2003 National Assembly elections that improved the April 19th Presidential/Gubernatorial balloting.

The involvement of CSOs helped to improve the overall relationship between government agencies and the CSOs.

4.2 Voter Registration Exercise

Under PACE agreements totaling more than \$45,000, TMG carried out extensive awareness and mobilization activities for the September 2002 voter registration exercise. The exercise was announced less than two weeks ahead of the September 12 start date, leaving little time for groups to mobilize for proper monitoring by civil society groups or the media. Several donor organizations provided funding to TMG and other groups. However, the PACE Project was not prepared to commit to major monitoring activity given the short timeframe for preparation and uncertainty regarding the process.

Major activities under the PACE agreement with TMG included:

- Production of over 200,000 Posters and 275,000 stickers in five languages – English, Pidgin, Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba;
- Development and production of radio jingles in five languages;
- Airing of radio jingles throughout the registration period on Radio Nigeria, Radio Nigeria Kaduna, Aso Radio Abuja, and other stations that allowed coverage of most of the country;
- Facilitation of radio and TV appearances:
 - Abuja: *Viewpoint* on Rhythm 94.7FM, *Politics Today* on Aso Radio Abuja,
 - Kaduna: *Issues of the Moment* on NTA Kaduna and *Voters Registration Special* also on NTA Kaduna,
 - Press Conference in Lagos and Kaduna during and after the voter registration exercise, which attracted major media houses of both electronic and print media,
 - TMG member organizations in Port Harcourt appeared on Radio/TV programmes during the period to sensitize Nigerians on the need to register; and

- Dissemination of voter awareness/education materials and other voter education activities, including rallies and church-based messages coordinated by the TMG, the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN)/Plateau State, and Country Women Association of Nigeria (COWAN)/Lagos State.

TMG's work greatly complemented the work of INEC, national and state-level information offices, radio/television public service announcements/programmes, and other CSOs. These awareness campaigns, combined with a strong commitment on the part of Nigerians to exercising their franchise, contributed to a much larger than projected turnout for the exercise.

Outcomes

- Despite short public notice and perhaps millions of Nigerians being turned away from registration centers due to lack of registration materials, limited staff, and too short a timeframe for registration, the number of **voters registered in 2003 appears to have increased**. INEC reported that it had registered an increase of three million voters or five percent over the 1999 level. While these data are disputed, observers believe that gains in voter registration were made.

Lesson Learned

- Communication messages and materials need to be developed well in advance of election events to avoid last-minute logistical problems and decisions that increase costs and reduce the effectiveness of voter education and mobilization activities.

4.3 Verification of the Voter Register

In early January 2003, INEC announced that voters would have two days to verify their registration for the upcoming general elections. Despite the short notice, both the Law Group and CEDPA worked with CSOs to quickly deploy resources to build awareness and confidence in the process. The Law Group developed and disseminated media messages through radio, television, and distribution of more than 6,000 posters in English and Hausa. Messages were disseminated through television and radio jingles. Two television jingles were produced for dissemination -- one in plain English and the other in Pidgin English. Both aired on the Nigerian Television Authority and the African Independent Television. Five jingles were produced for broadcast on radio in the following languages; English, Pidgin English, Igbo, Hausa, and Yoruba. The jingles were aired on Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and Aso Radio F.M. CEDPA focused on a series of ads in the national newspapers and radio stations with national coverage.

It is not clear whether any significant changes in the number of registered voters resulted from the verification of the voter registration exercise. The press reported INEC statements that thousands of names had been added to the register as a result of the process, but there has been no public reporting of the results of the exercise. Many polling locations did not have updated registers and thus turned away voters who came to check their registration.

4.4 The General Elections

After much uncertainty, three general elections were held in April and May 2003. Most of the incumbents in the National Assembly were removed by party leaders during the primaries. More National Assembly incumbents lost their posts due to the April 12th election, when voters turned out in numbers much larger than anticipated. As a result, more than 80 percent of incumbents in the National Assembly were out of office. The elections were marred by violence and rampant corruption in some states, especially in the South-East and South-South, and

much of the country contended with logistical problems in getting ballots on time and coping with shortages of INEC staff.

For the April 19th Presidential and Gubernatorial elections, INEC's performance improved greatly, and a heavier security presence contributed to reduced levels of violence. However, increased security did not prevent widespread intimidation and irregularities and in some cases may have contributed to the problems.

The May 3 State Assembly elections were characterized by extremely low voter turnout. Some observers suggested that the lack of credibility of the results of the first two elections led voters to stay away from the polls. Other observers thought that voter fatigue and lack of interest in elections for state house seats were more important factors.

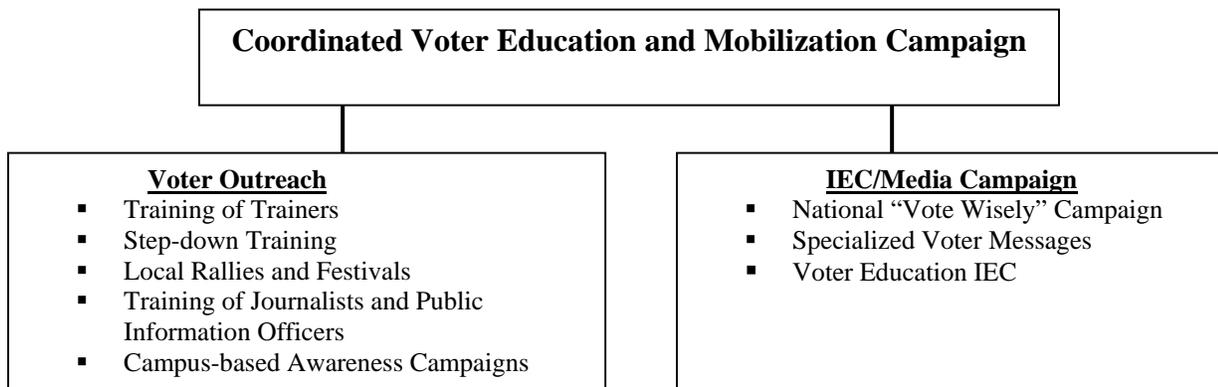
In addition to continued support of CSO advocacy to INEC and the SIECs, the PACE Project focused on two major activities:

- Voter education and mobilization through both mass media and direct outreach; and
- Broadening the participation of women and northern Nigerians in election monitoring.

4.4.1 Voter Education and Mobilization

Perhaps the most significant role that civil society groups were able to play during the general election was to build awareness and promote participation of ordinary citizens in the process. Voter education and mobilization were clear priorities of the PACE election programme. PACE supported 31 civil society groups in carrying out voter education activities in 14 of the 36 states and FCT. Direct voter outreach in the form of rallies, festivals, and dissemination of handbills at public meetings and gathering places was supplemented by a coordinated mass media campaign.

During the general elections, PACE-supported CSOs distributed more than 400,000 posters, stickers, sample ballots, and other IEC materials through more than 30 civil society organizations. Additionally, the "Vote Wisely" campaign theme used for print, radio, and television campaigns was recognized by more than 45 percent of Nigerians, according to a post-election opinion survey commissioned by the United Nations Elections Assistance Programme (UNEAP). The graphic below shows how the PACE voter education/mobilization activities were organized.



4.4.1.1 Voter Outreach

Voter Education TOT Workshop and Step Down Trainings

The Law Group held a three-day Training of Trainers Workshop on Voter Education on March 13-16, 2003 in Lagos. The 38 participants represented 31 CSOs. Seven staff of the Law Group and CEDPA also participated. Groups from each of the six geopolitical zones and the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja were in attendance.

The objectives of the workshop were:

- To provide trainers with the information and skills necessary for them to carry out voter education in their respective areas in preparation for the 2003 general elections; and
- To pre-test the draft manual on voter education.

Group activities focused on the following themes and questions:

- What is democracy?
- Is Nigeria on the road to democracy?
- Expectations of democracy
- Citizens participation
- Free and fair elections
- Your vote counts
- Choosing candidates
- The voting process

A post-training test of the participants showed that 74 percent scored 60 percent or higher on a test measuring knowledge of key voter education concepts, demonstrating a basic knowledge. All participants were encouraged to use *Voting Time*, the voter education manual prepared by the Law Group, to prepare for step-down trainings.

In the three weeks following the workshop, trainers stepped down the voter education information and materials to an additional 3,825 people in 14 states, who in turn carried out formal and informal voter education/outreach in more than 60 LGAs. An estimated 70 percent of the people trained were women (2,679), including 500 women in *purdah* trained by NCWS in Borno State.

Local Rallies and Festivals

Direct outreach to voters is a key component of effective voter mobilization. While broad-based media can build awareness, encouragement from community leaders, religious leaders, peers, affiliate groups, friends, and relatives is more significant in getting people to the polls. CEDPA supported 31 groups to carry out rallies and other voter mobilization activities to complement its step-down trainings and media campaigns. Most of these events involved CSO members speaking to church groups, community organizations, and public gathering points. Other events were much larger in their scale and reach.

The two-day Kallankuwa Festival held on March 7-8 in Bomo District near Zaria in Kaduna State attracted more than 30,000 people across class, gender, and other affiliations. The event was coordinated by the Law Group and served as a model for community-level voter education/mobilization using the traditional means of building awareness through music and drama. Activities were designed to increase understanding of the complicated ballot and address the theme of election offences and violence. One of the highlights of the festival was the parade of enlarged banners containing the logos of all 30 political parties. It was an opportunity for rural communities to engage in “dialogical communication” with each other, NGOs, and the various dignitaries from academia and government. The participation of two famous Hausa musicians – Shehu Ajilo and Barmani Choge – guaranteed popular participation until 3.00 a.m. on both evenings.

An important approach employed during the Kallankuwa Festival was learning through role-play and debate. The youth of the village established stands and offices where they played prominent characters in civic life such as President Obasanjo and members of the Emirate Council. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) established a very impressive and effective presence at the Kallankuwa Festival. The Director of Public Affairs led the INEC delegation. Three officers took charge of the INEC stand, where they entertained questions on the electoral process and voting behavior. The National Orientation Agency (NOA) also sent a strong delegation.

One interesting aspect of the Kallankuwa Festival was the establishment of a simple but effective community radio station, which broadcast the proceedings of the festival live and was received within a three kilometer radius. It was known as Bomo Broadcasting Corporation or Radio Bomo. A local radio mechanic developed and ran the station for the two days; he has now become a radio celebrity in the community.

Following the success of the Kallankuwa Festival in Bomo village, several communities adopted similar approaches to voter education/mobilization in the weeks leading up to the general elections. On March 25, in Rogo, Kano State, the Renaissance Theater Network of Ahmadu Bello University organized a second “Kallankuwa Festival”, attracting more than 3,000 people. The Law Group also supported festivals in Funtuna, Katsina State, and Kagoro, in southern Kaduna State.

PACE Collaboration with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) on Media Training on Election Reporting

PACE collaborated with the BBC World Service Trust on the DFID-funded training of Nigerian journalists on election reporting. PACE had originally planned to provide journalists with media training on the elections, but the BBC programme funded by DFID was much more comprehensive.

PACE provided two resource people to participate in both the Port Harcourt and Lagos trainings - Tunde Aremu, a Programme Officer with the International Press Centre, shared his experiences with participants and gave them suggestions on how to cope with editorial dilemmas when covering elections. Clement Wasah, Coordinator for the Transition Monitoring Group Programme until recently and now with Community Action for Popular Participation, provided guidance to journalists on key things to look for as they observe the elections.

The training workshops were held in Port Harcourt on December 9-13, 2002 and in Lagos December 16-20, 2002. Follow-up trainings took place in early January 2003. The goal of the project was to train reporters and editors from radio, television, and print media in Nigeria to be able to cover effectively the forthcoming elections and the election campaigns, party primaries, and vote counting for their media organizations. The course covered areas such as role of the reporter during elections, voters' and politicians' agendas, campaign coverage, libel and defamation, news conferences, and conflict reporting. More than 200 journalists were trained under the programme.

National Workshop for Journalists on Strategies for Rural Information Dissemination

The Law Group held a National Workshop for Journalists on "Strategies for Rural Information Dissemination for Elections 2003" on March 3-4, 2003 in Abuja. There were 43 participants drawn from print and electronic media across the country. Also in attendance were the Special Adviser (Research and Policy Analysis) to the Vice – President, the Zonal Director (North – East) of the Nigeria Broadcasting Commission, and a Representative of the Director of the Institute of Agricultural Research, Zaria. A communiqué was released at the end of the workshop.

Participants noted various legal, constitutional, institutional, economic, and social constraints affecting the media's ability to practice effectively, especially in the area of rural reporting, and in media's responsibility to hold government accountable on behalf of the people. The independence of the news outlets is limited by the Official Secret Act, the Offensive Publications (Proscription Decree No. 35 of 1993) as well as some sections of the Nigeria Broadcasting Commission (NBC), Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), and Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) Acts relating to the appointment of chief executives and senior staff.

Participants noted that less than two months before the April 2003 elections, very little had been reported by the media on the views of the majority of Nigerians, who reside in the rural areas. Many suggested that this was a deliberate plot by politicians to keep rural citizens ignorant about the electoral process in order to facilitate electoral fraud.

Specific to the elections, participants resolved that:

- Both government and civil society groups should take urgent steps to prepare rural citizens for the crucial 2003 elections;
- INEC and the National Orientation Agency should immediately commence a voter education programme using both modern and traditional media. This would help to ensure that rural Nigerians effectively participate in the elections.
- Despite the many challenges that the Nigerian media face, there is no excuse for abandoning their social responsibility to provide access to information to all segments of Nigerian society while maintaining a sense of ethics and professionalism. The media must therefore embrace the concept of developmental journalism that emphasizes the utilitarian and cultural values of the society and promotes the national interest, including voter education and social mobilization of the rural areas.

Workshop for Local Government Information Officers on Voter Information and Dissemination

On March 27-28, 2003 the Law Group organized a two-day workshop for Local Government Information Officers from the 17 Local Government Councils of Plateau State and other media organizations in the state. The "Strategies for Rural Information Dissemination for 2003 Elections" workshop attracted 39 participants. The objective was to empower information officers to effectively educate the public on the election process. The workshop covered a wide range of issues bordering on the protection of the democratic experiment in Nigeria, including:

- The media and the 2003 elections;
- The role of elections in sustaining democracy in Nigeria;
- The legal and constitutional framework for the media and the 2003 elections;
- Critical issues in election reporting, tools and strategies for rural information dissemination for elections; and
- The role of drama in voter education and mobilization.

Participants noted that information officers at the local government level have fundamental roles to play in creating an environment conducive for elections but were confronted with numerous bureaucratic and financial bottlenecks in the fulfillment of this crucial role. It was also noted that information officers at the local government level were ambivalent about rural or grassroots reporting and that their perceptions were influenced and often determined by the political office holders.

Voter Education in Higher Institutions Project

In March 2003, the Law Group carried out a voter education in higher institutions project to enlighten youth on their role as educators, mobilizers, and monitors in the 2003 elections. The project theme was “The Role of the Youth in the Electoral Process”. The project also encouraged youth to exercise their franchise and not to allow themselves to be used as thugs and agents of violence by unscrupulous politicians. Youth were given an orientation on the ballot process.

The project was implemented in the following institutions:

South West:

- Adeniran Ogunsanya College of Education (AOCOED)
- Otto Ijanikin, Lagos State: in collaboration with Central Educational Service (CENDUSERVE), Lagos

South East

- Enugu State University of Science and Technology (ESUT), Enugu State, in collaboration with Women’s Aid Collective (WACOL)

The project included the following activities:

- **Public Lectures:** Lectures on the themes: “The Role of the Youth in the Electoral Process” and “Democracy and the Elections and the Ballot Process”, followed by question and answer sessions.
- **Drama:** The drama titled “Our Chance” was used to awaken the consciousness of the youth and provide a basic understanding of the complexities of the electoral process.
- **Quiz:** The quiz was designed to get the youth thinking about critical issues in democracy and governance, the forthcoming elections, and Nigerian history. Publications of the Law Group and CSO partners were given out as prizes and also to encourage inquiries around related issues.
- **Distribution of IEC materials:** The specimen ballot papers and awareness posters were distributed to the students for use in building awareness among their peers, family members, and community members. Also, publications of the Law Group and the CSO partners were presented to representatives of the school authorities for use in the school library.

4.4.1.2 IEC and Media Campaigns

CEDPA held a workshop in Abuja on November 5-6, 2003, drawing 25 participants from leading labour, media, and women's organizations. The workshop was co-sponsored by PACE and the Department for International Development (DFID).

The objectives of the workshop were to develop media messages and strategies:

- To review, assess, and select existing media messages and IEC materials around voter education;
- To develop new and appropriate media messages and IEC materials if necessary; and
- To outline strategies for the dissemination of messages.

Participants concluded that it was critically important to develop a coordinated message that would resonate across a broad cross-section of Nigerian society. They said that it was also important to have campaigns that targeted a number of special audiences. These included broad-based messages for:

- The electorate,
- Youth/students (particularly peace messages),
- Women,
- Workers, and
- Election officials.

It was also suggested that messages focus on a number of key issues affecting voter turnout and general conduct of the elections:

- Responsible exercise of your right to vote (examples "Vote"; "Don't sell your vote.")
- Your vote counts
- Shun election violence

Several donor organizations supported media campaigns using themes developed at the workshop. CEDPA developed a broad-based message -- "Your Vote Can Make the Difference; Vote Wisely" -- for a nationwide campaign. The Law Group developed several focused messages, including "Don't Sell Your Vote" and "Shun Election Violence. Idasa's IEC campaign focused on students and violence.

"Your Vote Can Make the Difference; Vote Wisely" Campaign

CEDPA developed the voter mobilization campaign to appeal to a cross-section of Nigerians, particularly women. The same tagline was used across a number of media – radio, print ads, and IEC (posters, stickers, T-shirts, hijabs, etc) to provide a consistent message on the importance of voter participation. The \$60,000 campaign disseminated 150,000 posters in English and Hausa and delivered over 60 radio spots covering all of Nigeria through regional and local radio stations.

Specialized Voter Messages

The Law Group developed five posters for use with targeted audiences during the general elections. About 1,000 copies of four posters were printed and distributed at local rallies in Hausa-speaking areas. Messages included: "Shun Election Violence"; "Don't Sell Your Vote"; "Make Sure You Vote in the Coming Elections", and "Your Vote is Your Power: Vote Wisely". The Hausa posters were distributed at the Kallankuwa Festival for Voter Education in Bomo, Zaria to the citizens of Bomo and residents from the various villages and towns that attended the festival.

The Law Group produced radio jingles carrying the messages in Yoruba, Hausa, Pidgin English and Igbo on the following themes: “Exercise your franchise”; “Shun violence”; and “Influence of money in politics”.

Voter Education IEC – Sample Ballots and Television Ads

The Law Group produced and distributed 33,000 copies of a voter education poster on the balloting process. The poster showed the logos of the 30 political parties and provided guidance for prospective voters. The poster was printed in English, Igbo, Hausa, and Yoruba. The guidance included the following:

- Know your party
- Know your party’s acronym (Initials)
- Know your party’s symbol (Logo)
- Know your party’s location on the ballot
- Devise a strategy for locating your party on the ballot
- Ensure that your thumbprint is on the correct circle (Oval)
- Thumbprint only once

The Law Group also produced and disseminated 20,000 copies of the sample ballot paper to acquaint voters with the ballot prior to voting. The ballots produced by PACE complemented the limited supply of INEC.

In addition to the posters and sample ballots, the Law Group produced television jingles on the balloting process in both English and Hausa. The 59-second dramatization showed a simulated casting of a ballot on Election Day. The visual nature of television was able to capture more effectively the voting process. The simulation showed queuing; identification of the party of choice through symbols; thumb printing the appropriate box; and the problem of incorrect thumb printing. The ad used both male and female characters so that a broad audience could identify with the process. The video was accompanied with pidgin statements, commentaries and song to strengthen the message.

Outcomes

- Of the 31 CSO representatives attending the TOT voter education workshop, 74 percent scored 60 percent or better on a post-voter education TOT test.
- Voter turnout nationwide increased from 52 percent in 1999 to 69 percent in 2003 for the presidential election and from 57 percent to 77 percent for the gubernatorial elections, according to INEC data. Similarly, each of the seven focus states for the PACE Project experienced significant increases in voter turnout during the presidential, gubernatorial, and National Assembly elections.
- FOMWAN and NCWS/Kano reported that more women appear to have voted in the states for which they monitored elections, compared with the 1999 election. Other observers also reported anecdotally that more women participated than in 1999. However, PACE has no reliable data reflecting voter turnout or voter registration among women. PACE is working with IFES on alternatives to reliance of INEC documents for estimating disaggregated voter turnout.

4.4.2 Election Monitoring

Despite the massive problems in conducting the elections, PACE was able to make great strides in improving the capacity of civil society organizations and their ability to monitor elections, especially among CSOs representing women and other underrepresented communities.

During the elections, PACE supported the deployment of 3,900 monitors, largely women and Muslim, from 15 states in the core north of the country. In the months leading up to the April-May 2003 elections, PACE partners also actively engaged officials at the national and state levels on various policy issues affecting civil society monitoring of the elections.

The level and nature of participation of PACE-supported partners had a profound impact on individuals, organizations, and communities. For many, the 2003 elections were their first opportunity to exercise their responsibilities and rights to vote and to become involved in overseeing the electoral process.

4.4.2.1 Support to TMG for Planning/Preparations for Election Monitoring

On July 19, 2002, the Law Group held its initial planning meeting with Transition Monitoring Group to discuss the role of TMG in the implementation of the PACE Project. At the meeting, TMG indicated that the organization would need assistance with plans to increase the number of monitors for the coming elections. TMG's capacity at the time allowed mobilization of 4,000 observers for the voter registration exercise and 10,000 monitors for the actual elections, exactly the same number deployed during the 1998-1999 transition elections. It was also pointed out that the level of European Union and UNEAD assistance was much lower than publicly suggested.

TMG was also seeking support in monitoring the Gubernatorial and Presidential primaries of the political parties in addition to monitoring proceedings at the various Election Petition Tribunals to ensure transparency in their composition and proceedings. A third area of support needs identified was capacity building for both staff and members of the TMG board and network of CSOs.

The meeting closed with tentative agreement to further explore support in five areas, making every effort to leverage limited PACE resources by coordinating support with other donor groups:

- Training of TMG members and staff in project planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation;
- Monitoring of the Gubernatorial and Presidential primaries of the political parties;
- Monitoring of the Election Petition Tribunals, which would be established to adjudicate disputes arising from the elections;
- The compilation of state electoral laws and regulations, which would be undertaken in partnership with the Electoral Reform Network (ERN); and
- Exploration of avenues and possibilities for support for an increase in the number of monitors to be deployed.

In November 2002 PACE/the Law Group entered into an agreement with the TMG to implement a project, entitled "Support to TMG for Strengthening of Capacity and Preparation towards 2003 Elections". Under the agreement, the Law Group would support TMG to:

- Facilitate the repositioning / re-focusing of TMG in the area of institutional capacity and effective communication systems;
- Develop an operational plan that defined TMG's mission in the area of election monitoring; and
- Facilitate TMG's assessment of its strengths and weaknesses and address gaps that might arise in the area of election monitoring.

On December 13, 2002, TMG's 18-member coordinating committee met in Abuja and presented TMG's new strategic plan. The plan was reviewed and amended before being presented to donors at a meeting on December 18, 2002. The meeting included members of TMG's Coordinating Committee and representatives of NDI, EU, DFID, USAID, and UNDP/UNEAD. The Chair of TMG, Mr. Festus Okoye, gave an overview of the plan

followed by questions and answers. DFID and PACE assured TMG that they would take a critical look at the strategic plan, while NDI proposed to support the training of TMG observers.

DFID, USAID, UNDP/UNEAD, and USAID through PACE and NDI provided support to TMG based on the plan. DFID supported deployment of monitors; NDI provided training, training materials, and support for data collection and analysis needed for public reporting; and UNEAD focused on voter education and institutional support. After the election, PACE pledged to use TMG for electoral reform advocacy based on the experience of the April-May elections.

4.4.2.2 Monitoring of General Elections by Domestic Monitoring Groups

CEDPA's presence and partnerships at the state and local levels significantly assisted in the identification of election monitors. CEDPA's partners also provided useful information that assisted with deployment decisions, giving due consideration to potential conflict flash points and locations that had not previously received monitoring assistance and support. Its decentralized network of field offices provided outlets for communications and dissemination of election materials and served as strategic locations for collections of monitors' observation reports for onward transmission to NDI data centers in Abuja and Lagos.

The PACE Project played a key role in ensuring that women's groups and organizations based in the country's largely Islamic northern region were active participants in election monitoring by civil society. Over the course of the three elections, PACE-supported CSOs trained more than 2,700 monitors, enabling the deployment of a total 4,620 monitors for the National Assembly, Presidential/Gubernatorial, and State Assembly elections.

CEDPA had initially planned to support 500 monitors working with women-focused CSO partners -- the Country Women's Association of Nigeria (COWAN), the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN), the National Council of Women Societies (NCWS), and the Federation of Ebonyi Women Associations (FEWA) -- while adding new partners such as the Justice Democracy and Peace Committee (JDPC-Lagos) of the Catholic Church, and the Youth Environment and Development Associations (YEDA-Kano).

CEDPA had to drastically increase its plans for election monitoring when it became apparent in the final stages of preparation for national and state elections that critical gaps remained in plans by civil society to monitor balloting and other election processes. TMG, JDPC and the National Labour Congress monitoring under the Labour Election Monitoring Team (LEMT) were the three major organizations expected to deploy significant numbers of monitors with broad geographic coverage. However, these groups had not been able to extend their networks to provide credible monitoring in the northern regions of the country.

The monitoring of elections in the north was critical to the perception of the elections as "free and fair" and therefore to general public acceptance of the election outcomes. Civil society organizations working in the north had demonstrated a commitment to mounting a monitoring effort, but they lacked the technical and financial resources to implement an election monitoring programme covering states in the Northwest, Northeast, and North Central regions of the country. To address this urgent need, CEDPA requested the assistance of its long-time partner, the Federation of Muslim Women Associations of Nigeria (FOMWAN).

FOMWAN joined with PACE/CEDPA and NDI to train more than 2,800 monitors and deploy more than 3,600 monitors for the National Assembly and Presidential/Gubernatorial elections held on April 12 and April 19, 2003, respectively. FOMWAN partnered with the Muslim League for Accountability (MULAC) to mobilise citizens for participation in election monitoring. MULAC is a national coalition of 22 NGOs, CBOs, and community-based youth and women's groups. FOMWAN focused on mobilizing 1,000 women, while MULAC recruited 1,000 men for the monitoring effort.

TOT and Step-down Training

With only five weeks remaining before the April 12th National Assembly election, CEDPA finalized arrangements with NDI to train 80 master trainers in three Master TOT Workshops in Abuja on March 15-16, 18-19, and 21-22. Two of the workshops trained the 60 trainers who conducted step-down trainings for FOMWAN/MULAC monitors. A third workshop trained trainers from CEDPA-supported women's groups and other organizations such as Women of Worth (WOW) and Women in Nigeria (WIN) supported by other donors.

The FOMWAN and MULAC TOTs and step-down trainings were conducted separately for men and women to respect the cultural and religious context of most areas of the states to be monitored. Over the course of the training, many issues arose regarding the appropriate roles of men and women within the monitoring activities. Some participants even questioned the role of women in coordinating the activities of male monitors during training and deployment. While CEDPA and NDI staff facilitated such discussions, decisions were left largely to FOMWAN and MULAC.

The two-day Master TOTs used a very interactive approach to cover a number of key topics with groups having a very limited understanding of the monitoring process. Many members of the CEDPA-supported women's groups had participated in monitoring of the 1999 elections. However, for FOMWAN/MULAC the 2003 elections were their first time participating in the elections besides voting. The participatory approach contributed very much to their knowledge and self-confidence.

Key topics covered included:

- What's at stake? Why monitor the 2003 elections?
- What basics must be communicated to and retained by monitors?
- How to recognize or de-escalate conflict while serving as a monitor
- Simulation of Election Day polling.
- Review of checklist and incident report forms: step-by-step and point-by-point
- Preparing your own training plans: Whom will you train? Where will you train them? How will you monitor training effectively?

One FOMWAN member noted during the training, "We are so happy to have been included in this historic event. In the past, we have participated but not at this level. This will hopefully lead to even more involvement by organizations in the north."

Between March 17 and April 5, 2003, PACE-supported partners trained more than 2,700 monitors in step-down trainings held in 19 states. CEDPA provided significant administrative support to FOMWAN/MULAC to ensure that funds were disbursed rapidly and submission of financial reports did not delay a second disbursement to cover deployment costs. The one-day trainings focused largely on the use of the checklist and logistics for deployment of individual monitors and collection of checklists at the completion of polling station activities.

Deployment

The 2003 general elections schedule included five elections – the National Assembly, Presidential/Gubernatorial, and State Assembly elections scheduled for April 12, April 19 and May 3 respectively; and possible run-off elections scheduled for April 26 and April 29. No run-offs were needed. Due to limited funding, CEDPA supported FOMWAN/MULAC in monitoring only the National/Assembly and Presidential/Gubernatorial elections, while supporting the smaller efforts of its nine state-level partners through all three general elections. Because some funds earmarked for monitoring the national elections were not spent, FOMWAN/MULAC were able to apply them to monitoring the State Assembly elections. The State Assembly elections were characterized by widespread irregularities and lower deployment by other monitoring groups. This was a missed opportunity for observations and documentation of the experience with state-level elections. One factor affecting the lower

deployment in the state elections is that the civil society organizations had less interest in them relative to the Presidential and national assemblies elections.

Each of the nine state-level partners had special coordinators assigned to supervise the monitoring activities. FOMWAN/MULAC had a national coordinator, and each state had a state coordinator and deputy coordinator. Their primary responsibilities were to ensure that:

- Step-down trainings were conducted;
- Monitors were registered with INEC/SIEC;
- Monitors were aware of their assigned polling stations and had all materials needed ('uniforms', ID badges, checklists, per diem, etc.);
- Checklists were collected and forwarded to the NDI collation centers within 24-48 hours of the closing of the polling stations;
- Press statements were prepared, released, and disseminated as appropriate; and
- Final reporting to PACE on monitoring activities, including financial requirements

Using NDI's data collection and analysis system, PACE partners were able to get data from "fast track" (within 24 hours of the end of the election) and regular checklist to NDI's National Information Center in Abuja for timely analysis of data that would be needed to release credible press statements by monitoring groups backed by reliable data gathered using standard checklists from monitors that were all trained using the same training materials and designs.

CEDPA is extremely proud to have played a significant role in the success of a system used only twice by NDI in monitoring elections in transitioning democracies – in Cambodia and now Nigeria.

Final deployment figures for PACE-supported CSOs are summarized in Table 3.

Press Statements

One of the major objectives of the election monitoring was the release of credible reports to increase confidence in the election process. Public confidence depends not only on assessments relating to whether elections are "free and fair" but also on awareness that public agencies and other stakeholders are appropriately addressing irregularities and other problems.

Ten of the 12 PACE partners monitoring the elections released press statements. Rahama (Bauchi) decided to include data collected in the TMG state-level report to increase the coverage and potential impact of the statement and subsequent report. PACE partners in Lagos (NCWS and COWAN) and Kano (YEDA and NCWS) issued joint statements. JDPC (Lagos) issued a statement under a broader press release by JDPC (National).

The two FOMWAN/MULAC press conferences following the National Assembly and Presidential/Gubernatorial elections drew national attention due to the coverage across 15 states and focus on the core north. FOMWAN/MULAC was also one of the four major monitoring groups (along with TMG, JDPC, and LEMT-Labour Election Monitoring Team) to issue a joint statement following a two-day consultative meeting sponsored by the Electoral Reform Network (ERN).



Hijiya Rekiya Momoh-Abaji of FOMWAN and Abubakar Jibrin from MULAC give a press statement following the April 19, 2003 Presidential/Gubernatorial elections.

Election Tribunals

PACE did not provide support to partners for monitoring of the election tribunals that followed the elections in each state. This decision was based in part on limited resources, but also reflected limited capacity to provide technical support to CSOs to monitor the most complex and extended tribunal review process. The UNEAD provided support to TMG to monitor the tribunals. JDPC and other groups also monitored the tribunals.

Outcomes

- With a relatively small budget of \$280,000, PACE supported the training of 2,800 monitors and deployed 4,620 monitors in 19 of Nigeria's 36 states.
- PACE support increased the participation of women and Nigerians from the northern states, adding to the diversity and credibility of the monitoring efforts.
- CSO partners, particularly FOMWAN, engaged the media and the public on issues/results of the elections through press statements and participation in forums coordinated by domestic and international monitoring groups.
- FOMWAN's coordination of the PACE-supported monitoring project represents the first time that a Muslim or a women's organization has managed a large-scale monitoring effort in Nigeria.
- PACE partners' election monitoring also contributed to post-election dialogue and advocacy on a number of critical electoral reform issues, some of which have already been taken up by CSOs and public institutions. Recommendations from PACE partners included:
 - Steps should be taken to ensure the autonomy and non-partisanship of INEC. INEC should have an annual appropriation through a separate budget line item.
 - INEC should provide polling booths that ensure secrecy of vote.
 - INEC/government should immediately develop and implement a system of continuous voters' registration and display of the register.
 - A system should be implemented that allows all Nigerians including election officials, party agents, observers, and security operatives to vote.
 - There is a structure in place for resolving challenge and election-related disputes, and that INEC needs to be more timely and transparent in its response.

- Monitoring groups should make all data/information available (to both contesting sides) to all legal tribunals, courts, and commissions as part of legal challenges to election results.
- TMG and JDPC in particular raised serious questions and doubts regarding the validity of the elections' results. They stopped short of calling for outright cancellation of the Presidential and national assemblies elections due to widespread irregularities, electoral abuse and misconduct.

Lessons Learned

- The experience of women-focused and faith-based organizations in mobilizing large numbers of people makes these groups ideal for civil society monitoring of election processes, especially general elections.
- Communities in northern Nigeria are eager for meaningful engagement in civil society oversight of government and can contribute in ways compatible with the practice of their religion.
- Early planning and coordination with other local monitoring groups, implementing agencies, and donor groups are essential to ensuring effective monitoring and credibility with election officials, media, and the public.

Table 3: Election Monitoring Groups Supported by the PACE Project

S/N	Name of PACE CSO Partner	No. of Observers: National Assembly Elections, April 12*	No. of Monitors: Presidential and Gubernatorial Election, April 19*	No. of Monitors: Houses of Assembly Election, May 3*	States Where Monitors Deployed	Approximate USD level of Support**
1	Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN) /Muslim League for Accountability (MULAC)	1,758	1,912	N/A	15 northern states – Bauchi, Borno, Jigawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Kogi, Nassawara, Niger, Plateau, Sokoto, Yobe, Zamfara, Katsina, and Kebbi	\$208,863 (Does not include in-kind technical support and training/training materials provided by NDI)
2	Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN)	36	35	35	Plateau (5 LGAs in and around Jos)	\$11,527
3	Federation of Ebonyi Women's Associations (FEWA)	45	52	28	Ebonyi (7 LGAs)	\$13,391
4	National Council of Women Society (Delta State)	37	33	25	Delta (5 LGAs)	\$7,240
5	National Council of Women Society (Lagos)	40	40	38	Lagos (6 LGAs within Lagos City)	\$11,230
6	Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC)	70 (based on budget/reports)	70	70	Lagos (7 LGAs within Lagos City)	\$9,830
7	Federation of International Women Lawyers (FIDA) /Rivers	37	45	34	Rivers (4 LGAs in and around Port Harcourt)	\$15,695
8	National Council of Women Society (Kano)	30	29	30	Kano	\$12,695
9	Youth Environmental Development Association (YEDA)	27	30	26	Kano (3 LGAs – Nassarawa, Fague, Tarauni)	\$15,995
10	Country Women Association of Nigeria (COWAN)	50	68	75	Lagos (6 LGAs within Lagos City and also Badagry)	\$11,400
11	Rahama Women Multi-Purpose Cooperative Society	37	40	38	Bauchi (Bauchi and Katagun)	\$10,090
Totals		2,167	2,354	399		
Total No. of Monitors Deployed over the Three Elections*				4,620		

* Based on checklists submitted to NDI's National Information Center, which collected and analyzed data from monitoring groups during the National Assembly and Presidential/Gubernatorial elections held on April 12 and 19, 2003 respectively. JDPC was the only PACE partner that did not send results to the NIC.

** Except for FOMAN/MULAC, CSO partners used some funds for voter education and limited conflict and peace building activities between March and May 2003.

*** 4,620 monitors were deployed over the three elections held on April 12 and 19, and May 3. Almost all of the persons trained monitored more than one election. For this reason, PACE uses the 2,800 figure for number of monitors trained to reflect the total number of individuals deployed over the three elections.

4.4.2.3 The Electoral Reform Network Convenes a Forum of Domestic Monitoring Groups

The organizations with the largest number of monitors during the general elections were TMG, JDPC, LEMT, and FOMWAN/MULAC. Collectively, these groups deployed over 46,000 monitors in each of the first two general elections. Importantly, each group issued press statements covered by the national media after each election. These statements might have had more impact if they had been issued jointly, but nevertheless they were often cited by local and international media as well as the international election observers.

In response to the need for civil society groups to speak with a stronger, more collective voice, the Electoral Reform Network (ERN) convened a Consultative Forum of Nigerian Civil Society Groups that monitored or participated in the elections in other ways. Representatives from 45 CSOs met in Abuja on April 29-30 to review the general elections of April 12 and April 19. Among the groups represented were TMG, LEMT, JDPC, and FOMWAN/MULAC. These groups, along with ERN were the eventual signatories of a joint press statement issued at the end of the Forum.

Major objectives of the Forum included:

- Bring together the key monitoring groups to determine common themes and concerns based on the findings from the first two elections;
- Build public awareness of widespread irregularities during the elections through a joint statement by key monitoring groups;
- Advocate for immediate action by appropriate agencies to prevent similar problems in the May 3, 2003 State Assembly elections; and
- Build momentum for a critical review of the election through credible election tribunals and continued civil society engagement post-election.

The press statement released by the Forum outlines key findings of the domestic monitoring groups and lists a number of recommendations to address immediate and long-term concerns.

Outcomes

- The PACE partners made considerable progress in opening the INEC up to more public scrutiny and CSO input. Although it is difficult to isolate the impact of the Forum's statement and follow-up advocacy on the May 3 election from those of a number of other stakeholders, INEC leaders made clear in public statements that the Commission was aware of the concerns expressed and continued to welcome civil society participation in its own forums. It should be noted that INEC also invited TMG and Dr. Jibrin Ibrahim, Country Director for the Law Group, to serve on a post-election consultative forum to review the elections and determine the need for reforms.

4.5 Supporting Women Candidates

Under the second elections of Nigeria's fourth republic, many women activists and male supporters anticipated significant gains in the number of women elected and appointed to government positions. In the months leading up to the elections, most signs suggested good reason for optimism. An increased number of women aspirants had emerged to contest during the primaries of the major political parties, particularly at the local government level. Most parties had gone on public record as committed to supporting the candidacies of women in response to strong advocacy by civil society, recognition of the importance of the women vote, and, for many party officials, acknowledgment that women's contributions are expected and necessary for Nigeria's political and economic transformation.

By mid-December 2002, women's optimism was seriously tested by political realities over which they had little control and limited understanding. By the end of the primary season in late January 2003, it appeared that fewer women would sit in the National Assembly than after the 1999 election. The picture at the State Assembly level was murkier, but the challenge for women aspirants was apparent. At the local government level, where women stood to gain the most, weaknesses in the constitutional and legislative frameworks for local elections continued to delay balloting. Table 4 compares the number of women elected in 2003 with the results in 1999.

The number of women in the State Houses of Assembly almost doubled and there were significant gains in the House of Representatives. Still, women have a considerable challenge ahead to reach the level of their representation within the Nigerian population or as a percentage of the voting population.

Table 4. Comparison of Women Elected to National and State Office: 2003 and 1999 Elections

Office	2003 Elections*			1999 Elections		
	Total Seats	Total No. Women Elected	%	Total Seats	Total No. Women Elected	%
Deputy Governor	36	2	5.56%	36	1	2.78%
Senators	109	3	2.75%	109	3	2.75%
Federal House of Reps.	360	21	5.83%	360	16	4.44%
State House of Assembly	972	23	2.37%	972	12	1.24%
LG Chairwomen**	N/A	N/A	N/A	774	7	0.90%
Councillors**	N/A	N/A	N/A	6,916	111	1.60%
Total	1,477	48	3.25%	9,167	150	1.64%

Source of 2003 data: *Nigeria 2003 Elections: The Experience of Women Aspirants in Political Party Primaries*. October 2003. Published by the Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA). Source of 1999 data: Report commissioned by CEDPA using INEC and other data from public agencies.

* The table reflects the official results as the time of printing. The list may be adjusted as election tribunals are completed.

** Local Government Council elections were not held.

Although fewer women were elected than advocates had hoped for, PACE can point to numerous activities and successes related to women holding elected and appointed office. Some of the more important ones are described in the sections that follow.

4.5.1. Workshop on Affirmative Action for Women in the New Political Parties

Gender and Development Action (GADA), in collaboration with the Law Group, organized a workshop for women in the four newly registered political parties on November 20-22, 2002. The new parties represented at the meeting were the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), National Democratic Party (NDP), United Nigeria Peoples Party (UNPP), and the Democratic Alternative (DA). Also in attendance at the meeting were representatives of civil society organizations, the Women Leader of the Ruling Peoples Democratic Party, Josephine Anenih, and the visiting Executive Director of the International Human Rights Law Group, Gay McDougall.

The main objectives of the workshop were:

- To resuscitate and popularize the platform for negotiating women's access to the political process; and
- To develop and maintain information-sharing mechanisms to keep women, both within and outside of the political parties, informed and connected during and after the election.

The workshop underscored the need for women across political parties to network and work together. The workshop helped to build confidence and provide simple tools for women politicians to make bold bids for political office. After the workshop, the women were better prepared for the primary season with new strategies and tactics. Workshop participants stressed that approaches must be continually reviewed in response to changes in the political environment. It was hoped that the knowledge and information gathered at the workshop would translate into better performances by women in the 2003 elections.

4.5.2 PACE Engages WRAPA and WLDCN in Response to Failure of Parties to Nominate More Women

The 2003 elections held great promise for Nigeria's transitioning democracy. In September 2002, the electorate turned out in large numbers to register to vote. Although only three of the 30 parties eventually registered proved viable during the general elections, the changes opened up space for newcomers to the political process. Within this environment, a record number of women emerged as early candidates for national, state, and local elections.

CEDPA, under previous USAID programmes, supported several civil society organizations in building the capacity of women candidates across the country to run for public office. Women campaigned enthusiastically, raising important issues and spurring public dialogue on the future direction for communities and the country.

Early in the political season, many women discovered that they were ill-equipped to play the same political games as men, who had more resources and stronger political connections. Some women were very new to politics, while more experienced women found themselves without party support or a loyal constituency. Party hierarchies dropped many women candidates who emerged from the party primaries in favour of male candidates.

In January 2003, CEDPA joined with the Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA) and the Women, Law, and Development Centre in Nigeria (WLDCN) to research and document the experience of women aspirants. This information was used to advocate for increased representation of women among appointed officials and changes within the political parties. Through intense private and public discussions with political party leaders, including the President, women were able to extract public commitments to increased appointments and consideration of affirmative action targets for party nominations. Additionally, WRAPA produced a well-researched report on the experience of women aspirants during the elections. PACE distributed this report to civil society groups and public institutions engaged in related policy review and research.

Table 5, which summarizes the outcomes of political party primaries, illustrates the challenges women faced during the primary season. Only 37 percent were successful at the primary level; many of them were eventually forced to withdraw prior to the general elections. Perhaps equally significant, 584 of the 861 aspirants identified for the research were contesting for local government offices. To date, there has been no timeframe set for local government elections.

Table 5: Outcomes of Political Party Primaries*

Political Party	Aspirants
Successful	304
Unsuccessful	89
Withdrawn	61
No Result	325
Defeated	56
Total Women Aspirants for whom outcomes known	835

Key:
Successful – aspirants who contested and won, including those who were unopposed
Unsuccessful – aspirants who did not make it to the primaries or who were defeated
Withdrawn – aspirants who conceded
No Result – aspirants in contests where no results were declared or where no primaries were held
Defeated – aspirants who contested and lost

Source: *Nigeria 2003 Elections: The Experience of Women Aspirants in Political Party Primaries*. October 2003. Published by the Women’s Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA). Commissioned by CEDPA under the USAID-funded Partnerships for Advocacy and Civic Empowerment (PACE) project.

* Data reflect party primaries of the six major political parties: Alliance for Democracy (AD); All Nigeria People’s Party (ANPP); All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA); Nigerian Democratic Party (NDP); People’s Democratic Party (PDP); United Nigeria People’s Party (UNPP). Information was available for only 835 of the total 861 aspirants identified during the research.

Outcomes

- The nature of the advocacy – request for redress of broad-based grievances as well as individual claims – makes it very difficult to document specific outcomes. That party leaders and the President met with the coalition of women’s groups and publicly committed themselves to addressing the question of affirmative action at the 15 percent level (as opposed to the 30 percent demanded) are very positive outcomes. Additionally, many observers attribute the increased number of women appointed to high-level positions, including the Minister of Finance, to strong advocacy to PDP by women groups after the experience of the primaries.
- For the first time, an organization has established a credible baseline for women aspirants and documented many of their grievances is a clear positive outcome.

4.5.3 PACE Holds Post-Election ‘Retreat’ for Experience-sharing Among Women Aspirants

Research and advocacy by WRAPA and WLDCN suggested that many women were deeply affected by their experience and had withdrawn from the political process. With this in mind, PACE/CEDPA joined with WRAPA to provide an informal forum for women politicians and activists to openly discuss their experiences and turn their attention to the important work of moving forward an agenda for increased women’s political participation in Nigeria.

On July 1-3, 2003, PACE sponsored an experience-sharing retreat in Lokoja, Kogi State. More than 25 individuals and organizations from across the country shared their experiences from the elections, before turning to the task of defining the key lessons learned. From these lessons, further discussions are being held to determine more affective approaches in achieving lasting systemic changes that will enable women to compete fairly for support for elected office.

Lessons Learned regarding Broad-Based Advocacy for Women's Participation

- There is need for a new constitution for Nigeria that does not unfairly burden women with different criteria that restrict the states/areas where they may compete for elected office.
- Political parties should be called upon to effect an environment and policies that promote measurable increases in women elected and appointed to political positions.

Lessons Learned regarding Women Aspirants

- Women candidates need to exhibit the qualities of compassion, courage, conviction, and consistency that inspire trust by the electorate and success within an open and fair political environment.
- Women should engage in constituency-building and be active in community development, especially through support of pro-women projects prior to and after winning elected positions.
- Women candidates should improve public speaking, mobilization, and advocacy skills.
- Women politicians should take advantage of every opportunity to empower themselves with a broader understanding of issues and constituency needs/priorities.

4.6 Post-Election Activities

The second year of PACE witnessed an easing of electoral activity focus and a lessening of resource commitments to this component of the programme. Nevertheless, legislative advocacy activities intended to further influence the reform of the electoral framework continued. PACE also conducted an electoral geography mapping and coordinated reflection and documentation by partners on women's participation and performance in the 2003 elections.

4.6.1 Technical Meeting on Nigeria's Electoral Geography Report

The PACE partners organized meetings in the six geo-political zones to document and understand elections and electoral practices as well as behavior specific to each geo-political zone. The regional meetings were concluded in the first quarter of Year II with participants drawn from direct and indirect stakeholders, including civil society organizations and academia. The Law Group convened a one-day technical review meeting on February 27th, 2004 in Abuja. The meeting was an opportunity to review the summary findings and recommendations from the six zonal workshops held at Katsina, Ibadan, Bauchi, Calabar, Owerri, and Jos and receive the participants' input in order to improve and enrich the report. Thirteen participants, representing civil society organizations, academia, and staff of the Law Group, attended the meeting.

“Electoral Geography” draws attention to historical, geographic, political, and cultural factors that give each geo-political zone in the country special attributes and characteristics in the understanding of the issues and problems of elections and the electoral system in Nigeria. The concept arose from reflections on the 2003 general elections that were characterized by flaws that varied by geo-political zones. The participants at the various workshops made recommendations and hoped that these will enable civil society to make significant progress in the 2007 elections.

Participants noted the absence of vigorous and focused debates on the local government system and felt that the existence and operation of the local government system was an important pillar in sustaining the entire democratic process. They noted that the principle of guaranteeing the existence of local governments as a third

tier of government as enshrined in the Constitution was good, despite the unfortunate fact that state governors seemed to have hijacked the process. To safeguard the future of local governments, it was recommended that the structure of local governments and the tenure and functions of local government officials should be expressly stated in the main body of the Constitution as an autonomous third tier of government.

4.6.2 Planning Meeting of the Electoral Reform Network (ERN)

The PACE-supported Electoral Reform Network (ERN) held a one-day planning meeting on March 3rd, 2004 in Abuja. The meeting provided opportunity for stakeholders to review the ERN's activities on electoral reform and strategise on ways of intensifying advocacy efforts on the review of the Electoral Act 2002. In addition, the participants at the planning meeting reviewed the work-plan of ERN and agreed on the following key activities:

- Meeting of the ERN Steering Committee,
- Publication of Series 2 of the Nigerian Civil Society Input into the proposed Electoral Act 2004,
- Advocacy for a New Electoral Act,
- Advocacy for a New INEC Act,
- Engagement of the Relevant Committees of the National Assembly, and
- Exploration of Areas of Collaboration with TMG.

4.6.3 Advocacy by the Electoral Reform Network

The ERN continued engaging stakeholders in the National Assembly in discussions on meaningful electoral reform that would create an enabling environment for free and fair elections in the future. To this end, two advocacy visits were made to the Chairman of Senate Committee on INEC, Senator David Brigidi, and Vice Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Electoral Matters, Hon. Paul A. Adah. The purpose of the advocacy visits to the Senate and House of Representative Committees on Electoral Matters was to introduce the activities of ERN in terms of their accomplishments and challenges as well as to explore areas of possible collaborations. The group identified possible areas of collaboration to include: (1) assisting the committee on INEC to put together a public legislative hearing on Electoral Reform, and (2) sensitization of the public on the activities of the committee. During the visits, ERN delegates also restated their concerns about the gray areas in the 2002 Electoral Act and ERN plan of actions on the reform of the electoral law. Both Senator David Brigidi and Hon. Paul A. Adah promised to seek ERN and other civil society organizations' inputs in order to facilitate their work. A copy of the ERN publication titled "*CSO input into Electoral Bill 2001*" was presented to the Vice Chairman of the House Committee on Electoral Matters.

4.6.4 Women's Participation

Participation of women in governance and the political processes continues to receive the attention of civil society organizations. CSOs continue to strategize on ways to get more women into local government structures of decision-making after the initial attempt at increasing number of elected into the National and State structures. Lobbying and advocacy strategies were employed by partners under the PACE Project. Country Women Association of Nigeria (COWAN) has been at the forefront of advocacy for 50-50 gender participation in the ongoing dispensation. The group organized a civic networking-forum for stakeholders (women politicians, activists, and elected officials) to dialogue on how to achieve the 50-50 ratio and strategise on improving women's nomination for local government elections and other future elections. The forum was an opportunity for COWAN to present the certificate of incorporation of the COWAN African Rural Responsive Bank by the Corporate Affairs Commission. The forum reached a consensus to adopt WOPOPDEF (the banking scheme) to save for women aspirants/politicians. The forum also emphasised the need for elected officials to be accountable. Over 78 participants attended the networking meeting from the six states of southwestern Nigeria.

A one-day public forum was organized in Ikorodu, Lagos State to discuss the sharing issue of imposition of male candidates on the electorate. In addition, the public forum provided opportunity to lobby for the appointment of more women into political positions in the newly created local government areas in Lagos State, where only 2 women were interim-chairpersons. Attendees at the forum agreed that WOPOPADEF should be formally launched in Lagos state to support women candidates and that the COWAN lobby group should follow-up with elected officials. Attendees at the forum included some elected officials. COWAN trained 40 women aspirants for the position of chairpersons and councilors' portfolio in various councils across Lagos State. Out of this group, 19 women were successful at the polls, with three chairmen and 16 councilors. Of the 40 women aspirants trained, 28 aspirants received N50, 000 as a loan to support their campaigns.

During the reporting period, FIDA/Rivers State conducted workshops to sensitize citizens and the civil society in order to improve the level of women's political participation processes as active players running for elections. Similarly, public life skills training was conducted in two phases for women state assembly and local council election aspirants. The public life skills workshop has built the capacity of female aspirants in the elections and has led to increased participation of women in politics. It also afforded the women aspirants the opportunity to interact closely with civil society groups to generate support. Some civil society groups were able to openly support some of these women candidates, which increased their likely success at the polls.

4.6.5 Women's Performance in the 2003 Elections

Significant efforts were made to increase women's representation during the 2003 elections by women activists and male supporters through a series of programme activities such as women candidate development, intensive advocacy to various stakeholders, networking, and coalition building. The number of women aspirants contesting during the primaries of major political parties increased. However, the hope of getting more women elected was almost dashed by the political realities at the end of the primaries of these parties. To obtain accurate data on women aspirants, PACE supported Gender and Development Action (GADA) for the "Tracking Women's Performance in the 2003 Elections" Project. The objectives of the project include the following:

- To bring cases of gross irregularities to the attention of parties and law enforcement agents,
- To capture the actual number of women that succeeded in the general elections,
- To capture the difficulties facing women's political participation as reported by the women themselves,
- To recommend an alternative platform for women's effective participation in Nigerian politics,
- To produce a useful resource reference material for further research on Nigerian women and politics, and
- To provide the actual picture of the electoral process and what needs to be done to bring about the necessary changes.

The outcome of the documentation exercise by GADA resulted in a book titled "*Nigerian Women and Political Entrism: Power, Intrigues and Obstacles around the 2003 Election*". *Women and Political Entrism* attempts to put the experiences of women in perspective using definite indices. The first three of the book's seven chapters are historical; they situate Nigerian women within a socio-political context. The following two chapters take an in-depth look into the conduct of the 2003 elections by examining the impact of structures, process and institutions on women's performance. Chapters six and seven seek answers to some of the emergent questions and explore possible ways around the identified blockages to women's success in politics. The documentation attempts to address the issues taking an analytical and bold perspective in a search for new solutions to seemingly intractable problems. *Women and Political Entrism* is an exploratory work on the concept of entrism that not only sums up women's struggles in the political arena, but also offers solutions to the problems. It is likely to stimulate further discourse and investigations on the many dimensions of party politics as a platform for women seeking participation in governance and public decision-making.

4.5.6 Continuous Voter Registration

CEDPA supported the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), a coalition of civil society organizations, to engage the stakeholders in dialogue on the issue of continuous voter registration (CVR). As a result, TMG conducted a series of advocacy visits to stakeholders in elections administration at both National and State levels on the need for continuous voter registration. The advocacy visits were aimed at soliciting for support and sensitizing the voters on the advantages of continuous voter registration. One important advantage of CVR is that it provides an opportunity for those who have turned 18 years (voting age) after an election cycle to exercise their civic rights at another election that may precede general voter registration.

Overall, 56 advocacy visits were paid to the INEC, 18-State INEC offices, SIEC and State Houses of Assembly in 18 States. Out of the 56 advocacy visits, two targeted the national INEC structures. In addition to the advocacy visits, two press conferences were organized to create awareness and solicit support for the continuous voter registration process to ensure many people are not disenfranchised during election either due to age or inability to register during the earlier organized voter registration exercise.

Also 1,000 copies of a simplified version of the law/guidelines of the continuous voter registration process were published. TMG member CSOs were trained on the provisions of the Electoral Act 2002 for continuous voter registration and strategies for advocacy. This was complimented by press releases published in the national dailies. The continuous voter registration advocacy visits to the INEC and SIEC offices were conducted prior to the local government elections. The electoral body has, however, maintained that the voter register used for the 2003 general elections will remain in effect until May 2004, which implies that many Nigerians who turned 18 after the 2003 general elections would not be able to exercise their voting rights in any election before May 2004.

4.7 PACE Support and Assistance for Local Government Elections

After a protracted period of delays and uncertainties surrounding the structure and legal framework defining the existence and status of Local Government Councils in Nigeria, local elections were conducted in many states of the federation on March 27, 2004. In the period immediately leading to these elections, the Committee on the Local Government Council Review was set up by the government to review the existing local government council structure and make recommendations to the government. With support from the PACE Project, a coalition of civil society organizations came together to deliberate on the existing local council structure. The result was a Memorandum on the Gender Implication of the Review of the Structure of Local Government Councils in Nigeria, which was presented to the Committee by representatives of the CSOs. One of the prominent recommendations put forward in this memorandum was that free and fair electoral competition should still remain the basis for selection of local government leaders.

The Memorandum did appear to influence some government decisions. For example, the Government reversed its decision on zero or non-party competition. It also refocused the review to broader issues of effectiveness, responsiveness and participation in local governance.

Subsequent activities in preparation for the local elections were geared toward workplan adjustments to reflect the delays in the conduct of the elections. Other activities sought to increase voter education and mobilization activities, with the dissemination of IEC and media messages as key outreach strategies. All CEDPA partners under the PACE Project were actively involved in various aspects of the local government elections administration and monitoring.

4.7.1 Civic/Voter Education:

With the announcement of the local government election, CEDPA-assisted partners built awareness and promoted effective participation of civil society in the election of their local government representatives. CEDPA supported eight CSOs that re-launched their voter education and mobilization drive. Voter education involved

educating as many people as possible on the voting processes and procedures, the political parties and their symbols, and the schedule for the different elections. This was done through development and dissemination of appropriate IEC materials and messages. IEC materials produced for rallies and community meetings included T-shirts, caps, posters, and radio and television jingles. In addition, CSOs participated in several radio and television programmes. The goal of these materials was to promote peaceful, free, and fair local government elections. The radio and television jingles reached a wider audience within their coverage areas, as most radio/television used are state owned. Some of the messages on the materials produced are:

- Your vote is your right – use it correctly.
- Vote wisely.
- Your vote counts, vote wisely to enhance positive development.
- Effective participation is the true taste of democracy, cast your vote for a credible candidate.
- Elected candidates are accountable to their people, so don't rig the election.

It should be emphasized that most messages and materials used during the local government elections were materials and messages also used during the 2003 general elections.

More than 9,656 people were reached during direct voter mobilization events, and even more through mass media programmes. The voter education campaign focused on the states of Bauchi, Delta, Kano, Lagos, Plateau and Rivers. IEC materials were also distributed by FOMWAN in the 19 northern states where it worked.

4.7.2 Local Government Election Monitoring

Eight CEDPA-assisted CSOs and one assisted by Idasa monitored and observed the local government council elections in eight states. After the elections, each of the CSOs issued a press release or statement based on the results or findings election monitors. Overall, 497 election monitors, about 75 percent women, were deployed by the nine CSOs funded through PACE. Insights into their individual observations and general elections report are summarized below:

- The voter turnout for the March 2004 local elections was relatively low compared with the 2003 general election.
- Many polling stations commenced the voting exercise late, ranging from 9.00 am to 12.00 noon.
- Many polling officials were intimidated or beaten, especially ward returning officers.
- Underage voting, multiple voting, and open balloting were observed in some places. For instance in Kano State, only one station (Bebeji) was seen to utilize the Kano State Independent Electoral Commission (KANSIEC) improvised secret shields.
- The frequent violation of electoral laws were probably due to ignorance of existing electoral laws and lack of enforcement of electoral laws (especially section 86 sub sections 3 of Electoral Act 2002 as amended).
- Many citizens were disenfranchised due to lack of ballot papers and absence of continuous voter registration exercised by the commission.
- The processes leading to the elections were flawed with irregularities; for example, the voter register was not always displayed.

Prior to the election, the CSOs conducted refresher training for the election monitors and observers in order to acquaint them with election procedures and processes. The number of election monitors and observers deployed during the local government council election was more than those deployed at the 2003 elections. In addition, Plateau State Independent Electoral Commission (PSIEC) used 234 women as supervisory and presiding officers, poll clerks, assistants, and poll orderlies. Out of the observers and monitors deployed 70 were youth, thus reinforcing the involvement of youth in the on-going democratic processes.

The observers and monitors encountered serious election malpractices, which sometimes involved several levels of officials and security services who were directly involved in incidents or blatantly ignored problems. Major problems encountered by election observers on Election Day included:

- Political violence between party supporters, often affecting officials and bystanders;
- Declaration of results for areas where officials were aware that no election had taken place or had been disrupted;
- Diversion and non-delivery of results sheets for elections;
- Observed examples of fraud by election officials including extraordinary and gross differences between observed and declared turnout; and
- Apparent cases of over-voting (number of voters greater than the estimated population).

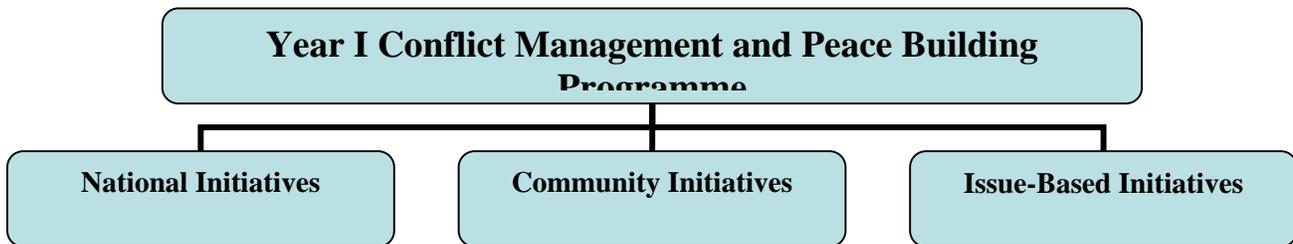
SECTION 5.0 CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

In September 2002, Idasa started its programme activities in Nigeria as the lead organization for conflict management and peace building under the PACE Project. Prior to the Idasa programme, USAID funded a two-year programme on conflict mitigation. The Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), a specialised arm of USAID, implemented this programme. Louis Berger has handled conflict management funding and programming after their departure.

5.1 The Year I Conflict Programme

The Year I programme of Idasa/Nigeria was designed to respond primarily to electoral violence that was widely anticipated during the 2003 election. The activities were conceptualised to send messages of hope and confront destabilizing factors that could threaten the electoral process. Operating under the theory that conflict is both positive and negative depending on how it is managed, Idasa used positivism as a response approach to electoral conflict in Nigeria. Its programme activities assisted in establishing mechanisms that engaged all players in the country's democratic experiment. This work complemented other donor-driven initiatives that mitigated destabilizing conflicts that could occasion democratic reversals.

A strong vertical and horizontal linkage was established in the design and implementation of Idasa programme activities for the purpose of effective and efficient programming. While some of the activities adopted a top-down approach, others complemented with bottom-up initiatives. Three programming categories emerged. In the first category were the top-down, vertical, and macro activities that transcended a particular ethnic or geo-political line in Nigeria (i.e., national initiatives). Second category activities were bottom-up, horizontal, and micro activities located in specific community / ethnic / geo-political areas (i.e., community initiatives). Category three activities were ad hoc programme initiatives of both top-down and bottom-up dimensions that responded to specific electoral violence issues arising from the 2003 transition process (i.e., issue-based initiatives).



While national initiatives focussed attention on national stakeholders, community initiatives responded to destabilizing factors within the volatile/vulnerable communities. The issue-based initiatives addressed unexpected election-related violence. All the activities were closely linked and mutually reinforcing.

5.1.1 National Initiatives

Programme activities classified as national initiatives were designed to target national stakeholders in the 2003 electoral transition. These stakeholders were electoral policy makers, election officials, and other officials with national-level agencies. Stakeholder groups included: the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC);

national leadership of the 30 registered political parties; judicial services; security agencies (i.e., the military, police, and state security services); international and domestic election observer groups; and national opinion leaders in various communities.

The focus of the national initiatives was mainly on electoral administration, security management, voter conduct, and election observation and reporting. These national programming initiatives were *Eminent Persons Group Roundtables; Security Initiative; Students as Political Midwives; and Toolkit on Reducing Electoral Conflict in Nigeria*.

5.1.1.1 Eminent Persons Group Roundtables

In partnership with African Strategic Peace Research Group (AFSTRAG), Idasa established a forum where nationally respected voices were brought together as a credible alternative to the discordant voices driving conflict in many parts of the country. The Eminent Persons Group Roundtables were a formidable platform for influencing critical policy discussions associated with the 2003 elections. The initiative provided a forum where eminent persons articulated and disseminated messages of peace and hope for a successful transition to a civilian administration.

Four Roundtables on the 2003 elections were organized by AFSTRAG. The meetings brought together prominent Nigerians well-known and respected for their commitment to peaceful co-existence and violence-free elections. The Roundtables linked military and women's voices with those of opinion leaders in broader civil society. The Roundtables were held on January 20, March 10, April 10, and May 7, 2003. Members of the Eminent Persons Group were the participants in the roundtable discussions. They were drawn from both government and civil society to allow for varying opinions and perspectives. Deliberations were very objective and were conducted in an atmosphere devoid of bias, intimidation, and favour. Leading peace voices in the country chaired the Roundtables and added tremendous value to policy and civic responsibility issues.

The first Roundtable was organized to address inter- and intra-party violence arising from competition for political space and registration of a total of 30 political parties. The second Roundtable coincided with International Women's Day and focused on the consequences of electoral violence on women and children. It sent specific messages on electoral campaign ethics and codes of conducts. In the third Roundtable, attention was on polling day conduct and the need for tolerance and vigilance in the 2003 national elections, while the fourth meeting considered the volatile nature of the local government council elections.

The Eminent Persons Group Roundtables had the following objectives:

- To bring together national players to discuss issues pertinent to the election; and
- To develop a communiqué and advocacy points for media distribution that can positively affect the electoral climate.

General Abdulsalam A. Abubakar (rtd.), the former military Head of State who handed over power to a civilian administration in 1999 and is a leader of the Commonwealth Peace Mission in Africa, chaired the first and third Roundtables. The second and fourth Roundtables were chaired by Chief (Mrs) Bolerie-Ketebu, the President of the National Council of Women Societies (NCWS), a leading women's voice.

The Roundtable discussions focused mainly on:

- Political parties and politicians,
- INEC and election processes,
- Security, law enforcement agencies and the judiciary,
- International and domestic monitors, and
- Media and election reporting.

AFSTRAG carried out follow-up advocacy to relevant government agencies for implementation of Roundtable recommendations. PACE took the same messages to donor and civil society organizations.

Outcomes

A number of important recommendations that emerged from the Roundtables were later adopted and had a significant impact on elections processes. These include:

- Creation of an *inter-party forum* for reducing existing tension within the polity. Two weeks later, the President held the first inter-party meeting where leaders of the 30 political parties agreed to shun violence and promote peaceful engagement in the elections.
- Convocation of *public debates* for party candidates in 2003 elections to assist the electorates in making credible choices. On March 12, 21, and 26, 2003, there was a national debate for all presidential and vice presidential candidates organized by a consortium of civil society groups.
- Adequate *funding of transition agencies* to ensure credibility and transparency of the process. A few weeks later, INEC and relevant security agencies received substantial allocations for electoral preparation.
- Expansion of *security committees* at all levels to include INEC. The federal government accepted, and directed that INEC representatives sit on security committees at local, state, and federal levels.
- Relaxation of the *conditions for election observation* by domestic groups to enhance the credibility of the process. INEC complied, opened up the process and accredited more domestic and international observer groups.
- Membership of the *Election Tribunals* to be limited to serving judges who are still faced with the challenges of maintaining judicial integrity. This suggestion was effected in the composition of 2003 electoral tribunal.
- Redeployment of *State Resident Electoral Commissioners and Police Commissioners* as a confidence-building measure in the administration and security management of electoral process. A few weeks later, INEC and the Nigeria Police complied. Some Resident Electoral Commissioners were redeployed, while Police Commissioners were massively redeployed across the country with immediate effect.
- *Public information and election updates* by INEC. A civil society – INEC dialogue forum was initiated for this purpose. It held several meetings to share ideas and brainstorm on moving the transition programme forward.
- Non-reliance on *legal technicalities* by the judiciary when interpreting the 2002 Electoral Act. In its May 12, 2003 ruling, the Court of Appeal adopted this suggestion when it declared that: “although the procedure adopted ...in passing the Electoral Act was not in strict compliance with Section 58(5) of the 1999 Constitution.... The said law is now being used for the 2003 national elections. To declare it unconstitutional and strike down at this stage, may lead to a widespread disruption of national life...”
- Indicators necessary for *acceptable elections* – peaceful atmosphere; transparency in voting, counting, and result declaration; elections holding in overwhelming majority of states in the country; accurate and non-manipulative reporting; and post-election conflict resolved peacefully according to law. Public opinion expressed in the post-election period tends to rely more on these

indicators. By publicizing and promoting a critical “*military peace voice*” (i.e., former military Head of State) for the first time in Nigeria’s democratisation exercise, the Roundtable may have contributed to mitigating the capacity of a major historical instrument of democratic reversal in the country – the military.

Lesson Learned

- Eminent Persons Groups can be a powerful tool in bringing credible peace messages and leadership in addressing urgent conflict issues as well as the underlying causes of conflict.

5.1.1.2 Security Initiative

As the elections approached, many donor and local stakeholder groups expressed growing apprehension over the preparedness of security agencies, particularly inter-security agency cooperation and the inadequacy of civil society involvement in planning security responses to threatened and actual conflict. Many groups felt there was a need to provide a forum for sharing security information on the 2003 electoral process between different security agencies on the one hand, and civil society and security agencies on the other.

In partnership with the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR), Idasa initiated a meeting of relevant national security agents as a critical component of the communication hub set up to gather and disseminate information on election-related violence (see Section 5.4). This initial meeting was to share verifiable conflict information and electoral violence indicators that might require security responses from one or more security agencies. The Security Initiative was designed to help national-level security agencies develop joint intervention strategies in politically related unrest across the country to prevent violent outbreaks or to minimise loss of life and property once violence was already underway.

The security committee was made up of senior representatives, not below the equivalent position of Director of national security agencies and relevant organizations. It cut across the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA), the Nigerian Police Force (NPF), the States Security Service (SSS), the National Orientation Agency (NOA), the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR), and Idasa. The committee held four meetings in April and May 2003 to review electoral violence updates and release a security report.

A Weekly Conflict Update was distributed at every Security Committee meeting for electoral conflict information sharing in volatile and vulnerable communities, local government areas, states, and geo-political zones across the Nigerian federation. In addition, members of the Committee related different security experiences and agreed on patterns of response. A concise security report was then prepared and distributed to relevant agencies for implementation.

Outcomes

- **Security report:** The Committee developed four security reports that spelled out security implications of activities in four thematic electoral areas: electoral administration, security management, voters conduct, and election observation and reporting. These reports were circulated and their recommendations were often adopted by relevant agencies for appropriate action.
- **Security partnership:** A strong partnership and collaboration existed for the first time in democratic transition in Nigeria among security agencies. This helped in identification of strengths and weaknesses of different security agencies, with necessary complementary initiatives developed accordingly. Also, a strong interface was established between national security agencies and IPCR, the main governmental institution for conflict management and peace building activities.
- **Information sharing:** Through this initiative, national security agencies were able to assess and better understand the mood of civil society on issues that could have threatened the election process. An

understanding of community volatility and vulnerability was developed along with an appropriate security response mechanism.

Lessons Learned

- Historically, donors have exercised caution in engaging security agencies as development partners because of linkages to dictatorial regimes. However, more often than not, successful conflict interventions have depended on the extent to which they are inclusive of state organs that have complementary security capacity.
- If security agencies are positively engaged, they can play an important role in conflict mitigation in a democratic environment. This process would need to involve a re-orientation that would expose the agencies to security engagements that respect liberty and freedom.

5.1.1.3 Students as Political Midwives

This programme was designed to empower Nigerian students to “midwife peaceful electoral processes” in 2003. As products of a militarised society, Nigerian students wear two caps. They are change agents as well as destabilizing instruments. Students have always been used by “spoilers” to derail democratic experiments, and they have been involved in widespread violence with destabilizing dimensions.

Idasa entered into an agreement with the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) to reduce student vulnerability to electoral violence and sensitize them to the values of peaceful democratic transition. The one-day peace seminars were attended by an average of 150 students in 40 tertiary institutions (20 in the South, 20 in the North) across the country. The objectives of the initiative were:

- To re-orient Nigerian students away from the culture of violence to peace;
- To reduce students’ vulnerability to electoral violence and sensitize them to the values of peaceful democratic transition;
- To sensitize Nigerian students to values of religious and ethnic tolerance in both social and political conduct and to their roles in promoting such values.
- To expose Nigerian students to the consequences of a failed democratic transition, and its attendant effects on future generations.
- To broaden peace initiatives and integrate Nigerian students into social and political peace processes.
- To engage Nigerian students as positive change agents in the 2003 democratic transition.

NANS handled logistics and PACE produced sensitization materials (i.e., T-shirts and posters) and provided facilitators. PACE produced 4,000 T-shirts and 5,000 posters with peace messages; and 16 CRESNET facilitators led the seminars.

The interactive seminars were held between March 24 and April 4, 2003. Over 8,000 students benefited from the programme nationwide, expressing great enthusiasm for a better, more meaningful future in an environment of sustained democracy free of violence. Students disseminated peace messages on t-shirts and posters and through print and electronic media. The national leadership of the student organization addressed press conferences where students’ commitment to a fair and peaceful 2003 electoral process was the core message.

The Students as Political Midwives project confronted a number of expected and unexpected challenges. These included: inability to hold the seminar in universities due to the national strike; inadequate supply of T-shirts; contention over the choice of one institution over another; unreceptive attitude of management at some institutions; and inadequate mobilization capacity of some NANS coordinators.

Outcomes

- Logistical and other problems prevented Idasa from gathering detailed information on specific activities carried out after the seminars. The project must thus reference process indicators such as the number of students trained, posters and other IEC materials disseminated.

Lessons Learned

- Future programming that involves students needs to be as flexible as possible in selecting beneficiaries and mindful of the fluid terrain for student labour in Nigeria.
- There is the need to further enhance the interest of students in building the culture of democracy and possibly increase their capacity to mitigate destabilizing forces. If fully empowered, Nigerian students have enormous capacity to check democratic reversals.
- During the planning of the project, there were fears that students are a difficult group to work with effectively. Given the history of “extremism” and the culture of violence in Nigerian tertiary institutions, there were concerns that the activity could lead to unrest on campuses. These fears were never realized, and the students were receptive to behavioral change messages.

5.1.1.4 Toolkit on Reducing Electoral Violence in Nigeria

The failure of democratic experiments and domination of the political climate by the military in Nigeria mitigated the capacity of local resources to develop an appropriate response capacity and skills for managing electoral violence. Most of the practitioners in conflict and peace-building activities in Nigeria were only versed in managing socio-economic conflicts. Existing literature and practitioner guidelines in the country were mainly on ethnic, religious, or resource conflicts. There was a dearth of practitioner guides and indicators of political conflicts, particularly on electoral violence.

As the 2003 elections drew near and donor coordination became more focused, there were concerns regarding the need to provide domestic election observers with complementary skills on understanding the dimensions of electoral violence. Given the short timeframe before the elections, it was determined that a user-friendly handbook on electoral violence would be most appropriate.

In January 2002, PACE published *Reducing Electoral Conflict in Nigeria: A Toolkit*. The *Toolkit* was produced primarily to increase stakeholders’ awareness of the current nature of conflict in Nigeria. PACE disseminated 2,000 toolkits to donor groups, community partners, national security agencies, and other relevant organizations involved in 2003 electoral process. Over the election period, CSOs, community leaders, and activists used the booklet to engage conflict situations that could constitute a threat to democratic consolidation in the country. Many users have noted that it was an important tool for understanding the dynamics of electoral violence and intervention strategies.

Divided into seven sections, the *Toolkit* offers a step-by-step guide for managing the electoral conflict. Parts 1-5 focus on best practices and standards, analyses of causes, recognizing and managing potential conflict, and tips to prevent escalation of community conflict. Tips for documenting electoral conflict in concise and verifiable manner are provided in Part 6. Part 7 complements the documentation/reporting tips by providing contacts at key public agencies relevant to the election process. Mediation ethics are described in the Appendix, and there is a Notes section for making comments and observations on electoral conflict.

Outcomes

- The *Toolkit* is just one of several components of the community and rapid response initiatives, a resource for understanding and documentation information that could be provided to the communication hub described in Section 5.2.4. Anecdotally, it is clear from the many comments on the utility of the tool that it made a difference in the way that many people and organizations viewed and responded to election violence.

5.2 Community Initiatives

Since the 1999 return to civilian rule, differences that were repressed under military rule have emerged in an atmosphere of more democratic freedom, resulting in sustained communal, ethnic, and religious conflicts, as well as episodic violence unlinked to historical differences. Thousands of lives and millions of naira in property have been lost to violence, with seeming impunity for those who instigate and those who actively participate.

In 2002, USAID identified Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Plateau and Niger Delta as critical conflict states for focused conflict management and peace-building initiatives. USAID also expected PACE to use existing conflict management structures established under the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) for addressing conflict in the identified states. In response, PACE's initial programme focused attention on the Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network (CRESNET) and the nine Conflict Management Resource Centres (CMRC) across the country.

With the approach of the 2003 elections, PACE realized that most of the existing conflicts in the country had assumed political dimensions, with many factions staking out positions that would enhance their post-election status. Political issues and relations around the transition agenda were defined along either ethnic or religious lines, by differences between settlers and indigents, or polarizations over resource control. Ethnic and religious militia groups constituted a formidable threat to democratic advancement and became discordant voices reinforcing a general sense of insecurity among the populace.

The community initiatives of PACE were designed to mitigate destabilizing conflicts in the focus states. The initiatives brought stakeholders in conflict together and provided space for dialogue, mutual understanding and reconciliation. From early assessments and programme activities, two categories of partnerships evolved – peace activists and peace specialists. While the specialists were essentially CRESNET members with requisite skills in conflict management, the activists were community partners with demonstrated capacity for articulation, aggregation, and mobilization of community interests.

PACE attempted to strike a balance between the two categories and evolved community initiatives that engaged the two simultaneously. Community initiatives were undertaken by PACE to respond to issues in volatile communities that constituted a threat to 2003 elections in Nigeria. The activities were designed to re-orient people away from the culture of violence and reposition volatile and vulnerable communities and stakeholder groups from a destabilizing instrument to positive change agents.

Under the community initiatives, PACE supported activities primarily in five states -- Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Plateau, and Rivers states. In each of these states, PACE also supported women-focused groups to carry out activities to increase women's participation and effectiveness in peace building. The implementation of activities under the community-based initiatives was mainly carried out in partnership with grassroots organizations. These organizations were selected because they command respect within the affected communities and have the capacity to do community mobilization. PACE also entered into partnership with members of the CRESNET for programme facilitation in selected communities across the country responding to conflict.

Preparations for the community initiatives included:

- An audit of CRESNET to assess technical and institutional capacity and needs and to recommend ways to build local capacity in conflict management and peace building in Nigeria.
- Several meetings with partners drawn from civil society organizations to brainstorm on electoral violence, map conflict and conflict stakeholders in Nigeria, and determine priority states/areas for the elections.
- A project design workshop organized to educate potential community partners in the art of programme design, implementation and management at the grassroots level and also to orientate partners to strategies for electoral conflict mitigation through community mobilization.
- Assessments of the capacity of community partners and assistance in designing proposals for appropriate interventions, including one-week intensive trips to Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Plateau, and Rivers. Delta and Bayelsa states were also included as political tensions in the states showed signs of escalating.

Different community activities were held in areas identified as volatile or vulnerable:

- **Lagos:** PACE supported three separate activities in the state. The Covenant Group organized a one-day meeting on **peace message dissemination and consensus building** for influential community based groups in the state. Women of Worth brought together critical women figures in the state for **collective advocacy for peace** in the 2003 elections. The International Press Centre (IPC) also held a roundtable for media executives to brainstorm on **guidelines and ethics of electoral conflict reporting**.
- **Kaduna:** Two sets of activities were supported in the state. A consortium of conflict management and peace building groups conducted an **electoral conflict assessment** and paid **advocacy visits** to conflict stakeholders in volatile communities in the state. The Muslim-Christian Dialogue Forum (MCDF) also received assistance to **establish peace constituencies** in four volatile local government areas in the state.
- **Kano:** A consortium of community associations organized a one-day meeting on **reducing youth vulnerability** to electoral violence in the state. The activity brought together leaders of community associations and youth leaders of political parties in the state. The event sensitised youth to the values of peace in the 2003 elections, and provided strategies to prevent or mitigate electoral violence in volatile communities in the state.
- **Plateau:** PACE also funded a consortium of CSOs in the state to **increase awareness** on electoral violence in five major markets and five major motor parks in Jos. The activities included advocacy visits, interactive forums, and road shows.
- **Rivers:** A partnership between Gender and Development Action (GADA) and the CRESNET South-South Zonal Chapter brought together women in faith-based organizations among the Okrika people. The one-day seminar was used to develop strategies for preventing electoral conflict and to train participants on the *Toolkit* to enable Okrika women to become advocates of peace over the election period.

Outcomes

- In Lagos, the militant Odua Peoples Congress (OPC) took steps to move away from the culture of violence. After a PACE-coordinated meeting of influential community-based organizations, the group addressed a press conference and promised to ensure peaceful transition in 2003 elections in the state. The group also sent a warning to potentially destabilizing forces to stay clear of Lagos. Observers note that during the 2003 elections there were fewer press reports of OPC involvement in conflicts, compared with the 1999 elections. Also, OPC has participated in peace building efforts organized at the national level, including Idasa-facilitated roundtables.
- In four of the five critical states identified by USAID as the primary focus for conflict management interventions -- Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, and Plateau -- the 2003 elections recorded no major incidence of violence. The electoral climate was generally peaceful, and voter conduct was commendable. Community mobilization against violence encouraged voter vigilance and mitigated destabilizing factors.

Lessons Learned

- Because of shifting dynamics, the conflict (vulnerability) mapping exercise required flexibility in setting priority states and areas. These dynamics were monitored and the information was used in the deployment resources. Violence tracking activities also helped in providing appropriate conflict information to international observer groups and in developing an adequate rapid response mechanism for conflict mitigation and management.
- In many communities, communal identity was a strong factor in conflict. This identity is treated with respect and defined by communal ethics and values. These values are sometimes classified as social, economic and political. Breaking communal ethics and values or violating communal identity often attracts serious penalty and varying degrees of social sanctions. Community-based associations exist to preserve communal identity. Engaging such groups as partners is an effective way of enhancing the success of conflict mitigation activities at the grassroots level.
- There is a great need for flexibility in programming. This flexibility should be extended to selection of participants and beneficiaries. For instance, PACE could not engage conflict players in Kwara and Enugu states because of the seeming restriction on PACE working with political parties.

5.2 Issue-based Initiatives

The history of democratic transition to a civilian administration in Nigeria has always been tumultuous. Since independence, three democratic experiments have failed, due in part to unmanageable electoral violence. Within Nigerian civil society, shifting political dynamics often lead to certain issues that further weaken response capacity and can lead to democratic reversals.

In response to the shifting political landscape, PACE undertook issue-based initiatives that focussed on both intended and unintended violence in the 2003 elections. These initiatives were designed as an effective, flexible mechanism for responding to urgent issues that could derail democratic transition.

For effective programme management, PACE further categorized issue-based initiatives into two programmes – Rapid Response and Specialized Election Observation.

5.2.1 Rapid Response

A rapid response capacity was developed to complement PACE's on-going conflict resolution programmes at community and national levels. As the election drew closer it became clear that the nature of violence in certain communities was shifting. The competition for political office during the primaries as well as the campaign period created a situation of heightened tension. When this tension was layered over existing community conflict dynamics, the expression of violence became more unpredictable and unstructured. What began as a simple altercation could easily escalate into a full-blown crisis.

In essence there were two defining features of this escalation process. The first was the increased availability of weapons and systematic arming of thugs by political actors. The second was the role of rumors in escalating tension along existing religious/ethnic and cultural fissures. Given these realities it became apparent that the timing and range of interventions needed to operate in a way that prevented the escalation of events or anticipated that certain incidents would lead to violence.

PACE identified the Niger Delta, Taraba, and Plateau as areas especially vulnerable to these shifting dynamics. Working with existing partners, PACE established a rapid response capacity that gave infrastructural support to proactively engage communities as events unfolded on the ground. Contracts were signed with partners that outlined the principles of operation but allowed flexibility for activities to unfold in direct response to daily events in the community. Each partner used different approaches designed to address the specific needs for

reducing conflicts within their communities. The experiences in these areas are outlined below and covered in greater detail in case studies in the *Idasa Year I General Report* and *Occasional Papers*.

The Niger Delta

- After the death of ANPP leader Marshall Harry, Idasa brought together four human rights organizations (ND-HERO, MOSOP, ERA and HRLG) to develop a coordinated response. The purpose of this partnership was to lower tensions in the region. A joint press statement was issued calling for calm and making recommendations to stakeholders regarding appropriate responses. This statement was widely disseminated within communities and through electronic and print media. In addition, meetings were held with different stakeholders to ensure that a scheduled ANPP rally would not become a spark for more violence.
- This same human rights coalition hosted a roundtable with the South African Directors of Idasa. The participants were drawn from the Niger Delta area and included NGOs and CBOs working on election-related violence and human rights issues. The purpose of the roundtable was to share ideas on how to approach the upcoming elections and the lessons learned in the South African transition. The outcome was some broad agreements on strategic directions for these groups to support Nigeria's transition to a civilian administration.
- Idasa supported the creation of a rapid response unit at ND-HERO. This organization covers Bayelsa, Delta, Rivers, and Akwa-Ibom and intervenes primarily in oil-related conflicts. As an organization that has been working on issues related to environmental degradation and human rights abuses, ND-HERO has longstanding relationships with communities in the Niger Delta. These communities contact the organization to request assistance when problems arise between them and the oil companies. The rapid response unit was locked into the larger programmes of ND-HERO and complemented their existing activities with a rapid intervention capacity related to election violence.
- To address the complexity of the Niger Delta, and the range of players in any given conflict in the area, Idasa contracted with MOSOP/Ogoni Foundation to support a conflict analyst. The function of the analyst was to keep information flowing between Idasa and the other human rights organizations in the Niger Delta and to provide recommendations on appropriate interventions. The analyst submitted regular written reports and monitored local media for election-related issues. This information was then fed into the Weekly Updates produced in the communications hub and disseminated among key CSO organizations and public agencies.
- With the renewed violence in Warri Town in March 2003, CRESNET member, Niger Delta Professionals for Development (NDPD), contacted Idasa. After a field visit to the area and a series of intervention design meetings, it was agreed that NDPD should convene a coalition of NGOs to intervene into the conflict. The intervention was structured into three phases. In Phase 1 the coalition contacted and received commitments from stakeholders to engage in a peace process. Phase 2 brought parties together to develop strategies for resolving the conflict. In Phase 3 NGOs and stakeholders monitored and supported the implementation of these strategies. Phase 1 was successfully completed with the security agencies and the Itsikiri, Urhobo and Ijaw groups agreeing to implement Phase 2. However, the election cycle overtook this initiative and complicated the issues with the re-emergence of tension throughout the Warri area.

Taraba

Idasa worked with the Integrated Development Initiative Council (IDIC) to support the existing Community Peace and Reconciliation Committees that had been established under the USAID/OTI programme. Besides the communities of Wukari and Mambila where the peace committees were operative, IDIC also worked in other parts of the state. The rapid response capacity was built into IDIC's existing initiatives in communities and worked to detect and prevent election tension from sparking off larger confrontations between the herders and grazers in the state.

Plateau

As the elections approached it became clear that the demarcation of wards and the displacement of people from the previous crisis between Lantan and Wase had a potential for further violence. Idasa worked with the Foundation for Social Justice and Equity to engage the youth of these communities and build communication between them and the traditional and local government structures. The outcome of these “advocacy visits” was an agreement that the election should be allowed to hold. However, these issues will need to be revisited in order to ensure that violence does not re-emerge.

Lessons Learned

- A flexible and rapid intervention capacity is critical in mitigating a crisis.
- The administrative model of signing a partnership based on principles rather than specific activities increases flexibility and responsiveness of interventions.
- Success is determined by existing relationships that the organizations have, their access to communities, and their credibility.
- The organized and orchestrated nature of violence over the election period suggested a lack of commitment to peace on the part of some political party operatives and elected officials.

5.2.2 Specialized Election Observation

The specialized election observation programme was initially conceived as one of the primary information sources for the communication hub described in Section 5.2.4. The programme was intended to complement other information gathering channels and provide the communication hub with verifiable early warning signals of conflict. By monitoring the entire electoral process, specialized election observers identified and disseminated information on conflict indicators before, during, and after 2003 general elections. Observers were deployed in all of the states that benefited from community and rapid response initiatives -- Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Plateau, Taraba, Bayelsa, Rivers, and Delta. Enugu, Bauchi, Oyo, Abuja, and Kwara were added because of emerging conflicts caused by political positioning.

A majority of the members of the specialized election observation teams belonged to CRESNET and other grassroots community-based organizations. Selection of observers was based on a combination of individual and organizational experience and expertise, partners’ understanding of and commitment to the 2003 electoral process, and ability for report writing and information dissemination.

A total of 15 Lead Specialized Observers were identified and empowered with skills on electoral violence tracking methodology and reporting. These observers were encouraged to use a great deal of flexibility and be mindful of local / community peculiarities when conducting their activities. Every observer was equipped with modern communication equipment, had access to transport, and was familiar with the local environment.

The observers prepared and submitted three reports for each of the three phases of the 2003 elections. A pre-polling day electoral climate report covered events in the community before polling day. A second report was the polling day report, which identified unfolding dynamics on Election Day that either generated or had potential for violence. In the third report, observers noted post-polling day events and captured general reactions to the declared election results. The reports were used to prepare election statements that were disseminated by PACE to INEC, security agencies, and through radio and television for wider coverage. The statements contained a

review of the electoral climate, with special reference to violence issues, electoral administration, security management, voter conduct, and election observation and reporting.

Outcomes

Given the dynamic nature of electoral violence, measuring the impact of a specialized election observation is a difficult task. The nature of electoral violence is determined by many factors. Thus, it is safer to look at process indicators such as number of persons trained, reports submitted and how the reports contributed to public awareness and success of interventions.

- The observations helped in verifying electoral violence information in volatile communities. Appropriate conflict indicators were identified and aggregated through a rapid and flexible system for information dissemination to relevant stakeholders and the security apparatus.
- The observations contributed to mitigating destabilizing activities in most volatile communities in the country. By identifying and reporting on conflict indicators, specialized observers encouraged security agencies to be proactive in mitigating electoral violence.

Lessons Learned

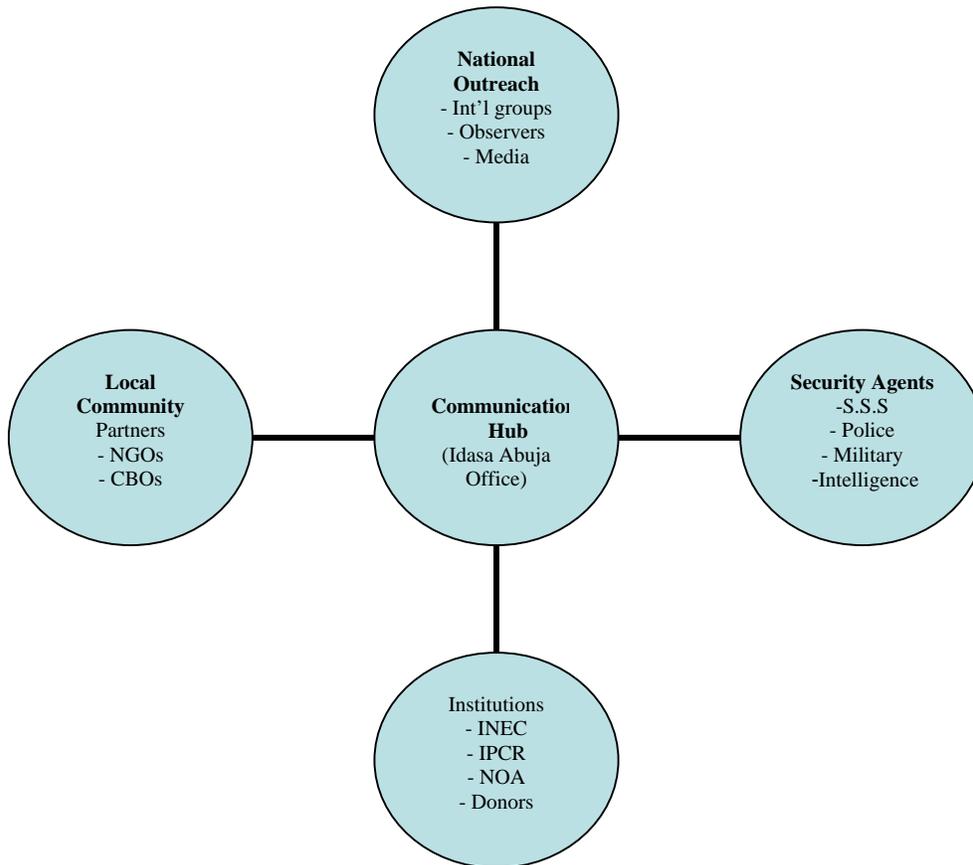
- Effective observation focused on reporting and mitigating election violence should be designed to last over a long period of time. If the observations had started earlier, there might have been greater opportunities for peace building prior to the elections.
- Nigeria's communication system, with its porous mobile network system, made information gathering and rapid dissemination challenging. Most of the specialized observers could not be reached easily. Also, there was a great deal of variation in the capacity of observers. These challenges will need to be considered in designing similar activities in future programming.

5.2.3 Communications Hub

The Communications Hub was conceptualized as a unique civil society attempt to understand and detect potentials for conflict and violence and to respond rapidly to them using different techniques and methods. The theoretical framework, which guided the design and establishment of the Hub, was drawn from current thinking on Early Warning Systems (EWS). The purpose of an EWS is the collation and analysis of information to provide the basis for conflict preparedness, prevention, and mitigation.

The central principle behind the Communication Hub was the provision of a communication system that could facilitate information flow and rapid activation of stakeholders to intervene. These stakeholders were the source of information as well as the recipients of the *Weekly Updates* prepared by the Communications Hub. Each group was engaged in a different manner and with the intention that they would use the information to implement strategies that would facilitate a peaceful electoral process. National Outreach included those stakeholders who were central to observing and reporting on the election. PACE developed relationships with a series of international and domestic groups and provided them information from the communication hub in the form of meetings and briefings. Institutions included the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) and through IPCR access to the National Orientation Administration (NOA). PACE also formed part of the INEC- Observer forum. Security Agents were accessed through a weekly meeting with groups in which security briefings were compiled and recommendations made regarding priority areas for security intervention. Throughout this period, PACE held ongoing conversations and programmes with Local Community Partners in order to reduce the potential for conflict over the election. This network of reporting relationships is reflected in the diagram below.

Communications Hub



The core output of the Communications Hub was a *Weekly Update*. This update was in a tabulated format that identified items relevant to the electoral conflict/violence that were reported in electronic and print media, as well as information from PACE partners on the ground. Analysts read through these reports and extracted and organized the information into summary tables that gave an overview of the trends of the week.

The sources of information included a subscription to the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) server; use of radio and television; the Internet; and the reliance on national newspapers such as *The Guardian*, *The Punch*, *Daily Trust*, and *ThisDay*. A desk officer handled the NAN reports by reading through them and printing out relevant stories. These stories, together with the newspaper reports, were analyzed, extracted and organized into summary tables. This information was then verified by cross-checking them against the identified news sources and indicating their originating geo-political zone, before an overview (one-page summary of the events in the document) was prepared. A resource person then prepared a *Special Topic Report* for the major news stories of the week.

The *Weekly Updates* were discussed every Wednesday by a group of resource persons and staff to ensure that relevant information was not left out before dissemination. The final product was then posted to a list of selected recipients – mostly donor groups, international and local observer (NGO) groups, and representatives on the

security committee. The *Weekly Update* provided stakeholders in the electoral process with timely indicators of potential violence and election-related issues that could assist in determining appropriate interventions.

Outcomes

- The Communication Hub represents one of the first attempts at introducing a simple model for information-sharing on broad scale – allowing the utilization of minimum resources for a maximum product.
- Each *Weekly Update* summarized information about the electoral process from a wide variety of sources (electronic and print media; stakeholders at the community and national level as well as analysts) to provide a range of linkages across the country. It is likely that this was the first time such a summary has been done in Nigeria.
- The Special Topics chosen each week were selected to give an in-depth analysis of violence-prone areas. Experts in those topics brought out the complexities of the issues involved in these events. This provided users of the *Weekly Update* with adequate background information that would assist in developing and implementing their intervention strategies.

Lessons Learned

- The Communication Hub formed the core of all PACE programmes and responses over the election period. The information system was designed to track election violence and to locate community conflict within this process in order to mobilize responses from various stakeholders. This experience has laid the foundation of a small and efficient model of information gathering, analysis and dissemination. As Nigeria continues to grapple with the consolidation of democracy, the model of the Communication Hub can be adapted by NGOs and public agencies.

5.3 The Year II Conflict Programme

The second year saw a distinct shift in the emphasis of PACE work in the country, from election-related conflict to capacity building. National-level initiatives were also sustained largely through the eminent persons meetings with a focus on the local government elections. The second-year programme was rounded out with efforts towards mainstreaming women in the national peace building efforts, resulting in the emergence of a non-formal movement known as “Nigerian Women Waging Peace.”

5.3.1 Election Monitoring (Local Government)

Civil society organizations from Niger Delta received funds to observe and monitor the just concluded local government election. The groups documented pre- and post-election conditions regarding the conflict and crisis signals. One of the civil society organizations is the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) that tracked pre- and post-election conditions in four local government areas in Ogoni land of Rivers State. The period preceding, during and post-election in River State, particularly where MOSOP observed and monitored, revealed an uneasy political atmosphere marked by political violence and intimidation. The political violence and intimidation occurred sometimes in the presence of police and other security agents. The problems identified during the local government election periods were similar to the observations made during the Federal and State elections in 2003 by the international and local monitoring observers. These problems drive at the heart of confidence of the population in elections and democratic processes. Some of these are:

- A pattern of political violence and intimidation that is often conducted with impunity;
- Concerns at the grassroots level about the neutrality of Election officials, the security services and the Electoral Commission itself;
- Absence of proper election procedures and no secrecy of ballot;
- An alarming level of blatant electoral fraud involving election officials;
- Late appointment of ad-hoc election staff, often with direct connections with political parties;
- Growing tendency for disputes between political party supporters to break down into violence due to a lack of confidence in other means of redress;
- Limited capacity and understanding of political parties on the need for them to formulate credible manifestos and networks in order to develop sustained grassroots support; and
- Growing cynicism at the grassroots about 'democratic' structures and elections.

The observers and monitors encountered serious election malpractices that sometimes involved several levels of officials and security services either being involved in incidents or blatantly ignoring problems. Major problems encountered by election observers on the various election days included:

- Political violence between party supporters, often affecting officials and bystanders;
- Declaration of results for areas where officials were aware no election was taking place or had been disrupted;
- Diversion and non-delivery of results sheets for elections;
- Several examples of fraud by election officials;
- Extraordinary and gross differences between observed and declared turnout of voters; and
- Apparent cases of the number of declared voters being larger than the estimated total population of electoral wards.

5.3.2 Public Safety and Security Meeting

As part of its Eminent Persons Meeting programme, Idasa brought together different stakeholders to brainstorm on a civil society agenda for engagement and input into the security sector and public safety reform. An Eminent Persons' Meeting that was held on October 24, 2003 developed strategies for the involvement of civil society in public safety and security sector reform. As an example, the meeting agreed on the engagement of police and community relations committees at the grassroots level as a means of involving civil society in public safety and security. On-going dialogue among critical nationally eminent persons and the top hierarchy of security agencies was also encouraged and sustained.

5.3.3 Mainstreaming Conflict Management

Mainstreaming Conflict Management or Peace Practice in Nigeria has become a serious challenge. Prior to the mainstreaming conflict management meeting, Idasa reviewed the past activities of conflict practices in the country, particularly the work of OTI, and noted their success. The work of Idasa in Year II of PACE was to provide a bridge to future USAID-funded programmes on mitigating conflict.

Previous efforts at Peace Practice have resulted in many loose configurations of groups that did not necessarily have the skills to build peace. Idasa pulled together conflict resolution practitioners and community peace activists to reshape conflict management in the Nigerian context. At an initial meeting held in November 2003, it was agreed to arrange a substantial training programme for different categories of peace practitioners. Other critical outcomes of this meeting were a solid foundation for capacity building training and transformation of CRESNET into a much more organizationally friendly network. The outcomes generated were published in a communiqué in two national dailies (*This Day* and *Punch*).

Twenty-five participants from CSOs and the academic community attended an Idasa-led capacity building workshop. Participants included self-determination groups from the south, professional peace practitioner groups, community groups, academic institutions, and the media. The need to drive the concept of mainstreaming conflict management and the identification of critical needs for civil society to engage a broader range of stakeholders in the country led to initiation of the ‘eminent persons’ gatherings previously mentioned.

5.3.4 Building the Capacity of Practitioners

In collaboration with CRESNET and the Peace and Conflict Study Program of the University of Ibadan, Idasa organized a comprehensive course in the fundamentals of peace practice. Thirty-five participants from different fields and backgrounds participated in this groundbreaking Peace Practice in Nigeria Program. Three convenient *Toolkits* were also prepared for participants, to be used when actually facilitating peace activities in communities or where ever they may be called upon to do such work. PACE produced 1,000 sets of the *Toolkits*. These kits were distributed to the participants and to other interested stakeholders in the field of conflict management. The remaining kits will be given to CRESNET and the University of Ibadan for distribution at future programs.

The University authority certificated the capacity building of practitioners. This was indeed ground breaking and very successful. The University is one of the few institutions over the two-year period that invested in peace building. It is also important to note that the Centre has adopted the program as the fundamental course for peace practitioners in the country and will therefore continue to conduct the program on an annual basis. Idasa also wishes to acknowledge the University, and particularly the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, for their support to the project: they hosted the entire program, provided logistics, and made ‘in kind’ contributions through the use of their facilities. Idasa is indebted to CRESNET and the University for providing the resource people.

Participants were drawn from most of Idasa’s partners, with new contacts from CEDPA and the Law Group added. Because mainstreaming Conflict Management without a gender perspective creates an imbalance (women and children are often the most obvious victims of conflict and violence), CEDPA partners also stepped down the training to women and provided the necessary gender insight to the discussions.

The Toolkits: Three booklets were developed as toolkits for conflict practitioners as a follow-up to the 2003 election. Each booklet covers a specific section of the fundamentals required in peace practice. The first booklet deals with tracking conflict, the second booklet examines conflict analysis approaches or models, and the last booklet deals with the process of intervening in conflict. Below is the brief content of each book.

The first booklet provides the tools and instruments for tracking and identifying early warning signals of violent conflicts. It describes the experience using a model and a tracking mechanism adopted during 2003 Nigerian elections. This toolkit argues for a more proactive approach to conflict by designing conflict-tracking mechanisms that are able to serve as early warning indicators (especially recommended in countries where current conditions remain volatile). It offers a practical application of early warning signals by presenting the Idasa – Communication Hub with the warning signs/conflict triggers that were used in tracking conflicts during the 2003 general elections.

The second booklet reviews different analytical models for understanding the dynamics and characteristics of conflicts. It explains the different stages and progression of conflicts and narrates forces and factors that can either occasion conflict escalation or de-escalation. The toolkit also outlines several analytical techniques.

The third booklet outlines various conflict response and engagement models and explains the different tools of conflict intervention and peace practice. It identifies requirements for conflict transformation and peaceful development. This booklet also explains roles and responsibilities of all the different actors and raises compelling issues on building synergy in peace process as a practical application of intervening in conflicts.

Overall, the three toolkits are packaged as guides for both practitioners and researchers in peace practice. Together, they offer great insight into the phases, models, and methodologies of peace practice. However, though necessary materials, the toolkits are insufficient to provide requisite insights into techniques of conflict management and peace-building. The toolkits should be regarded as complementary material to other existing literature on conflict management and third party intervention.

5.3.5 Reorganization of CRESNET

With support from PACE/Idasa, the national executive of Conflict Resolution Network met in February 2004 for the first time since 2001 to review its constitution in line with contemporary realities in conflict management in Nigeria. Following a debate on mainstreaming conflict management, CRESNET agreed to call a national executive meeting to review its constitution and arrange for elections across the six geo-political zones. Six zonal structures of CRESNET were constituted with a view to holding national elections in September 2004. It is sincerely hoped that CRESNET succeeds in its endeavours because the vision of the organization firmly captures the idea of mainstreaming conflict practice in the country. However, in the interest of mainstreaming conflict management and professionalizing the practice it is important that CRESNET be provided with the necessary support to build its structure and nurture the work in a democratic manner. This is one civil society network that has a reasonable amount of credibility. If it succeeds to democratically hold new elections for the national executive, it can be a viable instrument for conflict management co-ordination. This must, however, be done in collaboration with institutions of higher learning to provide relevant inputs. The transformation process is still ongoing.

5.3.6 Organisational Support

Despite the emphasis on capacity building in Idasa's second-year program, the organisation did retain some support for work in Taraba State, where it funded a two-day peace practice sensitisation training, and in the Niger Delta, where it funded some rapid response activities during the local government elections. The sensitization program in Taraba focused on peace committees' capacity building and focused work around the election activities in the State. The Co-Coordinator of the Centre, Imam Danburam, has built an effective communication link between himself, his office, the state institutions and civil society groups. Their centre is also providing necessary support to the IDPs' from Plateau State.

5.3.7 Local Government Reform

In 2003, Nigeria completed the national and state elections. Local Government elections, officially scheduled for 2002, did not hold by the third quarter of 2003. It was agreed that investing in observation of the elections would not be appropriate. Instead Idasa decided to engage the larger debate on constitutional reform, with specific reference to conflict indicators around local government management and administration.

In furtherance of the Eminent Persons initiative, Idasa in collaboration with AFSTRAG facilitated high-powered dialogues of critical stakeholders in the local government reform project. Representatives and participants were drawn from the National Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE), traditional rulers, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and five members of House of Representative Committee on local government reform. (The Deputy Chair of the committee attended the first dialogue.) The first meeting, held in December 2003 in Minna, Niger State, raised crucial concerns that were published in a communiqué in two national dailies (*This Day* and *Punch*). The 28 participants at the first meeting identified a number of fundamental flaws within the local government system and suggested a number of corrective measures that could be taken. It was agreed that these corrective measures would be dealt with at a follow up meeting. The participants formed a Local Government Reform Network (LGRN) with the responsibility to drive the process further.

Under the auspices of this network, and in collaboration with Idasa, AFSTRAG and NULGE organized the second dialogue session in February 2004. The second dialogue session, held in Lokoja, Kogi State, was a follow-up to reflect on the problems within local government. Three sub-committees (finance, local government structure, and security/conflict) were established at this meeting. These committees are presently meeting and will continue to meet and flesh out concrete proposals that could feed into the final document on Local Government Reform. It should be emphasised that members of the National Assembly made available the White Paper on Local Government Reform. Availability of the document assisted the participants in their various group discussions.

This initiative bridged the gaps between government and civil society stakeholders. It broke down the assumed policy making barriers that exist between these important sectors and moved Nigeria closer to cooperative democracy. Idasa also provided a resource person; Mr. Siyabonga Memela from the Local Government Centre based in Pretoria facilitated the first dialogue session. Overall 58 persons, including the resource persons, attended the two dialogue meetings.

5.3.8 Roundtable Dialogue on Niger-Delta

The Niger Delta, Nigeria's oil-producing region remains in the spotlight because of the many conflicts related to questions about land, equitable distribution of resources across ethnic divides, unemployment, political instability, the low level of legitimate government recognition, and the high military presence. Against this background, Idasa, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) and civil society partners from the region organized an open dialogue on the climate of fear in Abuja. Bringing the conversation to Abuja provides a wide range of stakeholders with direct contact to civil society groups and provided dialogue space and interaction.

The meeting was attended by civil society organizations in the Niger Delta, national security agencies and other government agencies such as INEC and NOA, donor representatives, international NGOs interested in the region, professionals, and civil society groups based in Abuja. The Chairperson of INEC was also in attendance.

The Niger Delta is a multi-layered, multi-dimensional region imbedded in deep-seated conflict. Security, politics, environmental degradation, power relations, proliferation of arms must all be analysed to fully comprehend the problems in the region. Some critical points for this multi-layered approach to the conflict are:

- ✓ Youth should remain a target group.
- ✓ Organisations need to build their own institutions.
- ✓ Political will at the regional and national levels is needed to bring about change.
- ✓ There is a need for working toward an amnesty to mop up small arms.
- ✓ The engine room for change - local communities - must be strengthened in their capacity to lobby and advocate for concrete structural changes.
- ✓ Responses to conflicts without addressing the riverine and creek organisation and movement are superficial.
- ✓ Evaluation of development projects is needed to ascertain their impact on the region, especially in relation to conflict.
- ✓ There is an urgent need for donors to co-ordinate their activities in the region.

The Niger-Delta roundtable dialogue was a resounding success because it linked partner groups from the region with national security and other government agencies, thus providing an effective conflict warning system.

Idasa and IPCR are exploring further roundtable initiatives at the national and regional level to complement these discussions and develop deeper understanding to arrive at a more equitable arrangement for the region. A last concern that was noted is the life-threatening danger these human rights environmental groups find themselves in. It was suggested that all activities be publicly highlighted and that donors, through their own lobbying and quiet diplomacy, put pressure on appropriate agencies to restrain themselves.

5.3.9 Public Dialogue and Discussion

The Project Coordinator of COCIN, CEDPA's partner, was featured on the Plateau Radio / Television program on the issue of women's concerns for peace. Similarly the coordinator participated in discussions broadcast by a TV inter-faith program on the need for peaceful co-existence by all groups in Plateau State.

NCWS/Lagos made a public declaration of potential conflict issues such as the creation of additional LGCs in Lagos State, unequal gender quotas in the local government councils, unfulfilled electoral promises, fuel price hike, activities of tout/area boys, demolition of stalls/shops, and lack of youth recreation centers. As a follow-up to the public declaration, the peace vanguards held monthly peace meetings in the local government to discuss the various potential conflict issues identified. Three dialogue discussions were held with the state executive and State House of Assembly. During the dialogue session with the State House of Assembly, it was agreed that NCWS/Lagos follow up on the executive to ensure more female representation in the coming LGCs election.

5.3.10 Women in Peace Building (2004 International Women's Day)

The 2004 International Women's Day celebration came up on the 8th of March with a theme "*Women and the Impact of HIV/AIDS.*" To mark the 2004 day, PACE and women-focused CSOs supported by PACE organized activities spread over a week in Abuja and seven other states across the six geo-political zones. This year's theme was enlarged to encompass the broader theme "*Nigerian Women Waging Peace*", the impact of violent conflict on women. This theme was based on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 of October 31, 2000, which urges member states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and the establishment of mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict.

The one-week programme of events for the 2004 International Women's Day included:

- A press release issued to announce the event
- Roundtable discussion to prepare the PACE partner CSOs for the IWD celebrations and to kick off the activities and set work plans. This roundtable involved experience sharing women-focused NGOs in the area of conflict management and peace building.
- State events e.g. peace march or rally
- Roundtable to mark the IWD on March 8, 2004
- Mass rally at the Eagle Square, Abuja
- Television discussion programme at AIT on the impact of conflict and HIV/AIDS on women
- Paper presentation. The lead paper titled "Nigerian Women Waging Peace Causes and Strategies" was presented by Professor Bolanle Awe, an eminent historian and women's leader.

At the end of the first roundtable and in preparation for the celebration of this year's International Women's Day, a communiqué was issued. The communiqué calls on the Federal Government of Nigeria to:

- Implement without further delay the terms of the UN resolution 1324 of 31st October 2000, especially the provision that "urges member states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanism for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict."
- Implement without further delay all other international agreements, conventions, protocols and resolutions that will allow for the proper representation of women at all levels of decision making.
- Facilitate the enactment of laws that will ensure the actualization of the above ideals.

Other major points were:

- Political parties in Nigeria need to secure the equitable participation of women in decision-making organs of their parties at all levels.
- Religious bodies need to ensure that women voices are heard and that their rights are protected within the tenets of those religions.
- Traditional rulers and traditional institutions need to evolve ways to include women in decision making within these institutions and also to protect their rights, especially as they relate to inheritance, land rights, and the removal of all harmful and discriminatory traditional practices.
- International aid and funding agencies need to direct more funds towards facilitating increased participation of women in decision-making, especially in peace processes.
- The media need to be more constructive in conflict reporting and promote the cause of women in peace building.

Overall, 92 participants representing more than 30 women’s organizations from across Nigeria attended the two roundtable discussions in Abuja. In addition, 17 journalists from the print and electronic media attended the press conference that marked the end of second roundtable discussion. At the Abuja roundtable discussion, the International Women’s Day was rounded up with a rally organized by the women-focused NGOs at the Eagle Square. Participants wore T-shirts and face-caps that carried peace messages.

State-level Events:

- **Kano State:** NCWS/Kano, with support from CEDPA, celebrated the International Women Day around the theme “Nigerian women wage peace”. Activities included a sensitization meeting, interactive fora, radio/TV discussions, and peace rallies.
- **Plateau State:** NCWS/Jos and COCIN, long-standing partners of CEDPA, collaborated and organized a series of activities to commemorate the 2004 International Women’s Day. The activities featured an advocacy visit to the following public officers – State Governor, Police Commissioner, House of Assembly, Chairperson, House Committee on Women Affairs, and wife of the Governor. Other activities included a press release, a radio/television discussion on the need to keep peace during the scheduled local elections, and production and dissemination of T-shirts, posters, and handbills. The grand finale was a rally, co-organized with the office of the First Lady of the State Chief Mrs. Valentina Dariye. This was attended by 3,000 people -- 500 men and 2,500 women.
- **Anambra State:** The National Women Peace Group (NAWOPEG) organized a consultative forum, advocacy visits to government officials, a peace march at public places, and a press conference to highlight the need for peace in the state, which has been in political turmoil for quite some time. These activities were attended by high government officials such as Chairperson of Anaocha LGC, Hon. Mrs. Tina Akonobi, Deputy Vice Chancellor of Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Special Adviser to the Governor on Local Government, Chieftaincy and Town Union Matters, and NAWOPEG members from all the local government areas of the States.
- **Lagos State:** In Lagos, COWAN, a long-time CEDPA partner, paid advocacy visits to the elected officials and politicians on the use of the peace bell for peace building. As a result of the advocacy visit, the peace bell was launched and 58 peace bells were bought and distributed to 58 participants who were mainly party executives/ women politicians and elected officials.

NCWS/Lagos developed, produced, launched and distributed a conflict mitigation manual for in-school youths in Lagos State. The manual is sub-divided into 13 chapters. Following the introduction, the main chapters deal with goals and objectives, overview of conflicts and crises in Lagos State, conflict perspective, what is conflict, type of conflicts, stages of conflict, early warning signs in conflicts, major

causes of conflict, approaches to conflict resolution, problem solving techniques for conflict, mechanism for peaceful conflict management and conclusions. The manual aims at creating awareness among the youth and students about conflict situations and how they can be prevented or mitigated. Objectives of the manual are to:

- Inform pupils and students on types of conflicts and their implications when not properly handled;
- Understand the early warning signs of conflict;
- Teach conflict prevention and mitigation techniques in schools;
- Encourage the use of NCWS peace vanguards in the six focal LGAs; and
- Advocate to the Lagos State Education Management Board that this manual be adopted in Lagos schools.

Overall, 400 copies of the manual was produced for distribution. The launch of the manual was a remarkable success. Several people requested that the launch of the manual be held at the local government level. In addition, a state-level committee was set up at the launch to follow up on the State structures and advocate to the Ministry of Education for its adoption in schools. As a result of this, the committee met with Mrs. Oluremi Tinubu, the wife of Lagos State governor, to discuss the networking plan with other state structures.

- **Delta State:** NCWS/Delta organized a dialogue that was facilitated by Sammy Ihejirika, the National Coordinator of CRESNET. The dialogue session aimed at highlighting causes, consequences and solutions to violent conflicts in the Delta area. The forum also articulated ways of galvanizing Delta citizens to action without waiting for the government to take action since the problem of conflict and building a culture of peace rests with every individual member. At the end of the deliberations, a communiqué was issued. The participants agreed that the document be made public and that it should also serve as an action plan for all relevant stakeholders in the state, especially women working towards finding lasting peace in the state.
- **Rivers State:** Rivers State is one of the most conflict-prone areas of the country. The International Women’s Day celebrations provided an opportunity to discuss conflict management and peace building. During this celebration, FIDA conducted a live-audience participation television talk show with “the role of women in peace building” as the theme. It featured prominent men, women, and youth leaders from across the state as panelists. Most members of the panel and live audience were representatives of civil society and groups. It was geared towards training FIDA’s partners at the local level on mediation and conflict management. PACE Corps members were also in attendance.
- **Kaduna State:** In celebrating the 2004 International Women’s Day, the Gender Action Team (GAT), supported by CEDPA, organized an interactive session on the role of women in peace building and conflict resolution. This was followed by a press conference on this topic.
- **Bauchi State:** The Peace Committees in Bauchi and Katagum LGCs, formed by RAHAMA with CEDPA assistance, were invited to mediate in political and inter-personal conflicts in other LGCs such as Jamaare, Itas/Gadau, Misau, Dambam and Giade. They were involved in settling conflicts over local elections and between farmers and Fulani cattle-rearers on farmland demarcation and animal tracks for grazing in Misau LGA. The efforts of the Peace Committees enhanced peaceful conduct of the local government election in Bauchi State.

5.4 Constraints

PACE’s work was linked to the previous USAID intervention with the initial brief of maintaining the relationship with the Conflict Resolution Network (CRESNET) and building its capacity. CRESNET is a network of

individuals who have formed an association to professionalize conflict work in the country. In addition to this collaboration, PACE was expected to utilise USAID-supported Conflict Management Resource Centres (CMRC) to facilitate communication between these centres in the zones and the information centre – CRESNET. Midway through the project period, the centre was shifted to Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR). The initial phase of PACE’s intervention assumed strengthening the capacity of CRESNET as one of the implementing partners, to roll out a broad interlinking programme between the zonal centres and community-level intervention to mitigate conflict.

An assessment of the preparedness of CRESNET was conducted in October 2002 to determine if the group was prepared to move to the next level of programming under PACE. The result of the assessment highlighted a number of deficiencies:

- Limited capacity of the network to implement such a far-reaching programme in all six geo-political zones of the country.
- An approach to responding to conflict situations that required time and space; this approach was not always appropriate when implementing rapid responses to crises.
- No central office or institutional structure to hold its members together. The group had therefore resorted to other means of holding the association together, mostly by utilising opportunities that sustained individuals more than the network.

The initial concept of a professional network of conflict practitioners that is able to professionalise conflict intervention was noble. However, CRESNET has not been able to function outside of activities funded by international donors.

Idasa was initially brought into the PACE Project initially to respond to community conflict areas that had already been identified by USAID, namely certain areas of Kaduna, Kano, and Jos. However, conflict in Nigeria is not homogeneous in character or cause. The complexities of the Nigerian society, north-south, south-south, religious, political, ethnic, indigene-settler – all have their own dynamics and call for different approaches.

SECTION 6.0 TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Since the 1999 election of President Olusegun Obasanjo, Media Rights Agenda (MRA) and other activist organizations have advocated for the passage of the Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill. Additionally, several civil society groups, including members of the Zero Corruption Coalition (ZCC), have worked towards the passage of the Whistleblower's Bill and other national anti-corruption legislation. They have also addressed issues related to enforcement of existing laws. Other grassroots groups have worked in their communities to create awareness on the need for transparency and accountability.

During the first year of the PACE Project, the focus of much of the work on transparency and accountability was on transparency in the conduct of the general elections. After the elections, the emphasis of transparency and accountability programmes shifted to the broad legislative issues. Many groups were able to carry out substantive work and advocacy with the new National Assembly.

6.1 The Freedom of Information Bill Coalition

The FOI Bill was the first bill sponsored by a civil society organization after the restoration of democratic rule in 1999. Since the bill's introduction, MRA, its partners in the FOI Coalition (FOIC), and other media networks have used a three-pronged approach to advocate for the bill, using media campaigns, advocacy targeted at legislators, and activities aimed at ensuring broad civil society involvement in the campaign.

Prior to the end of the 2002 session of the National Assembly, the FOI Bill had passed several important steps on the road to becoming law. Sponsorship had been secured and the first and second readings had been completed. The bill was killed and later reintroduced after the 2003 elections that saw more than 80 percent turnover in the National Assembly.

In anticipation of working with a new set of legislators, the FOIC began a series of advocacy and awareness activities to set the stage for reintroduction and eventual passage under the new National Assembly. In March 2003, the National Human Rights Commission, working with representatives of civil society organizations carried out a series of advocacy visits to key departments and agencies of the Federal Government to solicit support for the bill. Agencies visited included the National Orientation Administration (NOA), Voice of Nigeria (VON), Broadcasting Organizations of Nigeria (BON), and the Federal Ministry of Information and National Orientation.

In March 2003, the FOIC launched a new phase in its campaign, meeting with editors from the print and broadcast media. The FOIC subsequently met with political correspondents to solicit their assistance to ensure passage of the bill. Similar meetings were held with the Federal Executive and the Legislative arm as well as with presidential aides.

These meetings were followed in April 2003 by a campaign targeted at securing support from the 30 political parties. MRA wrote letters to the chairmen and secretaries of the parties, as well as their presidential candidates asking that they make the right of Nigerians to have access to public records and information a part of their party platform and a campaign issue. MRA also provided the parties and their candidates with materials on access to information, including copies of the FOI Bill.

To create more awareness on the FOI Bill, FOIC conducted additional advocacy visits between February and March 2004. The advocacy team visited a significant number of presidential aides and Ministers including the Honourable Attorney-General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, Chief Akinlolu Olujimi (SAN), and the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Information, Senator T. U. Wada. During each visit, the advocacy team used the opportunity to dispel some concerns and fears about the contents of the FOI Bill.

The advocacy visits were an opportunity to inform the Attorney-General of the Federation and Minister for Justice, Chief Akinlotu Olujimi (SAN), that an FOI Bill is not a media bill and that an FOI regime would strengthen journalism practice. The minister promised to study the bill, invite the coalition for further discussions if necessary and to consider their request for collaboration. At the National Assembly level, the meeting led to securing endorsement of the largest caucus in the House of Representatives, the Forum for Democracy and Good Governance, which promised to vote *en masse* for the bill whenever it was tabled before the House. The endorsement of the chair of the Senate Committee on Information elicited a promise to broker a meeting between the coalition and the leadership of the Senate.

After the FOIC visits, members of the National Assembly and senior executive officers of government made strong commitments to support the bill. For example, Dr. Oby Ezekwesili, Special Assistant to the President and Head of the Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit, not only pledged her support but also revealed that the State House Counsel had been mandated by the government to study the bill and make his views available for a meeting with the FOI Coalition and other stakeholders. She also advised that linking the campaign to specific government policies was key to getting presidential backing. A total of 63 key individuals were reached during the advocacy visits.

Outcomes

Beginning with the swearing-in of the new members of the National Assembly in May 2003, several key advocacy activities spearheaded by the FOIC led to reintroduction of the bill, securing of sponsors and a first and second reading of the bill. The bill successfully scaled its third reading and at the time of writing this report **the FOI Bill has been passed by the House of Representatives in the National Assembly**. The chances of final passage appear good: the President has indicated that he will approve it, and the Senate seems unlikely to reject this popular bill.

6.2 Report Card Training Workshop

In October 2003, 35 participants drawn from PACE-assisted CSOs and community-based organizations attended workshop on the use of the “performance report card,” which was organized by Global Rights. The report card is a tool used by citizens to demonstrate satisfaction/dissatisfaction with public officials, make recommendations, and suggest alternative policy and feedback. It can be used for any level of governance. The three-day workshop was to train participants on the use of performance report cards to monitor the activities of elected officials, especially budget implementation at the Local Government level, and build CSO capacity for grassroots advocacy.

The workshop was facilitated by General Ishola Williams (rtd) of Transparency in Nigeria (TIN), Aisha Kiru of Bayero University Kano, Osita Ogbu of the Enugu State University of Technology (ESUT) and Rev. Fr. John Patrick of Justice for Development and Peace Commission (JDPC), Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State. The workshop was structured into eight working sessions over two days. The facilitators used a combination of participatory technique, group discussion and plenary session. The training content included: improving governance and building blocks, a profile of report cards, participatory budget formulation, budget analysis and demystification, budget tracking, service delivery monitoring, public interest litigation, advocacy, and setting up a report card system in the Nigeria Action Plan.

Two important components of the workshop are policy and budget monitoring. These two aspects help in strengthening and building the capacities of monitoring agents in budget monitoring and advocacy, techniques and skills for identifying human rights violations at both the local and national levels, and institutional development for deeper and expanded monitoring of the democratic processes. Stakeholders are also empowered

to negotiate an institutional framework for accountability, responsibility and transparency in the governance with empowered grassroots groups consolidating their influence on the elected politicians.

As a follow up on the training on the 'report card,' some of the sub-grantees carried out step-down training workshops for member CBOs on transparency and accountability. RAHAMA Bauchi and YEDA in Kano organized similar workshops for CBOs and NGOs on transparency and accountability to monitor public officials in Bauchi and Katagum LGAs. The use of report cards and engagements through interactive forums to monitor elected officials and public institutions continued to the end of the project. These activities have further widened the scope of activities the Peace Agents set up during the election period and the Vanguard of Democracy earlier established in CEDPA's previous DG project. These watchdog groups have become very useful in creating platforms through which CSOs engage public officials on transparency and accountability and other governance issues.

The report cards have equipped partners with the practical tools for much better organized and issue-driven engagements with their state and local governments. These governance structures and elected officials have also realized the utility of the report card, since they can use it to profile their outstanding achievements, especially in the areas of service delivery and infrastructure development, while projecting a responsive image to their constituents. Generally, the report cards have succeeded in bringing citizens and elected officials closer together.

6.3 National Summit on Transparency and Accountability.

The National Summit on Transparency and Accountability was organized by the Law Group in March, 2004 at Abuja. The objective of the summit was to facilitate interaction between civil society organizations and government anti-corruption agencies in order to build synergies for more effective action against corruption. As part of the preparation for the conference, PACE/the Law Group paid advocacy visits to government anti-corruption institutions. Institutions visited included: the Public Complaints Commission (PCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), and the Code of Conduct Bureau. The advocacy was aimed at notifying the agencies on the planned summit and soliciting their support during the summit. The advocacy team met with the key management staff of the three institutions. The summit was devoted to a detailed analysis of corruption and assessment of the strategies and tactics so far adopted by government anti-corruption agencies and civil society organizations in the war against corruption. All the head of the three institutions visited supported the summit and were ready to work with civil society organizations interested in addressing corruption.

At the ICPC, the Chairman of the Commission disclosed that the Commission has initiated some amendments to the enabling law but the Senate cannot do anything to the bill until the determination of the various law suits against the Commission in the court of law. He further mentioned that various committees are charged with investigation and enforcement, systems study, and public enlightenment and education. The public enlightenment and education committee has been delivering lectures in schools, holding workshops and training its personnel.

6.4 Training Workshop on Transparency and Accountability

To promote the issues of transparency and accountability, sub-grantees organized training workshops for their members. NCWS Delta carried out a workshop on transparency and accountability for women leaders and youths. FEWA Ebonyi organized Public Life Skills Training for Women LG Appointees (34) in December 2003. The training was to equip them with the skills for public life. Transparency and accountability featured prominently as a component of the training. There was also training on government/community relations for FEWA networking partners held to equip them with skills to make government more accessible. The outcome was a networking meeting held in December 2003, during which they discussed the proposed 2004 budget for LGAs and ways to advocate for the government to make the budget responsive to the needs of women and children.

In March 2004, PACE / the Law Group organized a workshop on Transparency and Accountability for 22 participants drawn from civil society organizations. The two-day workshop was aimed at improving the capacity of participants to carry out a step-down training at the grassroots levels. The workshop was held on March 4 and 5, 2004 in Lagos. The participants were drawn from non-governmental organizations working in the area of transparency and accountability across the six geo-political zones. The workshop focused on: conceptual clarity on the definition of terms; corruption in the home, schools, and state; corruption and cultural institutions; understanding the concept of gender in relation to corruption; poverty and corruption; the Freedom of Information Bill and the Whistle-Blowers Bill; and interventions and strategies.

Grants were given to six members of the Freedom of Information Coalition and Zero-Corruption Coalition to enable the group conduct step-down trainings in the six geographical zones of the country. In addition, copies of the Freedom of Information Bill, Whistle-blowers Bill, and IEC materials were distributed to the participants.

6.5 Zero Corruption Coalition (ZCC) Advocacy on the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act

On June 13, 2000, the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act (ICPA) was enacted. The Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) was later inaugurated. The Commission has been slow in its take-off. Indeed, there have been several areas of the Commission's activities where concerns have been raised, including the following:

- The relatively few number of people who have been investigated and prosecuted by the Commission despite the glaring and endemic nature of corruption in the society;
- The tardiness of the Commission in responding to petitions and the poor flow of information from the Commission on the status of petitions and actions being taken;
- The lack of consistency in the criteria for determining cases to investigate and prosecute; and
- Allegation of manipulation of the Commission by the Executive and allegations of witch-hunting of perceived opponents of the Executive.

In early February 2003, the Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria started the process of amending the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act. However, they did not take the steps the public expected them to take, and the sections they proposed to amend, if amended, would erode their independence and make them powerless.

The first and second readings were made on the same day the Bill was presented. The Senate did not hold a public hearing; this omission was unusual, considering the national importance of this Act. Also, an examination of the proposed amendments disclosed that the amendments, if effected, would erode the independence of the commission and divest it of proactive powers of investigation, prosecution and seizure of ill-acquired assets.

Based on this realization, ZCC and Transparency in Nigeria (TIN), with the support of PACE / the Law Group, organized a press conference on February 26, 2003, to inform the press about these important issues. More than 30 civil society groups were represented at the press conference, including the Freedom of Information Coalition, Citizens Forum for Constitutional Reform, the Electoral Reform Network, the Centre for Democracy and Development, and Media Rights Agenda.

The press conference was carried in the print and electronic media, including the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). The Senate repealed the Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act of 2002 on the very day of the press conference and proposed a new law to replace it.

Following intense criticisms and press commentaries against the Senate's repeal of the Act, the Upper House was "compelled" to organize a three-day public hearing on March 4-6, 2003. TIN and ZCC were invited to make a presentation. The following points were made on behalf of the coalition of civil society groups:

- The ICPC is acknowledged globally as the expression of the political will of the Government and people of Nigeria to address the menace of corruption. The enactment of the Anti-Corruption Act and inauguration of the ICPC therefore constitute a landmark of the expression of our collective will to fight corruption.
- The Anti-Corruption Act and the ICPC are the first incisive and decisive expression of the will to identify, delineate and criminalize the contemporary manifestations of corruption, in line with the global perspective. It is therefore a landmark event and the beginning of a new era in our national psyche.
- With the inauguration of the ICPC, Nigeria was elevated by Transparency International and other international organizations such as the World Bank to the position of a **Resource Country in Anti-corruption Initiatives** within Africa. Consequently, at a recent Regional Learning Workshop on Anti-Corruption Strategies held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in February 2004, Nigeria was invited to present the **ICPC Model** to other African countries.
- Despite the perceived shortcomings of the ICPC, it is more beneficial to the country and the psyche of the citizenry to retain the concept and structure of the ICPC.
- There is the urgent need to review some sections of the Act to strengthen the ICPC, enhance its independence and promote transparency in its activities.

At the end of the TIN and ZCC presentation, some recommendations were made.

Representatives of the civil society organizations, the media, academia, professional groups and the executive government attended the public hearing. As a result of continued advocacy by ZCC and its secretariat Transparency in Nigeria, along with other anti-corruption groups, the Whistleblowers Bill has again been gazetted in the new National Assembly. Activists sought new sponsors for the bill among the new members of the National Assembly. A delegation of members of ZCC paid courtesy visits to ten members of the new National Assembly in June 2003, immediately after their inauguration.

In the second year of the PACE programme, the Freedom of Information Coalition began another round of advocacy activities aimed at securing the understanding and support of members of the Federal Executive and Legislature to ensure the passage of the Freedom of Information Bill, which was before the National Assembly. TIN and ZCC continued to monitor and advocate with the new National Assembly for positions taken at the hearing. They intensified their advocacy efforts to the legislative arm of the government. Other advocacy activities included a business round table on the FOI Bill, a rally to create awareness on the bill, public education and a media campaign on radio stations. At the time of writing this report the FOI Bill has been passed by the House of Representatives in the National Assembly.

6.6 Use of Report Cards at the LG by ZCC Coalition Members

Zero-Corruption Coalition provided grants to four organization members to step down the “performance report card” training to other stakeholders monitoring activities of their elected representatives. The organisations that received the grants were the Justice Development and Peace Commission (JDPC), Ijebu-Ode; Centre for Rule of Law, Enugu, Transparency in Nigeria, and Cross-River and Borno Coalition for Development and Progress (BOCODEP). The step-down training focused on the dimensions of corruption in Nigeria, basic concepts of transparency, accountability, anti-corruption, and use of report card to assess government activities of elected representatives. As a result of the skills acquired during the workshop, participants in Borno set up an eight-person committee to interact with LGA officials in promoting the principles of transparency and accountability in governance. The 446 participants at the step-down workshop included representatives of market associations, local government personnel, lecturers, students, NGOs, and media practitioners.

6.7 CSO Monitoring of Public Officials and Government Processes

The use of report cards and engagement through interactive forums to monitor elected officials and public institutions continued by assisted CSO – YEDA. These activities have further widened the scope of activities of the Peace Agents deployed in the three targeted LGs, who participate in these engagements. Progress was made on each of the selected issues in the three LGAs in Kano State. For example, the sole administrator of Fagge LGA, Kano State was reported to have completed arrangements for the public library he promised the youths, with further promises to impress on the in-coming elected LG Chairman to execute the project. However, pre-occupation with the local elections limited the opportunities for conducting interactive forums, which has been the most effective strategy for promoting transparency and accountability.

In Rivers State, an interactive session was organized by FIDA in consort with the trained PACE Corps members. The interactive forum was designed to bring together members of the communities with their elected and council officials to properly articulate their needs and aspirations. It was conducted in the four programming LGAs. It enabled the communities to meet with some elected and appointed officers in governance. It created an environment that enabled participants at the forum to understand the workings of government. It also served to bridge the gap between the government and the people.

6.8 CSO-Media Interactive Workshop

NCWS/Kano organized a two-day civil society-media interactive workshop on April 13-14 ,2004. The workshop was opened with well-articulated opening remarks by the State Honorable Commissioner of Information, Alhaji Garba Yusuf. He made the link between efforts at democracy building and continued engagement and oversight by both the media and CSOs. The Commissioner was particularly delighted to see this happening in Kano State and pronounced an open door policy that is based on the principle of transparency and accountability under the present state administration. A total of 48 participants, including 20 leaders of civil society organizations in the Kano State attended the workshop. The participants were drawn from women’s organizations, media persons, and managers of key print and electronic media organizations in the state.

Two key presentations were made on the “importance of free flow of information in any democratic society” by Umar Said Twada, Assistant General Manager, (AGM) Operation Freedom Radio, and on “protection of citizens legal rights to expose corruption,” by Barrister Mohd El-Tayyib Muktar. Both presentations emphasised the rights of the citizen to know and to act in a democratic environment. They particularly pointed to the need for greater civic involvement and associational life and the use of the media for engaging democratic structures and elected representatives. Participants agreed that the underlying purpose was to be oversight, curtailment of corruption, and promotion of transparency and accountability to improve governance at all levels of society. The second day of the workshop provided an opportunity for participants to dwell at length on modalities and strategies for enhancing CSO-media partnerships in the state. At the end, participants drafted a communiqué, which was widely reported and disseminated through the media.

Highlights of the communiqué at the end of workshop organized by the Kano branch of NCWS read as follows:

- The participants identified poor governance as an impediment to present efforts at nation building and democratic strengthening, which are mainly characterized by corruption, pervasive poverty and infringement of human rights.
- The participants also observed the need for the public, including CSOs and the media, to intensify efforts towards enhancing free flow and dissemination of information as a means to sustain democracy.
- The workshop also noted the need for the governments to increase budgetary allocation to the information sector.
- The government should relax some existing legislation relating to government-owned media, and to avoid undue interference.

6.9 Continued Publication of *Legislative Mandate*

In January 2003, PACE / the Law Group entered into an agreement with the Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) to publish and disseminate editions of *Legislative Mandate*. The April-May 2003 edition provided a review of the general elections. The June-July edition was broadly focused on new strategies and post election priorities for civil society. Prior to January 2003, two editions funded under PACE provided extensive coverage of pre-election preparations, campaigning, and civil society engagement in voter education and election oversight.

SECTION 7.0 CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

During the reporting period, PACE partners on constitutional reform – Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) and the Citizens Forum for Constitutional Reform (CFCR) -- focused on establishing working groups to examine critical issues for constitutional review, reviewing and publishing IEC materials, and advocating for an inclusive and holistic review of the 1999 constitution to legislators and other stakeholder groups.

7.1 PACE Partners Provide a Gender Perspective in the Review of Local Government Councils

Shortly after the Obasanjo government was sworn in for a second term in May 2003, the President set up a technical committee to examine issues relating to the structure and function of local government councils. Coming so soon after an election whose results were still being contested in many parts of the country, the action led to widespread public concern. Public opinion on local government reform is divided on the merits of pushing reforms now or holding elections to replace unelected caretaker governments that have been in place since May 2002.

In August 2002, PACE joined with Gender and Development Action (GADA) to ensure that the perspective of women on the role and function of local government was considered along with those of the various interest groups that dominated early discourse on proposed reforms. Using resources from the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), GADA had already begun to examine the potential impact of proposed changes on women's access and participation in local governance. With PACE funding, activities were expanded to include a series of meetings with PACE women-focused partners and other partners such as the Center for Democracy and Development (CDD).

A one-day consultative meeting of nine NGOs was held in Abuja in late August 2003 to prepare an agenda for engaging the reform process and to develop presentations for public hearings of the technical review committee. A memorandum based on the recommendations from the meeting was presented to the Technical Committee on the Review of the Structure of Local Governments on September 17, 2003. The discussion generated much interest from both the panel and the press. Following the presentation, panelists raised several issues. The memorandum was amended to reflect relevant input.

Subsequent to the presentation to the technical committee, NCWS national and chapter executives carried out state-focused advocacy visits to the State Houses of Assembly. They also distributed copies of the presentation to the other civil society groups. The group also met with members of the National Assembly and made presentations based on the memorandum. In addition, there have been ongoing efforts to reach out to potential allies on the Committee and in the National Assembly to explain some of the positions contained in the memorandum and to seek their support.

7.2 Dialogue and Awareness on the Constitution

To promote public dialogue, advocacy and awareness PACE supported a number of activities carried out by the partners. PACE assisted-CSO, the Women Advocates Research and Documentation Centre (WARD-C) organized a roundtable discussion constitution issues particularly on the CFCR positions. The roundtable discussion targeted parliamentarians from Ondo, Ekiti and Ogun States in South West Nigeria. The dialogue session was aimed at engaging the honorable members on the Nigerian constitution, with special focus on gender issues. In addition, the workshop was an opportunity for the WARD-C to reinforce the need for a democratic and gender-sensitive constitution in Nigeria. More than 40 parliamentarians representing Ondo, Ekiti and Ogun states House of Assembly attended the workshop.

To create awareness on the 1999 Constitution and promote its wide dissemination, CEDPA under PACE provided support to the Women Law and Development Center (WLDC) to produce a simplified version of the

constitution. Ten thousand copies of a simplified version tagged “Constitution Made Easy” were disseminated to CSOs in all six geo-political zones. The copies were distributed to NGO leaders, market women, libraries, universities, secondary/ primary schools, and media houses. It is expected that individuals at the grassroots level will have access to “The Constitution Made Easy” and can read and be active participants in the on-going reform processes.

The Citizen Forum for Constitutional Reform compiled the seven papers that it developed under the 2003 CDD/PACE Project into a booklet. The book is titled “The Position of CFR on Nigeria Constitution” and has been printed. The publication would enable CFR to reach more Nigerians, especially lawmakers and the executive arm of government.

In striving towards generating public dialogue and enhancing knowledgeable and effective involvement of citizens in the current constitutional reform efforts, YEDA organized a one-day workshop 2004 with the theme **“understanding processes of reforms for effective citizens’ participation”**. The workshop targeted leaders of CSOs/CBOs, youth, elected officials, and traditional and religious leaders. Dialogue on the constitutional review process was fostered through well-guided and articulated presentations on the topical issues of:

- Roles and responsibilities of members of legislative assemblies under a democracy;
- Roles and contributions of districts, village and ward heads and provisions made for their roles in the Nigerian constitution;
- Meaning of constitutional amendments, review and reforms;
- Relationship between Islam and the Nigerian constitution; and
- Some constitutional challenges (contentious issues)/gaps.

The discussions and deliberations that followed these presentations were very instructive and indicated their youth participation had gained a better understanding of constitutional reform process. One of the recurring themes was the emphasis for engaging in review processes at all levels and particularly by civil society as a prelude to national-level reform. A striking perspective on a broader reform is the need to give due consideration to religious (both Islam and Christianity which were seen as being built under the same tenets and principles) values as against the current emphasis for a secular constitution. Another emphasis was on the need to recognize the roles of traditional leaders and institutions in the Nigerian constitution.

The most significant outcome of this workshop was putting youths, traditional and religious leaders, and elected public officials around the same table to discuss an issue of national importance such as constitutional reform and issues of contention. Following this success, calls were made by participants to step-down these discussions in their communities and LGAs, and for elected representatives to intensify efforts towards constituency outreach.

Outcomes

The advocacy activities increased awareness and effective participation of women’s groups in the review of local government councils. Additionally, the review process was informed by the well-articulated position of a coalition of women’s groups representing a broad cross-section of Nigerian women. The coalition was a credible voice on constitutional issues in the view of the Technical Committee, members of the National Assembly, and the media, as reflected in the numerous requests for interviews, presentations, and information during the period of the review. The Technical Committee submitted its report, with recommendations to the President in early November 2003. The details of the report are not fully known.

7.3 Constitutional Working Group Meetings Generate Ideas and Communiqués

Under the coordination of the Citizen’s Forum for Constitutional Reform (CFR), civil society organizations have set up various working groups to articulate positions on constitutional issues that require review and amendments. Two working groups – Citizenship and the Constitutional Review Process -- met during July-

September 2003 to review and critique the draft position paper prepared by the group members. Representatives of various civil society groups attended the meetings and drafted communiqués. The CSOs called on the government to review the present constitutional provisions relating to citizenship, which has been responsible for some of the ethnic and communal clashes across the country. The second working group articulated the need for a national conference and also made proposals on how the conference can be convened. As part of the communiqué, the group called on the government to set up a constitutional review commission that will collate the views of Nigerians on issues to be addressed at the national conference. This Commission would then produce a draft constitution, which would be debated at the conference. The communiqués also specified that any version produced by a national committee should be subject to a national referendum.

7.3 CFCR Publication

The Forum compiled the seven papers that it developed under the 2003 CDD/PACE Project into a booklet. The book titled “*The Position of CFCR on Nigeria Constitution*” was printed and is being disseminated. The publication will enable CFCR to reach more Nigerians, most especially lawmakers and the executive arm of government.

SECTION 8.0 CAPACITY BUILDING

Technical and organizational capacity building is a cross-cutting theme in the PACE Project, with expectations that all CSO partners will demonstrate increased capacity to:

- Advocate effectively for priority issues and
- Sustain programme activities after the completion of the PACE Project.

The approach used by the PACE Project reflects the importance of both formal training and building skills and knowledge through experiential learning. Activities include:

- | Organizational | Technical |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Assessments of grant-worthiness and technical capacity▪ Assessment of partners' needs for organizational capacity building▪ Programme orientations through start-up workshops▪ Formal workshops to improve organizational management/operations | <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Technical workshops on general advocacy, mobilization, and other skills▪ Ongoing technical support from the staff of consortium partners▪ Participation in advocacy and other programme activities▪ Formal technical workshops on the four focus areas of the PACE Project |

The urgency of election preparations necessitated the postponement of many key organizational capacity building activities until Year II of the programme. Nevertheless, PACE consortium partners were able to carry out significant activities. Technical capacity building through experiential learning and some formal training activities are covered in previous sections, while other activities are described in Sections 8.1 and 8.2.

8.1 Organizational Capacity Building

It became clear early in the start-up phase for the PACE Project that most of the organizational capacity building planned under the project would need to be postponed due to the immediate priority of election preparation, as requested by USAID. Sub-grantee proposal writing and start-up workshops were held, but organizational assessments and major capacity building activities were postponed until Year II. Organizational assessments were done, but PACE was not able to carry out the required organizational capacity building due to a shortfall in funds.

8.1.1 Start-up Workshop

The PACE Project had initially planned to hold several joint start-up workshops involving partners under each of the four focus areas. After early discussions regarding the structure and roles of the many different partners and their varying levels of organizational and technical capacity, it was decided that start-up and proposal writing workshops would be conducted separately. Also, subproject proposals had to be tailored to the internal procedures and policies of each member of the PACE consortium.

CEDPA conducted a start-up workshop for its subprojects on December 9-13, 2003 in Ikeja, Lagos State. Nine CSO partners attended the workshop to review subgrant performance expectations, and received orientation on program and financial reporting. The groups included COCIN (Plateau); COWAN, JDPC and NCWS (Lagos); NCWS and Youth Environment and Development Association (YEDA) (Kano); NCWS (Delta); FIDA Rivers; and RAHAMA (Bauchi).

The Law Group also held a capacity building workshop for its partners on February 6-8, 2003 in Abuja. The workshop was designed to strengthen the partners' capacity in the areas of project development and management.

The workshop brought together 35 participants, representing 21 CSOs and three coalitions. The approach adopted during the workshop was participatory. Resource persons made presentations, and participants contributed during the question and answer sessions and general discussion sessions. Topics covered during the workshop included:

- Vision, Mission and Leadership
- Project Management
- Fund Raising and Proposal Writing
- Transparency and Accountability Programming
- Elections and Electoral Processes
- Constitutional Reform
- Use of Drama as a Tool for Mobilization
- Monitoring and Evaluation
- Development of a Media Relations Plan
- Developing a Performance Monitoring Plan (PMP)
- Project Documentation
- Grants Management and Financial Reporting

In February 2003, Idasa carried out a workshop to provide orientation to potential community partners in programme design, implementation and management at the grassroots level. The activity was meant to sensitize partners to strategies for electoral conflict mitigation through community mobilization. Subsequent to the training, Idasa provided small grants to several groups to carry out community-level interventions.

8.1.2 Organizational Needs Assessment and Capacity-Building

The urgency of preparations for the 2003 general elections and an extended start-up period for PACE led to the decision to postpone standardized assessments for all key CSO and coalition partners until the second project year. CEDPA, Idasa, and the Law Group each carried out pre-grant assessments of sub-grantee using their own internal procedures; however, the assessments were focused more on grant-worthiness and technical capacity needs than on organizational capacity needs.

In August 2003, PACE began discussions with Idasa's NGO Capacity Building Unit on the methodology for assessing civil society organizations engaged in democracy and governance activities. Given the objectives of the PACE Project, resource and time constraints, it was decided to use a self-assessment tool developed by PACT to carry out assessments on key CSO partners and coalitions likely to continue to work with USAID's Democracy and Governance Program beyond the end of the PACE Project in May 2004. The assessments and development of organizational capacity-building plans for each of the organizations were completed in November 2003. The plans included at least two joint workshops for some or all partners based on common needs and some "tutoring" provided to individuals based on special capacity needs. These were not carried out due to a shortfall in funds.

8.2 Technical Capacity Building

Technical capacity building activities through formal training and experiential learning through advocacy, and dialogues on public policy took place throughout the reporting period. These activities are highlighted throughout the report. Additionally, consortium partners made liberal use of staff and expertise within the consortium to facilitate formal workshops and provide technical assistance on advocacy and other programme activities.

8.2.1 South Africa Study Tour

As civil society organizations, especially women's groups, prepared for active and effective participation in the 2003 elections and continued efforts to build lasting peace in Nigeria, there was a critical need to learn from other

groups that have successfully met similar challenges. The women of South Africa have set an example for other countries through successes ranging from affirmative policies on the election/appointment of women in government to domestication of international instruments protecting women and girls.

The PACE Project collaborated with Idasa's Pretoria office to conduct a nine-day study visit for women-focused CSO partners to attend meetings, discussions, workshops, and site visits. These activities were designed to inform their strategies, planning, and implementation of activities in conflict/peace building and elections. The study tour took place on February 20-28, 2002, with nine representatives of CEDPA and Idasa CSO partners, accompanied by two CEDPA staff that joined the group to facilitate dissemination of lessons learned. The visitors learned about women's peace building networks and models in the context of a country moving toward democracy. Their visit

Lessons Learned

- Relative to the South Africa experience and those of other African countries, Nigeria has not effectively brought the strengths of women and youth organizations into peace-building processes.
- South African NGOs were more focused on one or two related issues. Taking on too many issues diluted resources and reduced overall programme impact.
- It is possible to have leading political parties commit to and honor commitments to affirmative action for positions for women; however, the advocacy approach must reflect the historical context and political environment of the individual country. South Africa's example of ANC policy of targeting 33 percent of positions for women is directly related to the country's painful experience of racial exclusion.
- Advocacy for fair and open political party processes that limit the use of personal funds and outside contributions is essential for women to compete for elected office.
- Knowledge of constitutional and other legal rights is a cornerstone of effective advocacy for women's rights and protections.
- CSOs can and must seek the support of local philanthropists and private corporations to ensure a broader resource base and sustainability.
- CSOs need to develop stronger ties with universities and research institutions to help shape and sharpen their policy analysis and advocacy and to ensure a gender perspective in research/policy work commissioned by public agencies.
- Without an understanding of the budget process and effective monitoring and advocacy on budget issues, priority issues will not likely be addressed.
- CSOs must advocate for and be vigilant on issues regarding public access to public information. Knowledge is an essential element of civic participation.

8.2.2 CSO Training on Legislative Advocacy

The Law Group held a two-day workshop on August 12-13, 2003 on legislative advocacy to build the skills of CSO partners to effectively engage elected officials and other policy-makers on constitutional, electoral, transparency and accountability, and other priority issues. Twenty-seven participants from CSO partners received practical advocacy tips and orientation on the legislative process. The workshop analyzed the tactics and strategies used by civil society organizations for legislative advocacy to the first parliament of the fourth republic

and mapped out strategies for the coming years. Members of parliament, CSO representatives, lawyers, journalists and academics attended the workshop.

The workshop included sharing of past experiences on the advocacy campaign for the passage of the Whistleblowers Bill, a bill on trafficking in persons, the Electoral Act, and a bill on violence against women. The participants were exposed to the process of introducing a bill in the National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly, following up on the bill, organizing and mobilizing support for public hearings, advocating strategies/activities to build support within the legislature, and maintaining vital contacts in the legislature.

Highlights of major points in the communiqué at the end of workshop are as follows:

- Legislative advocacy is a very important strategy to bring about changes and promote good governance and transparency in Nigeria.
- The success of civil society advocacy programmes should not be measured only by the number of bills passed but also with the improved capacity of the civil society to engage the legislature and put issues on the agenda.
- Legislative advocacy work in Nigeria is beset by many problems, including interference from the executive and political parties in legislative affairs, lack of infrastructure in the legislatures, lack of adequate capacity in the administrative and support staff at the National Assembly and in some State Houses of Assembly, and instability in the leadership of committees of the National Assembly.
- There is the need to identify and encourage civil society activists who want to run for political offices.

The workshop made the following recommendations on ways of improving legislative advocacy:

- The National Assembly and the various State Houses of Assembly should provide more access to, and partner with, CSOs in the legislative process to be able to make laws that will reflect the needs and aspirations of the people.
- CSOs should embark on more research to provide factual and accurate information and best practices on key advocacy issues.
- CSOs engaged in legislative advocacy should use both the National Assembly and the State Houses of Assembly. Matters that are on the concurrent list should, where possible, be taken to the State Houses of Assembly.

8.2.3 Training on the Basic Principles of Transparency and Accountability

In October 2003, PACE conducted a workshop on basic issues in transparency and accountability, accounting principles and report writing. The 12 participants included lawyers, medical doctors, media practitioners and representatives of CSOs working on the issue of corruption. The training involved presentation of papers on the following topics:

- Legal framework on anti-corruption in Nigeria and beyond
- Access to information as an anti-corruption tool
- Global models on transparency – the Seoul Open Government System
- Federal government initiatives on anti-corruption in Nigeria
- Pitfalls and the way forward
- The Law Group reporting format
- Accounting principles

After the presentations had been made, participants reviewed and discussed the various papers and made the following suggestions:

- There is a need for intensive public education on the issues of corruption, as most citizens are not aware of what corruption is and how is broadly practiced in Nigerian society. Thus, efforts should be made to publish articles on issues of corruption in the Nigerian dailies.
- Anti-corruption advocacy groups should undertake a focused media campaign against corruption.
- Intensive advocacy and lobbying need to be commenced with the National Assembly to get the Whistleblowers Bill and Freedom of Information Bill enacted into law.
- Media practitioners should be encouraged to be involved in investigative journalism.
- NGOs should start a newsletter to publish issues of corruption.
- There is a need to identify ways and means of tackling corruption outside the legal framework, as enforcement of the laws is a problem.
- NGOs should identify appropriate newspapers and magazines and submit regular articles on anti-corruption issues for publication.

8.2.4 CEDPA Partners' Step-down Capacity Building Training

COCIN organized two capacity building workshops benefiting 100 people; 73 females and 27 males. The first workshop, which had 52 participants, was on building the knowledge and skills of participants on gender concepts, development and gender analysis. The second workshop focused on conflict management and prevention, with the objective of improving participants' capacity to identify, manage and prevent conflict and build peace. Of the 48 people were trained, 16 were male and 32 were female.

NCWS/Kano organized two capacity building workshops for both women and youth in the last quarter of the second year programme. The capacity building was focused on conflict management/peace building and interactive sessions between CSO and media. The purpose of the first training was to equip participants with mediation/negotiation and peace building skills/methods and strategies. Of the 32 participants participating in the training, 24 were female participants, and 8 were male. The second workshop, attended by 36 females and 12 males, was on interactive CSO-media that aimed at facilitating media and CSO interactions with a view to strengthening democracy through engagement of elected/appointed officials.

NCWS/Lagos organized several capacity training workshops during 2004 to improve skills on election monitoring, including how to cast votes, raise awareness and document women-related issues and concerns for the on-going constitutional reform. In addition, 70 school principals, teachers and secondary school management officials in Lagos State were introduced to the content of the conflict management manual for in-school youth in Lagos State. In order to increase women's participation in the political process through election, the CSO organized a workshop on candidate development for 12 councillorship aspirants.

YEDA also trained 30 participants as Peace Agents. The YEDA-trained Peace Agents have become a part of the traditional peace mediation structures, as well as readily accessible alternative peace building mechanisms for the youth since the commencement of the PACE/CEDPA program in the targeted communities.

8.2.5 Strategic Planning Meetings Between Global Rights, FOIC, ZCC, ERN, CFCR, and CAPP

During January 13-14, 2004, the Law Group held a two-day strategic planning meeting with its sub-grantees. Representative of the following coalitions attended the meeting: the Freedom of Information Coalition (FOIC), the Zero Corruption Coalition (ZCC), Electoral Reform Network (ERN), Citizens Forum for Constitutional Reform (CFCR) and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP). The meetings reviewed the advocacy efforts of the various partners and coalitions and worked out a short-term programme of activities to raise the tempo of their various advocacy efforts within the context of the programme of the PACE Project. The planning conducted by the partner coalitions led to the awarding of sub-grants for implementation of their activities.

8.2.6 Transparency in Nigeria (TIN) Annual General Meeting

Global Rights facilitated the holding of the Annual General Meeting (AGM) of Transparency In Nigeria (TIN), an anti-corruption watchdog group, on January 31, 2004 in Abuja. Chantal Uwimana, a Programme Officer from Transparency International, Berlin, witnessed the AGM. The outcome of the annual general meeting was the election of four national officers (President, Vice President, Treasurer and General Secretary) and six regional coordinators. With its new leadership, TIN appears poised to recapture the national imagination through intensification of its campaigns for a regime of transparency and accountability in Nigeria. The Global Rights-facilitated meeting helped to re-energize the organization, which has been supported by PACE in the past.

8.2.7 Training of Trainers Workshops on Constitution Making and Constitutionalism

The Citizens Forum for Constitutional Reform (CFCR), in collaboration with the Global Rights organized two training of trainers (TOT) workshops on Constitution Making and Constitutionalism in March 2004 in Abuja and Lagos. The workshop in Abuja targeted members of CFCR in the northern part of Nigeria, while the Lagos workshop aimed at the members from southern Nigeria. The training workshop showed the participants how to use the Civic Education Manual on Constitution Making and Constitutionalism. The training further provided an opportunity to review the contents of the Manual. Suggested comments have been incorporated into the Manual. At the end, participants and the trainers came up with graphic representations of democracy and democratic constitution making. Forty-three participants who are members of the Citizens Forum for Constitutional Reform attended the two training of trainers' workshops.

SECTION 9.0 PERFORMANCE INDICATOR REPORT

The following report on the indicators for the PACE Project is based on the approved Performance Monitoring Plan (PMP) (see Appendix II). It should be noted that baseline data are available for only a few of the indicators. Baseline data that are included were drawn mostly from the 1999 election cycle. No baselines are offered for constitutional reform or conflict, as there are no comparable timeframes or programme interventions to which PACE activities can be compared. On transparency and accountability, the report uses the Legislative Index to compare pre-PACE progress with the current status of two key pieces of legislation – the Freedom of Information and the Whistle Blower bills.

It is also important to note that during the first year most of the positive outcomes and meaningful accomplishments of the project are in the area of election processes and election-related conflict. This is due, in large part, to postponement of most transparency and accountability and constitutional reform activities, as well as capacity building activities until Year II. Year Two witnessed a remarkable achievement in the areas of transparency and accountability with the passage of the Freedom of Information Bill by the House of Representatives.

Election Processes and Electoral Reform

Intermediate Result	Indicator(s)	Data	Comments																												
<p>IR 1.3.1. Increased participation of civil society in elections and electoral processes</p>	<p>1. Number of instances where CSO participation in advocacy has resulted in a positive outcome</p>	<p>105 election-related positive outcomes reported</p> <p>All 16 PACE partners engaged in election-related activities reported positive outcomes.</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">ERN</td> <td style="width: 50%;">TMG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FOMWAN</td> <td>AFSTRAG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>WRAPA</td> <td>WLDC</td> </tr> <tr> <td>COWAN (Lagos)</td> <td>JDPC (Lagos)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>COCIN (Plateau)</td> <td>NCWS (Lagos)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FIDA (Rivers)</td> <td>NCWS (Kano)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NCWS (Delta)</td> <td>Rahama (Bauchi)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FEWA (Ebonyi)</td> <td>YEDA (Kano)</td> </tr> </table> <p>Of the 16 partners reporting outcomes, 11 were women-focused groups</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">FOMWAN</td> <td style="width: 50%;">WRAPA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>WLDC</td> <td>COWAN (Lagos)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>COCIN (Plateau)</td> <td>NCWS (Lagos)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FIDA (Rivers)</td> <td>NCWS (Kano)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NCWS (Delta)</td> <td>Rahama (Bauchi)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FEWA (Ebonyi)</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> <p>80 of the 105 outcomes (76%) were related to women's issues</p>	ERN	TMG	FOMWAN	AFSTRAG	WRAPA	WLDC	COWAN (Lagos)	JDPC (Lagos)	COCIN (Plateau)	NCWS (Lagos)	FIDA (Rivers)	NCWS (Kano)	NCWS (Delta)	Rahama (Bauchi)	FEWA (Ebonyi)	YEDA (Kano)	FOMWAN	WRAPA	WLDC	COWAN (Lagos)	COCIN (Plateau)	NCWS (Lagos)	FIDA (Rivers)	NCWS (Kano)	NCWS (Delta)	Rahama (Bauchi)	FEWA (Ebonyi)		<p>There are no baseline data for this indicator. No comparable data are available from the 1999 election period. Note that positive outcomes differ significantly in the level and significance of the outcome. State-level groups tended to report more of the incremental positive outcomes leading up to an outcome affecting a limited population or area. National-level groups such as ABSTRAG reported outcomes that had much broader implications, affecting national-level election processes such as polling station security.</p> <p>80 positive outcomes on women's participation as candidates, election officials, and appointed officials In January 2003, PACE-supported WRAPA and WLDCN conducted a focused campaign to address the issue of the large number of women aspirants eliminated during the party primaries. This involved major national-level advocacy by formal and informal coalitions of women's organizations through audiences with President Obasanjo and leaders of four major political parties – PDP, AD, AGPA, and NDP. Output of this effort included increased awareness and sensitivity to the issues and risk to party support. An outcome for the PDP was an increase in the number of women appointed to positions in the administration, including the very visible Ministry of Finance. Additionally, grievances filed through petitions to the party review committees, particularly PDP, resulted in formal and informal negotiations and focus on steps to prevent similar actions in the future. (See publication <i>Nigeria 2003 Elections: The Experiences of Women Aspirants in Political Party Primaries</i>, WRAPA, 2003.)</p> <p>The majority of the positive outcomes were the result of advocacy visits by state-level CSO partners in the seven focus states – Plateau, Lagos, Kano, Rivers, Delta, Bauchi, and Ebonyi. FEWA in Ebonyi State and COCIN in Plateau State were particularly effective in advocating for increased roles as election administrators, monitors, and appointees.</p> <p>Three positive outcomes through participation in national-level joint advocacy events directed at INEC PACE CSO partners participated extensively in the civil society forums held by INEC on guidelines for election monitoring. Additionally Dr. Jibrin Ibrahim of the Law Group was appointed by INEC as a member of the Civil Society Consultative Forum. The forums and joint advocacy events influenced the following actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relaxation of accreditation requirements • Loosening of procedures for observation IDs/vehicle movement • Adjustments in materials delivery procedures, security arrangements and other logistics, and other balloting processes after the April 12, 2003 National Assembly elections. <p>There were also many incremental outputs leading up the three key outcomes above.</p> <p>Twelve positive outcomes from direct advocacy by CSO partners to State Independent Election Commissions (SIECs) PACE partners reported outcomes of direct advocacy to SIECs on such issues as accreditation of groups to monitor elections, ballot secrecy, and security.</p>
ERN	TMG																														
FOMWAN	AFSTRAG																														
WRAPA	WLDC																														
COWAN (Lagos)	JDPC (Lagos)																														
COCIN (Plateau)	NCWS (Lagos)																														
FIDA (Rivers)	NCWS (Kano)																														
NCWS (Delta)	Rahama (Bauchi)																														
FEWA (Ebonyi)	YEDA (Kano)																														
FOMWAN	WRAPA																														
WLDC	COWAN (Lagos)																														
COCIN (Plateau)	NCWS (Lagos)																														
FIDA (Rivers)	NCWS (Kano)																														
NCWS (Delta)	Rahama (Bauchi)																														
FEWA (Ebonyi)																															

			<p>Ten positive outcomes from four national-level roundtables of “eminent persons” coordinated by ABSTRAG</p> <p>Beginning in January 2003, ABSTRAG organized four national-level roundtables over the course of the elections, each with a theme relevant to stage of the election process. Advocacy to appropriate agencies achieved a number of positive outcomes in contributing to civic engagement and confidence in the election, thus reducing the potential for violence.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of an <i>inter-party forum</i> for reducing existing tension within the polity. Two weeks later, the President held the first inter-party meeting where leaders of the 30 political parties agreed to shun violence and promote peaceful engagement in the elections. • Convocation of <i>public debates</i> for party candidates in 2003 elections to assist the electorates in making credible choices. On March 12, 21, and 26, 2003, there was a national debate for all presidential and vice presidential candidates organized by a consortium of civil society groups. • Adequate <i>funding of transition agencies</i> to ensure credibility and transparency of the process. A few weeks later, INEC and relevant security agencies received substantial allocations for electoral preparation. • Expansion of <i>security committees</i> at all levels to include INEC. The federal government accepted, and directed that INEC representatives sit on security committees at local, state, and federal levels. • Relaxation of the <i>conditions for election observation</i> by domestic groups to enhance the credibility of the process. INEC complied, opened up the process and accredited more domestic and international observer groups. • Membership of the <i>Election Tribunals</i> to be limited to serving judges who are still faced with the challenges of maintaining judicial integrity. This suggestion was effected in the composition of 2003 electoral tribunal. • Redeployment of <i>State Resident Electoral Commissioners and Police Commissioners</i> as a confidence building measure in the administration and security management of electoral process. A few weeks later, INEC and the Nigeria Police complied. Some Resident Electoral Commissioners were redeployed, while Police Commissioners were massively redeployed across the country with immediate effect. • <i>Public information and election updates</i> by INEC. A civil society – INEC dialogue forum was initiated for this purpose; it held several meetings to share ideas and brainstorm on moving the transition programme forward. • Non-reliance on <i>legal technicalities</i> by the judiciary when interpreting the 2002 Electoral Act. In its May 12, 2003 ruling, the Court of Appeal adopted this suggestion when it declared that: “although the procedure adopted ...in passing the Electoral Act was not in strict compliance with Section 58(5) of the 1999 Constitution.....The said law is now being used for the 2003 national elections. To declare it unconstitutional and strike down at this stage, may lead to a widespread disruption of national life...” • Indicators necessary for <i>acceptable elections</i> – peaceful atmosphere; transparency in voting, counting, and result declaration; elections holding in overwhelming majority of states in the country; accurate and non-manipulative reporting; and post-election conflicts resolved peacefully according to law. Public opinion expressed in the post-election period tends to rely more on these indicators. By publicizing and promoting a critical “military peace voice” (i.e., former military Head of State) for the first time in Nigeria’s democratisation exercise, the roundtable may have contributed to mitigating the capacity of a major historical instrument of democratic reversal in the country – the military. <p>Note that except for ABSTRAG, peace building groups involved in election-related work are reported under 1.3.3 Conflict Management and Peace Building.</p>
--	--	--	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

	2. Number of CSO partners conducting civic/voter education	<p>32 CSO partners</p> <p>21 of the 32 CSO partners were women-focused NGOs.</p>	<p>There were 18 partners carrying out voter education through USAID’s major civil society implementing partners – CEDPA and JHU.</p> <p>In 2003, each CSO partner, excluding FOMWAN, which only disseminated posters, received support to carry out step-down trainings and to implement voter awareness activities in targeted areas in 14 states and the FCT -- (Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Borno, Plateau, Enugu, Uyo, Rivers, Cross Rivers, Nassarawa, Delta, Ebonyi, Abuja, and Bauchi). Rallies, IEC dissemination, media messages and other outreach activities reached tens of thousands of potential voters.</p>												
	3. Number of participants trained by CSOs	<p>3,856 people were trained in the TOT and step down trainings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 31 CSO members in the PACE TOT coordinated by the Law Group. Seven Law Group and CEDPA staff also participated. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – 25 women – 6 men ▪ 3,825 participants in the step down trainings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – 1156 men – 2,679 women 	<p>No baseline data are available.</p>												
	4. Number of PACE assisted CSOs monitoring elections and elections processes	<p>11 CSO partners deployed 4,920 monitors during the three general elections</p> <p>11 CSO partners deployed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2,167 monitors in the National Assembly elections – April 12, 2003 ▪ 2,354 monitors in the Presidential and Gubernatorial elections – April 19, 2003 <p>10 CSO partners deployed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 399 monitors in the State Assembly elections on May 3, 2003 <p><u>CSO Partners Monitoring the Elections – 11</u></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>FOMWAN</td> <td>COWAN (Lagos)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>JDPC (Lagos)</td> <td>YEDA (Kano)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>COCIN (Plateau)</td> <td>NCWS (Lagos)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FIDA (Rivers)</td> <td>NCWS (Kano)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NCWS (Delta)</td> <td>Rahama (Bauchi)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FEWA (Ebonyi)</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> <p>Note: PACE supported the training of over 2,800 monitors for TOT and step-down training. It is assumed that almost all monitors trained participated in more than one of the three elections. No attempt was made to determine the actual number of individuals who monitored elections.</p>	FOMWAN	COWAN (Lagos)	JDPC (Lagos)	YEDA (Kano)	COCIN (Plateau)	NCWS (Lagos)	FIDA (Rivers)	NCWS (Kano)	NCWS (Delta)	Rahama (Bauchi)	FEWA (Ebonyi)		<p>Baseline data from 1999 do not allow an accurate comparison with the monitoring activities supported by a USAID civil society assistance programme. However, a number of inferences can be made about positive changes for 2003 election cycle:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEDPA is the only PACE partner that supported monitoring in 1999. About 200 monitors were supported during the 1999 elections. • PACE support of a large-scale monitoring programme in the core north covering 15 states was unprecedented. Over the two elections monitored, FOMWAN/MULAC deployed over 3,600 monitors over the April 12 and 19 elections. About 1,800 were women; all were Muslims. • Among the total 11 partners monitoring the three elections, more than 3,300 of the monitors deployed were women. • The FOMWAN/MULAC monitoring programme represents the largest effort in Nigeria ever coordinated by a women’s organization or a Muslim organization.
FOMWAN	COWAN (Lagos)														
JDPC (Lagos)	YEDA (Kano)														
COCIN (Plateau)	NCWS (Lagos)														
FIDA (Rivers)	NCWS (Kano)														
NCWS (Delta)	Rahama (Bauchi)														
FEWA (Ebonyi)															

<p>IR 1.3.1.1. Increased women's participation in electoral processes</p>	<p>5. Percent of women candidates in focus states</p>	<p>Data available only for winners of the 1999 and 2003 elections. Local government council elections have not taken place.</p> <p><u>Nationwide</u></p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th><u>2003</u></th> <th><u>1999</u></th> <th><u>% +/-</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Dep. Gov. (36)</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>100%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Senator (109)</td> <td>3</td> <td>3</td> <td>0%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Fed. Rep (360)</td> <td>21</td> <td>16</td> <td>24%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>St. House (972)</td> <td>23</td> <td>12</td> <td>48%</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p><u>Focus States</u></p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th><u>2003</u></th> <th><u>1999</u></th> <th><u>% +/-</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Dep. Gov. (36)</td> <td>0</td> <td>1</td> <td>-100%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Senator (109)</td> <td>3</td> <td>3</td> <td>0%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Fed. Rep (360)</td> <td>6</td> <td>6</td> <td>0%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>St. House (972)</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>-50%</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		<u>2003</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>% +/-</u>	Dep. Gov. (36)	2	1	100%	Senator (109)	3	3	0%	Fed. Rep (360)	21	16	24%	St. House (972)	23	12	48%		<u>2003</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>% +/-</u>	Dep. Gov. (36)	0	1	-100%	Senator (109)	3	3	0%	Fed. Rep (360)	6	6	0%	St. House (972)	2	3	-50%	<p>No reliable baseline data are available on the percentage of women candidates in 1999 after checking from a variety of sources. Data are available only on men and women elected. Additionally, INEC has only reported 2003 election results by party. PACE will continue efforts to compile data from INEC and political parties on the number/percentage of women candidates.</p> <p>PACE commissioned WRAPA to collect 2003 data on women "aspirants" who sought the nomination of the six major parties – AD, AGPA, ANPP, NDP, PDP, and UNPP. PACE believes that this "number of women who succeed in gaining their party nomination" may be a better indicator of women's progress than the current indicator in measuring progress in women's participation.</p> <p>It is very difficult to attribute changes in the number/percentage of women candidates and elected officials to PACE activities. The changes between 1999 and 2003 were influenced by many factors, including higher voter turnout among women or the party nomination process/candidate support.</p> <p>The data reflect a lower number of women elected deputy governors and members of the State Houses of Assembly in PACE focus states. Again, it is very difficult to determine the reasons for the decline.</p>
	<u>2003</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>% +/-</u>																																								
Dep. Gov. (36)	2	1	100%																																								
Senator (109)	3	3	0%																																								
Fed. Rep (360)	21	16	24%																																								
St. House (972)	23	12	48%																																								
	<u>2003</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>% +/-</u>																																								
Dep. Gov. (36)	0	1	-100%																																								
Senator (109)	3	3	0%																																								
Fed. Rep (360)	6	6	0%																																								
St. House (972)	2	3	-50%																																								
<p>IR 1.3.1.2. Increased civil society knowledge of electoral processes</p>	<p>6. Percent of training participants that demonstrate a basic knowledge of key concepts</p>	<p>74 percent of the 31 participants representing CSO partners scored 60 percent or above on the post-test during the March 2003 Voter Education TOT.</p>	<p>For logistical reasons, pre- and post testing were not given during the step-down trainings carried out by the 31 partners in 12 states.</p>																																								
	<p>7. Voter turnout rate during local, state, and national elections disaggregated by gender and state of residence</p>	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th><u>National</u></th> <th><u>1999</u></th> <th><u>2003</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Pres.</td> <td>52.3</td> <td>69.0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sen.</td> <td>42.9</td> <td>49.2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Fed. Rep</td> <td>43.7</td> <td>49.2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Gub.</td> <td></td> <td>N/A</td> </tr> <tr> <td>St. House</td> <td></td> <td>N/A</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p><u>Seven Focus States</u></p> <table border="1"> <tbody> <tr> <td>Pres.</td> <td>48.5</td> <td>73.2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sen.</td> <td>41.9</td> <td>48.6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Fed. Rep</td> <td>42.6</td> <td>52.0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Gub.</td> <td>44.0</td> <td>56.1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>St. House</td> <td>55.8</td> <td>62.0</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>Note: Data disaggregated by gender are not available.</p>	<u>National</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>2003</u>	Pres.	52.3	69.0	Sen.	42.9	49.2	Fed. Rep	43.7	49.2	Gub.		N/A	St. House		N/A	Pres.	48.5	73.2	Sen.	41.9	48.6	Fed. Rep	42.6	52.0	Gub.	44.0	56.1	St. House	55.8	62.0	<p>Voter turnout data for 1999 is based on reports commissioned by CEDPA using INEC and other official reports. The 2003 data is from INEC. The 2003 figures used for the number of ballots cast in determining voter turnout are very suspect, but the only data available.</p> <p>It will not be possible to use INEC voter registers and election results forms to determine the number/percentage of women who voted in the 2003 elections. INEC failed to implement a consistent and effective method for recording which registered voters cast their ballots in each of the elections. PACE is working with IFES to determine if a survey could be conducted to project voter turnout among women based on survey responses.</p>							
<u>National</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>2003</u>																																									
Pres.	52.3	69.0																																									
Sen.	42.9	49.2																																									
Fed. Rep	43.7	49.2																																									
Gub.		N/A																																									
St. House		N/A																																									
Pres.	48.5	73.2																																									
Sen.	41.9	48.6																																									
Fed. Rep	42.6	52.0																																									
Gub.	44.0	56.1																																									
St. House	55.8	62.0																																									

Transparency and Accountability

Intermediate Results	Indicator(s)	Data	Comments
IR 1.3.2. Increased capacity of civil society to promote transparency and accountability	1. Number of instances where CSO participation has resulted in a positive outcome	23	<p>In Year I, PACE scaled back its programme activities in the area of transparency and accountability in order to focus more on the urgent need for increased civil society participation in the 2003 elections.</p> <p>Despite a reduced emphasis, CSO partners reported 23 positive outcomes. CSOs reported progress on two important bills before the National Assembly – the Freedom of Information and the Whistle Blowers Bills. Both bills had to be re-introduced in the new National Assembly that had more than 80 percent turnover. As a result of extensive pre-and post-election advocacy by the PACE-supported Freedom of Information Coalition and the Zero Corruption Coalition, the bills are now back on track in becoming law. The FOI bill is at the critical third reading stage and the Whistle Blowers Bill has been gazzetted and is now being prepared for the reading/debate stage of the bill passage process. As reflected in the Legislative Progress Index below, 12 of the positive outcomes can be attributed to the effectiveness of the advocacy on these two bills with the National Assembly.</p> <p>Two of the positive outcomes are related to FOIC and ZCC work with the Human Rights Commission and National Orientation Agency anti-corruption legislation. Two other outcomes reflect advocacy visits to the National Assembly for the FOI and Whistle Blowers Bills.</p> <p>The remaining seven positive outcomes reflect work by state-level partners directed at more public forums/dialogue on transparency/accountability in the budget process.</p>
	8. Total score on the legislative progress index. (disaggregated by bill(s) supported)	12	Progress on the Legislative Progress Index tracking the bills' movement through the national legislation as a result of advocacy accounted for 12 of the 23 positive outcomes reported. See comments above on the FOI and Whistleblowers Bills.
IR 1.3.2.1. Increased demand by civil society for transparency and accountable governance	9. The number of public forums organized by CSO where public can engage public officials on key issues of importance	14	<p>The national-level focus of the PACE Project has been on the passage of the FOI and Whistle Blower bills. Activities have focused on advocacy with public agencies and elected officials. While awareness information has been developed and disseminated, public forums were on hold until after the elections and repositioning of the billing within the National Assembly was underway.</p> <p>Partners in the seven focus states held 14 public forums. These forums focused largely on the budget and access to government spending information.</p>

The Legislative Progress Index

Stages/Name of the bill	Key CSOs have analyzed issue and developed a position (1 pt)	Key CSOs have developed an advocacy plan (1 pt)	CSO mobilize members and identify supporters (1 pt)	Legislation is drafted (1 pt)	Bill is submitted for assent and/or gazzetted (1 pt)	Sponsors are secured (1 pt)	Debate is held (1 pt)	Legislation is approved (1 pt)	Legislation is sent to the executive for approval (1 pt)	Legislation is passed (1 pt)	Totals
Bill A Freedom of Information Bill (FOI)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	HOUSE APPROVAL			7
Bill B Whistle Blowers' Bill	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						5
Total	2	2	2	2	2	1	1				12

Conflict Management and Peace Building

Intermediate Results	Indicator(s)	Data	Comments
IR 1.3.3 Increased capacity of civil society to address/manage/resolve conflict peacefully	10. Number of instances where CSO participation has resulted in a positive outcome	27 positive outcomes	<p>Details on most of the 27 positive outcomes reported can be found in Section 5.0 on Conflict Management activities under community-based initiatives and rapid response activities. Of the 27 outcomes, 11 are from PACE state-level CSO partners in Delta, Lagos, Kano, and Ebonyi working to increase effective participation of women-focused CSOs in peace building.</p> <p>Note that outcomes of the AFSTRAG-organized Eminent Persons Group Roundtables were counted as one positive outcome under conflict, but they were consider as 10 separate positive outcomes under election processes. The positive outcome under conflict was a reduction in tension and possible conflict through increased confidence in electoral processes.</p> <p>The 27 figure may understate the number of positive outcomes under conflict management and peace building as it reflects the higher-level outcomes that were the focus of reporting by Idasa sub-grantees.</p> <p>Additionally, the nature of the work performed and the timeframe for the activities were factors in whether an organization could report a positive outcome during the reporting period. The Centres for Peace and Conflict Studies in Jos and Ibadan have had largely an advisory/consultant role with the conflict programme to date. NAN provided conflict information through its news service during the elections. These activities contributed to positive outcomes reported by other CSO partners; however, outcomes were not reported separately.</p>
IR 1.3.3.1. Increased utilization of media for peace building	11. Number of media events/campaigns which provide peace building messages developed by CSO partners	23 events/campaigns	<p>The Students as Political Midwives Initiative was a campaign-based peace programme carried out at 40 tertiary institutions. In addition to the posters and IEC for this student programme, the Law Group focused some of the voter education messaging around violence at the polling stations. These activities represent 2 of the 21 events/campaigns.</p> <p>In January 2002, Idasa held a high-profile launching of <i>Reducing Electoral Conflict in Nigeria: A Toolkit</i>. The event brought media attention to the need for reporters to cover election violence and the importance of information gathering and sharing that enlightens instead of inciting the public.</p> <p>A fourth campaign was the PACE supported a coalition of south-south groups in using the media to calm tensions following the murder of prominent ANPP leader Marshall Harry in April 2003.</p> <p>The four press conferences following the Eminent Persons Group Roundtables were well covered and led to response by public agencies on several of the issues raised.</p> <p>Though the 11 weekly updates produced and disseminated by the Idasa Communications Hub were not technically media events/campaigns, they certainly count as “utilization of media for peace building”. Much of the information was gathered through a subscription to the News Agency of Nigeria ‘wire’ service.</p> <p>The remaining four reports of peace building media events were from CSO partners in the Niger Delta to promote peace in response to election and other violence. The Niger Delta Society Coalition (NDSC) visited the Bayelsa State Commissioner for Police to engage in dialogue in the solution to arms build-up in the area. NDSC effectively used the <i>Punch</i> and <i>Vanguard</i> newspapers to build awareness and public support for the effort.</p>

IR 1.3.3.2 Increased collaboration between CSOs and law enforcement entities	12. Number of occasions where the public and law enforcement engage in dialogue	24 engagements/dialogues	<p>Idasa coordinated 4 meetings of the security committee made up of senior representatives (not below the equivalent position of Director) of national security agencies and relevant organizations. The committee met on Thursdays during the April– May 2003 to review electoral violence updates and release a security report.</p> <p>Additionally, CSO partners reported an additional 12 meetings with local and state-level law enforcement agencies, largely in the South-South. PACE believes this number greatly understates the level of engagement of CSOs with law enforcement officials. The figure tends to reflect only formal meetings called in response to violence in the community. The less formal ongoing dialogue is more difficult to document.</p>
IR 1.3.3.3 Increased networking among community-based peace building organizations	13. Number of partnerships established and continuing among community-based peace building organizations to address mutual areas of interest.	4	<p>Almost all conflict interventions involve partnerships/coalitions and committees. For example, MOSOP, ND-HERO, and ERA were all partners in the successful efforts to reduce tension and prevent violence following the death of Marshall Harry in April 2003. These partnerships are often ad hoc, continuing only through a crisis period. The groups will then focus on their own organizations’ objectives.</p> <p>PACE can cite four established/continuing partnerships supported during the reported period:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The MOSOP/ND-HERO/ERA partnership (South-South) ▪ Muslim-Christian Dialogue Forum (Kaduna) ▪ GADA-CRESNET partnership in Rivers State brought together faith-based and women’s groups among the Okrika people. ▪ The Country Women Association of Nigeria (COWAN) established a Women in Peace Building Initiative (WOPBI) in the South-West based on lessons learned from the February 2003 South Africa Study Tour and earlier experiences in Nigeria. The group is made up of market women, youth, traditional rulers, religious groups, as well as police public relations committees. The group has adopted the “Peace Bell” as their symbol, ringing it to bring peace messages and awareness to communities gripped by violent conflict.

Constitutional Reform

Intermediate Results	Indicator(s)	Data	Comments												
IR 1.3.1. Increased engagement of CSOs in constitutional reform	1. Number of instances where CSO participation has resulted in a positive outcome (constitutional reform)	3	<p>PACE Project activities related to constitutional reform were largely on hold during Year I as partners focused on the elections. However, there were three significant activities reporting positive outcomes.</p> <p>In November 2002, PACE partners participated in a four-day forum organized by CFCR and the Law Group. The workshop communiqué was used to advocate to key federal executives and legislators on key constitutional issues, particularly those affecting 2003 elections.</p> <p>In August-October 2003, CSO partners, with technical support from GADA, effectively articulated gender perspectives on the restructuring local government councils. They were invited to present a position paper to the Technical Review Committee and meet with key members of the National Assembly. CFCR was also invited to present a position paper to the Technical Committee on the implications of possible changes on the constitution and the constitutional review process.</p> <p>With the start of Year II activities, civil society working groups have become more active in engaging the public and public officials in dialogue on the constitutional review process and specific issues such as citizenship.</p>												
	14. Number of CSOs engaged in building awareness and advocating for constitution reform	<p><u>Total number of Partners Engaged in Constitutional Reform - 12</u></p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">CFCR</td> <td style="width: 50%;">GADA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>CDD</td> <td>FEWA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NCWS (Lagos)</td> <td>FIDA(Rivers)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NCWS (Delta)</td> <td>NCWS (Kano)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Rahama (Bauchi)</td> <td>COWAN (Lagos)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>YEDA (Kano)</td> <td>WLDCN</td> </tr> </table>	CFCR	GADA	CDD	FEWA	NCWS (Lagos)	FIDA(Rivers)	NCWS (Delta)	NCWS (Kano)	Rahama (Bauchi)	COWAN (Lagos)	YEDA (Kano)	WLDCN	<p>Nine of the 12 partners engaged in constitutional reform reported or contributed to advocacy by a coalition that resulted in positive outcomes.</p> <p>CDD and CFCR were the most active partners on constitutional reform issues. Several working groups were established in late 2002 to identify key reform issues, review and solicit civil society input, and build advocacy positions in preparation for public engagement on constitutional reform once the election cycle was completed.</p> <p>WLDCN revised and began dissemination of the <i>Constitution Made Easy with Gender Advocacy Points</i>.</p> <p>GADA carried out ongoing advocacy on gender and the constitution and led a coalition of PACE partners in preparation and presentation of a memorandum on the gender implications of proposed restructuring of local government councils.</p> <p>The PACE state-level CSO partners participated in all of the higher-level activities leading to the three positive outcomes during the reporting period.</p> <p>Note that CFCR is a coalition of over 80 CSOs. During the PMP development phase, it was agreed that PACE would count coalitions as a single partner. However, it should be noted that many and in some cases all of the groups may contribute to an event/outcome. For example, during the July-September reporting period, position papers from two of the constitutional reform working groups – constitutional review and citizenship – were developed and refined with input from most of the members of the CFCR coalition.</p>
CFCR	GADA														
CDD	FEWA														
NCWS (Lagos)	FIDA(Rivers)														
NCWS (Delta)	NCWS (Kano)														
Rahama (Bauchi)	COWAN (Lagos)														
YEDA (Kano)	WLDCN														
IR 1.3.4.1 Increased public dialogue to build consensus on critical constitutional issues	15. Number of forums where CSOs engage the public on constitutional issues	6 Forums	See Indicator 1 under Constitutional Reform for information on three of the five forums. In addition, the constitutional reform working groups' work cited under Indicator 14 accounts for two additional forums. Also, at the state level, one partner organized a workshop to build awareness of constitutional reform issues among traditional rulers, women's groups, and CSO leaders. Participants included 13 traditional leaders, 25 members of women-focused groups, and 25 representatives from other civil society organizations.												
IR 1.3.4.2 Increased number of petitions to integrate gender concerns into constitutional reform	16. Number of petitions for the integration of gender concerns into constitutional reform submitted to state and national assemblies/commission for integration of gender concerns into the constitutional	One	<p>From August through early October, a coalition of PACE women-focused CSO partners led by GADA developed position papers on the implications of local government reforms on women. The group presented a memorandum to the technical review committee on local government reform and advocated with elected and other public officials for support of their positions.</p> <p>Additionally, several PACE partners continued to engage the public on affirmative action and other constitutional changes needed to ensure that space is created for women to contest for public office. As no formal petitions were submitted to an official panel, these activities are not included in this report.</p>												

Capacity Building

Intermediate Results	Indicator(s)	Data	Comments
IR 1.3.5 Increased organizational and technical capacity of CSOs	18. Number of CSO partners that improve on the CSOs' effectiveness index	Available in the October-December 2003 Quarterly Report	Key PACE CSO partners underwent a self-assessment in October-November 2003. The assessments were originally scheduled for late 2002; however, delays in project start-up and a shift in project focus to elections led to the decision to postpone assessments and major capacity-building activities until Year II of the PACE Project.
	19. Average time to disburse sub-grants	No grants issued by CSO partners	In the programme description for the PACE Project, the consortium suggested that CRESNET and TMG, and perhaps ABSTRAG, were likely candidates to build capacity for sub-granting to other organizations. As the PACE Project shifted its first year emphasis to election monitoring, voter education/mobilization, and election-related conflict, there was not much opportunity to experiment with allowing partners to sub-grant. PACE attempted to use WLDCN to carry out a one-time US\$500 grant to COWAN on promotion of women candidates, but instead of sub-granting, the two groups decided to collabourate instead to avoid the paperwork.

SECTION 10. SUCCESS STORIES

The PACE Project recorded many notable successes that reflect meaningful project impacts and benefits to individuals, communities, and the Nigerian civil society. The following examples highlight the different levels at which the PACE Project has been effective and made an impact during its two-year implementation period.

Women and Muslims increased their participation in election processes.

PACE-supported CSO partners deployed 4,920 monitors over the course of the three elections held in April-May 2003. More than 3,000 of the monitors were women. Perhaps more significant, PACE collaborated with the Federation of Muslim Women Associations of Nigeria (FOWAN) and their partner organization, the Muslim League for Accountability (MULAC), to deploy monitors in 15 states in the largely Islamic north. This was the first time that Muslim groups in the north had participated in accredited election monitoring on a large scale. Of the 3,670 monitors deployed by FOMWAN/MULAC during the National Assembly and the Presidential/Gubernatorial elections on April 12 and April 19, more than 1,800 were Muslim women. For most of the women, it was the first time they had been involved in ensuring fair democratic practices in their country.

PACE partners served on National Joint Consultative Forums on election processes and reform.

In preparations leading up to the April-May 2003 elections, PACE Consortium Partner, the International Human Rights Law Group, and local CSO partner the Transition Monitoring Group were appointed to the Independent National Election Committee (INEC) – Civil Society Joint Consultative Forum to review guidelines and requirements for election monitoring and other electoral procedures such as provisions for secrecy in casting ballots. In recognition of the IHRG's contributions to the elections and electoral reform movements under PACE and previous USAID-funded activities, INEC has asked the group to serve on a post-election Civil Society Consultative Forum that will review the 2003 elections and implications for changes in electoral laws and procedures.

PACE-supported civil society engagement of security agencies contributed to generally peaceful elections.

As the April-May 2003 timeframe for the elections approached, many civil society organizations and government agencies felt there was a need to provide a forum for sharing security information between different security agencies on the one hand, and civil society and security agencies on the other. In partnership with the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR), PACE/Idasa initiated a meeting to share verifiable conflict information and electoral violence indicators that might require security responses from one or more security agencies. The meeting was the beginning of a series of Security Committee meetings that took place throughout the election to help national-level security agencies develop joint intervention strategies in election-related unrest across the country. Their purpose was to prevent violent outbreaks and minimize loss of life and property once violence had already occurred. *Weekly Updates* were distributed at every meeting. In addition, members of the Committee related different security experiences and agreed on patterns of response. A concise security report was then prepared and distributed to relevant agencies for implementation.

The performance of security agencies during the elections is widely credited with reducing the levels of violence and contributing to a greater sense of security among voters. The PACE-initiated meetings and information sharing contributed to the effectiveness of agencies in planning and adjusting to real and potential conflict that could have disrupted the elections. The increased sense of security among the populace was likely a significant factor in a larger than anticipated voter turnout. The initiative demonstrated that security agencies, if positively engaged, could be an important tool in mitigating conflict within a democratic environment.

Effective rapid response reduced tensions in the Delta following the murder of opposition leader.

In April 2003, after the murder of Marshall Harry, Deputy Coordinator of the main opposition party, the All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP), there were many rumors regarding responsibility for the death and possible retaliations -- particularly in Rivers State, Harry's home state and one of the most volatile states in the oil-producing Delta Region. PACE/Idasa brought together four key human rights organizations -- Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), Niger Delta Human and Environmental Rescue Organization (ND-HERO), Environmental Rights Action (ERA), and the Human Rights Law Group (HRLG) -- to develop a coordinated response. The purpose of this partnership was to lower tension in the region. A joint press statement was issued calling for calm and making recommendations to stakeholders regarding appropriate responses. This statement was widely disseminated within communities and through electronic and print media. In addition, meetings were held with different stakeholders to ensure that a scheduled ANPP rally would not become a spark for more violence. These actions reduced the volume of accusations, gave confidence that the facts would soon be determined, and convinced important players not to use the death for political gain. The success of this intervention led to further collaboration over the election period in the Delta Region that allowed the pooling of resources and information. The success of the intervention played an important role in putting the South-South on the agenda of foreign observers as well as providing resources that allowed existing organizations to make informed, strategic decisions and meaningful contributions to mitigating election violence in the region.

The Eminent Persons Group effectively engaged government and civil society to improve election administration and reduce the potential for widespread violence.

In partnership with the African Strategic Peace Research Group (AFSTRAG), Idasa established a forum where prominent Nigerians, who were well known and respected for their commitment peaceful co-existence and violence-free elections, were brought together as a credible alternative to the discordant voices driving conflict in many parts of the country. Four peace roundtables on the 2003 elections were held from January – May 2003. The roundtables linked military and women's voices with opinion leaders in broader civil society. The first roundtable was organized to address inter- and intra-party violence arising from the expansion of political space and registration of 30 political parties. The second roundtable coincided with International Women's Day and focused on the consequences of electoral violence on women and children; it sent specific messages on electoral campaign ethics and code of conducts. In the third roundtable, attention was on polling day conduct and the need for tolerance and vigilance in the 2003 national elections. The fourth meeting considered the volatile nature of the local government council elections. The first and third roundtables were chaired by the former military Head of State that handed over to civilian administration in 1999 and a leader of the Commonwealth Peace Mission in Africa, General Abdulsalam A. Abubakar (rtd.). The second and fourth meetings were chaired by a leading women's voice, Chief (Mrs) Bolerie-Ketebu, the National President of the Nigerian Council of Women Society (NCWS). AFSTRAG carried out follow-up advocacy to relevant government agencies for implementation of recommendations. Idasa took the same messages to donor and civil society organizations.

Specific outcomes related to the high-level advocacy of members of the Eminent Persons Group: the first inter-party meeting where leaders of the 30 political parties agreed to shun violence; a national public debate organized by a consortium of civil society groups for all presidential and vice presidential candidates; release of allocations to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and relevant security agencies; expansion of government security committees at all levels of government to include INEC; relaxation of requirements for accrediting domestic and international observer groups; limiting membership on the election tribunals to serving judges; redeployment of more State Resident Electoral Commissioners and Police Commissioners as a confidence building measure in the administration and security management of electoral process; and establishment of an ongoing forum for civil society dialogue with INEC.

Community-based Initiatives contributed to reduced election violence in volatile states.

In 2002, USAID identified Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Plateau and the Niger Delta as critical states for focused conflict management and peace building initiatives. With the approach of the 2003 elections, it became clear that many of the existing conflicts in the country had assumed political dimensions, with factions staking out positions that would enhance their post-election status. The community initiatives under PACE were designed to mitigate destabilizing conflicts in the focus states. The initiatives brought stakeholders in conflict together and provided space for dialogue, mutual understanding and reconciliation.

Under PACE's community initiatives, Idasa supported activities primarily in five states -- Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Plateau, and Rivers. In each of these states, PACE also supported women-focused groups to carry out activities to increase women's participation and effectiveness in peace building. Activities under the community-based initiatives were implemented in partnership with grassroots organizations that command respect within the affected communities.

In Lagos, the militant Odua Peoples Congress (OPC) showed signs of distancing itself from the culture of violence. After a January 2003 meeting of influential community-based organizations organized in collaboration with Idasa, the OPC addressed a press conference and promised to work to ensure peaceful transition in 2003 elections in the state. The group also used the press conference to send a warning to destabilizing forces that might attempt to cause unrest in the state. Additionally, in four of the critical states identified by USAID as the primary focus for conflict management - Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, and Plateau - the 2003 elections recorded no major incidences of violence. The electoral climate was generally peaceful, and voters' conduct was very impressive. In a fifth state where interventions were carried out, Rivers, located in the Niger Delta, there was no widespread violence despite the many reported incidents of vote tampering and sporadic violence at polling stations in many areas around Port Harcourt.

A coalition of PACE-supported women's CSOs effectively engaged the Federal Technical Review Committee on the Review of the Structure of Local Governments.

In July 2003, the President announced that his administration would review of the constitutional role of local governments for the purpose of making needed adjustments in the structure and function of the third tier of government. Partners of PACE's women-focused CSOs immediately formed a coalition to examine the gender implications of re-structuring, develop a position paper with advocacy points and mount a coordinated advocacy campaign. After a presentation to the Technical Review Committee, the coalition was invited to further discussions to address gender and broader implications of rumoured changes and to provide guidance to federal legislators who will be considering the recommendations of the Technical Committee in the coming months.

Women's organizations effectively engaged the political parties in support of women aspirants denied nominations in party primaries.

As part of a broader strategy to get more women elected and appointed during the 2003 election, civil society organizations mobilized women to advocate with party leadership and to public agencies. The message was that women should be given the opportunity and encouragement for meaningful participation, as well as party support for women seeking elected office. However, as the party primaries concluded in December 2002 and January 2003, there were clear signs that few viable women candidates would emerge from the screening and nomination process. In response, the PACE Project supported the Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA) and the Women, Law and Development Centre in Nigeria (WLDCN) to conduct extensive research on the experience of women aspirants and advocate for a fair review of grievances brought before the parties' review committees and election agencies. While party discretion makes it difficult to determine if any of the women's petitions to party committees led to reversals of nomination decisions or other redress, it is clear that the advocacy led to public commitments by the PDP to hold objective hearings, to appoint more women in

meaningful positions, and to review party policies and practices on nominations. Similar advocacy was carried out with the AD, NDP, and AGPA, but as the party in power and likely to retain power, the PDP was the primary focus. The success of the PDP in the general elections has enabled women's groups to monitor whether commitments have been met and hold the PDP more publicly accountable. Additionally, the informal coalition of women's groups that emerged from this process supported a number of women candidates with post-election petitions before the election tribunals and effectively promoted women candidates for high-level positions within federal and state administrations.

The PACE Project mounted a coordinated voter mobilization campaign using major print and radio media and 150,000 posters in English and Hausa.

The consistent message was "Vote Wisely". Mass media and interpersonal channels were complemented by voter education workshops, rallies, and other public events. Turnout was much higher than expected due in large part to extensive voter education and mobilization by many public agencies, local groups, and international organizations. The success of PACE's media campaign was confirmed by a nation-wide post-election survey commissioned by the United Nations Elections Assistance Programme showing the "Vote Wisely" message was recognized by 45 percent of respondents, the highest level of any of the broad-based campaigns during the 2003 elections.

It is observed that the volume and sometimes-technical language of the actual text of the Constitution usually mystifies the general public. The Constitution has always been seen as a document meant for lawyers and well-read people in the society. It is appreciated as the embodiment of the laws of the federation, but except for academic and professional usage, nobody wants to buy or store it for any other purpose.

In 1999, CEDPA supported the Women Law Development Centre Nigeria (WLDCN) to produce *Constitution Made Easy*, a booklet that demystified the Constitution into simple language supported with cartoon/comic illustrations. Only 2,000 copies were produced and circulated. Subsequently, and as part of a project on building constitutionalism for sustainable democracy, the US Embassy Public Affairs Section's support was given for the production of synthesized gender advocacy points in the Constitution. This was then added to the *Constitution Made Easy* in order to give a total picture to grassroots people, especially women, of what the Constitution provides in respect of gender-sensitivity

The main objective of the project was to demystify the Constitution by making a simple, easy to read booklet broadly available for public awareness and civic education. The publication, which has been distributed on a limited basis at various levels of society, appears to still be much in demand, particularly at the grassroots level, in primary/secondary school levels, and with women-oriented CSOs. It has helped them to understand the concept and principles in the Constitution.

Its launch took place at the Institute of International Affairs Lagos with the Director (Prof. Owasanoye) of the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, University of Lagos, on the Chair. In attendance were representatives of CSOs, CBOs, senior secondary school students and particularly female students, National Orientation Agency and State Ministry of Women Affairs and Poverty Alleviation.

Reports of the press conference, which followed the launch, gave the *Constitution Made Easy* a very good review in the print media. There were also TV discussion programmes on the same issue on NTA Network, Channel TV and MBI TV. The NTA Network edition was aired twice between February and end of April.

WLDCN continues to receive requests from various media houses to disseminate the CME to the public in different languages for wider impact. To date, the 10,000 copies printed (English 6,500 and Hausa 3,500) have been distributed to over 120 CSOs, CBOs, including libraries, schools, individuals, international agencies, NGOs, and government structures across the six geo-political zones of the country.

The Citizen's Forum for Constitutional Reform (CFCR) submitted memoranda to the technical committee on the Review of Local Government Councils in Nigeria.

Under the coordination of the Citizen's Forum for Constitutional Reform (CFCR), civil society organizations set up various working groups to articulate positions on constitutional issues that require review and amendments. Two working groups – Citizenship and the Constitutional Review Process -- reviewed and critiqued the draft position paper prepared by the group members. Representatives of various civil society groups attended meetings and issued communiqués. The CSOs called on the government to review the present constitutional provisions relating to citizenship, which has been responsible for some of the ethnic and communal clashes across the country.

The second working group articulated the need for a national conference in the country and also made proposals on how the conference can be convened. As part of the communiqué, the group called on the government to set up a constitutional review commission that will collate the views of Nigerians on issues to be addressed at the national conference and produce a draft constitution, which would then be debated at the conference. The communiqués also specified that any version produced by a national committee be subject to a national referendum.

The two memoranda were submitted to the Technical Committee on the Review of Local Government Councils in Nigeria for consideration and inclusion in their recommendations.

The Freedom of Information Coalition (FOIC) built alliances for freedom of information.

It is against this backdrop that a crop of Nigerian civil society organizations, media professionals, academics and NGOs, nurtured and carried to fruition the idea of creating a Freedom of Information Coalition, an issue-based coalition of like-minded institutions committed to expanding democratic space in Nigeria through advocating for legislation creating a freedom of information regime. The Freedom of Information Coalition (FOIC) was one of five advocacy coalitions supported as core partners of Global Rights under the PACE Project.

The FOIC coalition continued its advocacy early in 2004, targeting senior Presidential aides and the heads of the House and Senate committees tasked with reviewing the FOI Bill. Having submitted a *Memorandum* to a Joint Committee of the House studying the Bill, the Coalition organized advocacy visits to four Presidential Advisers in charge of Special Duties, Budget Monitoring, and Research and Liaison, and to the Heads of Committees in the House in charge of Budget Legislation and Research, Industries, Foreign Affairs, and Human Rights, as well as the Forum for Democracy and Human Rights, a caucus of House members. Subsequent advocacy meetings were also held with the Federal Attorney General, and the Chair of the Senate Committee on Information.

After going through two readings and a Public Hearing under the previous legislature (that served between 1999 and 2003), the current House Committees on Information, Human Rights and Justice have conducted further readings and submitted a joint report to the entire House of Representatives with a strong recommendation to pass the Bill into law. It now awaits Senate action.

Affirmative Action found a home in Ebonyi State.

Ebonyi women are relatively poor, unknown, and have little or no representation in government. In 1999, they had a 1 percent level of involvement in the area of governance. With CEDPA funding, FEWA began to build its capacity through civic education trainings within and outside the state. Before long, they had built a large network of women with active involvement in civil society programming.

By the time the elections were approaching in 2003, FEWA had a pool of women candidates in Ebonyi State. Under the PACE Project, FEWA trained the female candidates on political processes. It also trained their CSO networking partners on generating support for women candidates. FEWA supported these women by buying nomination forms for some of them. Some of them were sponsored to attend the women politicians' summit in Abuja in 2003, where they received further exposure through interaction with other women politicians as they prepared for the party primaries. Clandestinely, the political parties began a systematic elimination of women candidates at the primaries. Flora Nwapa, (Ohaozar Federal Constituency), Anthonia Ikpa (Ngbo East ward), Lady Mabel Aleke (Akakaliki Senatorial zone) are some of Ebonyi women candidates so eliminated. A national public outcry ensued. FEWA also sponsored a state-level protest on behalf of the rejected women candidates.

Funded by PACE, FEWA began a series of advocacy meetings with the political parties, INEC, SIEC, and the Police. In response, Dr. Sam Egwu, the state governor, appointed a woman as INEC Commissioner for the state. FEWA continued to mount pressure on the state government to do something in favour of the women as compensation for their systematic elimination based on gender.

A few months after assumption of office, FEWA directed advocacy efforts toward the governor through the First Lady to hold him accountable for his electoral promises to women and to push a case for the LG women candidates.

So far Ebonyi State remains the only state with the greatest number of women representation in governance. The statistics are as follows:

- 1 House of Reps member (elected)
- 2 LG Chairmen (elected)
- 3 Vice Chairmen (elected)
- Councillors (elected)
- 32 LG Secretaries (appointed)
- 3 Commissioners (appointed)
- Members of Board (appointed)
- 3 LG Caretaker Committee Chairmen (appointed but dissolved)
- LG Caretaker Committee Vice Chairmen (appointed but dissolved)
- 18 Supervisory Councillors (appointed but dissolved)

In the run-up to the 2003 general elections in Nigeria, Global Rights, in collaboration with the Zaria-based Renaissance Theatre Network, organized a series of cultural festivals for voter education. Featuring traditional dances, music, and drama presentations, these festivals focused on voter education, especially understanding the complicated ballot. They also addressed the theme of electoral violence and electoral offences. This education and mobilization drive focused on rural populations and the urban poor.

For two-day periods in March and April 2003, the communities of Southern Kaduna hosted a series of brief plays on voter education for the 2003 elections. The performances explained to voters how to identify the parties of their choice on the ballot and called attention to the dangers of ruined ballots. In popular theatre in Nigeria rural communities engage in 'dialogical communication' with each other. These dramatic performances provide space in the local context, through both the indigenous community and the local language, to communicate a voter education message.

The meaning easily streamed out of the plays. *Riki Riki*, a dance pantomime accompanied by drums and flute, was staged by the Inganci drama club from Zaria. It starts with three people who symbolize the political parties in Nigeria. They move about campaigning; in the process, they disagree and fight. *Zafin Nema Ba Ya Kawo Samu*, the play by Idon Gari of Zonkwa, opens with the entry of a young town crier with horns standing on high bamboo sticks. He announces the forthcoming elections and enjoins people to come out to vote and conduct themselves peacefully. There are two political parties campaigning, the Koda Gora Peoples' Party (KDGPP) and Ruling

Peoples Party (RPP). Some government officials come to advise both parties to conduct their campaigns peacefully. However, while the RPP goes about campaigning peacefully, the KDGPP people are violent and resort to dirty tactics, even though they have more supporters. The KDGPP members decide to attack their opponents and their supporters suffer casualties. On election day, they lose the election by one vote because their dead and injured members could not vote.

COWAN introduced and distributed 80 PEACE Bells.

The Country Women Association of Nigeria (COWAN), a PACE/CEDPA partner, rose in response to the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1325 [2000] adopted on October 31, 2000, which advocated the involvement of women in peace building by introducing a *Peace Bell*. The peace bell, like the traditional gong, is an iron-made instrument in the form of a conical-shaped cup with a ring and a handle to jingle the ring. In COWAN 's programme, whenever this bell is rung or jingled among conflict partners/group of people, it signifies the urgent need to listen to each other. According to COWAN, this practice is akin to the use of a gong in local towns/ villages, where the gong is jingled to call people's attention to the message of the traditional ruler. People gather at such moment to hear the king's message.

The *Peace Bell* was used to mobilize CSOs and political party executives to resolve long-standing disputes among the Local Government Council Chairmanship candidates in Ojoo, Badagry, Mainland, Agege, and Ifako-Ijaye. The Peace Bell has also been used among traditional rulers and women's groups during their meetings. The Women Peace Building Initiatives (WOPBI) members have become "custodians of peace" as people call on them to resolve pressing conflicts in their constituencies.

COWAN has so far distributed over 80 peace bells across nine states. In Lagos State alone 30 peace bells have been distributed across the former 20 LGAs. Efforts are underway to launch the use of peace bells in the new 37 LGAs.

The *Peace Bell* has received national and international recognition. The UN Peace Coalition Network has indicated interest to fund COWAN on the use of the Peace Bell. The Canadian Embassy has also shown interest in the concept of the Peace Bell. COWAN is planning to sustain this effort in Nigeria by organizing a National Launch of Peace Bell under the National Women Peace Group (NAWOPEG) to adopt it as a National Symbol of Peace.

NCWS launched a conflict mitigation manual for in-school youth in Lagos State.

As part of PACE activities under the Conflict Mitigation/Management Programme, NCWS Lagos State produced a *Conflict Mitigation Manual* for in-school youth. The Initiative started with a pre-advocacy planning and conflict resolution workshop for NCWS members and the State Schools Management Board. The training led to the development of the manual. The manual was launched on April 13 and was well attended by 100 people, including 50 youths.

Altogether 600 copies were produced; some of them were distributed to CSOs in attendance during the launch. In addition, 50 copies were given to the First Lady of Lagos State, Mrs. Remi Tinubu. Another 50 copies were given to the Lagos State Schools Board.

Idasa introduced an academic approach to peace practice.

As part of the capacity building initiatives of PACE, Idasa organized a pilot training programme on professionalizing conflict resolution practice in Nigeria. The overall goal of the training programme was to build

the capacity of participants in peace practice. This was aimed at increasing the knowledge and skills of conflict managers towards complementing their existing response capacity. Objectives of the course included enhancing the capacity of participants in peace building, exposing conflict management practitioners and peace activists to models and methodologies of intervention, and sharing relevant information and lessons learnt in responding to national and community conflicts in Nigeria. They also included accrediting conflict practitioners and peace activists in Nigeria, empowering civil society capacity for managing conflicts, providing an enabling environment for democratic consolidation, and explaining desirable values and practices of development.

The training, which was in four phases, was facilitated by the Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. The first phase of the training took place between March 13-20, 2004. The second phase entailed two weeks' internship in each participant's organization from March 22-April 2, 2004. After the two-week internship, participants returned to the Institute on April 3-5, 2004 for another round of training, reporting back from fieldwork and lessons learnt. Awarding of certificates and a high-profile closing ceremony took place on April 6, 2004 at the University of Ibadan. The training was well attended, with about 35 participants of different cadres from various organizations.

SECTION 11.0 RESPONDING TO CHALLENGES

During the first year of the PACE Project there were numerous events and changes within the programming environment that required adjustments in approaches, activities, timeframes, and expected outcomes. This fluid programming environment also provided opportunities for creative approaches and collaborations that may not have been possible had PACE followed its original programme. CEDPA's previous work in Democracy and Governance was reinforced by the addition of Idasa and Law Group to the PACE consortium. Idasa brought a new skill set and experience base not only to the conflict component of the programme, but to broader democracy and governance programming as well. Although CEDPA and the Law Group had worked together on many activities prior to the PACE Project, collaboration under a consortium model brought new understanding on the importance of linking national and state-level advocacy. During the second year there was better coordinated group clustering around common issues across the consortium partners.

The most significant challenges are described below, along with some of the adjustments made by the project.

- **Project start-up took much longer than projected.** The original workplan for the PACE Project allocated the first three months (June – August 2003) to start-up activities. However, numerous unexpected administrative and programmatic adjustments carried the start-up activities well into November 2003. Key among these adjustments were:
 - **Opening of CEDPA's PACE Project Office in Abuja.** Challenges in arranging initial meetings and maintaining frequent communications with USAID and among consortium partners led to a decision that CEDPA open a project office in Abuja. The process of identifying and leasing office space took three months. The Abuja office officially opened on September 19, 2002 as part of the official launching of the PACE Project.
 - **Longer and more involved process for developing the Performance Monitoring Plan (PMP) and Year I Workplan.** While the process was collaborative, leading to more clarity on the expectations of both USAID and consortium partners, scheduling the large number of meetings and making the many adjustments in the plans based on the various perspectives extended the process well beyond the planned 30 days.
- **Early changes in the Year I programme to focus on election monitoring and voter education.** Changes by USAID/Nigeria in the Year I priorities of the PACE Project affected the responsibilities of consortium partners and had significant budgetary implications. During the first four months of the project, these changes were negotiated among the consortium partners and with USAID. These discussions affected the timeframe for delivering an approved performance monitoring plan, workplan, and budget. Despite these challenges, PACE partners were fully engaged in early election advocacy to INEC and other public agencies, the September 2002 voter registration exercise, and planning and preparation for election monitoring with local partners and other international organizations.
- **The lack of baseline data and data consistency across the four focus areas.** One of the recurring issues during the development of the Performance Monitoring Plan was the absence of baseline data for most of the key indicators, including “number of instances where CSO partners reported positive outcomes”, an indicator that cuts across the four focus areas and includes women's participation. Such data would have had to be reported to USAID in a manner consistent with the IRs and indicators under the PACE Project. Additionally, there is limited information on women candidates for both 1999 and 2003 information. In reporting on election-related indicators, PACE made the best use of data available to reflect progress, while at the same time attempting to establish solid baseline data for future programming.

A second data problem was the difficulty in standardizing the definition of positive outcome across four very different technical focus areas and three different organizations. While some of the advocacy work involved specific legislation, other activities addressed the need for openness and dialogue, revisions in

policies and less formal practices related to the elections, women's candidacy for office, and conflict. To address this issue, PACE limited the positive outcomes to those reported on sub-project indicator reports that were significant enough to also be reported in narrative reports.

- **A later than anticipated start on major programming in three of the four focus areas.** While the shift in the Year I programme emphasis to elections was clearly needed, the PACE Project had to make significant adjustments in its Year II programme to deliver meaningful results on electoral reform, constitutional reform, and transparency and accountability by the May 31, 2004 project end date.
- **Uncertainty of the election timeframe and processes.** Planning for the elections by the international community and Nigerian civil society organizations was greatly hampered by the uncertainty of the timeframes and procedures for voter registration and balloting. As a result, preparations for election monitoring and voter education were delayed as civil society groups focused their attention on encouraging movement by INEC on guidelines and procedures. Despite these challenges, PACE supported the training of more than 2,800 monitors and deployment of 4,920 monitors over the course of the elections. PACE also developed and carried out a voter awareness campaign with the message "Vote Wisely" that reached more Nigerians than any other focused media campaign.
- **Limited coordination among donors and local partners on elections.** While the commitment to donor collaboration was clear as early as late 2001, commitment of donor resources did not occur until mid- to late 2002. This delay was caused not only by bureaucratic constraints, but also by the limited capacity of Nigerian civil society organizations to articulate an election plan of action that donors could support. Despite these challenges, there was very strong collaboration between PACE, USAID implementing partners, and other donor groups that has continued after the elections. Additionally, PACE has continued to work with the TMG, FOMWAN and other CSO partners as a result of effective performance and relationships developed during the elections.
- **A challenging transition from election programming in Year I to broader programme activities in the four focus areas – electoral reform, transparency and accountability, constitutional reform, and conflict management/peace building -- in Year II.** The general elections were held in April-May 2003. By October 2003, the country had not yet turned its attention to some of the key reform issues that are the focus of the PACE Project. There has been some movement on national-level transparency legislation, many reviews of the elections to develop reform priorities, and a hastily ordered review of local government structures. However, much of civil society's post-election engagement of government has centered on positioning with newly elected officials. While this is a critical step in effective advocacy, it has not yet led to focused or effective advocacy on issues and outcomes expected under PACE.

SECTION 12.0 LESSONS LEARNED

In addition to the many accomplishments in meeting programme objectives and overcoming challenges, the PACE Project has documented some key lessons learned related to both programming and administration of activities under the Cooperative Agreement.

- **It was very important for implementing partners and consortium members to have the capacity to adjust to shifts in the programme environment.** In response to the need for greater emphasis on the elections, the PACE consortium redirected \$320,000 from CEDPA's original budget to Idasa and the Law Group to meet programme objectives on conflict management/peace building and election processes. Additionally, PACE called upon organizational resources and expertise beyond those originally planned to meet new objectives around election monitoring and other election processes.
- **While coordinating activities across three international organizations was both programmatically and administratively challenging, the opportunity to share experiences and expertise was very beneficial.** CEDPA's extensive CSO-level advocacy work, especially with women's groups, allowed for broader perspectives in programming in the four focus areas. Idasa's Africa-based experience in election processes greatly enhanced the consortium's ability to meet the increased challenges of elections programming. And the Law Group's national-level networks and advocacy experience exposed a broader community of CSOs to the critical issues facing the country.
- **Leveraging resources through collaboration and coordination was important beyond the urgencies of the 2003 elections.** The PACE consortium and local partners continue to share information and plan interventions with other organizations to scale-up programme impact and avoid costly duplication of effort.
- **Combining activities in four very divergent focus areas under one consortium, with differing levels of CSO engagement and expertise, may reduce programme intensity and impact.** While collaboration on specific activities was extensive, expectations of significant integration across the broad ranges of PACE activities were difficult to meet. The single partner consortium model, with substantial sub-granting to issue-based CSOs and networks, could have provided a better scope for integration across PACE activities, joint targeting of resources, and capacity building efforts. The formal coordination provided by USAID around the elections could have benefited other program areas as well.
- **Clarity and communications with other implementing partners was excellent. However, the planning process could have benefited from more formal coordination of USAID and other mission strategies, particularly in the area of conflict and peace building.** Following the elections, USAID, PACE, and other implementing partners worked to improve communications and coordination.
- **IEC messages and materials need to be developed well in advance of election events.** Advance planning helps to avoid last minute logistical problems and decisions that increase costs and reduce the effectiveness of voter education and mobilization activities.
- **Among Nigerian civil society institutional capacity gaps and internal democratic practices need to be addressed to enable it to discharge its oversight and governance outreach responsibilities.** However, it should also be noted that civil society organizations have considerable skills and leadership capacity.
- **The Nigerian Legislature can be accessible and responsive to well-focused, broad-based national interest advocacy efforts from the Nigerian civil society.** The experience of PACE and its CSO coalition partners in legislative advocacy on the Freedom of Information Bill has demonstrated this potential.

- **The relationship between Nigerian civil society groups and the media needs to be continually fostered to enhance efforts in civic rights awareness creation activities and increase the effectiveness of advocacy for change.**

Women's Political Participation

- There is a need for a new constitution for Nigeria that does not unfairly burden women with different criteria that restrict the states/areas where they may compete for elected office.
- Political parties should be called upon to effect an environment and policies that promote measurable increases in women elected and appointed to political positions.
- Women candidates need to exhibit the qualities of compassion, courage, conviction, and consistency that inspire trust by the electorate and success within an open and fair political environment.
- Women should engage in constituency-building and be active in community development, especially pro-women projects, prior to and after winning elected positions.
- Women candidates need to improve their public speaking, mobilization and advocacy skills.
- Women politicians should take advantage of every opportunity to empower themselves with broader understanding on issues and constituency needs/priorities.

Conflicts and Peace Building

- Conflicts in Nigeria will continue to re-echo for many years to come, indicating the need to deepen and sharpen conflict management and peace building mechanisms, especially at the community level.
- Eminent Persons Groups can be a powerful tool in bringing credible peace messages and leadership in addressing urgent conflict issues, as well as the underlying causes of conflict.
- Historically, donors have exercised caution in engaging security agencies as development partners because of linkages to dictatorial regimes. However, more often than not, successful conflict interventions have depended on the extent to which they are inclusive of state organs that have complementary security capacity.
- If security agencies are positively engaged, they can play an important role in conflict mitigation in a democratic environment. This process would need to involve a re-orientation that would expose the agencies to security engagements that respect liberty and freedom.
- Because of shifting dynamics, the conflict (vulnerability) mapping exercise required flexibility in setting priority states and areas. These dynamics were monitored and helped in deployment resources. Violence-tracking activities also helped in providing appropriate conflict information to international observer groups and in developing adequate rapid response mechanisms for conflict mitigation and management.
- In many communities, communal identity was a strong factor in conflict. This identity is treated with respect, guarded jealously, and defined by communal ethics and values. These values are sometimes classified as social, economic and political. Breaking communal ethics and values and violating communal identity often evoke serious penalties and varying degrees of social sanctions.

Community-based associations exist to preserve communal identity. Engaging such groups as partners is an effective way of enhancing the success of conflict mitigation activities at the grassroots level.

- There is a great need for flexibility in programming. This flexibility should be extended to selection of participants and beneficiaries. For instance, Idasa could not engage conflict players in Kwara and Enugu states because of the seeming restriction on PACE working with political parties.
- The Communication Hub formed the core of all Idasa programmes and responses over the election period. The information system was designed to track election violence and to locate community conflict within this process for the purpose of mobilizing responses from various stakeholders. This experience has laid the foundation of a small and efficient model of information gathering, analysis and dissemination. As Nigeria continues to grapple with the consolidation of democracy the model of the Communication Hub can be adapted by NGOs and public agencies.