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List of Acronyms

ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
ADB	African Development Bank
AFA	Alliances for Africa
AFRIGOV	African Centre for Democratic Governance
ALF	African Leadership Forum
Beijing PFA	Beijing Platform for Action
CAT	Convention Against Torture
CAPP	Community Action for Popular Participation
CCR	Centre for Conflict Resolution
CDD	Centre of Democracy and Development
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEDAW-OP.Prot	Optional Protocol to CEDAW
CERD	Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CFCR	Commission for Constitutional Reform
CFSCE	Christian Fellowship for Social Justice and Equity
CLO	Civil Liberties Organisation
CPRW	Convention on the Political Rights of Women
CWCF-N	Church Women Christian Fellowship of Nigeria
DEF	Democratic Enlightenment Forum
DPWCE+AC	Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict
DEVAW	Declaration on the Elimination on all Forms of Violence Against Women
DPWCE+AC	Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict
ECOMOG	Economic Community Cease-Fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FAS	Femmes Africa Solidarite
FERFAP	Federation of African Peace Networks
GADA	Gender and Development Action
GON	Government of Nigeria
IA	International Alert
ICESPR	International Convention on Economic, Social and Political Rights
ICCPR	International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
IHRL	International Human Rights Law Group

Inter-Gender	International Centre for Gender and Social Research
LRRDC	Legal Research and Resource Development Centre
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-government Organisation
NNT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
PA	Project Alert
TOR	Terms of Reference
UDHR	Universal Declaration on Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UN SC	United Nations Security Council
WA	West Africa Programme
WBPC	Women Building Peace Campaign, IA
WRAPA	The Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative

Part I. Background

1.1. Project Background

The unanimous adoption of UN SC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (October 2000) and the adoption of the Resolution on the Gender Aspects of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding by the European Parliament (November 2000) are great strides in the advancement of women. These gains coupled with the presentation of over 150,000 postcard signatures and the inauguration of the joint UNIFEM/International Alert Millennium Peace Prize for Women (March 2001) highlighted Phase 1 of the global campaign *Women Building Peace* launched by International Alert and over 100 NGOs in June 1999. A second set of activities are currently being developed to ensure that women's voices and perspectives are heard and can influence the effective implementation of the UN and EU resolutions. The peace and security focus adopted by the Resolution provides a framework in which to develop phase 2 of the project and three case study sites have been identified for the implementation of the programme i.e. Nepal, the South Caucasus and Nigeria and it was in conjunction with this project and taking cognisance of the field programme already working in the region, that a field trip was made to Nigeria to conduct a feasibility study between July 27 and August 6, 2001.

Objectives:

- to meet with a number of organisations (women's NGOs, government, other NGOs, research institutes) to assess the current security issues affecting women in Nigeria;
- to identify which organisations are working on these issues, listen to what they had to say and identify 2 or 3 of these with whom we could collaborate during the 18 months of the project;
- to meet with the ECOWAS Secretariat and inform them of the Resolutions and the campaign.

1.2. Nigeria At A Glance

6.1.1. Nigeria and its Neighbours

Located on the Gulf of Guinea and straddling western and equatorial Africa, Nigeria is Africa's largest country. Oil and offshore deposits, including the Niger Delta, define the country's geo-strategic position and indeed has contributed to its conflict with Cameroon over contested offshore oil rights. At the last count in 2000, Nigeria has a population of 123.3 million of which just over 50 per cent are women. With a comparative area slightly more than twice the size of California, Nigeria's size, demography, economic

Box 1. Nigeria: Some Basic Statistics

Population: 123.3 million
Independence: October 1, 1960
Religions: 50% Muslim; 40% Christian; 10% Indigenous beliefs
GDP: \$110.5 billion (1999)
GDP per capita: \$970 (1999)
Unemployment rate: 23% (1999)
Exports: \$13.1 billion
Imports: \$10 billion
External debt: \$20.62 billion (1999)
Currency: Naira
Source: The World Fact Book, 2000

strength and military capabilities and its reserves of oil and asphalt has set it apart as the dominant regional power. Nigeria is surrounded by smaller and weaker states whose vulnerabilities to external influences and pressure could, and often does, impact adversely on its internal security. Consequently, it has seen border clashes with neighbouring Cameroon with whom it shares a 1690km border and along its 85km border with Chad. A similar situation ensues along its 1497km border with Niger which is plagued by smuggling and illegal immigrants. Additionally, the Joint Nigerian/Benin border Commission was re-established in 1981 to deal with incursions by troops from Benin (with whom it has a 773 km border) and increased incidence of smuggling into Nigeria. In fact, in early August this year, 2001, the Nigerian Minister for Co-operation and Integration in Africa urged joint security measures between the two countries in order to stem the trend.

1.2.2 Nigeria and Global Issues

Nigeria has many global interests and its external roles have included contributing military units to several peacekeeping missions i.e. to the Congo in the 1960s; to Tanzania in 1964 and to the UN-India/Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM) in 1965; the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in 1978; the UN Observer Missions to oversee the Iran-Iraq cease-fire and the Angola/Namibia peace mission. In fact, Nigeria has contributed circa 16,000 troops to UN peacekeeping functions and boasts Africa's longest and most distinguished record of participation in UN peacekeeping operations. In 1987 Nigeria initiated a Concert of Medium Powers (also known as the Lagos Forum) among non-aligned states and was elected chair of the group and co-ordinator of its programme, and in conjunction with this, hosted the second meeting of the twenty-three nation Zone of Peace and Co-operation of the South Atlantic in July 1990. Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has also been an issue and the country has signed the NNT on the day it was opened for signature in 1968. It has also made proposals at the UN for an African nuclear-free zone.

6.1.1. The Government

President Olusegun Obasanjo, of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) came to power on May 29, 1999. His administration, known as the Fourth Republic¹, follows the 30 years of military rule since the country became independent on October 1 1960 and which have left a varying and mostly negative impact on the population and within the international community. Since taking power, President Obasanjo, in recognition that 70 per cent of the population live in extreme poverty, that significant levels of the population

¹ The first three republics lasted from 1960 to 1998 with short periods of non-military rule.

are illiterate (including a large percentage of women), that corruption is still rife and that there is unease about the current Constitution, has set up a number of programmes, ostensibly to benefit the entire Nigerian population. These include:-

- the Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP),;
- the launch of the Universal Basic Education Scheme (UBE);
- the Anti-Corruption Bill to check and sanitize corrupt practices within the government, in parastatal, public and private enterprises and to ensure that offenders of the law are brought to book;
- the launch and inauguration of the Justice Oputa Human Rights Investigation Commission on June 14 2001 to symbolise the end of years of executive lawlessness by successive military regimes. In President Obasanjo's words, the panel, 'is to reconcile those who feel alienated by past political events, heal wounds inflicted on our people and restore harmony in our country. We want the injured to be reconciled with their oppressors. This is the way forward`;
- a review of the current Constitution.

Feelings run high about the ability of the constitution to contribute to the democratic dividends promised by the present political dispensation. Many Nigerians believe that the document is a case of 'retroactive distribution of power - after the present incumbents were already elected.` As such, both the Legislative and Executive arms of the Government as well as civil society have pointed out the need to review the Constitution. In a speech made recently at a press conference in the Nigerian state of Benin, Special Adviser to the President and the National Assembly, Alhaji Aminu Wali said ` if people get good governance, the military has no business in government and when people are sensitised and are part of the decision-making process, they will have that sense of belonging and then they can stand up and defend democracy with whatever they have` .

Part II. The Position of Women in Nigeria

Women's numerical strength in the population is not reflected in the political life, decision-making processes and structures of the nation. They are inadequately represented at the senate, national and state legislatures and in the House of Representatives (National Policy on Women).²

Discussions with NGOs, academics and other constituencies revealed that Nigerian women are concerned by several factors that impact on their advancement and empowerment. These include gender inequity in decision making bodies and government structures; domestic violence and violence in conflict situations³; archaic and discriminatory traditional practices which include discrimination against widows (defacement, confinement at home, no remarriage among others); female genital mutilation and other harmful practices. Nigerian women largely agree that there is a collusion of silence amongst women regarding their dis-empowerment due to religious dictates which make women subordinate to men, continuing traditional laws which are unfavourable to women as well as inadequate levels of literacy and education, and out-of-date land laws - all of which affects women's human rights.

6.1. Nigerian Women, Empowerment and the Nigerian Constitution

'... it is oppressive and highly segregational when men gather together to promulgate laws affecting women without any female representation. It is more absurd and totally ridiculous when a set of ambitious military officers draw up a Constitution for a republic (Tejumade Oke, The Achievers World).

'.. the ways in which constitutions incorporate women's human rights vary a great deal from country to country. Some of the most significant constitutional gains have been won in countries where there has been a broader national move for constitutional renewal.'⁴

For many Nigerian women, one of the most significant and worrying gaps in the current political and democratic dispensation is the lack of a gender perspective in the Constitution and the fact that it has not been debated by, nor voted on by women. The language of the Constitution is of particular concern as it refers only to men and even though it was reviewed in 2001 by the Presidential Technical Committee, women were

² While there has been much talk about this document, the NGOs are waiting to see it and complain that they have not been consulted about its contents.

³ Women suffer brutal violence from their men folk be it husbands, brothers, fathers or other kin. During ethnic, religious and communal conflicts, women are often bathed in acid.

⁴ Bringing Equality Home: Implementing the CEDAW. Ed. By Ilana Landsberg-Lewis. UNIFEM, 1998.

not represented in adequate numbers. Before Independence in 1964, Nigeria's women played a prominent role and contributed to the birth of their nation. This contribution from women, among whom are Mrs Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, Mrs Margaret Ekpo and Hajiya Sawaba Gambo to name a few, has been well acknowledged. Nigerian women acknowledge the creation of a Ministry for Women's Affairs under the military regime of General Babangida but many NGOs headed by women question the sincerity of the initiative. In an interview with the CAPP, Nkoyo Toyo, Executive Director of GADA says, 'during the military years in Nigeria, there was a high visibility for an agenda for women'. We know of several initiatives such as the Better Life for Women Programme, the Family Support programme and others [established by the First Ladies of the period] but although visible, there was no accountability. So there must now be a critical understanding of the difference between a visible agenda for women and the reality, with women playing an integral part in their own destiny.' (*Interview in Community. Vol.5 No.5 2000*).

Women in all walks of life are realising that to be an integral part of the democracy, they need to organise and be more radical. Nigeria has 36 states and 747 local government chapters yet as seen in Table I, it has only four female senators, five Ministers in the Federal government and one female Deputy-Governor of a state (Lagos). President Obasanjo, when he came to power in May 1999, echoing the Beijing Platform for Action promised that 30 per cent of the decision-making positions in his government would be reserved for women, sadly this is not yet a reality. Thus, Nigerian women feel especially aggrieved at their lack of political empowerment and their voices are among the loudest calling for a referendum on the Constitution. As a result, women are asking they can raise their awareness of the instruments available for the protection of their rights and their political and economic advancement.

**Table 1: Women in Positions of Power:
Senators, Ministers and Permanent Secretaries**

Senators	
Senator Ita Giwa	
Senator Koforworola Buknor -Akerere (Deputy-Governor of Lagos State)	
Senator Khairat Abdulrazaq	
Senator Khairat Gwadabe	
Women Ministers	
Minister for Women Affairs and Youth	Hajiya Aishat Ismail
Minister for Culture and Tourism	Mrs Boma Bromillow-Jack
Minister for Aviation	Dr, Mrs Kema Chikwe
Minister for Health	Dr, Mrs Amina Ndalolo

Minister, State Science and Technology	Mrs, Pauline Tallen
Permanent Secretaries and other prominent women	
Salaries and Wages Commission, the Presidency	Mrs Amoke Rufari
Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources	Mrs Ama Pepple
Office of the Head of Service of the Federation	Mrs Lois Asugha
Federal Ministry of Police Affairs	Chief, Mrs Grace Archibong
Ministry of Justice and Solicitor -General	Mrs Turi Akerele
Ministry of Information	Dr, Mrs Safiya Mohammed
Special Adviser to the President on Women's Affairs	Chief, Mrs Titi Ajanaku
Senate Chief Whip	Senator, Mrs Stella Omu
Deputy Chair, Women's Affairs Committee	Mrs Florence Aya

Part III. Key Security Issues Affecting Women in Nigerian Society

3.1. Indiscriminate Violence by the Mainstream Security and Illegal Forces

Box. 2. Defining Security

The Women Building Peace campaign has adapted **human security** as the framework within which to base the programme. Human security is people centred, focusing on men and women. It recognises the inter-relatedness of peoples and that issues cross borders and boundaries. Consequently men and women from the developed world are not isolated from the problems affecting men and women in the developing world. We will integrate women's voices, experiences and perspectives into international security policies through policy examination of peace support operations, disarmament and security sector reform. Our definition of **human security** includes a consideration of structural, physical, psychological and context specific issues such as early warning, displacement and economic empowerment.

Nigeria has security forces that are symbolic (political and communal). These forces are associated with repressive acts against civilians, This impinges to a great extent on the lives of women. It is evident that there has been no serious effort to bring about a change of any kind into gender sensitising the security forces of both the police and the army and that there is a need for a comprehensive reform of the security forces and to ensure that the CDD is the London and Lagos based CDD which, has a democratic control of military and security sector. Here participants underscored the fact that the reforms should require the mobilisation of women and a comprehensive security sector policy-making arrangements`

(CDD News, Jan-March 2001). Additionally, wives of the armed forces say that they have a role to play in issues of peace and security and can have an impact on the patriarchal ideology. They acknowledge that women in Nigeria are still not yet fully empowered, nor fully integrated into decision-making structures which deal with security. Their perception is that military rule has contributed to deepening the suffering women experience in this patriarchal society and to the security issues affecting women in today's Nigeria. This perception was clearly articulated in conversations with a number of individuals, NGOs, academics and other civil society actors, it became evident that women's security is affected by a number of factors, which include those outlined below.

6.1.1. The Military

Nigeria's armed forces is estimated to be around 94,500 (1990) and are among the largest in Africa. They are renowned for excesses of brutality including extra-judicial killings, torture, repression, assassinations, disappearances, forced displacement and other human rights abuses. In 1999 for example, during a military attack on a town in one of the states, armed soldiers were photographed raping and killing women. This photograph was published in *The Punch* newspaper (November 7, 1999). One outcome of the indiscriminate rape of women by soldiers is the spread of HIV/AIDS, a disease that is currently endemic in Africa.

6.1.2. The Police

The end of military rule has refocused attention on the Nigerian Police Force which, according to some NGOs, have a dismal record of torture and extra-judicial killings of the citizens it is paid to protect. Their behaviour may be compounded by poor pay, lack of suitable accommodation, deficiencies in equipment as well as by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons left over from successive military regimes and cross border incursions and smuggling by the citizens of several neighbouring states. However, that cannot excuse the descent into human rights abuses and torture. One Nigerian NGO, the CLO has documented several instances of the indiscriminate deaths of women at the hands of the police. Recent examples include the death of *Pamela Sunday Phillips* at the hands of a Deputy Superintendent of Police and a pregnant women shot and killed by the police at a checkpoint in Lagos because the driver of the bus in which she was travelling refused to pay a bribe. [CLO's Annual Report on Human Rights in Nigeria, 1999].

6.1.3. Ethnic Militias

In July 2000 *The Guardian*, a Nigerian daily newspaper, spoke in its Editorial about the insecurity abounding in the nation and expressed anxiety about the resurgence of the many `ethnic armies`. These fears and concerns are echoed by Nigerian NGOs. Nigeria has three main ethnic groups i.e. the Hausas/Fulanis of the North, the Yorubas in the South and the Igbos in the West. According to NGOs, these groups all have their own ethnic militias, which are said to have been created to provide a measure of security in the face of the ineptitude and dereliction of duty of the Nigerian Police. These include groups with such names as the `Bakassi Boys`, in the southeast of the country, and the `Odua's Peoples Congress`, a pan Yoruba cultural group and an ethnic army. In the north there is the `Arewa People's Congress` defending the Hausa/Fulanis, the `Operation Damisa (now Operation Zaki)` and the `Egbesu Boys (Niger Delta)` among others others. Many NGOs believe that the tacit approval given to these ethnic militias by the authorities is the reason for their activities as they are often used as protection for government property. The climate of fear in the country, coupled with the determination of people to protect themselves and their property has led to many Nigerians joining these proliferating militias.

6.2. The Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons: Nigeria's booming gun market

In Nigeria, smugglers, illegal arms dealers, armed robbers, disaffected elements of the police and the military, as well as the ethnic militias and armed robbers have formed a powerful cartel which has flooded the country with dangerous weapons, thus raising

the level of violent crimes and affecting the security of the populace and especially women. In Lagos, homes are generally behind a walled compound with guards, women do not drive around at night if they are unaccompanied. In recent times, guns have been used in almost all parts of the country, bandits, armed robbers, assassins, ethnic militias and security agents have intensified their mandates for or against the law. TELL, the Nigerian independent weekly newspaper states, `in the first six months of this year, the police in Lagos recovered 246 types of guns from armed robbers, two thousand, four hundred and thirty-one series of ammunition were impounded...among the casualties gunned down were bankers, businessmen and women.` (No. 32 August 6 2001).

6.1. Ethnic, Communal and Religious Violence

Ethnic, communal and religious conflicts and cleavages are prevalent in many states in federal Nigeria and are occasioned by age-old rivalries and animosities, economics, politics and religion. Some NGOs perceive the divisions as being:- conflicts around resource control in the Southern states, resurgence of ethnic conflict in the South East, conflict between the Tiv peoples and other ethnic groups in the Middle Belt states, oil companies and communal conflict in the Niger Delta, and religious conflicts in states such as Kaduna. What is beyond doubt, however, is that the conflicts have many dimensions - including the perceived inequity of resource allocation primarily from oil revenues, the declaration of Sharia Law by at least 10 of the 36 states, as well as ongoing rivalries of various kinds between states. Just recently (August 2001) in the Niger Delta - oil producing local governments have become increasingly frustrated at not receiving a greater proportion of federal government funds. A Committee made up of the local government chairmen in the state as well as the State Accountant-General and the Permanent Secretary of the Bureau of the State have been meeting on this. In many instances these outbreaks of ethnic violence and conflicts have resulted in population migration and displacement, the mindless destruction and wastage of human lives, a large percentage of these security personnel, children and women. This has severely tested the ability of the civilian authorities to manage and resolve them. In discussions with NGOs. such as CAPP and CLO as well as Inter-Gender and other organisations focusing on women issues, they were appalled by the atrocities committed against women, including acid baths, rape, and indiscriminate brutality. These horrific results of the conflicts have been graphically published in a number of publications including Liberty (published by CLO, VOL 11. No.5, September 1999).

By May 2000, more people have been estimated to have died in these conflicts than in any similar period during the 15 years of military rule⁵. President Obasanjo is said to be so concerned by the on-going incidence of armed banditry, the lawlessness of armed

⁵ Jane's Services. Wysiwyg:/40/http://www.janes.com/regi...sentinel/central_africa/nigeria/shtml.

ethnic militias and ethnic violence and the results, that he recently (August 2001) agreed to a three-day Presidential retreat on National Security `to appreciate the concept of security, share ideas on the security situation and find solutions to the endemic problems related to crimes and other security threats to the country. In addition he is determined to enforce discipline into the armed forces as he believes that this is the only thing that distinguishes a uniformed force from a mob.

Part IV. Nigeria: International and Regional Instruments on Women, Peace and Security

Several international instruments and Conventions, Declarations and Resolutions providing for the protection, security and advancement and human rights of women are in existence. Nigeria has signed up to a substantial number of them (see Table 2 below) yet it has a very mixed human rights record.

Table 2: International and Regional Instruments relating to Women, Peace and Security

International Instrument/Human Rights	Ratified	Is it specific about Women's Rights, Peace and Security
ICCPR + Protocol	yes, July 29:93	
ICESCR	yes same date	
UDHR	yes	Art.16, right to marry+ to equal rights during and at the dissolution of marriage. Art.26 para 2 speaks about motherhood and childhood. Otherwise it speaks of `everyone`
Rights of Women		
CERD	yes	
CEDAW	yes, July 1985	Has 30 arts which is in effect a `international bill spelling out women's rights
CEDAW OP. PROT	yes Sept 8: 00	
CPRW	yes	
DEDAW	yes	
DPWC+AC	yes	
DEVAW; A/RES/48/104	yes	Has 6 Arts which promote the equality, security, liberty and integrity of women
Humanitarian Law		
Geneva Conventions and related protocols	yes	
	yes	
Regional Instruments⁶		
ACHPR		talks about men and the individual, no references to women
Draft Protocol ACHPR and Women's Rights	no	has 26 articles which specifically promote women's security, cultural and political rights and the right to peace. This goes further than most international instruments.

⁶ The Charters, Conventions and Instruments in this section refer to those established or put in place by the OAU and ECOWAS.

Part V. ECOWAS and ECOMOG

In the 1980s ECOWAS became the focus of regional environmental and security threats posed by toxic waste, international smuggling and narcotics trafficking. In 1991, in cognizance of the move towards the replacement of totalitarian regimes with democratic governments, the Community subscribed to a Declaration of Political Principles committing the signatories to integrate the countries in the sub-region through the harmonisation of national, social, political and economic policies. Most recently, ECOWAS created the post of a Deputy Executive Secretary for a Department of Operations, Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Affairs, a Department of Political Affairs and Security and an Observation and Monitoring Centre for the Moratorium on Small Arms. It has also signed a Protocol establishing the mechanism for conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping and security. ECOWAS has also established ECOMOG to oversee peacekeeping efforts in the sub-region. It is very open to relations with NGOs as has been demonstrated by the ongoing dialogue between IA's West Africa Programme and the Institution as well as ECOWAS' relationship with various Nigerian and other NGOs including the sub-region based African organisation AFA. AFA focuses on women's human rights and have collaborated with ECOWAS to organise meetings to put human rights and peace on the agenda. Additionally AFA are collaborating with FERFAP to launch a three year programme entitled *Community Leaders Peace Initiative*. One of the objectives of this initiative is to identify best practice for women in peace promotion and to assist in developing a framework to strengthen those practices. ECOWAS, meanwhile is interested in collaborating with IA to organise a West Africa wide briefing for women on the UN SC Resolution 1325.

6.1. Nigeria's Role in ECOWAS

Nigeria's role is largely determined by its size and resources as well as its security concerns. Thus it plays a prominent leadership role in ECOWAS and a significant role in ECOMOG to which it contributes troops, and as a part of which has sent peace-keeping deployments to Chad, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Equatorial Guinea. In late 1986, it signed phase two of the ECOWAS protocols on free movement of community citizens.

Part VI. The Role of International Alert

Nigeria is clearly dealing with conflicts in many of its states and the consequences of several years of military rule that have resulted in serious security issues both externally and internally. Ethnic and other conflict in several states, as well as the lawlessness of the security and extra-legal forces/militias, contribute to the personal insecurity of women and that of the populace generally. What role is there for a conflict resolution organisation like IA which, at its centre, has a desire to help local populations live in peace?

Through its West African programme, IA has conducted several missions to Nigeria in an effort to understand and engage in dialogue with Nigerians on religious and interethnic violence in the country. Several reports have been produced which can be obtained from the programme. These reports, especially the report resulting from the Colloquium for Religious and Ethno-Political Leaders in Kaduna (December 10-13, 2000), provide a good summary of the states in conflict and their causes.

Within its Advocacy Department, IA has the Women and Peacebuilding Campaign. Launched in 1999, phase 1 of its work has recently been completed and new work is now beginning the implementation of its second phase. Phase 2 of the programme will focus on Resolution 1325, which has 16 paragraphs dealing with the inclusion of women in national, regional and international decision making structures for peace and security. It encourages governments to include women in field-based peace-keeping operations as military observers, within civilian police components, and among human rights and humanitarian personnel. The instrument further calls upon governments and others to adopt a gender perspective in dealing with the special needs of women and girls when considering post-conflict reconstruction. Thus phase 2 of the programme will build on relationships previously established with the campaign's focal points and other partners established during Phase I to :-

Monitor and encourage accountability of relevant international instruments pertinent to the women, peace, security and empowerment agenda. This will involve the development of a monitoring framework and qualitative and quantitative indicators, which will be discussed and agreed with women and other civil society organisations in the country. This will be followed by consultations on the UN SC Resolution 1325 to assess: how it relates to previously produced instruments, what the apparent gaps are and the utility of the Resolution as an advocacy tool to secure domestication of and accountability to international instruments;

Document and analyse women's peacebuilding Know-How: It is widely accepted that women are engaged in peacebuilding activities and that they have a significant role and a right to be included at all levels of peacemaking processes related to peace and security issues. What is

less clear is exactly what women do, how they do it, what are the challenges they face and what the lessons are that they learn. Additionally, how can this research be widely shared with both women's groups and policy makers? The Women Building Peace Campaign (WBPC) will develop a framework and indicators in collaboration with partner organisations and experts; identify case studies on the basis of themes such as disarmament, reconstruction, interview the organisations and their leaders; analyse the information; extract the lessons; develop policy recommendations and share in products ranging from videos to policy reports;

Advocacy Toolkit :The third aspect of the programme will be an advocacy toolkit/manual designed for women's organisations working on women, peace and security issues. The manual will build on a document already in place but will be substantially re-designed and enriched from our experiences on the monitoring and women peacebuilding know-how. It will be enriched with case studies from around the world and will be tested in countries such as Nigeria, Nepal, Colombia, East Timor and the South Caucasus (Georgia, Abkhazia and South Ossetia).

As both the West Africa and WBP programme have a focus on women, after further discussion we may be able to work together in the following ways:-

- develop a joint funding proposal to a donor such as McArthur for a women's project that will include funds for a field and advocacy component to the work;
- recruit an intern or volunteer or other staff shared between the programmes;
- develop a joint consultation with ECOWAS and FAS on UN Resolution 1325 and its use as an advocacy tool;
- produce a joint report between the WBP, West Africa and Security and Peacebuilding Programmes on Gender perspective and security sector reform in Nigeria;
- document and analyse women's peacebuilding know-how in the Niger Delta.

6.1. What Nigerian NGOs say

In consultation with the Nigerian NGOs, it became clear that although Nigerian NGOs, institutions and others are very advanced in their work on violence against women, empowerment and other human rights questions, there is still more work to be done on understanding peace and security issues and how to add the gender perspective. The following suggestions and comments emerged from the groups and individuals which participated in the meetings and discussions:-

`there is too much emphasis on the westernised version of conflict management and conflict resolution. If you want to get full participation from women, take it to the grass roots. It might even be worth commissioning research on women and the traditional aspects of conflict resolution in the society` (CFCR)

`don't distribute questionnaires, instead get the market women involved. We won't recommend a baseline survey as this can be prone to manipulation` (GADA)

`the problem of gender is multi-faceted. For too long men have been in the forefront. We have to work with the men and the women to re-orient and re-condition the men to stop the violence against women and to behave better towards them. We should make use of the church institutions as they protect and give anonymity. Include the corporate sector.` (CCR+PA)

`as a follow-up to this first meeting, we suggest a wider consultation with NGOs and policy makers on a theme which could be Women, Conflict Management and Resolution in Nigeria or Women's Participation in Conflict Resolution: The Dividend for Democracy` (WOPED).

`the media should take women's affairs more seriously. There should be a National Policy on women detailing government's attention to women. There has been some talk of this but none of us have seen it as yet` (the Comet)

`women are the main peacebuilding unit of the family - the women controls the head, heart and the hand of the man. Why talk about the issue of gender balance? Can we separate tradition, culture and religion from the issue of women and the mainstreaming of gender? Whose peace are we defining? How active and dynamic are the women themselves? The issue of women should be taken to the grassroots. Rigorous diagnostic/research needs to be conducted on what went wrong and a methodology should be employed to make things understandable. It should be focused on affecting the policy makers` (CDD)

`it is true that security issues have not been dealt with. There is a strong case for advocacy to change the legislation and to reform the security sector and the wives of the military themselves have acknowledged that there is a role for women. A gender perspective needs to be added but note that advocacy is constrained by party politics and the police. Perhaps the way to start could be to conduct a baseline study to see what women know about peace and security and then to develop a sensitisation programme on peace and security issues` (CFCR)

Part VII. Next Steps

Internally

- disseminate the study
- organise a de-briefing
- meet with WA programme

Externally

- update partners on progress of internal discussions and project
- produce MOU for agreed partners
- design outline of consultation, consult widely internally and partners
- produce draft monitoring framework and consult
- produce draft know-how framework and consult
- refine and finalise both frameworks for consultation with partners
- organise consultation and produce report

Appendix 1: Organisations and Focus

Organ./ Individual	Issue	Access (gov/mil etc.)	Interested in Phase2 of campaign	How perceived in country
AFRIGOV	Think-tank with focus on research on adding the gender perspective to ethnic, religious and communal conflicts and the interface with peace.	Access to academic circles NGOs and some government structures. Based in Jos in Plateau state.	Preliminary discussions held with some of the academics attached to this institution. Further discussions needed with the Director.	Good, solid reputation. Highly prized as a sound research institute.
ALF	Think-tank created by a military regime but focuses on empowerment, political participation among other relevant issues.	Excellent access to government structures, academic circles and ECOWAS.	No discussion were held with them.	Good reputation. Well known both inside and outside Nigeria.
CAPP	Community-based organisation that promotes rights of rural peoples. Promotes and defends democratic norms. Specialises in 'town hall' meetings.	Excellent access to all levels of the community. Some access to government. Access to organisations based overseas.	Excellent bi-lateral discussions with them both in Jos and in Abuja. Although they have very good programmes their focus is not ours. They would be keen to participate in further consultations.	Good reputation. Like many of the other NGOs, they are part of several coalition groups.
CDD	A think tank which acts as a catalyst for strategic analysis.	Excellent access to a number of stakeholders as they have offices both in Nigeria and in London	Further discussions with directors would be needed.	Knowledgeable and serious.
CLO	Work on women's rights, democracy and governance, constitution reform, legal assistance and human rights abuses.	Good access to government, rural communities, media and judiciary.	Yes. Would participate in a wider consultation on the issues.	Seen as knowledgeable and serious. Well respected.
CCR-PA	Recently created to focus on women leaders and conflict transformation. Involved in baseline studies at a regional level.	Access to national level organisations but not clear what other linkages they have.	Interested in participating in any wider consultations. More information needed on them with meetings organised with the Director.	Now developing their programmes. Not very well established but already known.
CFCR	A coalition of over 40 NGOs and organisations committed to a process led and participatory approach to constitutional reform	Access to all states in the Federation and a wide array of stakeholders including the military and government.	Interested in being a part of future consultations and initiatives.	Recently established but already has a good, solid reputation.

	in Nigeria.			
LRRDC	Promotes respect for human rights through education especially in relation to children and human rights.	Well-known organisation with a wide network and contacts at all levels of the society.	Interested in participating in any future consultation.	Perceived as solid and with a good reputation.
Transparency in Nigeria	Local NGO which focuses on democracy issues.	General Ishola Williams is well-known in some quarters. Has good access to military, government and ECOWAS.	No meetings held with him as he was out of the country.	
WOPED	Local NGO which is working towards becoming regional. Focus is on women, peace and security issues. Now beginning to work on issues of small arms.	Has access to local, national and some regional NGOs. Not much access to (nor desire to access) government structures but good relationship with US funders and the media.	Relationship already there and can be deepened. Would expect financial gain from any further collaboration with the campaign.	Perceived as being serious and trustworthy. Has a reputation and programme is respected in-country. Violence Against Women programme well respected and funded by UNIFEM. Empowerment programme funded by USAID.
WRAPA	Recently established NGO focusing on education, enlightenment and advocacy on women's rights.	Has chapters in several states. Very close links with women in governmental structures and women in ECOWAS.	Recommend that contact is maintained. Focus not same as campaign's.	Perhaps because of its newness, WRAPA is viewed with suspicion by more established NGOs.
Women, Law+Dev Centre, Nigeria	Run by a university professor. Focus on women, political participation and women's rights.	Has some access to government structures and wider community.	Was unable to meet her as she was away. Now in email contact.	Not clear what people think of the organisation. Further research needed.

Appendix 2: Organisations and Individuals Consulted with

Organisation (Lagos)	Individual	Contact Details
GADA	Ada Agina-Ude, Ex Director	gada@linkserve.com.ng
CFCR +CDD)	John Ikubaje	jikubaje@cddnig.org/yahoo.com
WOPED	Theresa Akumadu; Kayode	woped@infoweb.abs.net
LRRDC	Bimbo Awodiji	++ 288 0694
HRA	Gbenga Fasuji	fasujigbenga@yahoo.com
CLO	Abdul Oroh Ex Director Steve Ahuro-Daniel	clo@gacom.net cfsje@bwave.net
HURI-LAWS		hurilaws@hurilaws.org
CCRPA	Ngozi Nkem Owoh, PO, governance Henry Okechukwu, PO Peace Ed Training	ozonnia@hyperia.com or tlchfa@yahoo.com
AWJ	Victoria Ibanga	
Comet newspapers	Sunday Ojeme	sojeme@yahoo.com
Project Alert	Josephine Effah-Chukwuma	
Democratic Enlightenment Forum	Muhid Musa Abubakar	capp@cocapp.org
Christian Foundation for Social Justice and Equity	Joseph Sangosanya	cfsje@bwave.net
Church of Women Christian Fellowship, Nigeria	Naomi Mankeville	
Organisation on OptionAid Network	Zael A Kwakfut	
Inter-Gender	Annie Maduka Dr Dennis Ityavyar, Director	intergender@hisen.org
Ministry of Medical and Health, Women's Committee	Mrs Regina T Yusuh	
LHR	Rita Wambutda	leaguetights@infoweb.abs.net
Ministry for Women's Affairs Jos	Lucy Kwalda, Chairwoman Cecilia Dapoet, Commissioner for Women's Affairs	PO Box 7534 Jos, Plateau State
African Centre for Democratic Governance/University of Jos	Dr Samuel Egwu, Dept Political Science	egwus@unijos.edu.ng
Law Faculty, University of Jos	Hajiya, Mrs M Nasir Davou	

	Dalyop	
National Association of Women Academics (NAWACS)	Dr Irene Oronsaye-Salami	
CAPP	Joseph Mamman, Ex. Director	capp@cocapp.org
Federal Ministry of Information	Dr Safiya I Muhammad, Permanent Secretary	++ 234 (9) 234 4107
Federal Ministry for Women's Affairs/Youth	Hajiya Aisha M Ismail	++ 234 (9) 523 3644
ECOWAS	Dr Halima Ahmed, Legal Department General Cheick Diarra, Deputy Executive Secretary, Political Affairs, Defence and Security	hahmed@ecowasmail.net co-diarra@ecowasmail.net

Appendix 3: Texts of Interest

Books and Papers

Ethnic and Religious Violence in Nigeria; Samuel. G. Egwu. African Centre for Democratic Governance (AFRIGOV).

“Curriculum Workshop for Gender and Women’s Studies”, in *Nigeria No.3: A Report of the Network for Women’s Studies in Nigeria*; edited by Biola Odedije and Ifeoma Isiugo-Abanihe. 1999, Masuro.

Making the Political terrain More Women Friendly: Challenges and Strategies, Dr Samuel G. Egwu. Paper presented at the WOPED workshop on Women and Political Empowerment, Jos, Plateau State. July 31, 2001.

The Prospects and Gains of Women’s Greater Participation in Nigeria’s Democracy. Mrs J.M Nasir. Paper presented at the WOPED workshop on Women and Political Empowerment, Jos, Plateau State. July 31, 2001.

Gender Resource Book for Training and Advocacy. Federal Ministry of Women’s Affairs and Social Development, Nigeria and UNICEF, Technical Assistance by Inter-Gender.

Development and Rights of Women and Children in Nigeria. Etannibi E Alemika and Dennis A Ityavyar. Inter-Gender.

NGO Publications

Selling the Message: A Report of Voter Education Campaign in Kano and Jigawa States, CAPP.

“New partners for Women’s Empowerment”, *Community 1st Quarter*, 2000; Vol.5. No1, IBID.

“Low Capacity Impedes Law-Making in the States”, *Legislative Mandate*. A Monthly Journal of CAPP and International Human Right’s Law Group (IHL) Vol.2-No.4 September 2000

“United Front Battles Violence Against Women”, *Legislative Mandate*, Vol.3, No.1., January-February 2001, IBID.

“Deregulation: Is Abdication of Responsibility”, *Legislative Mandate*. Vol.3, No2, March-April, 2001, IBID.

“Civil Society and Electoral Bill 2001”, *Legislative Mandate*, Vol.3, No.3, May-June 2001, IBID.

"United Against Indignity", CDD News, *Quarterly Journal of CDD*, Vol.2. No.1. January-March 2001.

Review of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. CFCR

The Position of the CFCR on the Review of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

"Ethnic Violence: Why are Nigerians Killing Nigerians", *Liberty*, Vol.11, No.5., September 1999.

"The Rise of Ethnic Militias", *Liberty*. Vol.12., No.8, September 2000,CLO.

"Two Years of Democracy: Nigerians still wailing and suffering", *Liberty*. Vol.12, No 6. March 2001,IBID.

Annual Report on the State of Human Rights in Nigeria, 1999, CLO.

"Church has the answer to Nigeria's problems", *Church and Society*, Vol.2-NO1; January-March 1999, IBID.

"Pray for Democracy: Pastors tell Nigerians", *Church and Society*. Vol.2, No.2; July-November 1999, IBID.

"Party Selection Process", *Women in Public Life*, Vol.2.-Nos.1-3 March 1999, GADA.

"The Challenge of Women Lawyers in the Next Millennium", *Women in Public Life*, Vol.2 Nos.7-9. July-September 1999, IBID.

Special Edition: Women in Public Life, Vol.4 Nos.1-3 Jan-March 2001, IBID.

"Inter-gender sensitises lawmakers on Gender Issues", *Inter-Gender Bulletin*. Vol.3. Issue 1. March 2001.

Briefing paper on the 1999 Constitutional Review, LHR.

Human Rights Made Easy, Togunbo Ige and Olumide Lewis, Third Edition, 1999, LRRDC.

"Violence Against Women: Towards Zero Tolerance", *Quarterly Bulletin of WRAPA*, Vol.2 No.2. est.1999, April/June 2001

Weekly Magazines

ACE, No.24. July 2001

*The Achievers World*_Vol1. No.5. July/August 2001

“The Robbers Revenge; Soldiers Defy Sharia”, *The News*, Vol.17; No.5 Aug 6 2001

“Nigeria’s Booming Gun Market”, *TELL*, Nigeria’s Independent weekly; No.32 August 6 2001

“AIDS Virus is a Fraud”, *TELL*, Nigeria’s Independent weekly; No.33 August 13 2001,

Vol. 5; No.1. First Quarter, 2000.

“Rage of Robbers: Defend Yourselves”, *Newswatch*, August 6, 2001

“The Heroines of the Fourth Republic”, *The Women’s Voice*, Maiden Edition. March 2001.

Documents from ECOWAS

Declaration of ECOWAS Political Principles

Revised Treaty of ECOWAS

Protocol Relating to the Community Court of Justice, Official Journal of ECOWAS; Vol.19. July 1991.

Protocol Relating to the Community Parliament, IBID, Vol.27 Revised. July/August 1994.

Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, IBID, Rev.7, 1999.

Implementing the Small Arms Moratorium, IBID, February 2000.

Appendix 4: Donors Interested in Nigeria

Canada
ECA
EC
ECOWAS
EIB
EU: Germany, Norway, Ireland, Italy,
Austria, France, the Netherlands,
Sweden, Denmark and the UK
FORD
IMF
Japan