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The Role Of Transition Assistance: The Case Of Nigeria

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Executive Summary

The Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE) has responsibility for conducting Agency-wide evaluations on USAID assistance topics of interest to USAID managers. In 2000 USAID evaluated transition assistance, with a specific emphasis on the role and activities of the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) located in the Bureau of Humanitarian Response (BHR). Transition assistance, as used here, refers to the OTI-administered programs providing flexible, short-term responses to help advance peaceful, democratic change. The assistance is usually provided during the two-year critical period after a crisis when countries are most vulnerable to renewed conflict or instability.

The evaluation, which includes four country studies and a synthesis report, addresses these questions:

- Was the decision to initiate a transition program made in a transparent fashion? Were the proper guidelines considered?
- What were the strengths and weaknesses of transition assistance planning? What was the relationship between transition planning and country strategic planning?
- How was transition assistance implemented in Nigeria? What were the strengths and weaknesses of the approach?
- Was the duration of the transition program appropriate? Were transition activities being handed off effectively to other mission or donor development programs?
- Were transition activities achieving their objectives effectively?

OTI initiated its programs in Nigeria in 1998 following the change in military leadership and announcement of plans for elections. This paper discusses findings and lessons learned from the country study of transition assistance in Nigeria, based on a trip by two consultants to Nigeria in November 2000.

Decisionmaking for engagement. Excellent collaboration, both within USAID and between USAID and the Department of State, characterized the process of deciding to engage. The decision generally followed OTI guidelines for new programs although OTI did not formally document their application. OTI's timely provision of a task force coordinator for the Africa Bureau and an elections coordinator for the mission enabled USAID to initiate a major new transition program in Nigeria.

Program planning. For the four countries studied, initial USAID and interagency planning for the Nigerian program stood out in terms of quality and comprehensiveness. OTI played an important role in accelerating the U.S. response by designing and implementing initial training for newly elected and appointed officials. Planning also identified important activity areas such as civilian-military relations, energy, conflict management, civil society, media,

and police training. Subsequently, OTI and country strategic planning and monitoring became less integrated.

Program implementation and operations. During implementation, coordination between OTI and other mission programs diminished. Factors limiting effective coordination included 1) inadequate communication between OTI and other USAID mission staff, 2) OTI's relocation outside the mission, 3) the USAID/Nigeria executive officer's criticism of OTI's operations and procurement, and 4) separate structural and authority relationships of OTI and other USAID/Nigeria programs. Subsequent to the CDIE evaluation, the mission—including OTI/Nigeria—made significant progress in addressing coordination problems.

OTI activities, with their many small grants to emerging organizations, require more human resources to manage than do other USAID programs. The Support Which Implements Fast Transitions (SWIFT) indefinite quantity contract enabled OTI to respond quickly and manage the numerous small grants effectively.

Program duration and handoff. The planned two and one-half year duration of OTI's program in Nigeria was appropriate when planning for handoff moved forward quickly; the duration was inadequate when planning lagged. The handoff of the initial training for elected officials, civilian-military relations (phase 1), and electric power activities occurred on schedule. However, ineffective communication and coordination between OTI and other mission programs slowed and complicated planning for handoff of other activities. Subsequent to the evaluation team's field visit, OTI began working more closely with other mission staff to ensure timely handoff.

Program achievements—civilian-military relations. The legacy of military rule is one of the most dangerous perils facing Nigerian democracy. OTI contributed significantly to overall U.S. objectives by initiating the civilian-military relations effort through the development and implementation of an action plan. Without OTI, the effort would not likely have commenced as early as it did. It is too early to assess the full impact of the follow-on program being implemented under the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD), but the evaluators identified numerous challenges, including 1) engaging the Nigerian president, 2) ensuring Nigerian payment of its 50 percent share of plan costs, 3) monitoring contractor competencies for the task, 4) striking a balance between civilian and military needs, 5) making reform irreversible, 6) addressing the "hardware" versus "software" standoff (that is, the tradeoff between military equipment and military planning and programs), and 7) achieving U.S. program coherence.

Program achievements—conflict management. OTI made a good start on implementing grassroots conflict-management activities in Nigeria. The office supported local organizations working with local conflict-prone groups to identify why conflicts develop and how to resolve them without resorting to violence. Local groups addressed conflicts involving different ethnic or religious groups, neighborhoods and regions, and groups with different access to resources. OTI's efforts demonstrated success in changing attitudes toward conflict, helped resolve specific conflicts, prevented or reduced violent conflicts, and generated interest in addressing conflict nationwide.

Program achievements—civil society/media support. OTI's work with civil society groups to use media in airing public issues was visible and clearly stimulated public interest. The television series on corruption generated both public and corporate (including funding) interest. The success of the series provoked thinking on using both television and radio to address other public issues. This effort is also expected to attract additional funding.

Lessons Learned and Recommendation

- 1. OTI assistance can play an important role in countries in transition. However, follow-on assistance is often necessary to achieve lasting results.**

OTI's activities can play an important role in transition countries, complementing USAID's longer term country programs. However, OTI's activities are often short-term or one-time events that need to be replicated or extended to achieve lasting results. OTI's assistance in Nigeria was innovative, timely, and relevant. But OTI's approach features "experiments" that produce a range of results. Donor transition investments, and OTI's in particular, are validated and sustained only to the extent that there is timely and appropriate follow-up. Longer term support for promising activities is important to achieve fuller and sustainable impact.

Continuing the conflict-management effort is central to USAID's and the broader U.S. Government strategy to reduce potential threats to Nigeria's fragile democracy. Workshop effectiveness is optimized through follow-up workshops to deepen learning. Activities flowing from workshops, such as peace mediation committees, need nurturing, and perhaps supplementary funding and course corrections, before they can be reliably placed on autopilot. Sustaining OTI's contribution requires a follow-on, repetitive approach with the same groups and expanded programs for others.

Follow-up support is also needed to continue OTI's successful media initiatives, such as the pilot anticorruption television series. The Internet Press Centers are likely to be jeopardized if USAID or other donors do not continue funding and technical assistance for these promising activities after OTI departs.

- 2. The conflict-management initiative showed promising initial results.**

OTI's interactive, participatory workshop training for conflict management showed a wide range of impacts in Nigeria, confirming the approach's effectiveness. Moreover, OTI achieved its highly visible success with relatively modest financial outlays. Conflict-management training is particularly important in Nigeria, a country permeated by conflict that, if left unchecked, constitutes the greatest threat to building an effective democracy. Even the democratic process involves obligatory checks and balances that engender conflict, which conflict-management programs can help address effectively. Participatory workshop training, which OTI used to address conflict management, may also be applicable to other areas, such as developing a national or defense strategy, engaging military and legislative leaders on civilian-military relations issues, professionalizing the military on human rights and ethics, addressing animosity, and building teamwork for good governance at state and local levels.

Dissemination of lessons learned on managing and resolving conflict could extend the impact of this initial effort throughout Nigeria. For example, lessons could be shared with Nigerian state and local governments, as well as other donors, UN agencies, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

3. Coordination and communication between OTI and other mission entities are essential.

OTI and other mission entities must coordinate and communicate effectively to develop mutual understanding, build ownership of OTI initiatives, and integrate all USAID efforts. The high level of collaboration between OTI and other USAID entities that characterized the decisionmaking and initial program planning stages became less effective as implementation proceeded. Coordination and communication was hindered by the relocation of OTI outside the mission, the disagreement between OTI and the mission executive officer on operations and procurement issues, and the structural and authority relationships dividing OTI and other mission operations.

Coordinating OTI and other mission programs is important for effective program integration and handoff. Less than optimal coordination and communication during the implementation of the conflict-management activity hindered the development of program synergy. Subsequent to the evaluation, both offices took major steps to improve communication and better integrate the programs in preparation for OTI's departure. Improved program coordination and integration facilitated handing off conflict-management activities.

4. Early planning helps makes handoff efficient and effective.

Early planning for handoff, preferably during design but no later than the initial year, is important for ensuring that the mission (or others) can continue successful initiatives to achieve sustainable impact, thus taking full advantage of OTI's short-term program. Planning for handoff was an integral part of some activity designs, including civilian-military relations and energy, where OTI was responsible for the first phase. However, planning for handoff of the conflict-management and media activities was delayed.

5. The SWIFT contract is useful for implementing transition activities.

OTI effectively used the SWIFT indefinite quantity contract in Nigeria to implement its short-term, quick-response activities, including those with emerging organizations that had limited institutional capacity. Inadequately disseminated is the knowledge that missions can also use the SWIFT mechanism to continue OTI transition initiatives. USAID/Nigeria could benefit from picking up selected OTI programs before OTI departs, perhaps consolidating and expanding promising initiatives and using the SWIFT mechanism where appropriate.

Recommendation

Clear Agency guidance is necessary to deal with structural and authority issues.

For maximum effectiveness, the Agency needs to develop clear guidance to address the issues stemming from structural and line-of-authority differences between OTI and other mission elements. The guidance could emphasize how important it is for OTI to become an integral part of mission operations and encourage unified program planning, implementation, and results reporting wherever feasible. If such guidance came from a high level within the Agency, it would more likely encourage compliance by the relevant bureaus (the BHR and the geographical bureaus). In Kosovo, OTI reported to the USAID mission director. More recently, OTI and some missions have developed memoranda of understanding that set out roles and program responsibilities. These are constructive approaches to improving coordination.

The Role of Transition Assistance: The Case of Nigeria

Background and Overview

CDIE conducted an assessment of the role of USAID transition assistance with a specific emphasis on the role and activities of the OTI. OTI was established in 1994 to help respond to the increasing number of postcrisis situations. The office has provided assistance to more than 20 countries worldwide. Transition assistance, as used here, refers to OTI-administered programs that provide flexible, short-term responses to help advance peaceful, democratic change in conflict-prone countries. This assistance is usually provided during the critical two-year period after a conflict when countries are most vulnerable to renewed conflict or instability.

The evaluation includes four country studies and a synthesis report. The studies address issues related to the process of reaching a decision to undertake a transition assistance program, and the strengths and weaknesses of the planning for that program. The study further sought to draw lessons from the implementation of the program, including the process of handing off activities at the program's conclusion. And finally, the study looked at the transition assistance program's achievements.

In 1994, USAID reduced the size of USAID/Nigeria when relations between the United States and Nigeria deteriorated. Events in 1998 provided a new opportunity for USAID to support Nigeria's return to democratic rule. The military dictator, Sani Abacha, died suddenly and a moderate military leader, General Atiku Abubakar, assumed power and announced that democratic elections would be held later in the year. Elections were held in December 1998 and January 1999 for local government and state representatives, respectively. Presidential elections followed in February 1999. OTI, in collaboration with other USAID offices and the State Department, moved to assess prospects for developing a program in Nigeria and initiated a program in Nigeria in March 1999.

This paper discusses findings and lessons learned from the country study in Nigeria, based on a trip by two consultants to Nigeria from October 28 to November 4, 2000 to examine the OTI program at the country level and its effectiveness. The evaluators reviewed documents, visited four sites in Nigeria (Ibadan, Lagos, Port Harcourt, and Abuja) and interviewed representatives of USAID (including OTI), U.S. Embassy, DOD, Nigerian grantees, and selected donors.

Findings are discussed below under the key questions addressed by the study: 1) the process for deciding on engagement, 2) the strengths and weaknesses of the planning process, 3) program implementation, 4) hand-off activities, and 5) achieving objectives. Lessons learned and recommendations stemming from the discussion of each key question are presented during the course of that discussion. This case study concludes with general lessons learned and a recommendation for action.

Was the decision to initiate a transition program made in a transparent fashion? Were the proper guidelines considered?

OTI's initiation of a program in Nigeria is best understood in the context of two planning groups. First, USAID formed the Nigeria Task Force in 1998 shortly after General Abubakar's election pledge. This Task Force included representatives from the Africa Bureau (AFR), OTI and the Democracy/Governance Center of the Global Bureau (G/DG) to coordinate USAID planning. OTI financed a consultant, Don Krumm, to sit in AFR and serve as the coordinator for the Task Force. In August 1998 the Task Force sent a team to Nigeria to assess prospects for the country's transition to democracy and to develop program proposals. The team developed an initial program of elections support. OTI hired an elections expert to help the mission coordinate the electoral support program of various implementing partners.¹

A National Security Council (NSC) Interagency Working Group (IAWG) was also established to coordinate all U.S. assistance to Nigeria. As the interagency process advanced and as OTI's programs developed, OTI, through its coordinator provided to AFR, played an active role in sharing information with Congress and non-U.S. partners on USAID's approach.

OTI's initiation of a country program using international disaster assistance (IDA) funding requires a disaster declaration. Accordingly, and after careful consideration and consultation with USAID, the U.S. ambassador made such a declaration in 1998. The U.S. Government recognized the climate for democracy in Nigeria was "cloudy," given the country's history of military dictatorships, human rights violations, and widespread official corruption. The use of the word "disaster" to portray a now positive, supportive U.S. policy toward the country's democratic transition provoked concerns. In the end, the ambassador decided that the benefits of initiating an OTI program outweighed any negative perceptions associated with the concept "disaster declaration."

Interviewees noted that USAID (including OTI) and State Department officials in Washington greatly influenced the decision to initiate an OTI program in Nigeria. Although embassy officials in Lagos and Abuja did not have a major decisionmaking role, they later confirmed the appropriateness of the decision because of its valuable contributions.²

Application of OTI Criteria for Engagement

OTI uses a series of questions as guidelines for its decision on whether or not to initiate a country program:

¹ Partners included the International Foundation for Electoral Support, the National Democratic Institute, the International Republican Institute, and the European Union.

² One senior embassy official reported initial opposition to an OTI program but after witnessing OTI's effectiveness in training newly elected and appointed officials, became a "convert."

- *Is the country significant to U.S. interests?* In 1999, the State Department designated Nigeria as one of four priority countries for U.S. promotion of democracy.³ With an estimated population of nearly 120 million, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. Its economy is the second largest in Africa, with a gross domestic product of \$50 billion annually. Nigeria also plays an influential role in west and central Africa; for instance, it has provided peacekeeping forces to help combat regional crises in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Nigeria is a significant U.S. trading partner (fifth-largest supplier of oil to the United States). A stable, prosperous, and democratic Nigeria capable of bringing about positive regional change is important in reducing conflict, disorder, and widespread human suffering and crisis in Africa.
- *Is the situation ripe for OTI assistance?* The sudden, unexpected death of General Abacha and the succession of General Abubakar, who was more open to democratic rule, provided an opportunity for supporting democratic reform. The new leader's public declarations and transition plan called for the establishment of political parties and elections. These events provided OTI an appropriate opportunity to support reform under USAID's two-year country transition strategy.
- *Is the operating environment stable enough for OTI's programs to be effective?* Even under military rule, Nigeria had been wracked by many local conflicts, largely from tribal and religious differences. Nonetheless, popular expectations for positive change, together with the initiation of democratic reforms, offered OTI reasonable assurance of improved conditions for implementing a transition program to democracy.
- *Can OTI address the key political development issues of a transition?* OTI had already demonstrated capacity to support other transitions to democracy in Indonesia, Kosovo, and Serbia. Both OTI and the August 1998 Task Force identified postelection training and civilian-military relations as priorities. During the planning stage a conflict-management activity was added, reflecting the need to address Nigeria's history of widespread conflict. OTI had addressed similar conflict situations in Angola, Sierra Leone, and Indonesia.
- *How likely is it that program implementation will result in a successful outcome?* This guideline probably gave OTI the greatest difficulty in justifying program initiation. Nigeria's military had dominated country politics for 30 of the past 40 years. Democratic instincts and institutions were largely suppressed or forgotten, and corruption had become pervasive. This history made the outcome of the latest experiment with democracy uncertain, but the opportunity to initiate positive change was still attractive.

The evaluators did not find a specific document systematically addressing these questions for Nigeria. But an analysis of the situation in early 1999—supported by interviews, program documents, and the interagency report—indicated that the decision by and large fit the guidelines, despite great difficulties in determining the prospects for a successful outcome. The evaluators concluded that OTI's initiation of a program in Nigeria met the guidelines as an appropriate candidate for OTI assistance, although a successful outcome was uncertain.

³ The three others are Columbia, Indonesia, and Ukraine.

USAID, including OTI, largely based the engagement decision on the importance of Nigeria to U.S. national interests and the “catalytic event” of new elections.

In summary, the period of decisionmaking for engagement was marked by an extraordinary degree of collaboration, both within USAID and between USAID and the State Department. OTI’s timely provision of a task force coordinator for AFR and of an elections coordinator for the mission enabled USAID to initiate a major new program. USAID (including AFR, OTI, and G/DG) worked closely with the embassy staff and the State Department in Washington to define the overall transition program and OTI’s role.

From interviews and a review of the interagency report, the decision to initiate an OTI program in Nigeria generally met OTI guidelines, although projecting a successful outcome was difficult given Nigeria’s history of unsuccessful experience with democratic rule. However, OTI did not formally apply or document the extent to which the decision met the guidelines.

What were the strengths and weaknesses of transition assistance planning? What was the relationship between transition planning and country strategic planning?

The ambassador’s disaster declaration allowed OTI to field a program planning and design mission that developed a program based on the recommendations included in the earlier USAID assessment.⁴ The process of deciding on OTI’s initial engagement and planning of electoral support were intertwined and a collaborative effort.

Planning of postelections activities shifted to a broader, interagency context. The IAWG⁵ fielded a team to Nigeria in June 1999. The team’s report⁶ proposed a menu of program options and suggested OTI be involved in civilian-military relations and governance, conflict management, and anticorruption efforts. It identified short-, medium-, and long-term objectives, specific programs, and funding for interagency participation. It also suggested that OTI initiate programs supporting the USAID democracy/governance (DG) strategic objective, including collaboration in support for the National Assembly, state and local governments, NGOs, and independent media. It indicated OTI would take the lead in conflict prevention and reconciliation in the Delta, working from the OTI field office in Port Harcourt. The interagency planning process demonstrated a high degree of collaboration, resulting in a close fit of plans among USAID and other U.S. Government entities. OTI eventually developed most, but not all, of the proposed ideas.

⁴ Sylvia Fletcher, the OTI Africa Team Leader in 1998–1999 represented OTI on the assessment team. As such, she led OTI’s program planning and design for Nigeria, including the startup of OTI’s four field offices (in Lagos, Abuja, Kano, and Port Harcourt) in March 1999.

⁵ In addition to USAID representatives from AFR, G/DG, and OTI, the IAWG included representatives from State Department, Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, and Department of Energy. DOD, Department of Justice, and Department of Transportation were also consulted.

⁶ USAID, “Supporting a New Path to Democracy, Prosperity and Leadership,” July 16, 1999.

Initial planning was collaborative and resulted in an integrated program, but subsequent planning and monitoring showed some confusion on the relationship of OTI's goals and objectives to those of the USAID country transition strategy.

USAID/Nigeria Planning and Monitoring Efforts

USAID/Nigeria's FY 2002 and FY 2003 Results Review and Resource Requests (R4s) mentioned OTI's role,⁷ but establishing clear links between the OTI program objectives and those of the strategic objectives of the country transition strategy was challenging because the documents conflict somewhat. The FY 2002 R4 identified OTI's contribution in the areas of training civilian police, newly elected officials, state governors, and local council members and in civilian-military relations. The FY 2003 R4, available in draft at the time of preparation of this report, indicated that USAID/Nigeria planned to pick up OTI's work in grassroots conflict mitigation and police reform.⁸ But it did not address all of OTI's programs, including OTI's other work in media, civil society, or energy.

The two-year USAID/Nigeria transition strategy had four strategic objectives (SOs) in DG, economic growth, education, and health, and an energy special objective. Most of OTI's program components⁹ supported the DG SO and its four intermediate results (IRs) as noted below. Discussions with non-OTI mission staff indicated that OTI's primary role was to support conflict-management efforts in IR 1.3, but OTI also supported other elements of the DG objective, as shown below:

- *IR 1.1 Government institutions demonstrate increased transparency and responsiveness.* In collaboration with three USAID/Nigeria implementing partners,¹⁰ OTI trained newly elected officials and later worked with local conflict-management groups. OTI's programs to train officials and teach advocacy principles to local civil society organizations helped promote broad understanding of the fundamental principles of democracy and their applications.¹¹

⁷ USAID/Nigeria, "FY 2002 R4," March 31, 2000. Specifically: "In order to be successful, this strategy depends greatly upon the work of other USG entities, particularly USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI). It was decided early in the process of expanding USAID's presence in Nigeria that OTI's and the rest of the mission's programs should be complementary, and that the mission's strategy should directly incorporate the results achieved by OTI. As OTI's mandate winds down, the mission will play an increasing role, as appropriate, in supporting follow-on activities to their short-term interventions."

⁸ USAID/Nigeria "FY 2003 R4," 6. "At the same time, USAID will develop new activities to take up selected aspects of the USAID Office of Transition Initiatives program, most likely in the areas of conflict mitigation and police reform."

⁹ Except for OTI's work in energy. This report does not cover the OTI energy program since it was at an early stage of development at the time of the evaluation.

¹⁰ Management Systems International, John Hopkins University, and the Center for Development and Population Activities.

¹¹ USAID/Nigeria, "FY 2002 R4," 29. "USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives provided the management mechanisms for immediate dispersal of development assistance (DA) funds to meet the pressing need to focus the newly elected on the duties they would soon have to take up."

- *IR 1.2 Foundation established for a fair and competitive electoral system.* In 1999 OTI provided a field coordinator to work with the various contractors and donors (mainly the European Union) providing elections assistance.
- *IR 1.3 Potentially destabilizing forces mitigated.* This is the area of greatest OTI influence and direct contribution to the mission's results reporting. OTI provided 79 grants to local NGOs and other groups to work with conflict-prone communities in mitigating violence.
- *IR 1.4 Increased knowledgeable participation by civil society in public deliberations and oversight of government.* OTI provided 75 grants to a variety of local groups to enhance the role of civil society in Nigeria. The grants supported civic education, good governance, and independent media. Media support is a crosscutting theme that, in addition to enhancing the role of civil society, also increased the flow of accurate information to the Nigerian public to reduce potential conflict (IR 1.3).
- *Energy Special Objective.* OTI funded a diagnostic survey of the Nigerian Electric Power Authority's management. Other mission units undertook follow-on implementation.

OTI Program Documentation

OTI's program objectives reflected BHR's results framework rather than that of the USAID/Nigeria country strategic plan. OTI/Washington staff identified contributions in the areas of conflict management, civilian-military relations, and policy reform.¹² Yet the OTI field staff did not endorse this framework, including its lower level results. This OTI draft strategic framework was apparently an attempt by OTI/Washington to link the Nigeria program to higher level BHR objectives.

Still another results framework was provided in the FY 1999 OTI "Results Review," which indicated the OTI/Nigeria objective was "to mitigate forces that could potentially destabilize elected civilian rule..."¹³ A later document,¹⁴ OTI's "National and Regional Goals/Objectives," identified five objectives:

- Make the national conflict mitigation network self-sustaining
- Develop a national advocacy voice

¹² From an OTI/Washington draft strategic framework for Nigeria dated June 8, 2000. Attributing "policy reform" to an OTI program raises issues of whether such a longer term role is appropriate for OTI. In the OTI FY 1999 Results Review, Nigeria Country Profile, OTI states that its policy-reform efforts in Nigeria are focused on "facilitating policy reform in good governance, anti-corruption and economic reform." The key word is *facilitating*; good governance and economic reform are major mission strategic objectives and anticorruption is a new area in which OTI is contributing.

¹³ OTI, Results Review FY 1999, May 2000.

¹⁴ OTI, "National and Regional Goals/Objectives," undated but prepared towards the end of 2000.

- Resolve conflict between the National Assembly and the federal executive in collaboration with others¹⁵
- Enhance the potential of the Internet journalism media network to be a national resource
- Elevate the consciousness of the media towards greater awareness of their role in positively addressing national issues

In this same matrix, OTI articulated objectives by its four regional offices in Nigeria:

- Kano: Reduce/mitigate conflicts in the region
- Lagos: Evolve an advocacy voice for youth and women
- Port Harcourt: Create a youth advocacy network for the south-south and southeast zones
- Abuja: Enhance the north central region's role as a national buffer zone between macro-level ethnic and religious tensions

From their analysis of documents and other data, the evaluators concluded that the OTI program, including the objectives and activities, was not closely harmonized with the country results framework, with the exception of the IR on reduced conflict. Some non-OTI mission officers indicated that over time OTI's program objectives became too diffuse ("all over the map," as one indicated) rather than focused on a narrower, targeted set of results clearly linked to the country strategy. The lack of coordination complicated mission monitoring and reporting on OTI activities in the country strategy context. OTI staff noted that the USAID mission had not assumed ownership of the OTI activities. Moreover, OTI indicated its programs were experimental, especially at the outset of a new program, and the office should be permitted to include a variety of approaches and grantees, without rigorous results monitoring. The evaluators note the opportunity for experimentation is a strength of OTI activities. However, most country programs allow for some experimentation at the activity level within particular strategic objectives. Without strategic fit, the mission would likely be less able to pick up OTI initiatives within limited human and financial constraints as OTI departs.

In summary, collaboration between OTI and other USAID offices was excellent during the initial planning stage (late 1998 and early 1999). This collaboration also reflected the broader IAWG planning effort, which defined a U.S. Government program for Nigeria, including a USAID transition program with an OTI component. The quality and the comprehensiveness of the USAID and interagency early planning effort for Nigeria stand out among the programs reviewed for this evaluation.

However, as OTI further developed its program, the links with other mission programs became less clear. Non-OTI mission staff indicated they were unable to report on OTI efforts within the country strategy context and that over time, OTI program planning had become diffuse, with multiple objectives that were less focused on country transition strategy objectives. Thus, while OTI and mission program planning was highly collaborative initially, the quality of planning and program integration declined over time.

¹⁵ Non-OTI mission staff noted that executive/legislative relations is a major component of the DG program and that OTI's related programs were not always fully coordinated with the mission.

How was transition assistance implemented in Nigeria? What were the strengths and weaknesses of the approach?

OTI initiated its program in Nigeria quickly, establishing three regional offices within a few months to provide nearly nationwide support to local groups. The first initiative, training for 11,000 elected and appointed officials, was implemented in early 1999. OTI—with State, NSC, and DOD—also designed a civilian-military relations activity. The SWIFT contractor¹⁶ fielded a startup team to Nigeria in early 1999 to set up logistics and support OTI's development of the training program in consultation with the mission DG and health partners.

Following the IAWG assessment, OTI developed the following activities:

- **Conflict management**
 - o Programs. OTI developed criteria and assisted local groups and civil society organizations aiding local, conflict-prone communities (see Annex D).
- *Democracy/governance*
 - o Civilian-military relations. OTI funded seven experts who, working with Nigerian counterparts from civil society and the military, produced an action plan that formed the basis for the current program, which is cofunded by DOD and the Nigerian government.
 - o Civil society. In July 2000, OTI began working with Nigerian civil society groups to enhance capacity to represent their constituencies in dialogues with the Government of Nigeria. This complements similar mission DG team efforts in the rule of law and human rights.
 - o *Media*. OTI assisted private print media and trained journalists in reporting techniques to improve overall quality. It also supported journalists' access to Internet sites.
 - o *Police training*. This program grew out of a series of consultations with the U.S. Congress, the Departments of State and Justice, and the Corporate Council on Africa (which includes major U.S. firms doing business in Nigeria). OTI was developing a program to improve police performance that the DG team would subsequently implement. Details of the program were still under discussion at the time of the evaluation.

¹⁶ SWIFT is an indefinite quantity contract. The Louis Berger Group is the SWIFT contractor providing OTI implementation support in Nigeria.

- o *Anticorruption.* OTI collaborated with the mission DG team on an anticorruption assessment to be conducted in 2001. OTI also provided local expertise to help the DG team develop an ethics code for parliamentary representatives and a two-day workshop on transparency.
- *Energy*
 - o *Energy policy.* OTI hired an energy consultant to advise USAID/Nigeria and Nigerian partners on energy policy. It also supported a preliminary assessment of the Nigeria Electric Power Authority that included policy options and a privatization plan. OTI became involved because of the relationship of this effort to federalism and governance.

By November 2000, OTI/Nigeria had issued 197 grants for the above activities, including some grants for overall logistics and support. Funding commitments since 1999 totaled \$11.4 million.

In summary, OTI clearly found an important niche in Nigeria. The initial short-term training for newly elected and other officials was viewed by various sources (including USAID, U.S. embassy, and Nigerian officials) as an important initiative to jump start democracy. The early funding of reform plans for civilian-military relations and energy enabled DOD and USAID to provide follow-on support in these areas. And the conflict mitigation initiative provided needed support to civil society groups to address conflict.

Communication and Coordination between OTI and the Rest of the Mission.

The evaluators found that, as implementation proceeded, the level and quality of interaction between OTI and the mission degenerated, exacerbating program coordination. Inadequate communication between OTI and others in the mission impeded cooperation and a shared understanding of the OTI program. OTI and non-OTI mission staff perceived the situation differently; each believed that the major responsibility for the lack of cooperation lay with the other. OTI staff felt other mission offices did not become engaged in OTI activities. Non-OTI staff felt that OTI was not interested in coordinating its activities, particularly within the country strategic framework. OTI coordinated well with the British and the UN Development Programme (UNDP) staff;¹⁷ but coordination with non-OTI USAID mission staff was less than optimal, impeding the creation of an environment in which the mission could assume ownership of the OTI program and carry on important activities after OTI's departure. The evaluators identified several factors contributing to inadequate communication and coordination:

- *Lack of collocation.* USAID/Nigeria—both OTI and non-OTI staff—reported that the level of communications and information sharing, already limited, declined when OTI moved to separate quarters in May 2000. Senior non-OTI sources indicated that OTI had moved without their knowledge. However, according to the OTI country director

¹⁷ From interviews with representatives of these organizations.

and OTI/Washington staff, the action was taken under the direction of the USAID/Nigeria executive officer, who had indicated OTI would have to find new quarters in Lagos when USAID moved to Abuja, the Nigerian federal capital. The move to Abuja had been considered imminent but subsequently was delayed beyond November 2000. As required, OTI/Nigeria had submitted its request to move to the Embassy regional security officer, who reviewed and approved OTI's new quarters. The collocation issue is important insofar as it indicates a negative impact on coordination among parties in a stressful implementation context. Communication problems appeared to exist within USAID as well as between USAID OTI and non-OTI staff.

Senior USAID staff reported that a major impact of OTI's relocation was to reduce information flow on the OTI program. OTI's new location and workload made it difficult for its staff to attend regular weekly mission staff meetings. The situation was further complicated by the fact that most U.S. Government staff stationed in Lagos have responsibilities for activities in both Lagos and Abuja, resulting in reduced staff presence in Lagos on any given day. The OTI country director relocated to Abuja, despite the fact that most of the SWIFT staff remained in Lagos. This situation was due to be resolved in 2001, when most USAID offices would be relocated to Abuja.

- *Disputed administration and procurement.* OTI/Nigeria disagreed with the USAID/Nigeria executive officer on procedures and regulations, mainly regarding procurement. These apparently grew out of an absence of a shared understanding about the SWIFT contracting mechanism and its authorities. Issues in contention included whether contractor staff were trained in inventory and property control, property management, and freight and transportation; whether the contractor was obtaining waivers for foreign-source vehicle procurement; whether the contractor procured luxury vehicles without waivers; whether some OTI staff lived in housing inappropriate to individual rank; and whether OTI abused the notwithstanding authority of IDA funding. The SWIFT contractor reported speaking to the USAID/Nigeria executive officer several times on these issues. Noting that she had been trained in USAID contract management procedures by USAID and had managed USAID contracts elsewhere, she contended that SWIFT operations in Nigeria were in full compliance with all USAID and Foreign Affairs Manual (FAM) regulations. She noted that the contract explicitly allowed for source 935 procurement (free world) and indicated that all equipment purchases followed competitive bidding procedures. Moreover, the vehicles in question were not "luxury" vehicles but expensive (\$100,000 each) because they had to comply with State Department security requirements for USAID-purchased vehicles in Nigeria. An assessment of OTI's operations in Nigeria,¹⁸ carried out by an external contractor, endorsed the SWIFT mechanism, making recommendations with respect to work supervision, information technology use, procurement, grant approval procedures, monitoring and evaluation, and closeout. This assessment found the SWIFT contractor in Nigeria to be in compliance with all regulations and other provisions in the contract, contrary to the USAID executive officer's view.

¹⁸ PriceWaterhouseCoopers, "Assessment of Vulnerabilities—Nigeria," June 2, 2000, USAID/PPC/CDIE, Performance Measurement & Evaluation Division, contract AEP-C-00-99-00034-00

- *International Cooperative Administrative Support Services (ICASS).* As requested by the USAID executive officer and recommended by the SWIFT assessment, OTI/Nigeria entered into a separate ICASS agreement with the Department of State for support services. OTI paid \$300,000 in FY 2000 to State for ICASS support, a higher level than OTI had previously paid as part of USAID's ICASS, according to USAID sources. The separate administrative arrangements tended to further isolate operations of the two USAID entities.
- *Structure and authority relations.* The evaluators found that parallel structural and authority relationships for OTI and other USAID entities contributed to coordination difficulties. USAID/Nigeria and OTI/Nigeria derived overall authority from different Agency bureaus (AFR and BHR, respectively). Funding sources and authorities also differed: USAID/Nigeria authorized development assistance (DA) and economic support (ESF) funding but OTI authorized IDA funding. In Nigeria these parallel structures and authorities presented challenges for managing and coordinating USAID transition programs at the country level. The non-OTI and OTI staff owed their loyalties to and took direction from AFR and BHR, respectively. Such relationships often worked against coordination, which was ultimately very important for effective country program coordination and timely handoff of OTI activities.

Recommendations—Communication and Coordination

The evaluators suggested several measures to improve incountry coordination to USAID/Nigeria officials:

1. Take action to strengthen communication.

The USAID entities involved should undertake specific measures to increase and improve the quality of communication between OTI/Nigeria and other USAID/Nigeria offices. For example, all personnel might report to the mission director while in country.

2. Increase USAID/Nigeria familiarity with OTI activities.

USAID/Nigeria should implement specific measures to increase mission personnel's familiarity with OTI programs, with a view to building on selected OTI activities that contributed to USAID's longer term objectives. Such activities include the grassroots activities addressing conflict management, local governance issues, anticorruption, and civil society development.

3. Continue using OTI field offices

USAID/Nigeria should continue implementing selected activities through the OTI field offices in Kano, Lagos, and Port Harcourt, thereby extending the program reach and management capacity. This is an important opportunity to consider in view of Nigeria's strategic importance to U.S. interests.

4. Continue SWIFT funding

The evaluators recommend that USAID/Nigeria should continue to fund transition programs through SWIFT, even after OTI departs. This will preserve the flexibility in implementing approaches initiated by OTI.

SWIFT Cash Management Issues

The large majority of grantee representatives interviewed were satisfied with the funds management process. Three local grantees identified the shortcomings of the cash advance procedures used by the SWIFT contractor. These included the late approval of grants, requiring one grantee representative to travel from Port Harcourt to Lagos to obtain financing to initiate an activity on time, and the complicated and demeaning (“we are made to feel like beggars to get the money”) accounting procedures.

Staffing and Budget

OTI's activities, with their many small grants to emerging organizations, often with weak management capacity, are more staff-intensive to implement than other USAID programs. However, with the SWIFT contract, OTI was able to implement the program rapidly. The SWIFT contract provided most of the OTI staff, which numbered 59 in November 2000. Three were U.S. personal service contractors—the country director in Abuja, the new country deputy director in Lagos, and the regional director in Kano. The Lagos office employed 21 Nigerian staff; Abuja, 12; Kano, 11; and Port Harcourt, 12. The ratio of administrative to program costs was approximately 1:2 in late 2000 and increased to 1:1 by program end in 2001.

OTI's budget, using IDA funds, was \$9 million in FY 2000 and \$6 million in FY 2001. Most OTI personnel indicated that the existing staff level was adequate to manage these amounts, with some indicating OTI had the capacity to maintain grant worthiness for a larger program (up to a 33 percent increase).

In summary, OTI played an important role in accelerating the U.S. Government response with the initial training for newly elected officials, the development of plans for civilian-military relations and energy programs, and the conflict-management initiative. The office initiated these activities quickly and effectively, using the SWIFT contract for implementation through regional offices. OTI later initiated activities in conflict management, civilian-military relations, civil society, media, police training, and energy.

As implementation proceeded, the level and quality of interaction between OTI and other USAID offices dropped, exacerbating program coordination and development of a fuller understanding of the OTI program by other mission staff. Factors contributing to reduced communications and coordination included the OTI director's physical relocation outside the USAID mission and disagreement between OTI and the mission executive office on operations and procurement, resulting in separate handling of administrative support. As well, parallel structures and authority relationships for OTI and other mission programs

presented a particular challenge for coordination of USAID programs at the country level and within the country strategic context.

OTI activities are more staff-intensive than other USAID programs because of the many small grants provided to emerging organizations with weak management capacity. The ratio of administrative to program costs was 1:2 in November 2000 and increased to 1:1 by program end.

Was the duration of the transition program appropriate? Were transition activities being handed off effectively to other mission or donor development programs?

The duration of OTI programs worldwide varies, with a median period of approximately three years. The program in Nigeria was expected to end in September 2001, a duration of nearly two and one-half years. Both USAID leadership and OTI anticipated a timely phaseout of the OTI program. The planned duration appeared appropriate for those activities for which handoff was vigorously pursued; however it appeared inadequate for those programs for which hand-off planning was delayed.

Planning for handoff is important to ensure that activities requiring further development to achieve meaningful results are effectively handed off to other USAID offices or other partners. Some OTI activities are designed initially mindful of handoff to a particular entity or office. In Nigeria, the civilian-military relations activity fit this model, whereby OTI funded action plan development and DOD picked up implementation. The electric power management plan was likewise being handed off to the mission for broadening and implementing. The USAID/Nigeria legislative support programs built upon OTI's initial training workshops for newly elected and local officials conducted shortly after the elections.

However, the evaluators found the planning for handoff to be incomplete and slowed, and complicated by the lack of effective communication and coordination between OTI/Nigeria and other mission entities. Nonetheless, OTI/Nigeria was beginning, with USAID and other entities, to identify OTI/Nigeria activities for handoff. In August 2000, OTI/Nigeria held an internal retreat (restricted to OTI staff) to plan for handoff and program phaseout; OTI subsequently continued the dialogue with mission staff. The mission was clearly aware of OTI/Nigeria's planned September 2001 departure and had initiated discussions with OTI/Washington on retaining OTI programs that supported the longer term country strategy. While recognizing the benefits of OTI programs, non-OTI staff indicated the need for more dialogue with OTI staff to determine which activities to continue. Should the mission decide to continue the grassroots efforts, it could build on OTI's important initiatives and utilize some of the OTI staff in Kano, Lagos, and Port Harcourt. The mission could continue implementation, notably the conflict-management activities, through the SWIFT contract after the OTI phaseout.

The timing of the handoff is key. OTI planned to cease funding new grants by the end of June 2001 and to terminate all programs by September 30, 2001. This would be an

appropriate time for the mission to assume responsibility for those OTI programs to be continued.

In summary, the planned two and one-half years for the OTI/Nigeria program, with phaseout by September 2001, appeared appropriate, provided that planning for handoff moved forward purposefully. The handoff of the initial training for officials, civilian-military relations, and electric power activities occurred on schedule. But ineffective communication and coordination between OTI/Nigeria and other mission programs slowed and complicated the planning for the handoff of other activities. By early November 2000, both OTI/Nigeria and other mission staff were beginning to address hand-off issues. One option for the mission was to use the SWIFT contract to continue selected OTI activities and its regional offices.

Were transition activities achieving their objectives effectively?

Within the constraints of available data and time, the evaluators examined selected OTI activities in civilian-military relations, conflict management, and civil society/media support. It should be noted that the evaluators' assessment of impact is tentative; the final verdict will depend on how well USAID/Nigeria builds upon OTI's initiatives and achieves sustainable results.

Civilian-Military Relations

OTI financed the development of an action plan for a civilian-military relations program, which DOD and the Nigerian government are jointly implementing. The plan proposed involving the military establishment and civilian branches of government—notably the National Assembly—and promoting broad understanding within Nigeria of the role of the military in a democracy. OTI also supported the preparation of public service announcements informing the public of the role of the military in a democracy. The civilian-military program was clearly central to U.S. foreign policy interests in Nigeria. The CDIE evaluator examined more specifically the follow-on effort.¹⁹

A professor with the Department of Public Law at the University of Lagos and a member of an OTI-funded grantee provided insight into the challenge:

Nigerians describe the current civilian-military relationship as a coexistence between two political classes. Former military persons are everywhere—in the assemblies (national, state, and local) and throughout the executive branches at every level. Until recently, these ex-military persons were accustomed to absolute power and independence. They viewed civilians as a subjugated class they were forced to tolerate during the brief periods

¹⁹ While DOD, not OTI, is implementing the follow-on activity, the effort builds on the OTI effort and provides insight into challenges faced in this area. These challenges have become increasingly relevant to USAID work in postconflict societies. Thus, CDIE took advantage of one of the evaluator's military and humanitarian experience to examine this follow-on effort.

of civilian rule when, in their view, the civilian leaders created serious governance problems.

Nigeria's series of military coups involve far more than personal greed and self-interest. They are rooted in the imperative to protect one's group. To minimize the threat of coups, one must go far beyond reorienting the Nigerian military. Social "reengineering" is required. OTI's focus on conflict-management workshops is one way to achieve this reengineering. These workshops also deal with the pervasive legacy of corruption.²⁰

The professor noted that the leadership must try to "demystify" the military, noting that civilian legislators, civil servants, and executives are still too much in awe of the military to control it.

The shoals of democracy in Nigeria must be negotiated carefully. The checks and balances characteristic of the practice of democracy, for example, are typically at the root of conflict. In Nigeria, political conflict leads to deadlock. Recent examples are rampant in state governments. State legislatures have become impeachment-obsessed, and some have already gone through four assembly speakers, leading to failed government. In the best case, government's failure to meet citizens' needs results in public loss of interest; in the worst case, it leads to another military coup d'état.

How can an outsider such as the United States be helpful? The professor indicated that, while recognizing how difficult it is to transplant an idea, the United States, rather than the United Kingdom, was invited to assist in civilian-military relations, in part because British military organization and training were too deeply ingrained in the Nigerian armed forces. Not that the British system is bad, according to the professor, but that it would evoke traditional associations. He referred to a general perception that the British fostered regional division as a divide-and-conquer mechanism during the colonial period. Nigeria needed new institutions today—one cannot put new wine in old wineskins.

The professor stated that the United States should help guide the Nigerian Armed Forces (NAF) to serve as a frontline state. But however appropriate peacekeeping missions may be for the NAF today, dealing with NAF human rights abuses and unprofessional behavior in Liberia and Sierra Leone is an issue. This is part of the Gordian knot the United States is helping Nigeria untie through the civilian-military relations program.²¹

The fastest and perhaps only U.S. mechanism to jumpstart efforts in this area was OTI, which received consistently high marks from all the key players in getting the U.S. contribution moving rapidly on the right track. This was also a good example of OTI

²⁰ Paraphrased. The professor is a member of the Institute of Peace, Development and Good Governance and works for the Department of Public Law at the University of Lagos.

²¹ Note the self-expressed purpose of MPRI (the contractor employed by DOD to help bring democratic reform to Nigeria's civil-military relationship): "The MPRI approach is not to damage the current Nigerian military, but to allow access of that military to modernization for less money. MPRI proposes to do this by putting systems in place." This, of course, may be just an initial position of MPRI. Further engagement with Nigerian military leaders may result in a retooling of MPRI's approach to help achieve a more holistic reengineering of the military in Nigerian society.

effectiveness in an area that could have national impact, as opposed to its usual focus on local activities. The April 2000 impact assessment of the program²² noted that: “This program has played a part in stimulating a process conducive to the transfer of governance from military to civilian rule. It was clearly the right solution, at the right time, to the problems posed by a series of autocratic military regimes and a civilian-military cadre inexperienced in dealing with a subordinate military.”²³

Wide-ranging interviews in Nigeria indicated widespread praise for OTI’s performance in launching the civilian-military relations activity. However, it is not clear that OTI’s good beginning will have a long-term impact, an evaluation made even more difficult because DOD is responsible for shaping the follow-on program. More clarity is needed on the following issues:

- *Engaging the Nigerian president.* Will the United States be effective in maintaining the president’s engagement (directly, through the national security advisor, and through the minister of defense) in helping overcome obstacles by weighing in where needed?
- *Financing the \$7 million project cost.* The project agreement calls for a 50/50 U.S.-Nigerian funding split. How sound is the United States’ judgment to stake the viability of this key phase on the Nigerian Government’s producing its share? Delivering on Nigeria’s share is further complicated by the NAF’s—especially the Army’s—perception of where the money is going. The NAF adamantly wants “hardware” and not the technical/advisory “software” at the heart of the MPRI action plan. With a view that much of the total \$7 million cost goes to “retired senior U.S. military persons, traveling business class, and enjoying plush living and working quarters in Nigeria,” the NAF may not readily provide its \$3.5 million share. However, the U.S. embassy is confident that the Nigerian government will do so.
- *Monitoring MPRI competencies.* MPRI, the contractor that developed the action plan, is in initial stages of implementing it. MPRI’s track record was established in post-Cold War environments quite different from that found in Nigeria. How effective will MPRI be in staffing, tailoring, and adapting to Nigeria’s requirements? How engaged and adept will MPRI’s top management be in spotting obstacles and engaging the proper political-diplomatic resources to overcome them?
- *Striking the civilian-military balance.* The civilian side seems far more receptive than the military to the spirit and vision of the action plan. National Assembly members in particular appear ready to learn and practice civilian control of the military, and to master the checks and balances of a parliamentary democracy. Can the innovative processes OTI has used for conflict management and resolution among civilian conflict groups be adapted to and used effectively in creating a constructive dialogue between key civilian players and military leaders? And will OTI’s superb work in these workshops

²² John Mason, Impact Assessment of the OTI/Nigeria Program, “Training for Good Governance and Civil-Military Relations,” under contract with PriceWaterhouse Coopers, April 3, 2000.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

contribute soon enough to help start the process of reengineering Nigerian society needed to underpin comprehensive reform in Nigeria?

- *Making reform irreversible.* A central objective of Nigerian leadership and assistance donors is to make civilian control of the military (and representative democracy) irreversible. If the current democratic efforts fall seriously short in meeting the popular needs for safety, security, prosperity, and empowerment, this objective could be frustrated. Interviews with many OTI grantees working on conflict management and resolution suggest a pattern of progress in building confidence in civilian capacities, civilian institutions, and negotiated conflict resolution, trending away from traditional arbitrary settlements imposed by either military or civilian authorities. The instruments most useful to date have been the participatory, interactive workshops used to meet conflict resolution and DG objectives. Will it be possible for other USAID offices to build upon what OTI has begun and provide the essential, labor-intensive followup to achieve sustainable impact? Will USAID continue to perpetuate the same creativity, rapid reaction, and hands-on management that was crucial to OTI's success?
- *Dealing with the "hardware" versus "software" standoff.* Military leaders, especially the army chief, seem willing to cooperate only if there will be a substantial hardware procurement component in the MPRI contract. The MPRI approach is to develop first a national strategy and then a defense strategy—the "software"—, followed by a realistic calculation of the resources—the "hardware"—needed to implement that strategy. Meanwhile Nigeria's military leaders assert they need only equipment—not professionalization. Will the professionalization phases envisaged in the action plan be appropriate in bringing military leaders to conclude that the Nigerian military require a major cultural revolution?
- *Ensuring coherence in the U.S. approach.* Currently, dissonance exists between the U.S. emphasis on comprehensive reform of the civilian-military relationship and the NAF's focus on obtaining financial and hardware help. Coherence and consistency among U.S. and individual programs are needed. For example, the U.S. Operation Focus Relief assistance to Nigeria for peacekeeping in Sierra Leone needs to be examined for its coherence. If the hardware and special forces training aspects of this operation are a better fit for what the Nigerian Army, in particular, thinks it needs, could not this narrow, special forces approach confuse or complicate NAF buy-in to the essential software focus of the MPRI action plan?

In summary, the legacy of military rule is one of the most dangerous risks facing Nigeria. OTI's contribution to overall U.S. objectives in initiating the civilian-military relations effort has been significant and catalytic. Without OTI, the effort would not have commenced as early as it did, if at all. It is too early to assess the full impact of the follow-on MPRI program but the evaluators point out numerous areas needing further attention, including engaging the Nigerian president, ensuring Nigerian payment of its 50 percent share, monitoring contractor competencies for the task, striking a balance between civilian and military needs, making reform irreversible, addressing the "hardware" versus "software" standoff, and achieving U.S. program coherence.

Recommendations—Civilian-Military Relations

Recognizing that implementation is still at an early stage, the evaluators identified the following recommendations:

1. Reassess the action plan and the contractor.

Reassessment of the assumptions of the action plan and contractor competency in implementing the plan may provide useful information for future decisions. Various Nigerian players indicated that the Nigerian military has neither accepted the recommendations of the action plan nor the rationale for the basic reforms advocated. Thus, the fundamental assumption of the plan—that the military is ready for major reforms at this early stage of Nigeria’s fledgling democracy—needs to be reassessed. DOD may also want to examine the competency of the implementing contractor—with its primary, if not exclusive, capacity in the military area—for the tasks of achieving balanced reform within, and among, key Nigerian civilian and military players. An organization with greater competence in building comprehensive civilian-military relations may be needed.

2. Build coherence.

Achieving coherence among U.S. programs could facilitate increased understanding and acceptance. Subsequent to the evaluators’ visit to Nigeria, the Nigerian army chief objected to the above-cited U.S. Special Forces training. The reasons are unclear, but if tied to the Army’s already expressed desire for equipment, instead of military advice, for their peacekeeping efforts in West Africa, the negative reaction to the Special Forces training could affect the implementation of the OTI-sponsored action plan as well. Careful harmonization of U.S. interventions within and among civilian and military agencies would help reduce confusion and mounting rejection.

3. Adapt the interactive, participatory workshop approach.

Adapting the conflict-management approach to the civilian-military relations area appears appropriate. OTI has convincingly validated its conflict-management approach with tough conflict-prone civilian audiences in Nigeria. OTI (or its successor USAID office) may want to tailor the interactive, participatory conflict resolution workshop approach for use with the Nigerian military. Workshops, with sustained followup, could be tried with the Nigerian military and with a combined civilian-military group.

Conflict Management

Conflict emanating from ethnic differences or religious affiliation—often widespread clashes—appears to be ubiquitous in Nigerian society. Religious rioting in the north was cited as an example of the proliferation of violent outbreaks that have sometimes killed hundreds.²⁴ Local ethnic conflicts are nearly pandemic in the Delta region in the southeast

²⁴ Wiebe Boer, “Religious Riots in the North,” *The News Magazine*, November 20, 2000, p. 20. See Annex C for a list of riots in this region.

(served by OTI's Port Harcourt office). The Delta region is at odds with the federal government over what it perceives as the government's rapacious policies and actions to exploit the oil resources but not to the benefit of the region. To address conflict, OTI provided grants to local organizations to hold workshops for groups with high potential for conflict and to train trainers in conflict mitigation. Training seminars were held in six geo-political zones in Nigeria. The 200 Nigerian trainers are now part of a national network of conflict facilitators.

The impact of OTI's conflict-management activities was widespread and significant. Perhaps the most important contribution was helping local organizations build capacity to address conflict situations in their respective regions. OTI's interactive, participatory workshop approach to conflict management involved mainly one-time efforts and covered only limited areas of Nigeria's conflict environment. Systematic followup and replication are needed for achieving greater impact and developing sustained capacity in conflict management. Such followup is labor-intensive and will likely require an OTI-like implementing tool, such as SWIFT. Because of its positive impact and the importance of developing skills in mitigating conflict, USAID may decide to continue this activity after OTI departs.²⁵

The evaluators found that OTI's conflict-management activities had an impact on attitudes and institutions (including police, legislators, and political parties) and contributed to the resolution of conflicts, directly and through OTI-sponsored training and workshops.

Attitudinal change. OTI changed attitudes at the individual level, as shown in the examples that follow.

- Recognizing that women and youth were as negatively affected by conflict as men, OTI targeted locations where women and youth were well represented—for example, four trailer parks and four markets in Abeokuta. OTI supported a drama group in Ibadan to produce a play to show conflict resolution lessons that reflected prevailing attitudes. A prepresentation survey identified major sources of and personal attitudes toward conflict among the city's five different subgroups and chieftains. The predominant attitude toward conflict was a "readiness to fight." About 15,000 people saw the play. From the grantee's postpresentation survey, approximately 80 percent of those previously prepared to fight indicated they no longer wanted to resort to violence. In the violence-prone trailer parks, people requested that the organization provide more training in conflict resolution. Every trailer park and market governing board requested videotapes of the dramatic performance to remind them of what they had learned about conflict.
- Some members of the O'odua People's Congress (OPC)²⁶ reported a dramatic change in attitude. Several OPC members were participants in the OTI-funded conflict resolution training in Oke Ogun and, as a result, reported attitudinal and behavioral changes in addressing conflict in their communities.

²⁵ The impact discussed in this section is drawn from 1) CDIE evaluators' meetings with organizations in four locations in Nigeria and 2) from OTI intern Wiebe Boer, who reviewed all OTI conflict-management activities. See Annex D for Boer's list of OTI conflict-management activities.

²⁶ The OPC is a radical party, officially banned, and believed to have been behind the October 2000 riots in Lagos in which at least 100 Nigerians were killed.

- OTI funded a conflict resolution training program for local government chairmen and community leaders from across Lagos State. Participants were enthusiastic about this training and “wondered why no one had talked to them about such things before.” As a result, the special assistant to the governor planned to extend conflict resolution training to other levels of local government administration. The Center for Peace and Development Initiatives will conduct the training, which is funded by state and local governments.

Critics of OTI’s interactive, participatory workshop approach dismissed these gatherings—where Nigerians “love to talk”—as examples of a dubious *process* with little if any demonstrated *product*. CDIE evaluators believe these critics dismiss this approach too quickly. What they seemed to miss was that, at this time in Nigeria, the catalytic role of bringing insulated people together showed remarkable promise. USAID, with appropriate followup, could make an important contribution to Nigeria’s future by preparing people in dispute resolution, which could lead to the formation of peace committees and finding solutions to ugly, long-standing conflicts.

Institutional change. OTI conflict-management activities had an important impact on various institutions, and on individuals within these institutions, as shown in the following examples:

- *Police.* The police area commander in Oke Ogun was suspicious about the NGO conflict-management project funded by OTI. When he heard the program was about building rather than disrupting peace, he attended the conflict-management workshop himself and volunteered to be on the peace committee. Soon after, this police area commander was transferred to National Police headquarters to become the national public relations officer. He told the inspector general of the police that the Oke Ogun conflict resolution training could be useful for police officers nationwide. With OTI’s support, the Southwest Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network has been finalizing arrangements to conduct this training in eight phases around the country. The Nigerian police will fully fund this training, and conflict resolution trainers (trained with OTI support) will conduct much of the training. The NGO conflict-management project will also serve as consultants to the Police Staff College to design a conflict resolution curriculum.
- *Radical political party.* The Center for Peace and Development Initiatives, with OTI support, conducted a conflict resolution workshop in Mushin, the headquarters of the radical OPC. The founder and head of OPC, who attended the workshop, spoke of the need for better ways to resolve conflict. Following the recent OPC-led violence in Lagos, he turned himself into the police and was arrested. Although there was no proof of his involvement, he voluntarily surrendered as a result of the conflict resolution workshop.²⁷ He is now promoting peace and has stated his intent to redirect the OPC toward peaceful resolution of conflict. The founder’s attendance at the workshop influenced

²⁷ As reported in interviews, although difficult to verify.

positively local “area boys,” who in turn attended the training and who now are modifying their belligerent behavior and stopping harassment of the general populace.

- *Legislator training at state and national levels.* The OTI-sponsored training for newly elected legislators of the National Assembly was widely applauded by legislators and helped jump start their becoming constructively involved in Nigeria’s attempt at a representative democracy. However, while the evaluators were in Lagos, the National Assembly was voting on articles of impeachment for its speaker.²⁸ Continuing conflict between legislative and executive branches, and between legislators and their own leadership, has led to impeachments in both the national and state assemblies. Follow-up efforts in conflict resolution and additional training on legislative functions are necessary to mitigate this disturbing record.

At the state level, OTI, through the NGO Initiatives for Peace, Development and Good Governance, sponsored similar training for state legislators. The Lagos state government typified the challenges new legislators faced—they did not understand their constitutional roles or how to manage the inevitable, nearly constant conflict in the state assembly, even among members of the same political party. As a result, they often moved from crisis to crisis and the impeachment of one speaker after another. The workshop, held a year after legislators took office, had some impact by enabling legislators to relate personally and get to know one another, a relationship that a whole year of bickering and stalemate had previously made impossible. A Lagos house member cited how the training assisted him in dealing with the executive and in engaging his constituents before submitting bills that involved controversial issues or were irrelevant to constituents’ needs. Following the training, the NGO was invited to set up a conflict-management body to be affiliated with, and funded by, the Lagos State House of Assembly.

USAID/Nigeria has a \$2.5 million, two-year program to train state legislators in tandem with their executive branch counterparts in eight states and in each of Nigeria’s six geopolitical zones, including Lagos. Programs include three- or four-day workshops, U.S. educational visits, installation of computer equipment to support research, and a legislative intern program. USAID also has a \$2 million program to strengthen the National Assembly deputies’ skills. USAID non-OTI staff noted that OTI’s executive-legislative relations programs were not optimized by being developed in full collaboration with the mission’s programs, although the initial training of newly elected officials did set the stage for the longer term programs for Nigeria’s legislatures.

Impact on conflicts. In Lagos and Ibadan, the evaluators interviewed numerous groups over a two-day period, identifying examples of the impact of OTI’s activities on specific conflicts.

- An ongoing conflict in the Kuto trailer park was resolved as a result of the OTI-sponsored drama presentation.

²⁸ A U.S. Embassy officer noted “If this impeachment measure fails, it will be a tribute to the very positive impact of the legislative training sponsored by USAID/OTI.”

- A conflict at the Nigerian Institute of Journalism in Lagos was resolved through the efforts of three people who had attended a workshop on conflict resolution for student union leaders.
- A week after training, a participant in a conflict mediation program for local government and opinion leaders in Abeokuta found himself in an actual conflict involving an Igbo tanker driver and motorcycle drivers. As a result of his newly acquired mediation skills, he was able to settle the dispute peacefully.
- A conflict at Lagos Island Community Partners for Health was reported to have been resolved through the efforts of staff members, who had participated in conflict resolution training.
- The most dramatic and widely publicized OTI effort was its sponsorship of conflict-resolution interventions in the long-standing Ife-Modakeke fighting (with roots in the nineteenth century) that spun out of control in March 2000. OTI-trained and -sponsored mediators were able to stabilize the situation after presidential, state, and local government interventions had failed. This was a widely known conflict in Nigeria, and OTI's constructive role received extensive attention. This alone made OTI's presence a sound investment.
- Another testimony to conflict prevention through rumor control arose when northern elites of the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) empowered a committee to investigate charges of harassment of the Hausa/Fulani in Oke Ogun. The governor of Oyo State simply handed this northern delegation a copy of the Conflict-Management Committee's report on resolution of the conflict and the creation of an Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee. He noted that the subject of their visit had been resolved months before through OTI intervention. The ACF delegation, facing the fact they had no basis to challenge the solution, reportedly departed in embarrassment.²⁹

²⁹ USAID/Nigeria's FY 2003 R4 recognizes OTI's contribution in its success stories section on Strengthening Community and Police Conflict Resolution in a Democratic Nigeria:

Through the USAID Office of Transition Initiatives, rapid, catalytic and pivotal interventions have focused on developing conflict-management mechanisms. During a pilot USAID OTI conflict prevention and mitigation program for Hausa and Yoruba Oke-Ogun communities in Oyo State, the Nigeria Police Area Commander, Haz Iwendi, not only decided to participate (of his own volition) but to also serve on the Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee (an end product of the activity). This committee, which had to be expanded from 16 to 20, to accommodate the interest shown by the police, the state security service and traditional rulers, has met every month since the activity. As a testimony of its efficacy, no interethnic conflict has erupted since its inauguration even during the particularly violent Hausa-Yoruba conflicts in late 2000.

Apart from the immediate local success of the USAID OTI effort, there is great expectation for its impact to be amplified and institutionalized. Soon after the activity, Mr. Iwendi became the National Police Force Public Relations Officer and convinced the Inspector General of Police of the need to replicate the training for police officers nationwide. The USAID/OTI-initiated Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network (CRESNET) is scheduled

- The bloody conflict in Lagos of October 2000 did not spread to similarly conflict-prone communities in the Oyo state because of the influence of the conflict resolution workshops and the creation of peace advocacy committees sponsored by OTI. The efforts developed confidence that fighting would not recur.
- Perhaps the most dramatic testimony to the conflict avoidance aspects of OTI's work comes from a former Modakeke warlord:³⁰ "I don't have words to describe what OTI has done. It is such a marvelous achievement. Where it worked mostly was that on both sides everyone was really tired of war. It was bringing us together that made us both realize that OTI has made it possible for us to crosscheck rumors from either end. It was the mobile policemen who used to cause a lot of the friction, spreading rumors from both sides, and now we can verify these stories before taking action. It is the USAID effort that contributed 99 percent to peace in these towns. Because of our egos, the thing would have continued indefinitely, but for USAID."
- The classic example, dramatic enough to receive considerable media attention, was the reconciliation of a Lagos state local government chairman with his deputy after a long-standing and public conflict. The chairman attended a conflict-resolution workshop administered by the Center for Peace and Development Initiatives. The process revealed to him his own shortcomings that contributed to this dispute. He decided to end the feud in the interests of better government for the people. Subsequently, the chairman contacted his deputy and persuaded him to attend a portion of the workshop. The deputy immediately saw the value of this process. When his chairman had another conflict—this time with the councilors—the deputy himself intervened to resolve it.

The evaluators also found various other impacts from training and workshops. The training programs and workshops have had multiple impacts, as noted in this section.

- The NGO Center for Peace Development conducted OTI-funded conflict resolution training in Mushin, a Lagos community. A NGO staff member credited the training efforts for preventing the mid-October 2000 crisis in Lagos from spreading to Mushin.
- An OTI implementing partner, Agenda for Community Development in Lagos state, conducted training in March 2000 for major stakeholders with an influence on youth in particular and the community in general. A participant in this training described the preexisting upsurge in youth violence in the Lagos state community of Ifako Ijaiye, reporting that the training reduced violence and conflict. Local troublemakers who had participated in the training became change agents and became involved in income-generating activities. A neighborhood watch coordinator in the same community noted, "The training has benefited us in so many ways, and peace is now reigning here among

to conduct the training in 8 phases nationwide. The USAID OTI-supported NGO that handled the training in Oke-Ogun has been contracted to design a conflict resolution curriculum for the Nigerian Police Staff College.

³⁰ From an interview conducted by Wiebe Boer, October 26, 2000.

our youths. If this type of training can continue, violence will come down permanently, but for now it has been reduced.”

- An interethnic peace committee was formed in Oke Ogun, Oyo state following an OTI-funded program in conflict management involving communities of Hausa/Fulani and Yoruba. The committee met monthly and local governments were planning to continue funding it. Since inauguration of the committee, no interethnic conflicts have arisen in this formerly volatile community. Even with the mid-October 2000 Hausa-Yoruba conflicts in Lagos, communities in Oke Ogun remained peaceful. As a result of the success of the committee in Oke Ogun, OTI’s implementing partner (conflict-management project) proposed expanding conflict resolution training to all local governments in Lagos state and the creation of interethnic and interreligious peace committees.
- Trainers trained in Abeokuta, Ogun state, realized they had to do more than just train people. They established an interethnic peace committee that has become a focal point for addressing conflicts that may arise. For example, a clash between Hausa settlers and their Yoruba neighbors in Abeokuta’s most densely populated Hausa district was contained through the work of this committee.
- In another Abeokuta community where training was conducted, a peace advocacy committee was established. The implementing NGO provided space and advice for the continuing work of this committee.
- Several mediation committees were established in the wake of the Ife-Modakeke crisis of March 2000. An OTI analyst arrived in the middle of one of the committee meetings in Ile-Ife, Osun state, a third meeting resulting from OTI-funded efforts. The talk was about how peace was reigning, especially in the towns, and the need to bring reconciliation to the smaller villages where conflicts still arose between Yoruba farmers and Hausa cattle herders. A chief (and committee member) noted, “We thank God that peace is gradually coming into our territory. We continue to thank USAID/OTI for what they have done. We are now sitting face-to-face with ourselves, whereas some months ago we were shooting each other face-to-face.” Another example of the value of these follow-up institutions came from the committee meeting, which faced and all but resolved in 20 minutes of discussion, an issue of making land available for a market. Committees from the presidency, the state government, and the police had previously failed to resolve the issue.
- Participants characterized the peace-mediating committees established in the wake of OTI-sponsored training to follow up the Ife-Modakeke warfare in March as “more practical,” whereas previous initiatives were “too theoretical.” The latter refers in particular to federal and state government efforts to impose arbitration settlements for the nearly 200 year-old Ife-Modakeke conflict, as opposed to mediation offered by the peace mediation committees.

In Port Harcourt, one of the evaluators spent a day in a group meeting with nine local organizations that OTI assisted in strengthening capacity to participate in democratic

practices. In view of the conflict in the Delta region with the central government over the use of the Delta's rich oil resources and the extremely complicated interethnic rivalry in Nigeria's southeast quadrant, any opening to democracy must include the topic of conflict mitigation. Local organizational activities supported by OTI/Port Harcourt included the following:

- Gack-Din, an organization aiming to help young Nigerians and newly elected parliamentarians understand how a democracy functions, requested a grant to train new parliamentarians in transparency. Characterizing traditional public service roles as seen by the public as “cash-and-carry politics,” Gack-Din engaged 60 participants in three workshops to learn the roles of elected public officials, principles of parliamentary democracy, and use of newly acquired skills to stem their constituents' tendency to resort to conflict to settle disputes. A Gack-Din official reported, “OTI has added value to democratic values in Nigeria.” However, he also indicated that OTI's two-year program is too short to “produce the desired effect.” Virtually all organizations represented in the day-long meeting in Port Harcourt echoed the need for USAID follow-on work.
- The Centre for Advanced Social Sciences provided training in conflict mediation in the southeast beginning in 1991. OTI provided one grant to conduct a conflict practitioners workshop, but the representative found the approach too short term and not linked to a longer term strategy to help the Delta cope with conflict. He opined that if the U.S. Government was really interested in helping Nigeria, it should initiate a more ambitious program beyond OTI's “scattershot” approach.
- A representative from the Institute of Academic Freedom in Nigeria, which received an anticorruption grant, said that OTI needed to go beyond workshops and help Nigerian organizations develop conflict mitigation and anticorruption campaigns.
- The Centre for Participatory Development taught young rural citizens, who had known only repressive military rule, about their rights and responsibilities in the new democracy. The center focused on helping youth acquire economic skills in such areas as food processing, fishing, and agriculture. The issue arose here, and in a few other grants in the Delta, about the relevance of these economic programs to OTI's DG and conflict-management focus. It also fueled the critique that OTI was spread too thin and was nonstrategic. In response to questions regarding the importance of these activities and how they related to democracy and conflict prevention, the grantees noted that democracy required citizens to organize to make their economic and other needs known (i.e., learning advocacy) and enhancing their skills helped them become more productive citizens. Was this too much of a stretch? The evaluator's view is that while such grants may not directly contribute to conflict mitigation, they do help civil society groups help citizens better understand what a democratic system can do to respond to their needs.

The fact that OTI and its conflict resolution activity in particular were highly visible, increasingly respectable, and so well known throughout Nigeria represented a major positive impact, but with an interesting downside. The failure of the federal government's efforts in key crises placed the government's approach in an unfavorable light compared to OTI-sponsored successful efforts (notably the Ife-Modakeke conflict). If the federal government

recognized the limitations of its arbitration approach, it might be willing to support OTI-sponsored NGOs in playing a larger role in conflict resolution nationwide.

The visibility of the OTI program heightened as a result of the Ife-Modakeke crisis and the widely publicized reconciliation between two local government officials in Lagos state. A Hausa member of Abeokuta's OTI-funded Peace Advocacy Committee described the visibility of conflict resolution this way: "We are the peacemakers. Everyone in Ogun state, even the governor, knows that we are trying."

The road to the growing respectability of the OTI approach was described by OTI analyst Wiebe Boer: "For the past six years, Dr. Isaac Olawale Albert, an OTI-trained conflict resolution expert, has been trying to establish a master's program in conflict resolution and peace studies at the prestigious University of Ibadan. With the hype surrounding the successes of OTI-funded initiatives in Ife and Oke Ogun, both of which he played important parts in, conflict resolution has finally become a specialty occupation that is gaining growing respect, especially in the southwest. Because of this influence, the University Senate finally approved the establishment of the degree program. Although not a direct result of OTI initiatives, it is certainly indirectly related to the legitimacy OTI sponsorship has put on the study and work of conflict resolution."

OTI initiated the creation of a national network of conflict managers by providing training of trainers. The evaluators learned that this effort was later expanded.

In summary, conflict management is an important and appropriate program in Nigeria. Its importance was reinforced by the painful reminder that significant conflict, left unresolved, could jeopardize the success of Nigeria's extremely fragile democracy.

OTI made a good start in initiating activities at the grassroots level. The office supported local organizations in working with conflict-prone groups on identifying the reasons for and alternatives to resolving conflict without violence. Conflicts addressed involved different ethnic or religious groups, neighborhoods and regions, and groups with different access to resources. OTI's efforts successfully changed attitudes toward conflict, helped resolve conflict, prevented or reduced violent conflict, and generated interest in addressing conflict more systematically nationwide. The growing interest in effective conflict management is a particularly positive outcome of the OTI initiative. Participants in the conflict-management and resolution process uniformly underlined the need to maintain the momentum of the activity.

However, grantees and USAID staff pointed to some shortcomings of the OTI effort. First, the effort was too often "one-shot" where one group would get a beneficial short-term grant for a workshop or other kind of support without a clear monitoring plan or any kind of follow-on activity.³¹ Second, OTI has not supported much replication for "spread effect."

³¹ Some OTI staff disagree with this conclusion. They maintain that their approach is to experiment with a variety of approaches and organizations, ultimately selecting those that are most promising. The issue here is not whether experimentation is valuable; it is. But, without followup and closer integration with long-term USAID efforts, these short-term investments will not likely have lasting impact or realize the full potential of the investment.

Many believe the impact would be greater if activities continued for longer periods or there was more collaboration with other USAID offices. Both OTI and the longer term mission program staff recognized the need for collaboration and initiated discussions to ensure that the most promising and capable OTI beneficiaries succeeded over the longer term. Subsequent to the field study, OTI and other mission offices developed a plan to continue conflict-management activities.

Lessons Learned—Conflict Management

1. Addressing conflict in postconflict transition countries is important.

Nigerian society is permeated by conflict issues, which, if left unchecked, remain the greatest threat to building an effective democracy, a U.S. foreign policy objective. The checks and balances characteristic of democracy engender conflict that also needs to be managed effectively. The OTI conflict-management initiative showed promising initial results in addressing conflict issues.

2. Effective coordination of OTI conflict-management and other mission programs is important for program integration and handoff.

Less than optimal coordination and communication during the implementation of the conflict-management activity hindered the development of program synergy. Subsequent to the evaluation, both offices took major steps to improve communications and better integrate the programs in preparation for OTI's departure. Improved program coordination and integration facilitated the handoff of the conflict-management activities.

3. The interactive, participatory workshop training is an effective approach to addressing conflict.

The conflict-management training in Nigeria showed a wide range of promising impacts, validating the use of this technique. OTI achieved highly visible success with relatively modest financial investments. The approach may also be useful in other areas in Nigeria—developing a national or defense strategy, engaging military and legislative leaders on civilian-military relations issues, developing military ownership of the action plan to professionalize the military with respect to human rights and ethics, and addressing animosity and building teamwork for good governance at the state and local levels.

Recommendations—Conflict Management

1. Follow up conflict-management activities to achieve sustainable results.

Workshop effectiveness is optimized through follow-up workshops to deepen learning and solidify learning gains. Activities flowing from workshops, such as peace mediation committees, need nurturing, perhaps supplementary funding, and course corrections before they can be reliably placed on autopilot. A follow-on, repetitive approach with the same groups and expanded programs for others are needed to sustain OTI's contribution.

2. Disseminate lessons learned on what works and what does not work.

Disseminating lessons on managing and resolving conflict can extend the impact of these activities. Lessons could be shared with state and local governments as well as other donors, UN agencies, and NGOs. Providing other relevant audiences the opportunity to learn from success and failure could accelerate the learning process throughout Nigeria. However, dissemination should not unduly expose organizations or individuals vulnerable to threats.

Civil Society/Media Support

OTI exercised considerable flexibility in identifying candidates for civil society support. For example, it supported a few small-scale economic projects aimed at enhancing skills in the Delta. OTI also supported a workshop that led to the formation of a national NGO network dealing with general constituency issues, such as local democratic action, conflict management, and human rights. The NGOs organized into functional groups, each with its own chair. OTI is working with these groups and USAID/Nigeria's DG office to encourage longer term arrangements.³²

OTI also worked with civil society groups to use media to air public issues. The office developed capacity in print media organizations, trained journalists in quality reporting, and supported Internet sites for journalists. OTI also supported Voice of America programs on conflict topics in Nigeria.

While having limited opportunity to evaluate media efforts, the evaluators interviewed two of OTI's NGO implementing partners, the Internet Press Centers and the Women's Optimum Development Foundation. Impact assessment and recommendations are drawn from these interviews.

*Internet Press Centers.*³³ OTI's objective was to support conflict reporting by establishing a facility that dealt with rumors, crosschecked accuracy, and conducted rapid retrieval research. The development plan called for seven Internet centers—two in Lagos, two in Abuja, and one each in Kano, Enugu, and Port Harcourt. Training through seminars, workshops, and lectures was designed to facilitate Nigerian journalism. The activity developed out of an OTI-sponsored, Institute of World Affairs-facilitated workshop on conflict reporting in April 2000.

Collaborating entities included the European Union, which provided funds through the International Federation of Journalists, and the Media for Democracy Support, which conducted workshops on conflict reporting. The evaluators identified the need for follow-up activities, including validation workshops and derivative products to assist journalists in conflict reporting. The skill-strengthening process will take time because many Nigerian journalists lack needed democratic experience. The Centers' operations included disseminating information from around Nigeria and from Nigerian journalists abroad,

³² From OTI. One DG officer interviewed was unaware of a national NGO network, although the evaluators learned that OTI helped local conflict-management groups organize such a group. This again illustrates inadequate communication between OTI and other USAID offices.

³³ Based on discussions with Mr. Tunde Arenue, Internet Services.

assisting a new newspaper with desktop publishing, and sponsoring a media roundtable that included expatriate assistance in rumor control for specific crises, such as the recent riots in the north and Lagos.

Challenges ahead include developing outreach programs for the military and programs on journalistic ethics (companies supporting advertising can influence reporting) and setting up a Centers' web site with sufficient bandwidth to speed up Internet access.

The evaluators concluded it was too early to identify the impact on conflict reporting, noting that it was important to assess this effort over time. However, as one U.S. embassy officer noted, measuring results beyond the output level (number of workshops, roundtables, or persons trained) will be difficult.

Women's Optimum Development Foundation. Evolving from the Foundation's conviction that "if we don't do something on corruption, everything else will crumble," OTI supported efforts to produce a pilot television program on corruption. The activity started with a writers' workshop, a first for Nigeria. For seven days, a cross section of Nigerian scriptwriters brainstormed and contributed ideas for a 13-episode television drama covering corruption in Nigeria. The police who were featured lent uniforms, cars, and guns for the production.

The Television Authority ran the 13 episodes during prime time. The series generated ideas for exposing other public issues and attracting additional funding, as follows:

- *Visibility.* The series apparently reached enough of a nationwide audience to attract commercial sponsors after 10 of the 13 episodes (television programs reach more southerners than northerners, the latter tending to listen more to radio). Corporate sponsors offered to support the rerun. While Nigeria lacks Nielsen-type ratings, the series generated public discussion and even caricatures of the good guy "Elijah" and the bad guy "Silas." However, it was too early to determine whether the program modified corrupt behavior.
- *Application to other issues and media.* The series showed that humor can be a powerful vehicle in generating interest in the corruption problem. The grantee is now looking beyond the associated posters, TV spots, anticorruption legislation, and a television role in public education to other initiatives. One possible initiative is a conflict-resolution series, which might be funded by the Shell Corporation, which is prepared to fund conflict resolution workshops but only under the OTI umbrella—the most acceptable vehicle in this field. Another such initiative is coverage of microenterprise themes (for example, Grameen Bank), health issues, and local issues. The grantee was also considering using radio, which is more accessible to the public.
- *Potential funding.* Encouraged by corporate support and demonstrated capacity, the grantee believed it would be in a good position to apply for additional grants from OTI (or USAID) or other donors and foundations.

The evaluators ascertained that a firm was evaluating program impact. An additional 13 episodes were being considered, drawing on lessons to be gained from the assessment. The

plan envisaged developing the existing characters, adding new ones (for example, creating a household of several ethnic groups), and using screen characters in posters and television spots. Public reaction encouraged the foundation to explore how television could be used in public education and resolution of regional conflicts.

In summary, OTI's media initiatives achieved visibility and clearly stimulated public interest. The television series on corruption generated public and corporate interest. The success of the series led to the generation of ideas on using both television and radio to address other public issues. Success may also help generate additional funding.

Recommendations—Civil Society/Media Support

1. Expand support for media and anticorruption activity.

The success of the pilot television series dealing with the serious and widespread issue of corruption merits broader support. The OTI initiative gained visibility, generated interest in using the media for airing other public issues, and attracted corporate and other funding. USAID may want to consider broadening its support for this successful activity.

2. Follow up media initiatives.

Follow-up support is needed to continue important and successful media initiatives. Donor transition investments, and OTI's in particular, are validated and sustained only to the extent that there is timely and appropriate followup. Follow-up funding and technical assistance for the Internet Press Centers is likely to be jeopardized if USAID or other donors do not continue to support these promising activities after OTI departs. USAID/Nigeria's DG office may want to consider a longer term approach to media as an important component of building a sustainable democracy in Nigeria.

Lessons Learned and Recommendation

1. OTI assistance can play an important role in countries in transition. However, follow-on assistance is often necessary to achieve lasting results.

OTI's activities can play an important role in transition countries, complementing USAID's longer term country programs. However, OTI's activities are often short-term or one-time events that need to be replicated or extended to achieve lasting results. OTI's assistance in Nigeria was innovative, timely, and relevant. But OTI's approach features "experiments" that produce a range of results. Donor transition investments, and OTI's in particular, are validated and sustained only to the extent that there is timely and appropriate follow-up. Longer term support for promising activities is important to achieve fuller and sustainable impact.

Continuing the conflict-management effort is central to USAID's and the broader U.S. Government strategy to reduce potential threats to Nigeria's fragile democracy. Workshop effectiveness is optimized through follow-up workshops to deepen learning. Activities flowing from workshops, such as peace mediation committees, need nurturing, and perhaps

supplementary funding and course corrections, before they can be reliably placed on autopilot. Sustaining OTI's contribution requires a follow-on, repetitive approach with the same groups and expanded programs for others.

Follow-up support is also needed to continue OTI's successful media initiatives, such as the pilot anticorruption television series. The Internet Press Centers are likely to be jeopardized if USAID or other donors do not continue funding and technical assistance for these promising activities after OTI departs.

2. The conflict-management initiative showed promising initial results.

OTI's interactive, participatory workshop training for conflict management showed a wide range of impacts in Nigeria, confirming the approach's effectiveness. Moreover, OTI achieved its highly visible success with relatively modest financial outlays. Conflict-management training is particularly important in Nigeria, a country permeated by conflict that, if left unchecked, constitutes the greatest threat to building an effective democracy. Even the democratic process involves obligatory checks and balances that engender conflict, which conflict-management programs can help address effectively. Participatory workshop training, which OTI used to address conflict management, may also be applicable to other areas, such as developing a national or defense strategy, engaging military and legislative leaders on civilian-military relations issues, professionalizing the military on human rights and ethics, addressing animosity, and building teamwork for good governance at state and local levels.

Dissemination of lessons learned on managing and resolving conflict could extend the impact of this initial effort throughout Nigeria. For example, lessons could be shared with Nigerian state and local governments, as well as other donors, UN agencies, and NGOs.

3. Coordination and communication between OTI and other mission entities are essential.

OTI and other mission entities must coordinate and communicate effectively to develop mutual understanding, build ownership of OTI initiatives, and integrate all USAID efforts. The high level of collaboration between OTI and other USAID entities that characterized the decisionmaking and initial program planning stages became less effective as implementation proceeded. Coordination and communication was hindered by the relocation of OTI outside the mission, the disagreement between OTI and the mission executive officer on operations and procurement issues, and the structural and authority relationships dividing OTI and other mission operations.

Coordinating OTI and other mission programs is important for effective program integration and handoff. Less than optimal coordination and communication during the implementation of the conflict-management activity hindered the development of program synergy. Subsequent to the evaluation, both offices took major steps to improve communication and better integrate the programs in preparation for OTI's departure. Improved program coordination and integration facilitated handing off conflict-management activities.

4. Early planning helps makes handoff efficient and effective.

Early planning for handoff, preferably during design but no later than the initial year, is important for ensuring that the mission (or others) can continue successful initiatives to achieve sustainable impact, thus taking full advantage of OTI's short-term program. Planning for handoff was an integral part of some activity designs, including civilian-military relations and energy, where OTI was responsible for the first phase. However, planning for handoff of the conflict-management and media activities was delayed.

5. The SWIFT contract is useful for implementing transition activities.

OTI effectively used the SWIFT indefinite quantity contract in Nigeria to implement its short-term, quick-response activities, including those with emerging organizations that had limited institutional capacity. Inadequately disseminated is the knowledge that missions can also use the SWIFT mechanism to continue OTI transition initiatives. USAID/Nigeria could benefit from picking up selected OTI programs before OTI departs, perhaps consolidating and expanding promising initiatives and using the SWIFT mechanism where appropriate.

Recommendation

Clear Agency guidance is necessary to deal with structural and authority issues.

For maximum effectiveness, the Agency needs to develop clear guidance to address the issues stemming from structural and line-of-authority differences between OTI and other mission elements. The guidance could emphasize how important it is for OTI to become an integral part of mission operations and encourage unified program planning, implementation, and results reporting wherever feasible. If such guidance came from a high level within the Agency, it would more likely encourage compliance by the relevant bureaus (the BHR and the geographical bureaus). In Kosovo, OTI reported to the USAID mission director. More recently, OTI and some missions have developed memoranda of understanding that set out roles and program responsibilities. These are constructive approaches to improving coordination.

Annex A: People and Organizations Met

USAID/Washington

Keri Eisenbeis, OTI/civilian-military relations
Gordon Weynand, G/Environment (ENV)

USAID/Nigeria

Thomas D. Hobgood, Mission Director
Melissa Brown, Head, Democracy/Governance SO team
Sherry Suggs, Program Officer
Denise Rollins, Project Development Officer
Jeremiah Parson, Executive Officer

OTI/Lagos

Lisa DeSoto, Country Representative
Louis Berger Group (SWIFT contractor):
Carmenza Becerra, LBG Director
Shan Hayatuddini, General Manager Support Services
Chom Bagu, National Coordinator
Christine Dan-Abia, Program Manager
Nkechi Modie, Regional Grants Manager
Joseph Ola Shopade, Program Manager
Wiebe Boer, OTI intern (doing Ph.D. dissertation research)

OTI/Abuja

Idris A. Kuta, Logistics Officer
Members of MPRI Team

OTI/Port Harcourt

Judith Ashby, Regional Coordinator
Roibito Ekpiken-Ekanem, Program Manager

U.S. Embassy/Lagos

Nancy M. Serpa, Charge d'Affaires/DCM
Kathleen A. FitzGibbon, Political Counselor

U.S. Office/Abuja

Timothy Andrews, Principal Officer
John Bauman, Political Counselor
Richard M. Kaminski, Political Officer
Col. Victor Nelson, Defense Attache

UK Department for International Development (DFID)

Laure-Helene Piron, Governance Officer

UNDP

Erina Rissanen, Democracy Governance Officer

Community-Based Organizations (CBOs)/NGOs³⁴

Ibadan

Conflict-Management Project (Conflict Mediation Training for Hausa and Yoruba Communities in Oke Ogun)

Bolaji Ogunsanya (also Professor, Department of Guidance and Counseling, University of Ibadan)

Ayo Ahmed (also Professor, Department of Guidance and Counseling, University of Ibadan)

Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network, South West Zone (Legislative Fellows Program)

Isaac Albert, Professor in the Department of African Studies, University of Ibadan

Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network, South West Zone (Peace-Building in Ife-Modakeke Communities)

Akin Akinteye, State House Deputy

Institute of Social Sciences and Administration (Legislative Fellows Program)

John A. A. Ayoade, (also Professor of Political Science, University of Ibadan)

Lagos

Center for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN) (Civil-Police/ Media)

Innocent Chukwuma

Center for Peace and Development Initiatives (CPDI) (Conflict Management)

Mrs. E. Ebitu

Initiatives for Peace, Development and Good governance (IPDG) (Conflict Management/Good Governance)

O. Oyewo,

International Press Center (Media)

Lanre Arogundade

Internet Services

Tunde Arenue

Women, Laws and Development Center (WLDCN) (Conflict Management)

J. Akande

Women Optimum Development Foundation (WODEF) (Media/Anticorruption)

Mrs. B. Oloyede

³⁴ Organizations receiving OTI grants. Listed by location, name of organization, name of program, and name of individual(s) interviewed.

Port Harcourt

- Alucia Organisation (Training Workshop on Rural Small-scale Industries for Youth)
 - Lucky Worlu, President
 - Alex Ajike, State Deputy
- Centre for Advanced Social Science (Training in Facilitative Mediation and Conflict Resolution in the South-South Zone)
 - Ekeng A. Anam-Ndu, Director of Operations,
- Centre for Participatory Development (CENPADEV) (Teaching Young Farmers Opportunity Skills)
 - Ben Tantua, President
- Gack-Din (Developing and Consolidating Attitudinal Dispositions in the Delta State)
 - Godwin Nwabueze, Executive Director
- Institute of Academic Freedom in Nigeria (Corruption in Nigeria: The Niger Delta Experience)
 - Christian Akani, Executive Director
- Niger Delta Human and Environmental Rescue Organisation (Niger Delta Development Commission Bill (NDDC): Advocacy in the National Assembly)
 - Dakoru Atukpa, Environmental Advisor,
- Women in Nigeria (WIN), Rivers/Bayelsa States (Capacity Building for Community-Based Organizations)
 - Emem Okon, Coordinator
 - Karl Uchegbu, member

Annex B: Documents Provided

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UNDP/Nigeria. “Report on the Meeting between the Federal Government of Nigeria and Development Partners on the National Programme on Governance for Sustainable Human Development,” October 19, 2000.

United Kingdom Department for International Cooperation. “Nigeria Country Strategy Paper.”

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USAID/Nigeria. “Transition Strategy” (matrix).

USAID. “Supporting a New Path to Democracy, Prosperity and Leadership,” July 16, 1999 (Report of the IWAG).

USAID/OTI. “Nigeria Police Assessment Report April 10-15, 2000.”

USAID/OTI. "Statement of Work for USG/Nigerian Police Program," 2000 (undated).

Annex C: Religious Riots In The North

<i>Cities, State</i>	<i>Years</i>
Kano, Kano State	1980, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997
Bauchi, Bauchi State	1980, 1990, 1991, 1995
Kaduna, Kaduna State	1996, 1998, 2000
Katsina, Katsina State	1993, 1996, 1999
Kafanchan, Kaduna State	1987, 1996
Ilorin, Kwara State	1987, 1998, 1999, 2000
Zango-Kataf, Kaduna State	1992
Maidugari, Borno State	1980, 1998
Dambo	2000
Sokoto, Sokoto State	2000
Hadejia, Jigawa State	1993
Potiskum, Yobe State	1994
Gwandu, Kebbi State	1999
Jos, Plateau State	1996
Funtua, Katsina State	1993
Jalingo, Taraba State	1993
Zaria, Kaduna State	1998 ³⁵

³⁵ "Religious Riots in the North," *The NEWS Magazine*, 20 November 2000, 20. Prepared by Wiebe Boer, USAID/OTI/Nigeria intern, December 2000.

Annex D: OTI Nigeria—Conflict-Resolution-Related Programs

Compiled by Wiebe Boer, OTI Intern, December 2000

1. *Three-day Workshop on Management of Conflicts through the Interplay of Social Justice, Law and Cultural Value Systems*, Anti Corruption and Fraud Organisation of Nigeria (ACFON), Kano State.
2. *Three-day Workshop on Developing Mechanisms for the Management of Conflict and Conflict Resolution*, Anti Corruption and Fraud Organisation of Nigeria (ACFON), Kano State.
3. *Youth as a factor in Conflict Situations in Kano Metropolis*, Women's Health and Development Network (WHADNET), Kano State.
4. *The Peoples Parliament*, Kristoff Dixons Kano, Kano State.
5. *Ka Shirya Conflict Resolution Film*, Moving Image, Kano State.
6. *Training for Church Ministers on Conflict Resolution and Democracy*, Christian Association of Nigeria, Kano State.
7. *Training Workshops on Ethnic and Religious Conflicts*, Prime Peace Project, Kano State.
8. *National Training Program on Conflict Resolution in the North West Zone*, GINI Consult, Kano, Kaduna, Zamfara, Kebbi, Katsina, Jigawa, and Sokoto States.
9. *Conflict-Management Training Workshop for Members of Kaduna State House of Assembly, Executives and Registered Political Party Officials*, Even Development Projects (EDP), Kaduna State.
10. *Support to the Peace and Reconciliation Committee of Kaduna State*, Even Development Projects (EDP), Kaduna State.
11. *Kaduna Conflict Resolution Intervention 1 & 2*, Strategic Empowerment and Mediation Agency, Kaduna State.
12. *Women and Youth as Tools for Religious and Ethnic Harmony*, Women Opinion Leaders Forum, Kaduna State.
13. *Role of Media/Journalists in the Democratization Process in Nigeria*, Media Services Center Kaduna, Kaduna State.
14. *Conflict Resolution between Pastoralists and Farmers in Katsina State*, Carefore, Katsina State.

15. *Conflict Resolution Techniques on Diversity, Interagency Relations and Functional Coexistence in Katsina*, Transparency International of Nigeria (TIN), Katsina State.
16. *Sensitization on Conflict Prevention/Management for Women of various Ethnic Groups*, National Council of Women's Societies, Katsina State.
17. *Youth Program on Religious and Ethnic Tolerance*, Center for Sustainable Development and Youth Organization, Katsina State.
18. *Youth Exchange*, National Association of Social Workers (NASOW), Katsina State.
19. *General Public Enlightenment Campaign on the Importance and Benefits of Tolerance and Peaceful Coexistence among the Citizenry*, Haske Media Services Sokoto, Sokoto, Kebbi, and Zamfara States.
20. *NGO Capacity Building Training* (includes a conflict resolution element, CRUDAN and DEC, all 13 States.
21. *National Training Program on Conflict Resolution in the North East Zone*, Borno Coalition for Democracy and Economic Progress (BOCODEP), Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Taraba, Bauchi, and Gombe States.
22. *Ethnic/Religious Tolerance*, Borno Coalition for Democracy and Economic Progress (BOCODEP), Adamawa, Yobe, and Borno States.
23. *The Role of the Media in Conflict through Responsive Reporting*, Public Enlightenment Project (PEP), Adamawa State.
24. *Capacity Building on Conflict Resolution for Council Members*, Adamawa Youth Council, Adamawa State.
25. *Towards a Conducive Political Atmosphere & Peaceful Coexistence*, Women Opinion Leaders Forum (WOLF), Borno State.
26. *Religious/Ethnic Tolerance Billboard Campaign*, Media Consultants, Borno, and Taraba States.
27. *Gari Ya Waye (A New Dawn)*, Forward in Action for Education, Poverty and Malnutrition (FACEPAM), Bauchi State.
28. *Conflict Resolution in Kaltungo Emirate*, Kal'podale Women's Association, Gombe State.
29. *National Training Program on Conflict Resolution in the South East Zone*, Catholic Institute for Development, Justice, and Peace (CIDJAP), Enugu, Ebonyi, Anambra, Imo, and Abia States.
30. *Transforming Violent Youths to Political Activists*, Friends of the Environment and Minorities (FEM), Enugu, Anambra, and Ebonyi States.

31. *Managing Youth Conflict from a Dualistic Socio-Economic Perspective*, Catholic Institute for Development, Justice, and Peace (CIDJAP) on behalf of Centre for Eastern Services (CES), Enugu State.
32. *Conflict Mitigation and Good Governance Workshop for Traditional Rulers in Enugu State*, Partners for Peace Advocacy and Good Governance (PAPAGG), Enugu State.
33. *Democracy and Good Governance/Conflict Resolution in Abia State*, Centre for Indigenous Knowledge, Environment, Research and Development (CIKERD) & Abia Charity Circle (ACC), Abia State.
34. *Conflict Mitigation and Good Governance Training in Ohaji/Egbeme, Oguta Local Government Area (LGA)*, Movement to Save Ohaji/Egbene/Oguta Youths, Imo State.
35. *National Training Program on Conflict Resolution in the South Zone*, Centre for Advanced Social Science (CASS), Cross River, Akwa Ibom, Rivers, Bayelsa, Delta, and Edo States.
36. *Appreciative Inquiry for Members of the Akwa Ibom House of Assembly*, Obong-Manuel Ventures (OMV), Akwa Ibom State.
37. *Workshop on Conflict Management for Traditional Rulers in Akwa Ibom State*, Come Partners (CP), Akwa Ibom State.
38. *Workshop on Conflict Management for Local Government Officials in Akwa Ibom State*, Come Partners (CP), Akwa Ibom State.
39. *Building Capacity for Youths and Conflict Resolution/Management Training in Calabar South*, Reach Services, Cross River State.
40. *Workshop on Conflict Management for Traditional Rulers in Cross River State*, Coalition for Peace and Stable Democracy (COPESTAD), Cross River State.
41. *Workshop on Conflict Management for Local Government Officials in Cross River State*, Coalition for Peace and Stable Democracy (COPESTAD), Cross River State.
42. *Skill Training as a Conflict Management Tool*, University of Calabar Development Network (NCWDN), Cross River State.
43. *Warri Youth Leadership Training*, Academic Associates Peace Work (AAPW), Delta State.
44. *Conflict Resolution*, Academic Associates Peace Work (AAPW), Delta State.
45. *Conflict Resolution*, Academic Associates Peace Work (AAPW), Delta, Rivers, and Bayelsa States.
46. *Conflict Resolution (Okrika-Elleme)*, Academic Associates Peace Work (AAPW), Rivers State.

47. *Conflict Mitigation and Good Governance Training in Ogba/Egbene/Ndoni LGA*, Ogba Youth Link, Rivers State.
48. *Conflict Prevention through Economic Empowerment-Skill Training in Garri Production in Amassoma*, Centre for Participatory Development (CENPADEV), Bayelsa State.
49. *Conflict Mitigation and Good Governance Training in Odi LGA*, Odi Youth Network, Bayelsa State.
50. *National Training Program on Conflict Resolution in the North Central Zone*, International Centre for Gender and Social Research (INTER-GENDER), Plateau, Nasarawa, Benue, Kogi, Kwara, and Niger States, Federal Capital Territory.
51. *Democratic Development and Women's Rights*, International Centre for Gender and Social Research (INTER-GENDER), Plateau, Nasarawa, Benue, and Niger States.
52. *Peace in Suleja*, Mother's Club Suleja, Niger State.
53. *Stewardship Forum for State Legislators and Executive Governor*, The Nigerian Centre for Women, Youth & Community Action (NACWYCA), Nasarawa State.
54. *Inter-Ethnic Conflict Resolution in Plateau State*, Plateau State NGO Coalition, Plateau State.
55. *Fostering a Harmonious Relationship between Youth and Law Enforcement*, International Centre for Gender and Social Research, Plateau State.
56. *Conflict Resolution Training Workshop*, Tiv Youth Organization (TYO), Benue State.
57. *Training of Pastors in Conflict Resolution in Benue State*, Centre for Family Development (CFD), Benue State.
58. *Conflict Resolution Skills for Community Representatives in Benue State*, Ecumenical Commission for Justice and Peace, Benue State.
59. *Inter-Faith Conflict Resolution in Kwara State*, Kwara State NGO Coalition, Kwara State.
60. *Exploring the Options for Expanding Women's Role in Peace Building*, International Women Communications Centre, Kwara State.
61. *Mind Reengineering Program for Youth Leaders in Kwara and Kogi States*, Peace Network Movement, Kwara and Kogi States.
62. *Intercommunal Conflict Management in Idah LGA*, Idah Local Government Area Development Association, Kogi State.
63. *Conflict Resolution for Youth Activists in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT)*, Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP), FCT.

64. *Workshop for BON Programme Managers*, Broadcasting Organisation of Nigeria (BON), FCT.
65. *Workshop on Intra-Party Conflict for FCT Party Caucuses*, Socio-Political Research & Development (SPR&D), Federal Capital Territory.
66. *Parley of South West Traditional Rulers on Conflict Mitigation*, Organization for Lasting Peace in Nigeria, Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, and Ekiti States.
67. *Students as Conflict Mitigators and Change Agents*, Network of Ex-Student Leaders (South West Zone), Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, and Ekiti States.
68. *National Training Program on Conflict Resolution in the South West Zone*, Women, Law and Development Center, Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, and Ekiti States.
69. *Conflict Resolution for Hausa and Yoruba Representatives*, Women Center for Leadership Development, Research and Training, Oyo, and Ogun States.
70. *Market Based Conflict-Management Training*, Center for Community Education in Democracy and Development, Oyo State.
71. *Conflict Prevention Training Program for Hausa and Yoruba Communities in Oke Ogun*, Conflict-management Project, Oyo State.
72. *Conflict Management and Legislative Skills for Oyo State Legislators*, Visions of Peace and Civic Education, Oyo State.
73. *TOT Workshop on Conflict Management for Student Leaders/Administrators*, The Ibadan University Social and Behavioural Research Group, Oyo State.
74. *Community Awareness Program on Conflict Resolution*, Ife Development Board, Osun State.
75. *Community Awareness Program on Conflict Resolution*, Modakeke Progressive Union, Osun State.
76. *Peace Building Training Program for Ife and Modakeke Communities*, Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network (South West Zone), Osun State.
77. *Conflict Mediation Program for Local Government Representatives and Hausa/Yoruba Opinion Leaders*, Foundation for Democratic Development, Ogun State.
78. *Enter-Educate Program on Conflict Resolution*, Center for Peace, Education and Development, Ogun State.
79. *Conflict Management and Legislative Skills for Ogun State Legislators*, Visions of Peace and Civic Education, Ogun State.

80. *TOT on Conflict Resolution and Peace Building for Community Women Representatives in Osun and Ondo States*, Constitutional Rights Project, Ondo and Osun States.
81. *Empowering Youth Representatives in Lagos and Ogun States in Conflict Mitigation*, Center for Democratic Values and Practices, Ogun and Lagos States.
82. *National Survey of State Executive-Legislative Relations*, McSeeks Associates, Lagos State.
83. *Facilitative Mediation Skills for Local Governance (LG) Chairmen and Community Leaders*, Centre for Peace and Development Initiatives, Lagos State.
84. *Conflict Resolution/Management Training for Lagos State Legislators*, Initiatives for Peace, Development, and Good Governance, Lagos State.
85. *Developing Youth Capacity for Conflict Resolution/Management*, Agenda for Community Development (AFCODE), Lagos State.
86. *Conflict Resolution/Management Training for Student Union Leaders*, Agenda for Community Development (AFCODE), Lagos State.
87. *Civic Education and Conflict Management Training for Community Representatives in Lagos Island Local Government*, Lagos Island Community Partners for Health, Lagos State.
88. *Conflict Mediation Workshop for Officials from LGAs, CBOs and Media Organizations*, Negotiation and Conflict-Management Group, Lagos State.
89. *Workshop on Religious/Communal Conflict Resolution for Editors/Publishers*, Negotiation and Conflict-Management Group, Lagos State, Federal Capital Territory.
90. *Conflict Resolution Training for Journalists*, Negotiation and Conflict-management Group, Lagos State.
91. *Empowering Youth Representatives with Conflict Resolution Skills in Lagos and Ogun States*, Centre for Democratic Values and Practices, Lagos and Ogun States.
92. *Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Workshop*, Women, Law, and Development Centre, National.
93. *National TOT on Conflict Resolution*, N. O. Rapu & Co., National.
94. *Various meetings*, Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network (CRESNET), National.