



**CEPPS/NDI Semi-Annual Report: October 1, 2004 to March 31, 2005**

**NIGERIA: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY STRENGTHENING, PHASE III  
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**Project Dates: September 26, 2003 to September 25, 2008**

**I. SUMMARY**

During this period, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) continued its five-year program to assist the Nigerian National Assembly to develop and strengthen its capacity to legislate effectively, provide oversight of the executive, and represent the interests of the Nigerian people at the federal level. Specific activities conducted and results achieved during this period include the following:

- NDI provided technical assistance to the House Ethics Committee, which contributed to the debate and passage of a long-awaited Code of Conduct.
- NDI organized a strategic thinking seminar for the Nigerian Women Legislative Caucus, which was established with NDI's support in April 2004. Following the seminar, which provided Members the opportunity to design a legislative agenda and discuss caucus structure with former women legislators from Canada and South Africa, the Caucus began to hold regular meetings.
- With funding support from the National Assembly, the Institute and the Constitutional Rights Project (CRP) renewed the much-requested Legislative Internship Program. CRP and NDI selected 45 interns from a pool of 600 promising applicants to participate in the six-week program.
- In response to a request by the House Ad-hoc Committee on Legislative Agenda, NDI facilitated a retreat to assist the Committee in developing the legislative priorities of the House.
- To improve the Assembly's ability to serve as a voice of the people and represent their interests, NDI held a briefing at the National Assembly, distributed copies of its new *Constituency Outreach Handbook* and began a series of constituency staff trainings.

In March, NDI received the first obligation of funding from USAID Strategic Objective 12 for a new program element, *Supporting the National Assembly's Role in the Budget Process*, which adds the following objectives to the program: to help the Assembly establish an independent, non-partisan budget office (NABO) and formulate effective legislative strategies that secure support for and enactment of an organic, comprehensive national budget law. In

preparation for the president's submission of the 2005 national budget, in October NDI facilitated a retreat for 66 Members and staff of the House's financial committees to discuss best practices in budget formulation and review, and received crucial commitments of support from NA leadership.

## **II. BACKGROUND**

### *Reinvigorated anti-corruption campaign*

Motivated in part by his campaign to seek debt relief from international lenders and with an eye on positioning his party for the 2007 elections, President Olusegun Obasanjo renewed his war on corruption. In a televised address on March 22, 2005, the president dismissed his Minister of Education over charges that he had bribed Members of the National Assembly in exchange for an increase in the ministry's allocation in the 2005 budget. Obasanjo implicated seven Members in the scandal, including Senate President Adolphus Wabara and the chairmen of the Senate Education and Appropriation Committees. At the end of this reporting period, the Nigerian press reported that Wabara had submitted a letter of resignation effective the end of the NA Easter recess. The Senate Ethics Committee and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) launched investigations into the accusations, but some lawmakers accused the executive of trying to weaken the people's confidence in the National Assembly.

The EFCC launched several investigations into the activities and finances of prominent Nigerians. These include an investigation of Plateau State Governor Joshua Dariye over allegations of money laundering. These allegations follow the reinstatement in office of Governor Dariye in November 2004, six months after ethnic and religious clashes in Plateau State prompted President Obasanjo to declare a state of emergency there in April 2004. The governor faces similar charges in Great Britain. Additionally, the EFCC's investigation of personal accounts linked to Tafa Balogun, Inspector General of Police, prompted his sudden retirement in January. On March 28, Balogun was arrested on charges of corrupt practices and awaits trial in April.

### *National implications of the crisis in Anambra State*

The post-election falling-out in Anambra State between two former political allies—Governor Chris Ngige and his political godfather, Chief Chris Uba—took another violent turn in November 2004 ahead of local elections. Gangs took advantage of street protests against the governor, setting fire to the governor's office and other state buildings. In a sign that Obasanjo has extended his anti-corruption campaign to the ranks of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the party National Executive Committee first suspended and then expelled Gov. Ngige and Chief Uba from the party. Although the expulsion broke Gov. Ngige's ties to the party, it did not impact his position and responsibilities as governor. Governor Ngige is challenging his expulsion and entertaining membership offers from other parties.

In early February, an election tribunal overturned the results of two of the three Senate races in the state. In the first, Senator Ike Abana, a protégé of Uba, was ousted in favor of Ben Obi, who had challenged Abana's election for almost two years. A second contest was decided

in favor of Chief Joy Emodi, who was suspended from the Anambra branch of the PDP in the heated run-up to the elections. Ms. Emodi replaces Emma Anosik, becoming the fourth woman Senator.

The party's handling of the situation in Anambra triggered a public disagreement between President Obasanjo and PDP National Chairman Audu Ogbeh, compelling Ogbeh to resign in February. The chairman had written a public letter criticizing the government's vacillating response since the crisis began.

After Ogbeh's resignation, the PDP leadership organized a public hearing to address some party reform issues. However, several high-level party members, including governors, ministers, and Assembly Members boycotted the hearing. According to an outspoken Senator, many stayed away because they felt individuals known as "money bags"—affluent party members who often imposed their will on the majority—had taken control of the party. An internal struggle over the direction and leadership of the party ensued. Finally in April, the PDP announced retired Col. Ahmadu Ali would serve as interim chairman until the party convention in November 2005. Mr. Ali was Minister of Education under Obasanjo's military regime in 1976 and later served in the Senate during the Babangida military administration.

### *The National Budget*

In October, President Obasanjo sent to the National Assembly the 2005 federal budget, which proposed an increase in federal government expenditures by N41 billion to N1.65 trillion. The president's budget proposed raising the benchmark for oil revenues from \$27 to \$30 per barrel based on the escalation in world market prices. In March, after months of review, the House passed a N1.84 trillion budget, while the Senate passed a N1.79 trillion budget--both exceeded the \$30 per barrel oil benchmark. After forming a joint finance committee, the legislative chambers were able to harmonize the two budgets, passing a N1.8 trillion budget in late March 2005. The president has yet to sign the budget, indicating his displeasure with the greater expenditures

In an effort to support the president's campaign for debt relief, the House of Representatives adopted a motion to stop servicing Nigeria's national debt to the Paris and London Clubs. However, the Senate rejected the motion and interest payments were included in the national budget presented to the president.

### *Controversy and the Code of Conduct*

In the midst of a dispute over the management of committee funds, Senator Isa Mohammed slapped a female counterpart, Senator Iyabo Anisulowo, in October. As punishment, the full Senate suspended Senator Mohammed for two weeks. Then just one week later, a female House Member, Hon. Iquo Inyang slapped a male colleague, Hon. Emmanuel Bwacha. In response to these much-publicized incidents and with prompting from members of the Women's Caucus, the House passed a Member's Code of Conduct, a tool to guide the conduct of Members both outside and within the halls of the National Assembly.

## *National Political Reform Conference*

President Obasanjo dropped his consistent opposition to a national dialogue or conference and convened the three-month National Political Reform Conference on February 21. Civil society organizations (CSOs) strongly criticized some of the restraints placed on the Conference including proscription of debate on “the oneness of Nigeria, federalism, federal character, presidentialism, multi-religiosity” and other issues that revolve around “restructuring.”<sup>1</sup> CSOs also feared that Conference, chaired by Supreme Court Justice Niki Tobi and Rev. Mathew Kukah, the PDP would dominate the conference: the president appointed 50 of the 400 delegates and each governor selected six, meaning the PDP controlled nearly half the delegates. Though the National Labour Congress gave qualified support to the Conference, a bloc of CSOs called the Pro-National Conference Organizations and led by Chief Anthony Enahoro and Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka, announced plans to launch a parallel national convention in June. The National Assembly, fearing the Conference could usurp its power to amend the constitution, refused to appropriate funds for the Conference.

## *2003 Elections Results Finalized*

With a three to one vote, the presidential election tribunal dismissed the petition of former presidential candidate Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, which challenged Obasanjo’s re-election. In its ruling, the court stated that although there were allegations of widespread irregularities, the petitioner was not able to prove his case beyond a reasonable doubt.

### **III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES**

#### **A. Legislative Capacity Strengthening**

##### *Assistance on the House Code of Conduct*

Due in part to the unflattering publicity generated by the physical altercations between Members of the Assembly, in November the House leadership brought before the full chamber the Code of Conduct approved by the Committee on Ethics and Privileges. Since April 2004, when NDI provided the Committee technical assistance on the drafting, NDI continued to advise the committee to build Member awareness for the necessity of a code. Between the two plenary debates on the Code, NDI staff strategized with committee members to reach out to potential opponents.

At a crucial point during the lively floor debate when some important clauses were on the verge of being removed, Aminu Bello Masari spoke out in favor of the Code and, using his privileges as Speaker, moved about the chamber to lobby his Members in support of the code as drafted. Though the House did vote to remove language that restricted honoraria for speaking engagements, the Code adopted on November 4, 2004, remained stringent in all other respects. Though an enforcement mechanism is not yet in place—NDI will continue to work with the Ethics Committee to devise appropriate procedures—passage obligates Members to observe the following key provisions:

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<sup>1</sup> Nigeria Tribune. March 3, 2005. [www.tribune.com.ng/Thr030305/sitefiles/editorial.html](http://www.tribune.com.ng/Thr030305/sitefiles/editorial.html)

1. “Recognize that service in the legislature is a public trust and that they as Members epitomize democratic ideals such as adherence to the rule of law and unwavering credibility, integrity and commitment to representing the public.”
2. “Enshrine and apply universally accepted norms of conduct for legislators and public officers, including honesty, probity accountability, leadership, objectivity, responsiveness, selflessness, and openness.”
3. Shall not “Bid for or accept contracts from the National Assembly or any other ministry, parastatal, government agent or private company fro which they have oversight functions.”
4. Shall not “Engage in, or participate in the day-to-day management of private businesses...” or otherwise hold outside employment.
5. “Shall not put themselves in a position where their personal interests will conflict, or appear to conflict, with their official duties and responsibilities and shall resolve any conflict between personal and public interest in favor of the public interest.”
6. Shall not “Make improper use of any payments, allowances or equipment provided to Members for official purposes.”
7. May not accept gifts of any value if that gift is intended or could be perceived to be intended to influence her duties as a public officer.
8. Furnish enhanced reporting of sponsored travel and demands that all travel be”...governed by the same ethical standards of transparency, accountability, and openness typified by other provisions of the Code.”
9. Follow provisions clarifying jurisdiction, enforcement process, and sanctions.

*Retreat for the House Ad-hoc Committee on Legislative Agenda*

Upon completion of the final draft of the report of the House Committee on Legislative Agenda, NDI facilitated a retreat for the Committee. Fourteen Committee members attended, in addition to the Speaker and Deputy Speaker and the Committee Secretary. The aim of the retreat was to assist the Leadership and Committee to prioritize its core legislative agenda and determine related needed support in human resources, IT and Member development.

NDI staff guided the Members through a process to determine their top five issue areas: education, agriculture, health, infrastructure (e.g. roads, power, water), and corruption. Members also ranked the Assembly’s infrastructural needs, presenting not only priorities for implementation but also appropriate mechanisms to achieve them. The final exercise of the retreat was a discussion on strategies to mobilize support among other House Members, the Senate and the executive branch. At the conclusion of the retreat, Members developed a two-pronged plan of action with the following major components:

- Enact legislation and conduct vigorous oversight in the following priority areas:
  - Infrastructure including power, roads, water, railways, telecommunications,
  - Combating corruption through strengthening institutions, and promoting transparency in governance;
  - Agriculture i.e., credit, inputs, technical assistance and other spheres of agro-allied business;

- Education specifically universal basic education and tertiary education; and
- Primary health care including HIV/AIDS; and
- Revamp existing infrastructure especially expansion of information technology (IT), systems and processes in the House, with a view to upgrade them to world-class standards.

In January, the Ad-hoc Committee finished a report that outlined a draft plan of action and provided it to NDI for input.

### *Legislative Internship Program*

In November, with funding support from the National Assembly, NDI and the Constitutional Rights Project resumed the popular Legislative Internship Program. Advertisements placed in several national newspapers attracted over 600 applications; NDI and CRP selected 45 interns from this applicant pool. With a wide range of studies and experience, the intern class was gender-balanced and geographically diverse.

Before receiving their placements, the interns participated in a four-day orientation session. At the orientation, interns received an introduction to the legislative process and training on information technology, resume writing and how to be effective legislative interns. NDI and CRP then placed interns in Members' offices and NA departments, endeavoring to match committee assignments to interns' legislative interests. In the last weeks of the program, the interns visited constituency offices in Kwara, Lagos, Katsina, Kaduna, Ogun, and Imo states to observe the challenges Members face in constituency outreach and overseeing service delivery.

### *Women's Legislative Caucus Strategic Thinking Seminar*

With NDI support, the newly formed Nigerian Women Legislative Caucus held a strategic thinking seminar in Kaduna from October 24 to 27. The goal of the seminar was to encourage caucus members to discuss and strategize on their legislative agenda; determine the structure of and steps needed to institutionalize the caucus; and mobilize resources (human and financial). The Members also discussed the types of capacity building that as legislators they would need to make them more effective and influential legislators.

Twelve Members of the House participated in the retreat. Audrey McLaughlin (NDI-Morocco Senior Program Director and a former Canadian MP) and Deputy Minister Lulama Xingwana, chair of the SADC Regional Women's Caucus and former chair of the South African women's caucus, presented their experiences in women's caucuses. Two former National Assembly Members, Florence Aya and Janet Adeyemi, and the Senate's chief of legislation, Friday Effoduh, also served as resource persons.

NDI followed up with the three women Senators who were unable to attend the event, to furnish them with retreat materials and discuss the draft legislative agenda, and met with the interim chairman to discuss the future steps to institutionalize the caucus. While the NA is in session, the Caucus met weekly to discuss issues such as women's welfare and the Convention

on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and successfully lobbied the Speaker for a 2005 budget provision of Naira 50 million. According to the interim chairman, the caucus intends to use this budget for a study mission to a country with a high degree of women's participation in the political process and to conduct a seminar for women in leadership positions in government and civil society.

### *Information Technology*

In addition to providing oversight of the basic IT trainings now conducted by the Computer Services Unit, NDI IT Program Officer Akeem Jagun conducted the first advanced course for NA staff. This training, conducted from January 25 to February 4 for 15 staff mainly from the Library, Research and Computer Services Department, covered Microsoft Access, PowerPoint and Excel. Trainees first had to pass a basic test to show proficiency.

NDI also prepared a cost estimate for the Computer Services Unit to network the National Assembly and acquire hardware and software to increase its network capacity and eventually install a legislative management system. The National Assembly used this cost estimate to solicit bids in January but as of March 31 had not selected a winning bid.

### *Constituency Staff Training*

To start a new round of constituency outreach activities, in October, NDI held a briefing at the National Assembly. The attendance of only 25 Members belies the actual number of requests made by Members for constituency staff training and HIV/AIDS events in their districts and was probably attributable to the proximity of the briefing to a legislative recess.

In response to the requests, the Institute conducted the first of four constituency staff trainings, for 37 staff members, from March 15 to 19. The purpose of the training was to provide Members' staff with skills and models on how to better serve, interact, and respond to constituents' needs and requests. Each participant received and learned how to use a logbook to record constituent requests and correspondence. Senate Ethics Committee Chairman Adeleke Mamora delivered the keynote address and Sen. Anisulowo Anike and Rep. Chidi Duru performed a role play of how to handle constituent requests and general complaints. In the closing ceremony, the House Clerk, Alhaji Umaru Sani, affirmed that constituency staff "have to know how to synthesize the opinions of the electorate, pass them to the members and educate them especially to eliminate rumor mongering."

### *Technical Assistance to Senate Agriculture Committee*

Upon request from the Senate Committee on Agriculture for technical assistance, NDI arranged for a consultant, Dr. Eric Eboh of the African Institute for Applied Economics (AIAE), to provide analysis of two pieces of legislation to Committee Members and staff. Dr. Eboh analyzed and critiqued the potential impact of the Agriculture Development Fund bill and the Agrarian Revolution bill. The work performed by Dr. Eboh was instrumental in educating the Members and staff on the implications of both pieces of legislation on small local farmers and

regional agriculture prices. As a result of his testimony, the Committee added several amendments to sensitize the potential policy to the concerns of small farmers and consumers.

### **B. Strengthening the National Assembly’s Response to Nigeria’s HIV/AIDS Public Health Emergency**

This period was a time of program consolidation and incorporation of new emphases, especially in the legislative arena. NDI staff engaged the chiefs of staff of NA Health Committees to devise a common agenda for drafting and passage of HIV/AIDS-related legislation – principally anti-discrimination, authorization of the National Action Committee on AIDS and a workers bill of rights to codify policy on HIV/AIDS in the workplace that will soon be promulgated.

NDI also distributed surveys to more than 120 Members to determine their interest in conducting HIV-related activities in their constituency. Of the 75 responses received, 56 percent indicated they regarded HIV/AIDS to be one of the three top priorities for their constituency. On the basis of these responses, NDI and partner Pathfinder are planning upcoming events with an eye toward clustering them within senatorial districts so that more than one Member can take advantage of the partners’ presence in their respective contiguous constituencies. Once developed, the schedule and an activity report will be submitted to USAID.

### **C. Supporting the National Assembly’s Role in the Budget Process**

In March, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) awarded NDI \$1.6 million to help the National Assembly establish a budget office (NABO) and assist committees in legislative formulation in finance and appropriations. The NABO will play a critical role in helping the National Assembly to improve its budget oversight function and produce more informed decisions by committees responsible for financial oversight and negotiations with the executive branch.

NDI staff joined USAID Mission Director Dawn Liberi and the SO 11 and SO 12 Team Leaders in briefing House Speaker Masari and his leadership team on USAID’s support for the NABO initiative. The Speaker was enthusiastic and promised his support, including working with the Senate President to set up a working committee to assist NDI. NDI presented the NABO program element to Senate President Wabara earlier in the year when introducing the Institute’s new Country Director, Mark Clack.

#### *National Assembly Budget Office*

On November 11 and 12, NDI hosted a meeting of the Budget Law Group, a mix of academics, National Assembly staff, a staff member from the executive budget office and CSO representatives with an interest in drafting a comprehensive federal budget law that, among other things, would institutionalize NABO. This meeting followed three exchanges with NA Members and staff, the executive budget office staff and the judiciary in October. Over the course of two full days, the group completed its analysis of every line of draft legislation.

In December 2004 and early 2005, while the Assembly staff participants were occupied with the budget process, the attorneys and other group members researched current statutes that the legislation would affect and added pertinent citations and definitions. The full group will review the revised draft for subsequent circulation and consultation with additional Assembly Members once the President has assented to the 2005 budget.

In March, NDI facilitated two working dinners with committee chairmen and secretaries of the key financial committees to produce a road map and simultaneous strategy to introduce legislation to establish the NABO and to set up the office in advance of its passage into law.

Legislators recognize that it is critical for the NABO to be bicameral and NDI has set out to work with both Houses. The House of Representatives has a Legislative Budget and Resources Committee, chaired by Hon. John Pagoda. As the Senate does not have a corresponding committee, the Senate Appropriations Committee oversees the legislative budget and appropriations. Chairman Agoda informed NDI he has hired a consultant and that the House Speaker has approved his plan for the creation of NABO. Chairman Agoda invited NDI to serve on the implementing subcommittee.

#### *Financial Committees Retreat*

In October, NDI organized a retreat in Kaduna for 66 Members of House financial committees; participants included the chairs of the Appropriation, Finance, National Planning and Economic Development, Public Accounts, Rules and Business, Legislative Budget and Research and Education Committees. The Chairmen of the Senate Appropriation and Finance Committees, the Minister of Finance and representatives of the executive branch budget office also attended and the Speaker of the House opened the event.

The purpose of the retreat, which preceded the submittal of the president's 2005 budget to the legislature, was to discuss best practices in national budget formulation and review. Issues examined included challenges in coordinating legislative review of the budget, public finance management reforms, promulgation of a Medium Term Expenditure Plan, the role of civil society in the budget process, establishment of a National Assembly Budget Office, the utility of a comprehensive budget law, achievement of financial independence from the executive branch, and effective use of resources by the National Assembly.

A former Member of Uganda's parliament, Wandera Dan Ogalo, who was instrumental to the drafting and passage of comprehensive legislation on the budget process and establishing a parliamentary budget office there, served as one resource person. The director general of the Federal Budget Office, Mr. C.D. Gali; Economics Professor Oyinlola Olaniyi of Abuja University; AIAE Director Eric Eboh; Senate Clerk Alhaji Umar Sanni; and Paul Banerjee of Development Alternatives, Inc. also offered important expertise and participated in the dialogue.

#### **IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

In the past, NDI has reported its results within intermediate result 1.1 of the Mission's Performance Monitoring Plan framework. The framework shares and builds on the quarterly

results reported on under Phase II of the National Assembly Strengthening grant. This framework will be replaced with an NDI-created, USAID-approved PMP following the submission of this report. Please refer to the chart (attached as Appendix A) for specific program results data.

In late March, NDI received the first tranche of funding for the NABO program element. Building upon the proposal's objectives, NDI has held a series of consultations with Senate and House leadership including the chairman and senior staff of relevant committees that has indicated strong support for the NABO concept.

## **V. EVALUATION**

### *House Code of Conduct*

The development process and eventual adoption of the House Code of Conduct was a remarkable four-year odyssey for the Institute, dating back to an NDI-sponsored trip in 2001 for select legislators (including the current Speaker, a major proponent of the Code) to attend an ethics course at Tulane University. From inception, the Institute provided assistance with developing, drafting, printing and distributing the document. After the first altercation between Members, which prepared the political environment for the Code, NDI encouraged the Women's Caucus to speak out and lobby the Speaker to introduce the code in plenary. Between plenary sessions, NDI helped the Ethics Committee strategize on gaining buy-in from other legislators, neutralizing the arguments of opponents and highlighting the potential impact of such a document.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate altercations that prompted House action, the adoption of a House Code of Conduct is a meaningful step that demonstrates the resolve on the part of legislators to address issues like corruption and personal misconduct and make the National Assembly a more accountable and transparent institution. For example, during floor debate, the Assembly tightened the provision regulating gifts. As acknowledged by Speaker Masari, in passing a Code of Conduct, "Members have accepted to check themselves by themselves."

President Obasanjo recently noted that many of the issues confronting Nigeria are connected. For the international community to take Nigeria more seriously on matters such as debt relief, the government must demonstrate its commitment to addressing corruption, poverty reduction and other pervasive issues. NDI will continue to work with Code proponents in the Senate, and will continue working with the House Ethics Committee to devise appropriate mechanisms to support compliance and enforcement.

### *Technical Assistance to the House Ad-hoc Committee for a Legislative Agenda*

Like the February 2004 Senate Retreat in Port Harcourt, the retreat for Members of the House Ad-hoc Committee serves an essential role in guiding the Institute's continued assistance. As with the technical assistance provided to the House Ethics Committee, NDI remains committed to working with committees to lay the foundation for broad institutional changes. By encouraging Members to identify priorities and reforms, NDI hopes to continue to build

commitment to – and facilitate communication on – objectives shared by different committees in the House and Senate and the executive branch. The action plans proposed by the Members, which will enable NDI to conduct targeted follow-up with the committees on their areas of concern, is considered a positive sign of post-retreat progress. The strong points of the draft plans are that they indicate the committee’s priorities and carry forward specific ideas of individual legislators; NDI’s advice on the report was to provide more detail on each requisite step in drafting and considering legislation and conducting oversight on the priority issue areas and in improving existing National Assembly infrastructure.

### *Legislative Internship Program*

The fourth installment of the Legislative Internship Program, conducted after a one-year hiatus, was the biggest class yet. The program’s popularity and success stems from its ability to connect Members and staff to enthusiastic and intelligent young men and women and foster a positive exchange and experience. As with previous classes, the interns commented on how their view of the government and their legislators had improved as a result of the program. Similarly, Members often expressed how impressed they were with the quality and capabilities of the interns – sentiments further demonstrated by some interns being offered permanent positions on the Assembly staff.

Toward the end of their tenure and on their own initiative, the interns produced *The Interns Digest*, a newsletter containing and both serious and humorous articles and biographies of each intern. The breadth and quality of the articles, covering the role of the legislature in energy deregulation, HIV/AIDS insertion of the military in politics, and the Plateau State governing crisis, is indicative of the interns’ understanding of issues facing the National Assembly and Nigeria.

After years of discussions to secure tangible expressions of Assembly support, the Institute was pleased when the House of Representatives committed Naira 1.2 million directly to CRP, relieving NDI of the responsibility of providing CRP a subgrant. Although the Assembly hopefully will assume a larger role in the funding of the program next year, NDI and CRP will remain involved in the process to maintain transparency, and ensure a fair, equal-opportunity selection process.

### *Information Technology*

Trainees’ evaluation of the first advanced IT course was very positive. All participants rated the training and the trainer as “Excellent” or “Very Good” and more than 90% believed that the course should be repeated for other NA staff. In the words of one participant, “We appreciate the NDI effort on the training by exposing us to so many areas that are unknown to us which can make our work effective and more easier (sic) to carry out. I really appreciate our trainer with the use of simple language and demonstration, also his friendliness toward us is appreciated; we all say more grease to your elbow.”

### *Women’s Participation*

The strategic thinking seminar was the culmination of years of effort by NDI to mobilize women in the National Assembly. The formation of the Women’s Legislative Caucus and the strategic thinking seminar were important steps in beginning to address the needs of a segment of society disproportionately burdened by low socioeconomic and political status. This seminar encouraged Members to assess their needs and strategize on how to become more effective and influential legislators.

The increased frequency of Caucus meetings is one indication of the positive impact of the seminar: prior to the seminar, the Women’s Caucus had met only a handful of times since forming in April. However, following the seminar, the Caucus has met weekly while the Assembly is in session, to discuss women’s issues and plot their strategy for developing the caucus.

One other important finding of the seminar was the need to clarify the roles of the caucus and the Women Affairs and Youth Development Committees. Additionally, participants identified capacity building as another need; women legislators, as one noted, “were often new, at sea” in the Assembly environment and not beneficiaries of any meaningful orientation at the beginning of their tenure.

### *Constituency Outreach*

The first constituency staff training was highly regarded by participants – over 90 percent stated the overall workshop, the facilitation, and the agenda to be very good or excellent. Nearly half felt the four-day training was too short, but all indicated they had learned some useful skills and that the training should be repeated.

The House Clerk praised NDI’s training: “Programs such as the Legislative Internship and this particular one – the constituency staff program – and the Legislators strategic thinking session, are necessary in helping both the staff and the legislators to become adequately equipped conceptually, technically and intellectually, so that they may be able to pursue the ultimately achieve the objectives of establishing the legislature.”

## **B. Strengthening the National Assembly’s Response to Nigeria’s HIV/AIDS Public Health Emergency**

Of the 75 constituency outreach survey responses NDI received from legislators, out of 12 specified options, 56 percent indicated *HIV/AIDS* to be one of legislators’ top three priorities for their constituency, while a non-exclusive 46 percent chose *health fairs*, which NDI and its partner, Pathfinder, often link together when working with legislators. The fact that only *Youth-focused events* and *dialogues with community groups/leaders* scored higher indicates that legislators regard HIV/AIDS to be a serious threat and worth engaging their constituents. The format of NDI’s constituency outreach events include dialogues with community leaders and always involve youth, who have the highest HIV rates.

## **C. Supporting the National Assembly’s Role in the Budget Process**

Though funding that will allow NDI to greatly enhance its engagement and support to the Assembly financial committees was received only very close to the end of the reporting period, NDI used “core” legislative funding to conduct activities to lay the groundwork for the National Assembly Budget Office and introduction of national budget legislation. The retreat for House financial committees accomplished several things. First, participants demonstrated a commitment to legislative-executive dialogue on the budget process. Indeed, the 2005 budget process was less combative as compared to past years and because of the participation of the Finance Minister and Director of the Executive Budget Office at the retreat, the two branches started out with less divergent viewpoints and a greater sense of mutual respect. For example, during the budget process, the branches were able to peaceably agree to change the petroleum benchmark that ultimately determines the overall budget level.

Second, participants also resolved to retain budget mandates, such as the Mid-Term Expenditure Plan and one that requires executive branch offices to submit quarterly spending reports, first introduced in the 2004 budget. This discussion also reaffirmed Assembly support for NABO and passing a comprehensive national budget law that would institutionalize these mandates in a budget framework including procedures, timeframes and roles and responsibilities among key government actors.

Third, the 2005 budget process was internally more coherent than in the past. NDI was disappointed that the Senate decided to recess at the last minute, meaning only a few key Senators attended, but enough important actors attended the retreat to make some changes to past procedures. As a result, there were fewer disagreements between the two Assembly chambers.

## **VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES**

Findings from the financial retreat, the Women’s strategic thinking seminar and other activities have further contributed to a more in-depth understanding of the needs of the Assembly. The findings are also informing the revisions and modifications to NDI’s work plan for the third phase of the five-year program and will shape activities to be conducted under the expected Strengthening the National Assembly Program, funded by the UK Department for International Development.

### *Information Technology*

- NDI estimates that demand for the advanced IT courses dictates a ratio of one advanced course for every three basic courses conducted by the NA (the courses must share the IT Training Centre). The next advanced course is scheduled for April 4.
- NDI will explore with the Infrastructure subcommittee of the House Ad-Hoc Committee on Legislative Agenda how to operationalize the recommendations for expanding IT usage to increase the efficiency of the National Assembly.

### *Women’s Participation*

- To formalize its structure and develop its constitution and by-laws, NDI will facilitate a seminar for the Women’s Legislative Caucus in May.
- At the request of the Caucus, NDI intends to facilitate a seminar for women in leadership positions in July, reaching out to women in the executive branch office and CSOs.

- Once the Women’s Caucus receives its 2005 allocation, NDI anticipates helping the Caucus conduct a study tour to a country with a high degree of women’s participation in the political process.
- NDI intends to organize a strategic thinking retreat for the House Committee on Women’s Affairs and Youth Development.
- Leveraging support from the British High Commission, NDI may coordinate a meeting with other key stakeholders to support enactment of the Violence Against Women Act.

#### *Ethics*

- The House has asked NDI to facilitate the public launching of its Code of Conduct, including the distribution of a pocket version of the Code to all 360 House Members
- NDI will work with the Senate Committee to develop a comprehensive leg strategy to ensure adoption of a Code of Conduct.
- The House Committee has asked NDI to assist in developing enforcement and sanction procedures. The Institute’s assistance may extend to a study tour for key committee members and staff.

#### *Constituency Outreach and HIV/AIDS*

- NDI and local partner Pathfinder International/Nigeria plan to hold a strategic planning retreat in May with the National Action Committee on AIDS. Topics to be discussed include NACA authorization bill and other AIDS-related legislation, publicizing the Poster of National Concern, support for the NA response against HIV/AIDS, and reinvigoration of the HIV/AIDS constituency outreach program.
- NDI intends to conduct three additional constituency staff trainings for approximately 40 staff each.
- The Forum for Good Governance, an ad-hoc group of 40 House Representatives dedicated to the promotion of democracy and governance, requested that NDI train their constituency office staff. NDI would provide staff facilitation, a training agenda and permission to reprint its *Constituency Outreach Handbook*. The Forum, with financial support from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, will fund all other aspects of the training.

#### *The National Assembly Budget Office*

- In light of the likely resignation of the Senate President, NDI and other key stakeholders will meet with the new Senate leadership to ensure continued support for the NABO concept.
- A needs assessment will be conducted resulting in a report outlining structure, standard products and institutional relationships. Technical assistance for the financial committees will be identified as part of the assessment.
- Procedures for identifying and hiring senior staff will be implemented.

#### *National Budget Law*

- The draft working group should finalize the draft and NDI will work with group to identify potential sponsors for the legislation in both chambers and work to develop an effective legislative strategy.

#### *Other Events*

- NDI will facilitate a retreat for the House Committee on National Planning.
- The Institute will assist with the coordination of public hearings on major agricultural and rural development legislation.

**Appendix A**  
**CEPPS II Indicator Chart: October 2004–March 2005**

<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Quarters 1&amp;2 2005 [October - March]</b>	<b>Quarters 3&amp;4 2005 [April-September]</b>	<b>Cum.</b>
<i>IR: More responsive and transparent governmental institutions</i>			
<b>Indicator: Number of bills passed by the National Assembly and qualitative assessment of these bills according to the type and USAID-supported input.</b>			
Type A – Internal Management	--Consultation with Speaker (2), Senate President, USAID Mission Director, DFID Head of Office to discuss USAID/DFID collaboration to expand NDI's program and the National Assembly Budget Office (NABO) -- 2 consultations to discuss "road map" , consensus concepts, illustrative costs for establishing NABO ( each attended by 2 Senators, 4 Members, 12 senior staff, 3 administrative senior staff, Director, PARP, 3 NDI staff) -- various consultations on NABO (approximately 6 during reporting period; average of 4 Members, 2 senior staff, 2 NDI staff) --5 Consultations on IT expansion		
Type B – Mandated to Pass by Constitution	--Work with coalition of Members, CSOs, representative of Budget Office on national budget law (4 substantive working meetings)		
Type C – Key USAID transition issues	--Technical assistance, briefing on mid-term expenditure framework		
Process A – Technical assistance, skills transfer	--Technical assistance to facilitate enactment of House Code of Conduct (8 consultations, average 4 Members, 1 senior staff)		

<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Quarters 1&amp;2 2005 [October - March]</b>	<b>Quarters 3&amp;4 2005 [April-September]</b>	<b>Cum.</b>
Process B – USAID-supported Committee procedures	Retreats: --4 House Financial Committees (Appropriations, Finance, Public Accounts, National Planning/Economic Development) Attended by 78 Members, 15 staff, 2 rapporteurs, DG Budget Office, Executive Director AIAE, 4 other resource persons --House Ad-Hoc Committee on a Legislative Agenda (14 Members, including Speaker and Deputy Speaker, 4 staff, 5 NDI staff)		
Additional Legislative Activities	--Technical assistance on Tsauri Report on Senate Retreat (Port Harcourt Declaration); technical assistance on IT issues for Duru subcommittee on infrastructure and procedures; technical assistance on final draft of Ad-Hoc Committee on a Legislative Agenda report. --Prepared proposal for Assembly to institutionalize the Legislative Internship Program --2 meetings of donors interested in Agriculture and Rural Development with relevant NA committees. NDI sponsored analyses of bills under consideration. --Prepared, submitted concept papers on HIV/AIDS and 2007 Nigerian elections		
Other Consultations within the National Assembly	--Clerk of the National Assembly, Deputy Clerk of the National Assembly, Clerks of the House and Senate (3 meetings each) --2 meetings with Senate Ethics Committee Chairman --22 courtesy calls to introduce new CD		

<b><i>Sub IR: Strengthening the Women's Legislative Caucus<sup>1</sup></i></b>			
# Times WLC (House Committee) met	--8 meetings		
# Bills introduced by WLC Members	--Draft of violence against women bill under review by Caucus Members.		
# Women trained	Strategic Thinking Retreat (14 Members, 2 external resource persons, 2 senior staff, 3 NDI staff)		
# Other legislative/ program initiatives	Work commenced on a national summit for women elected or appointed officials. Working title: "Promoting Political Participation of Nigerian Women."		
# Substantive contacts/linkages between WLC/ women-oriented NGOs facilitated by NDI	--2 meetings with British Council, members of the Women's Caucus to discuss their new program initiative focusing on gender empowerment and violence against women.		
<b><i>Sub IR: Improved lawmaking skills of trained legislators/legislative staff/committees</i></b>			
# Hearings convened <sup>2</sup>	N/A		

<sup>1</sup> After numerous attempts to work with women legislators to form a Women's Caucus, over the past five years, NDI was finally able to facilitate formation of a Caucus. On May 25, 2004, 23 out of 26 women legislators formally launched the Caucus of Nigerian Women Legislators, with the Speaker of the House and the Senate President attending. Both leaders pledged their support and vowed to find financial resources to support the Caucus.

<sup>2</sup> Includes meetings/seminars to secure substantive input to legislation

# Requests made to NDI for TA/inputs (e.g., newsletters, hearings, legislative drafting, comparative electoral law, codes of conduct)	--Requests from 7 Members including "Win with Women," arranging visits in Washington, DC, information on enforcement and sanctions for Ethics or other Codes of Conduct, micro-credit programs, assistance to the House Committee on Women's Affairs, drafted legislative aide job description for Senator. --Two World Bank teleconferences for Members and senior staff (ethics, legislative budget offices).		
IT Support/Training	--Developed an advanced computer course and manual. Trained 28 persons. --Continued support to the basic computer course. Trained 120 additional persons. --Circulated survey to ascertain Members' needs for computer training. Received, analyzed 108 Members' responses.		
<b><i>Sub IR: Increased collaboration with CSOs and other key groups</i></b>			
# Formal consultations facilitated by NDI	--2 Consultations with the Policy, Research and Analysis Project (PARP) on NABO and other areas of collaboration. --3 consultations with the Inter-parliamentary Union		
# of informal consultations facilitated by NDI	--Legis 37 (Action Group comprised of former Members of the National Assembly) x 3		
# Civil society inputs into legislative process/ strategies	Working Group drafting a national budget law [4 substantive meetings]		
# Civil society organizations in NDI-sponsored constituency outreach/other activities	--Partnership with Pathfinder International/Nigeria on HIV/AIDS – D&G Linkage program continues --Presentation on lessons learned from 2003 elections at Shehu Musa Yar'Adua Memorial Lecture Series		

<i>Sub IR: Strengthened and increased constituency outreach and services</i>			
# Members/staff involved in NDI-supported constituency outreach	--NDI received 75 responses to a survey of approximately 120 House Members and Senators indicating interest in participating in NDI constituency outreach. --Nominated staff to be trained is approximately 160. --Four training sessions scheduled. 37 trained in the first session.		
# Constituents reached by method	N/A		
# Constituents visiting offices/month	N/A		
# Constituency-related materials produced and distributed	--750 Constituency Outreach Handbooks printed/foundation document for training --1,000 constituency brochures printed --200 Constituency Outreach Ledgers printed --1,500 constituency office locator cards printed --3,500 <b>How Our Laws Are Made</b> booklets printed --2,000 laminated digests of <b>How Our Laws Are Made</b> printed in each of 4 major languages – Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo and English – or 8,000 copies		