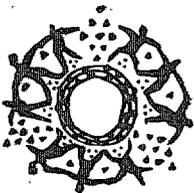
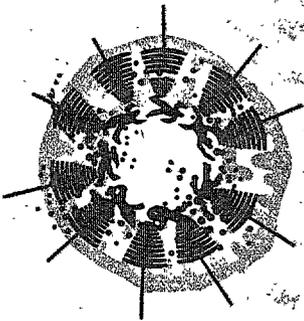
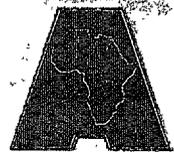


**REPORT ON ACCORD'S ACTIVITIES  
IN NIGERIA OCTOBER 1998 TO JANUARY 1999  
SUBMITTED TO USAID**



**R E P O R T S**



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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

### OBJECTIVE OF ACCORD IN NIGERIA

Following the Second Republic in 1984, Nigeria was ruled by a Military dictatorship for 15 years. The annulment of the June 12<sup>th</sup> 1993 Presidential elections in Nigeria by, a cabal of military generals very nearly sunk the country into a bitter civil war. For five years the country endured the brutal Abacha Military regime. After his untimely demise in June 1998, there seemed a new horizon for Nigeria. Through strong leadership, international and local pressure, Nigeria was rescued from the brink of chaos and granted the possibility of stable civilian rule.

As a West African country, Nigeria's long awaited Civilian election was of immense interests to the international community. It is noteworthy to comment that ACCORD was the only African international NGO on the ground, and the first to arrive in Nigeria in preparation for the elections.

Domestic election monitoring in Nigeria is relatively new. This began to take shape during the transition program of General Ibrahim Babangida. After taking over power in 1985, Babangida initiated a transition in which the Federal government created and funded two political parties, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC). These two parties contested the June 12<sup>th</sup> 1993 presidential elections in which Nigerians voted in Chief M.K.O Abiola, who was a Muslim and a Southerner, into power. The 1993 elections were generally accepted as the most democratic elections Nigeria ever had since independence in October 1960.

Nigeria is a very large country and the most populated in Africa. It is made up of 36 States with Abuja being the federal capital territory. ACCORD's intention was to train domestic monitors down to the grassroots level. Due to budgetary constraints, one central workshop was found to be too expensive, mainly attributed to transportation costs of the delegates. Hence ACCORD divided training into three regions, namely the Northern, Eastern and Western parts of Nigeria. ACCORD worked with three partners to represent each region namely, The Center for Crisis Evaluation and Management (The CENTER) to represent the North, Center for Advanced Social Studies (CASS) to represent the East and South East, and the African Strategic and Peace Research Group (AFSTRAG), to represent the South West. AFSTRAG was appointed as the Project Coordinator for accounting convenience since it was based in Lagos.

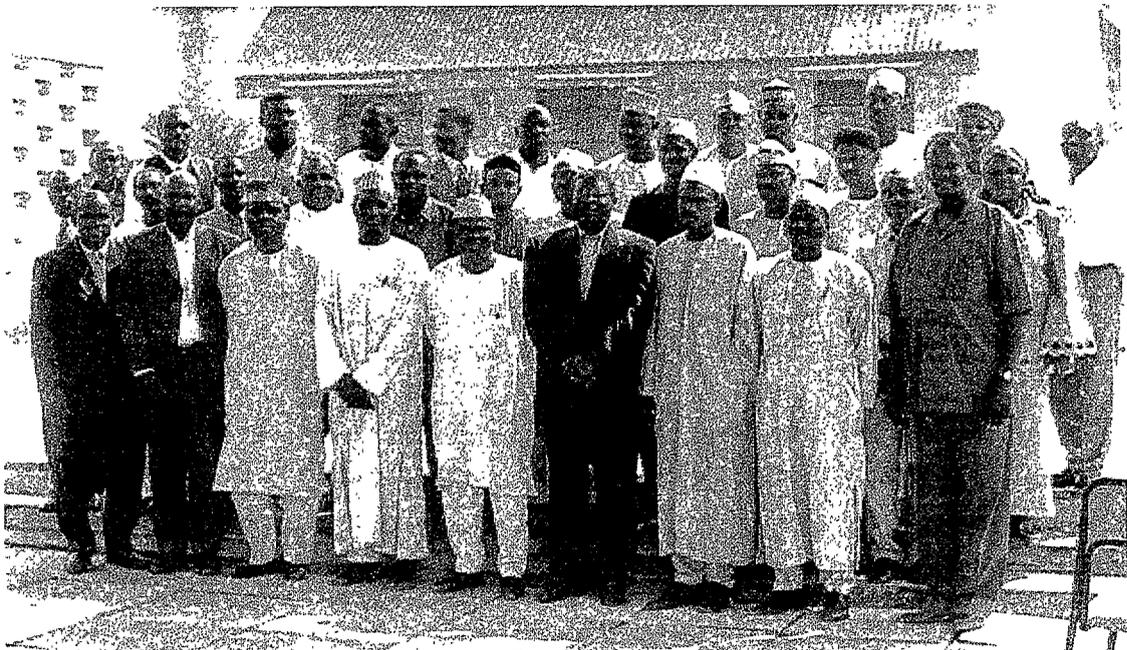
AFSTRAG's President Ambassador Olu Adeniji, is the UN S-G's Special Representative of in the Central African Republic. Its acting Director is General Olusola Williams (Rtd.). CASS was founded by the respected African academic, Professor Claude Ake, while The Centre for Crisis Evaluation and Management was founded by General Danladi Zakari who is also the current Executive Director.



For the purposes of the training, the country was further divided into six zones namely South-South, South East, South West, North West, North East, and North Central zones.

- ◆ The South-South zone comprised of Akwa-Ibom, Cross-Rivers, Bayelsa, Rivers, Delta and Edo States
- ◆ The South-East zone comprised of Abia, Anambra, Imo, Ebonyi, and Enugu States
- ◆ South West zone comprised of Lagos, Oyo, Ekiti, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Kwara States
- ◆ North West Zone comprised of Sokoto, Kebbi, Kano, Kaduna, Katsina and Jigawa States.
- ◆ North East Zone comprised of Borno, Yobe, Bauchi, Adamawa, Gombe and Taraba States
- ◆ North-Central Zone comprised of Plateau, Benue, Kogi, Nasarawa, Niger States, and Abuja (Federal Capital Territory)

Each State has 3 Senatorial districts, and 7 participants were trained from each State, making a total of 42 participants, with 9 Resource persons and 2 Facilitators. It was planned that there would be a total of 6 Training of Trainers Workshops in the Country. One would be held in Ibadan, two in Enugu and Port Harcourt, and the other three would be held in the North, in Kaduna, Yola and Abuja. Those trained would later train local observers in a one-day training referred to as "dissemination workshop", which was coordinated by the three partners. Participants were drawn from the Senatorial Districts within the States.



Participants at the Training of Trainers held at AREWA House in Kaduna.



For logistical and financial reasons, trainers were only trained in Ibadan (Oyo State) for the South-West zone, in Kaduna (Kaduna State) for the Northern zones, in Yola (Adamawa State) for the North-East and North central zones, and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. The training for the South-South and South-East zones took place in Port Harcourt (Rivers State) and Enugu (Enugu State).



Participants at the Women Group Workshop in Abuja.



## **2. TRAINING OF ELECTION MONITORS**

Following the political changes in Nigeria, ACCORD through its Intervention Unit developed a Training of Trainers (TOTs) programme for Election Monitors. This was funded by USAID, through its Washington office. ACCORD identified three local NGOs based in Lagos, Port Harcourt and Abuja to help with the technical implementation of this programme.

Although designed in September, implementation of this project was delayed due to difficulties in the transfer of funds from Durban to Lagos. This also affected the accreditation of some Observers in the South-South and South East zones.

The training of election observers in Nigeria is the first of its kind to be carried out by an African organisation in a collaborative effort. This was the first major attempt by a South African based organisation to work with other conflict resolution oriented non-governmental organisations in Nigeria. It marks a significant attempt to develop South-South co-operation on the major issue of election monitoring, civil education, conflict resolution and reconciliation.

Up to 60 per cent of those trained were women, of whom approximately 3 per cent were labour leaders and the represented community based organisations, local NGOs and church based organisations. Resource persons were drawn from local Universities.

### **CHRONOLOGY OF PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION**

In October 1998, Karthi Govender (the Director of Operations-ACCORD) and Napoleon Abdulai (former Intervention Manager) arrived in Nigeria and spent two days consulting with USAID and the three partner Organisations to discuss ACCORD's involvement in the forthcoming elections. Discussions with the partners centred on the budget, implementation strategy and methodology. The content of the Training manual was discussed extensively, and a team of consultants from several African countries was provided to vet the draft of the Manual.

- The team met with USIS officials, visited the US Embassy and also met with representative leaders of the TMG, Abdul Oroh of Civil Liberties Organisations (CLO), and Clement Nwankwo of Civil Rights Project (CRP)
- ACCORD developed a training programme based on the historical and cultural realities of Nigeria with inputs from several African countries such as Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Uganda. Very useful comments and suggestions were received from the partners, members of the newly formed Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) and some religious groups, such as the Catholic Justice, Development and Peace Commission.
- A Training Manual (88 pages, the first of its kind in Nigeria) was developed in October and printed in November 1998 for distribution throughout the country.
- A Code of Conduct was written in October and presented to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in November.
- Two different posters, one in "Pidgin English" and the other in English were developed in October and printed in November.



- USAID officials gave information that domestic monitors must be accredited by INEC. A team made up of General (Rt.) Salihu Ibrahim, Brigadier (Rt.) Danladi Zakariya, Advocate Huzi Mshelia and Napoleon Abdulai visited INEC and met with the Chairman, Justice Ampke, Commissioner Mashood Ojikutu and the Director of Publicity of INEC, Steve Osemeke. Discussions centred on the accreditation of domestic monitors, Code of Conduct, training of monitors etc. INEC made it clear that domestic monitors were to be accredited.
- ACCORD continued to collaborate with other USAID funded NGOs working on election monitoring. Meetings were held with NDI, IRI and IFES in Lagos and there is ongoing exchange of information by e-mail with Chris Fomunyoh of NDI.
- A series of meetings with Abdul Oroh of the Civil Liberties Organizations (CLO), Barrister Olisa Agbakogba (SAN) and Joyce Ogunyemi of Huri-Laws, and Clement Nwankwo of the Constitutional Rights Project (CRP) took place in November. ACCORD was requested to train the TMG in election monitoring.

#### SUCSESSES

- Stimulated interest in USAID to develop a conflict transformation program for Nigeria.
- Produced Nigeria's first training manual for Election Observers
- Printed civil educational posters in Pidgin English and English, the first of its kind in the transition to the elections.
- Trained many women as domestic Observers, unlike other NGOs.
- Provided briefing to the leader of the OAU team (former President Ali-Hassan Mwyyin of Tanzania).
- Joined the OAU team of monitors.
- A member of the OAU teams that met General Abdulsalam Abubakari on March 1.
- Introduced ACCORD and created the space for an ACCORD in-country programme.



### **3. ACCORD'S ACTIVITIES IN NIGERIA**

#### OCTOBER TO DECEMBER 1998

ACCORD was the first NGO, on the ground in October 1998, to train election observers before the arrival of any other International NGO. In November, Napoleon Abdulai had a meeting with AFSTRAG and The CENTER in Abuja, where he explained the difficulty in transferring funds from South Africa into Nigeria and then gave Travelers cheques worth \$4000. It was unanimously decided in this meeting that the available funds be used for the printing of the manuals and posters.

ACCORD was also invited by other local NGOs to train election monitors, particularly those willing to fund their own training. ACCORD began the training of trainers with the Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) in Ogun State in November 1998 where 75 persons were trained. Another 70 persons were trained in Ibadan, and a third batch of 65 monitors was trained at the offices of the JDPC in Ijebu-Ode in late November. ACCORD also provided training materials for training of Monitors in Kaduna in November. The American Labour Centre sent 20 leading trade unionists for training between November 23<sup>rd</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> in Ijebu-Ode. The Training Manuals and posters were distributed to all the major donor agencies in Lagos.

ACCORD was also the first International NGO to meet with INEC on Domestic monitors. This contact was facilitated by The CENTER in Abuja. The main discussion was on the accreditation of monitors that would be trained. Due to lack of funds, INEC could not finance monitors, hence they had to be self financed. Napoleon had to explain to USAID on the accreditation of monitors, which posed a major roadblock for the other International partners.

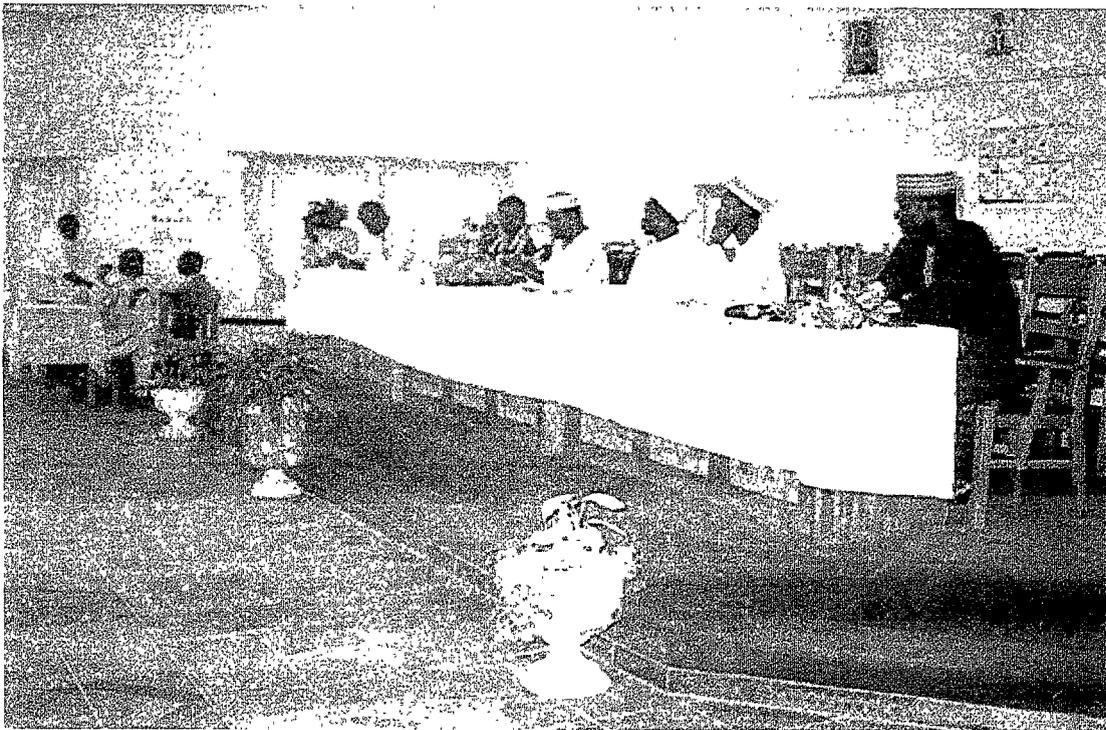


State Coordinators at the Debrief in Yola



#### ◆ TRANSFER OF FUNDS

ACCORD made a request to the University of Durban-Westville to remit the sum of USD 50,000 to AFSTRAG's Bank Account on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1998. The University then sent ACCORD's request for transfer to ABSA Bank on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1998. ABSA processed the request for transfer to Midland Bank in New York on 8<sup>th</sup> December 1998. Midland Bank USA transferred the said funds to EKO International Bank in Nigeria for transfer to First Bank PLC. However, EKO Bank did not transfer the said funds into AFSTRAG Account at First Bank PLC, and they refused to respond to any requests made to it about the said funds to date. This made it difficult for ACCORD to hold training before the Gubernatorial Elections on 9<sup>th</sup> January 1999.



Resource persons from INEC, NOA and the security service at the Yola workshop.

#### JANUARY TO MARCH 1999

Due to the difficulties it was facing in sending funds into Nigeria, ACCORD decided to send cash with the Programme Manager when he returned to Nigeria on 4<sup>th</sup> January 1999 to resume training. Contact was then made with CASS in the East, and they facilitated necessary correspondence with their Resource persons and participants with regard to specific dates for the training.

#### ◆ TRAINING OF TRAINERS PROGRAMME OUTLINE

This was in the form of a three-day workshop, organised in 5 sessions with presentations led by Resource persons whose papers covered the following topics:



- ◆ The Role of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)
- ◆ Elections and Democracy
- ◆ Elections in Africa: A Geo-Political Survey
- ◆ Electoral and Post-Electoral Conflict Management Skills
- ◆ History and Development of Election Monitoring
- ◆ Code of Conduct for Election Monitoring
- ◆ Can Election be free and fair?
- ◆ The training methodology for training monitors



Some of the Resource Persons

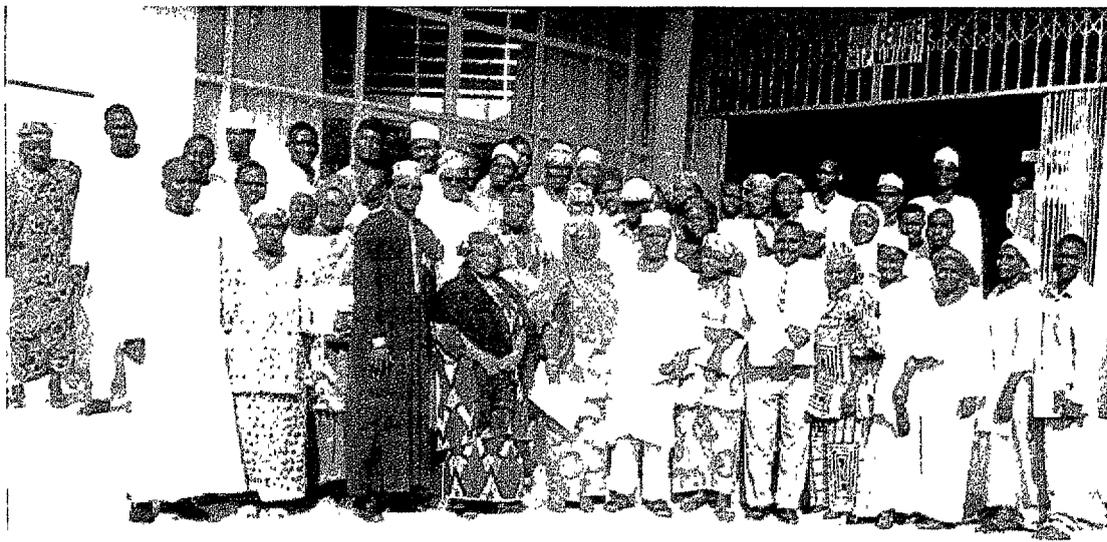


## **4. TRAINING OF TRAINERS FOR ELECTION MONITORS**

### THE SOUTH-SOUTH ZONE

*January 17 - 19, 1999*

The Training of Trainers workshop took place from January 17<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> at the Offices of the Centre for Advanced Studies in Port Harcourt. Out of the total 35 trainees, 29 were men and 6 were women from 5 States within the South-South zone. Participants from Edo State could not attend for logistical reasons. Resource persons were from local Universities and ACCORD Staff while participants were from Local NGOs, and community based organizations such as the Yakubu Gowon Centre, the South-South Minorities Group and a few women organizations.



Participants at the TOT Workshop in Yola, North East zone

### THE SOUTH-EAST ZONE

*February 22<sup>nd</sup> – 24<sup>th</sup> 1999*

The workshop in this zone took place about a month after the Port Harcourt training. A total of 42 participants, made up of 40 men and 2 women, were trained from the 5 States within the South East zone and Edo State. The venue was the divine Retreat and Conference Centre in Emene, Enugu. The structure was similar to the Port Harcourt training. Resource persons were from Local Universities, but ACCORD Staff could not attend as they were training in the northern zones.



◆ **DISSEMINATION WORKSHOP - TRAINING OF OBSERVERS**

*February 24<sup>th</sup> – 26<sup>th</sup> 1999*

Training of observers in the South-South and South East zones took place concurrently from the 24<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> February in Enugu and Port Harcourt. Participants concentrated on the roles, duties, rights, and responsibilities of observers, as stated in ACCORD manuals. Voting in Nigeria is known as the Open Ballot modified system, meaning that there is virtually no secret in the voting process. Each trainer trained 10 observers from each of the 11 States. In total, 859 observers were trained.

◆ **ACCREDITATION BY INEC**

CASS arranged for the accreditation process for the South East and South-South Observers with INEC. A total of 859 local Observers were accredited and deployed in the two zones by CASS of which 515 were women and 344 were men. 78 local observers were deployed in each of the 11 states. CASS staff and non-accredited observers also observed the elections as unofficial observers as indicated by INEC. Stickers, posters, and manuals were used to publicise the work of the observers and monitors.

◆ **SUMMARY OF TRAINING**

Port-Harcourt	TOT	35 Trainers	<b>GENDER</b>	
Enugu	TOT	42 Trainers	Female	523
Dissemination Workshops		859 Observers	Male	413
<b>Total Trained</b>		<b>936</b>	Accredited Observers	859

**THE SOUTH-WEST ZONE**

*February 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> 1999*

The first training of trainers in the South West, organised by AFSTRAG, took place from 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> February at the University of Ibadan. A total of 51 participants attended the training from the 7 States within the zone, of which 20 were women and 31 were men. Participants were drawn from community-based organisations, the Media and women groups. Karthi Govender and Napoleon Abdulai facilitated this workshop. This region is highly politicised as a result of the good compulsory education it enjoyed under the Premiership of Chief Obafemi Awolowo. It also served as the base for the anti-military struggles of the 1980s and 1990s.

*February 18<sup>th</sup> 1999*

AFSTRAG organized and conducted an elaborate and rigorous Dissemination Training of local observers and monitors in each of the 7 States, with the assistance of the trained Trainers. A total of 407 local observers were trained.



Participants at one of the Workshops.



Break time at one of the workshops.



◆ ACCREDITATION BY INEC

INEC accredited 407 trained personnel who submitted their accreditation forms, of whom 170 were women and 237 were men. AFSTRAG observed the National Assembly and Presidential Elections in Lagos, Ilorin, Ibadan, Oshogbo, Ekiti, Abeokuta and in Akure.

◆ SUMMARY OF TRAINING

Ibadan	TOT	51 Trainers	GENDER	
Dissemination Workshop		<u>407 Observers</u>	Male	257
Total Trained		<u>458</u>	Female	201
Accredited Observers	407			



Napoleon Abdulai of ACCORD, Gen. Zakari of the CENTRE and two resource persons from INEC.

THE NORTHERN ZONES

In February 1999, the Programme Officer spent 3 weeks training in the northern part of Nigeria, covering 13 States. The Training of observers and monitors initially took place in the political capital of Nigeria, Kaduna, and later in Yola (Adamawa State) and in Abuja. More than 80 % of the trainees were women. The CENTRE, with the collaboration of the National Council of Women Societies of Nigeria, trained 570 observers and monitors, of whom 456 were women and 114 were men. USAID Staff in Lagos and Washington recommended the National Council of Women Societies to ACCORD.

◆ ACCREDITATION OF OBSERVERS BY INEC

Out of the 570 observers and monitors who submitted their forms, INEC was only able to accredit 300. These were issued with INEC Official identity cards. The CENTER was able to



devise a means of pairing other observers with an ID tag. This method was very useful for the observation of the National Assembly and Presidential elections.

◆ SUMMARY OF TRAINING

ZONE	NO. OF OBSERVERS TRAINED
NORTH EAST	205
NORTH CENTRAL	190
NORTH WEST	126
FCT ABUJA	49
TOTAL	570

FEMALE 456	MALE 114
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ACCREDITED OBSERVERS: 300



Presentation of certificates at one of the workshops.

**BREAK DOWN OF PERSONS TRAINED**

Total Participants	2194
Females	1272
Males	922
Under 35 years	1646

**BREAKDOWN OF TRAINING STATISTICS**

Training of Trainers	128
Observers Trained	1836
Observers Accredited	1566
(TOTs outside ACCORD's partners)	230

**BREAKDOWN OF ALL TRAINING IN THE THREE REGIONS**

<i>Region</i>	<i>Training of Trainers</i>	<i>Observers Trained</i>	<i>Observers Accredited</i>
Northern Region	--	570	300
Eastern Region	77	859	859
Western Region	51	407	407
<b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>1836</b>	<b>1566</b>

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total Trained</i>	<i>Females Trained</i>	<i>Males Trained</i>
Northern Region	570	456	114
Eastern Region	936	523	413
Western Region	458	201	257
<b>Total</b>	<b>1964</b>	<b>1180</b>	<b>784</b>



The training workshop for women organisations.

**PERCENTAGE TOTAL OF ALL TRAININGS IN THE REGIONS**

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Northern Region</i>	<i>Eastern Region</i>	<i>Western Region</i>
Training of Trainers	--	60%	40%
Observers Trained	31%	47%	22%
Observers Accredited	19%	55%	26%
Female Trained	39%	44%	17%
<i>Male Trained</i>	14%	53%	33%



Some of the State coordinators at the final debriefing on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1999.



## **5. Conclusion**

### **PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**

There was virtually no time for the two candidates to canvass for votes. There was limited civic education by the political parties, INEC, the National Orientation Agency and NGOs. In the rural community, it was observed that many people did not know that elections were to take place on Saturday, February 27<sup>th</sup> 1999. There was clearly election fatigue, particularly expressed by the candidates who seemed to be distant from the voters. The unabated fuel crisis also attributed to the low turn out of voters, unlike the local government election where local issues dominated, and which drew a large turnout of voters.

The turn out of voters was uneven across the Federation, although the votes counted were higher than the National Assembly votes. The level of irregularity was higher than the National Assembly elections, and political parties were still conscious of their political differences after the National Conventions held in Jos and Kaduna by PDP and APP respectively. The level of preparation by INEC improved, although problems had heightened, preparing local officers well to deal with any number of irregularities that might arise. For example, ballot boxes were in limited supply in certain polling stations in the South-South and Northern zones. The lack of adequate infrastructure such as polling booths compromised the fundamental rights to casting a secret ballot.

Obasanjo won the election with 62% of the votes cast, while Olu Falae, his challenger, won 38% of the votes cast. Olu Falae vehemently challenged the validity of the results, on the allegations of massive vote rigging, fraud and bribery at the Election Tribunal. He further appealed to the Federal Court of Appeal and lost, further cementing the validity of the electoral results.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

There is an urgent need to help INEC obtain the materials that would help it organize future elections in a manner that would not allow the repeat of some of the irregularities that surfaced in the last elections. INEC's independence is crucial to civil role and democratic governance in Nigeria.

There should be at least two domestic observers in each Polling Station to avert the stealing of ballot materials by party agents, and local INEC Staff. It is strongly suggested that this needs to be dealt with seriously. Observers trained by ACCORD and partners can be a good source of manpower for future work by USAID, and partners. Election materials need to be translated into local languages for mass consumption, and focus should be shifted from the major cities to the rural areas, where election malpractice was common, in preparation for future elections in Nigeria.



## OBSERVATIONS

### ◆ TRANSFER OF FUNDS

ACCORD had planned these Training of Trainers (TOTs) as far back as October 1998, yet the majority of the training workshops only took place in February, very close to the National Assembly Elections on February 20<sup>th</sup> 1999, and the Presidential elections on February 27<sup>th</sup> 1999. Initially, USAID funds were not released optimally to meet the set dates for Training. All attempts by ACCORD to transfer funds from Durban to Lagos were in vain.

Training was made possible in February by ACCORD physically taking money into Nigeria for the training to take place. This was attributed to the rigid and strict rules of the South African Reserve Bank, and Nigeria itself being a difficult terrain. A suggestion to prevent such future occurrences could be to look at how foreign currency can be transferred to certain African countries where funds are to be operative, or to Country representatives. This would certainly have made the work of the organizers easy and more productive, in the understanding of the legal implications of such transfers.

Coordination at all levels is paramount, especially adequate dissemination of information for the objectives of the Programme should be made known to all partners within and outside Nigeria. There is also the need for prior contact with local partners to fully associate with them by understanding their structure and how they are funded. Therefore, it is necessary that internship and sabbatical programmes be encouraged for international interaction.

## WHAT FUTURE ROLE CAN ACCORD PLAY IN NIGERIA?

### ◆ CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

The incoming civil administration will need the support of the international community in resolving the numerous local conflicts across the country. Without taking concrete steps towards resolving these conflicts, good governance would be difficult to achieve, leading to instability. It is recommended that practical support to the communities facing abject poverty be provided to avoid these communities taking up arms, as in the Niger delta crisis. Conflict transformation should include genuine reconciliation, economic recovery and transparency in all aspects of governance, with continued training in Conflict Resolution, Peace building and Preventive Diplomacy.

ACCORD and the Nigerian partners will engage in discussions around future involvement in developing long term programmatic foci to address some of these issues.