

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Part I: Introduction	1
1.1. Political and economic context	1
1.2. Women, peace and security in Nigeria	1
1.3. Policy framework for the consultation	2
Part II. Pre-Consultation Activities	3
2.1. Visits	3
2.2. Meetings/Workshops	3
2.3. Preliminary mapping of the issues	3
Part III. The Consultation	4
3.1. Objectives	4
3.2. Methodology	4
3.3. Key concepts: Defining peace and security in the Nigerian context	6
Part IV. Women’s peace and security in Nigeria	7
4.1 Nigeria’s regional/international commitments to women’s peace and security	7
4.1.1. Other tools and mechanisms	7
4.2. Factors affecting the peace and security of Nigerian women	8
Part V. Prioritisation of the issues	9
5.1. Political instability and women’s peace and security in Nigeria	9
5.1.1. Women and religious conflicts in the Northern states	9
5.1.2. Inter-ethnic clashes and inequity in the Middle belt states	9
5.1.3. Women, boundary disputes and conflicts over land in the Eastern and Southern states	10
5.1.4. Political violence and inter-ethnic clashes in the Western states	10
5.1.5. Women environmental, social and political problems in the Niger-Delta	10
5.2. Lack of Good Governance	11
5.3. Poor Institutional Capacity for Conflict Management/Peacebuliding	12
5.3.1. Weak Policy Framework	12
5.3.2. Inadequacy of existing security organs	13
5.3.3. Ineffective Conflict Management by the State	13
5.4. Peace/security and Gender Inequality	14
Part VI. Women’s response to conflict: Containment strategies and coping mechanisms	17
6.1. Domestic conflict	17
6.2. Inter-group Conflict	17
6.3. Crime	17
6.4. Structural Violence	17
Part VII. Resolution 1325 and Linkages to the Nigerian Context	19

Part VIII. Recommendations	20
8.1. International Commitments	20
8.2. The International Community and the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Nigeria and regionally	21
8.3. Awareness Raising Strategies For Resolution 1325:.....	22
8.4. More effective advocacy approaches.....	23
8.5. Women’s Action Plan on Advocacy using Resolution 1325.....	23
8.5.1. Conceptual	23
8.5.2. Policy	24
8.5.3. Recommendations for the promotion of social justice and peace in Nigeria	25
Part IX. Conclusion	27
Appendix 1: Social Indicators of Nigerian Women.....	28
Appendix 2: Regional and International Treaties Ratified by Nigeria	29
Appendix 3: The Agenda.....	30
Endnotes.....	33

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Part I: Introduction

1.1. Political and economic context

Nigeria, the most populous nation in Africa, is classified by recent studies as one of the least stable and insecure countries on the continent.¹ As a Federation of 36 states sub-divided into 774 local government areas (LGAs), Nigeria's political history has been crisis-ridden and unstable since its independence from Great Britain in 1960. There have been 10 successive regimes in the course of its independent existence, seven of which have been military regimes. Of these, five gained power by coup d'etat.

Nigeria has suffered from serious economic problems since the collapse of oil prices in the 1970s. Unrestrained borrowing by successive military and civilian governments has placed the country among the world's top debtors. The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), initiated by the military at the insistence of international financial institutions in 1986, failed to correct structural defects within the economy e.g. such as over dependence on oil as a source of revenue and the over reliance on imports in virtually all sectors of the economy. Rather, the measures instituted by SAP precipitated wide-scale retrenchments, double-digit inflation and a virtual collapse of social services and physical infrastructure.

The installation of a democratically elected government in May 1999 fuelled global hopes that the structural problems that resulted in civil strife and reduced economic growth would be decisively addressed. However, violent conflicts throughout the nation soon after the swearing in meant that this did not happen. Some international media reports estimate that over 9,000 Nigerians have been killed in this sporadic communal violence.² Continuous disagreements between the main government organs and a rise in the incidence of violent crimes have further concerned Nigerians. The statistics released by the Central Bank of Nigeria on the performance of the economy since 1999 highlight the amount of work that remains to be done by Nigeria in the area of economic recovery. With a population reported to be growing at the rate of 3 per cent per annum, real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth per annum in the past two years has averaged 3.2 per cent while inflation rates have been high at between 18 and 16.8 per cent (2001 and 2002 respectively). Manufacturing Capacity Utilization (MCU) is low at under 40 per cent.³ Nigeria's Gross National Product (GNP) per capita in the year 1996 was reported to be US \$260.⁴

1.2. Women, peace and security in Nigeria

Women's peace and security in Nigeria is affected by local social, political and economic factors. In the domestic setting for example, such factors as rivalry between spouses,

intimidation and oppression of women by their spouses, disparities in levels of education between spouses, childlessness, male child preference and polygamy all generate stress and tension within the domestic framework and impact negatively on the physical, material and psychological status of Nigerian women. Other factors undermining the peace and security of Nigerian women include incessant violent inter-group conflict, politically motivated violence, structural violence embedded in the Nigerian society such as institutional gender, ethnic and religious inequalities and discrimination as well as widespread poverty and lack of good governance and leadership.

1.3. Policy framework for the consultation

With the unanimous adoption of Resolution 1325 by the UN Security Council in October 2000, women and issues affecting them have been placed firmly and securely on the international agenda. Building on this momentum, International Alert's global campaign, *Women Building Peace: From the Village Council to the Negotiating Table*, has taken Resolution 1325 as its framework for engaging in two-way advocacy channelling. This involves communicating the policy to the field, organising consultations to contextualise issues and elicit views and recommendations for the effective implementation of the Resolution. These concerns and recommendations are then disseminated to policy makers at the national, regional and international levels in order to better inform and underpin policies affecting women's peace and security. It is with this background that the national consultation for Nigeria was held in Owerri, Nigeria (July-August 2002).

The two-day Consultation aimed to elicit informed views on the usefulness of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 as a tool for enhancing the peace and security of Nigerian women. It was attended by a cross-section of Nigerians including both men and women that were invited from different states across the Federation and that included participants from the religious and human rights communities, civil society and individuals from the private sector with experience and expertise in peace and security issues.

Part II. Pre-Consultation Activities

The consultations, national and regional are part of a broader Gender Peace Audit project that involves a number of incremental stages as outlined below:

2.1. Visits

One visit was made to Nigeria by the campaign staff in order to present the project, identify organisations in the field that may be interested in collaboration and to determine their interest in the issues.

2.2. Meetings/Workshops

During the initial visit campaign staff used the opportunity to organise workshops and bi-lateral meetings with relevant organisations and individuals, including representatives of the NGO community from Jos, Abuja and Lagos as well as EU, UN and OSCE.

2.3. Preliminary mapping of the issues

The information collected from the workshops and bi-lateral meetings, supplemented by desk research resulted in a preliminary mapping of the issues affecting women's peace and security in the Nigerian context. The resulting Feasibility Study report ⁵ provides information on the historical, political and economic context of the region, the status of women, current security issues and recommendations for engaging in a longer-term project involving selected organizations, including women's groups and academic institutions.

Part III. The Consultation

3.1. Objectives

As part of the global campaign *Women Building Peace: From the Village Council to the Negotiating Table* initiated in 1999, International Alert in partnership with the Women's Centre for Peace and Development (WOPED) organised a national consultation on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 to:

- ❖ map international, regional and national policy commitments, frameworks and documents relating to women, conflict, peace and security;
- ❖ analyse the impact of these policies and commitments on the peace and security of Nigerian women;
- ❖ develop a country specific Action Plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Nigeria;
- ❖ formulate strategies for the full integration of gender concerns by the Nigerian State and other sectors in conflict resolution, peacebuilding and security frameworks and processes at all levels in the country.

3.2. Methodology

The methodology included working with our partner organisation to:

- ❖ identify participants to attend the meeting from across different states within the Federation of Nigeria;
- ❖ develop the agenda and programme of action based on the needs of participants;
- ❖ provide funds to enable the partner organisation to undertake the logistics i.e. identifying and booking the venue, travel, accommodation and subsistence for participants;
- ❖ prepare background documents for the consultation.

The Women Building Peace campaign adheres to IA's Code of Conduct, which stresses that impartiality and neutrality are key to the functioning of IA's conflict transformation work. These principles were crucial to the effectiveness of the national consultation organised in Owerri, Imo state, Nigeria. The meeting brought together 27 representatives of civil society organisations, local government officials and others and included both men and women. Participants were provided an opportunity to express their expectations of the meeting. These included hopes that the meeting would result in:

- ❖ an effective articulation of those factors and issues affecting the peace and security of Nigerian women;

- ❖ clear definitions of key terms such as *peace* and *security* as they relate to Nigerian women;
- ❖ a deeper understanding and knowledge of the gender dimensions of conflict, peace and security;
- ❖ a greater understanding of the extent to which regional and international documents relating to women have been translated into practical reality in the Nigerian national context;
- ❖ the formulation of simple, effective and context-specific strategies for the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Nigeria;
- ❖ the possibility of the production of a working document for the guidance of women peace activists in the country;
- ❖ an extensive examination of the problem of gender discrimination in the Nigerian society;
- ❖ development of protest action against institutionalised gender discrimination that could be sent to State authorities at the conclusion of the Consultation, and
- ❖ a statement from the Meeting to support the creation of a Gender Character Commission.

To make the consultative process more effective and responsive to the needs of the participants, the consultation was inclusive and participatory, employing a mixture of presentations and small group exercises interspersed with general discussion. The meeting was organised around the following themes:

- ❖ defining peace and security: The Nigerian context;
- ❖ women, peace and security: Understanding the global context;
- ❖ promoting women's peace and security: International instruments to which Nigeria has acceded;
- ❖ introducing and analysing Resolution 1325;
- ❖ linking Resolution 1325 to issues affecting women's peace and security in Nigeria;
- ❖ creating recommendations for national, regional and international policy makers;
- ❖ establishing strategies to generate awareness of Resolution 1325: Women's Peace Advocacy.

Day one of the consultation introduced the concepts of peace and security and participants discussed the understanding and the applicability of these in the Nigerian context. The participants then discussed their understanding of the global context in relation to women, peace and security before examining the international instruments to which Nigeria has acceded and their translation into domestic law. On day two, participants were introduced to Resolution 1325 and engaged in group discussions to analyse the linkages between the tool and issues affecting women's peace and security in the country before prioritising the issues highlighted. Participants later engaged in developing recommendations for national, regional and international policy makers before highlighting strategies that could be used to publicise

the Resolution to other targeted constituencies. As a final exercise, participants engaged in an Action Plan which they pledged to take back to their organisations for realisation.

3.3. Key concepts: Defining peace and security in the Nigerian context

A comprehensive definition of peace or security in relation to Nigerian women should incorporate social justice, equal opportunities and their active participation in all conflict resolution/peace building processes.

Key concepts, such as *peace* and *security*, and what they might mean to women in Nigeria, were discussed in the consultation. *Peace* is a condition that can be experienced at the personal, community or national levels. *Peace* may be conceptualised as extending beyond the absence of armed conflict, direct violence, civil disorder and upheaval - the term suggests tranquility, freedom from want, quietness, harmony and the absence of fear. At the community level *peace* denotes more than the absence of warfare or hostilities. It incorporates notions of equity, social justice, law and order, good governance and respect for the dignity and well being of all citizens.

Likewise there are different dimensions to *security* and this may refer to human or to state security. *Security* can be described as safety and protection from physical danger and freedom from anxiety regarding one's physical, psychological or mental well-being. Although the peace and security of women is intertwined with that of other members of society, armed conflict and social insecurity often result in the violation of gender specific rights.

Peace and *security* are closely related concepts and are almost synonymous states of being. National growth and development hinge on a minimum level of *peace* and *security*. In the context of Nigeria, *peace* and *security* includes not only the physical safety of women, but also their material and psychological well-being on a sustainable basis. A comprehensive definition of *peace* or *security* in relation to Nigerian women should therefore incorporate social justice, equal opportunities and their active participation in all conflict resolution/peace building processes.

Part IV. Women's peace and security in Nigeria

4.1 Nigeria's regional/international commitments to women's peace and security

Nigeria has ratified the majority of regional and international treaties relating to women's peace and security (see Appendix 1). Unlike some state signatories to CEDAW, Nigeria has not derogated from any obligations under the treaty, by registering reservations. Nigeria has participated in numerous United Nations conferences on Women, notably the Nairobi Conference in 1985 and the Beijing Conference in 1995. In both cases, Nigeria ratified the documents emerging from the Conferences. In addition, it has ratified several UN resolutions relating to the advancement of women. Policy measures instituted by the State in response to its international obligations include the creation of a Ministry of Women and the Affairs formulation of a *National Policy on Women* while there are also plans to domesticate the Convention of the Rights of the Child.

However, the Nigerian Constitution stipulates that no international instrument ratified by Nigeria shall be legally enforceable in Nigerian courts unless it is enacted as a domestic law by the federal legislative body. Of all the treaties that Nigeria has ratified, only the African Charter for Human and Peoples Rights has been domesticated. Some of its provisions have already been tested in Nigerian courts by human rights activists with successful results. Yet, although the provisions of the various treaties ratified by Nigeria are technically not legally binding on the Federal Government or on other state authorities in Nigeria, they do have great moral force and have influenced judicial decisions in Nigeria, as illustrated by the many references to the CEDAW made in a landmark case in the Nigerian Court of Appeal. The decision made by the court nullified the gender discriminatory inheritance laws of one of the eastern states. These instruments have therefore proved to be effective tools for promoting the rights of women in Nigeria. Additionally, many Nigerian states have enacted laws against harmful traditional practices such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and certain widowhood rites.

4.1.1. Other tools and mechanisms

Other internationally agreed tools and mechanisms in the international legal framework are potentially useful tools for advancing the cause of women. These include:

- ❖ *The Reporting Procedure* that obliges signatory states to submit periodical reports to the monitoring bodies of certain treaties, describing the extent of their compliance with the treaties in question. The Government takes these reporting sessions seriously, as they take

place in public and affect the international standing of a country. Women activists can take advantage of the procedure which permits NGOs and other interested parties, to submit 'alternative' or 'independent' reports.

- ❖ *The Rapporteur on Violence Against Women*: Activists can also take advantage of the appointment by the UN Secretary General of a Rapporteur on Violence Against Women who is authorised to receive complaints about incidents of violence against women. This mechanism can be used to publicise security related rights violations in Nigeria.
- ❖ The International Criminal Court of Justice was established to try offences committed in the course of armed conflict. It has criminalised gender-based crimes committed against women in the course of armed conflict. Actions may be instituted before the court in appropriate cases.

4.2. Factors affecting the peace and security of Nigerian women

Some of the issues undermining the peace and security of women affect all Nigerian women and are context-specific reflecting local social, political and economic conditions.

Factors undermining the peace and security of Nigerian women include:

- ❖ Incessant violent inter-group conflict;
- ❖ Politically motivated violence;
- ❖ Structural violence embedded in the Nigerian society such as institutional gender, ethnic and religious inequalities and discrimination;
- ❖ Lack of good governance and leadership;
- ❖ Widespread poverty;
- ❖ High illiteracy levels in society;
- ❖ The inefficiency of the Nigerian security agencies;
- ❖ Lack of basic amenities and essential services;
- ❖ The exclusion of women from decision-making processes;
- ❖ Gender discriminatory cultural practices such as widowhood rites, forced marriage, female genital mutilation (FGM), discriminatory inheritance customs;
- ❖ The economic powerlessness of women and their institutionalised dependence upon men;
- ❖ Poor socialisation and child rearing practices;
- ❖ Lack of unity among Nigerian women and an insufficient level of conscientisation/mobilisation;
- ❖ Gender insensitivity by the State and official neglect of the interests of women.

Part V. Prioritisation of the issues

The following issues affecting women's peace and security emerged as being of the greatest concern to women in Nigeria:

- ❖ Political instability;
- ❖ Lack of good governance;
- ❖ Poor institutional capacity of the Nigerian State for conflict management and peacebuilding;
- ❖ Gender inequality.

5.1. Political instability and women's peace and security in Nigeria

The frequency of armed warfare between the various ethnic, religious and communal groups of Nigeria is a constant threat to the peace and security of Nigerian women. Thousands of women have lost their lives, homes, property and means of livelihood as a result of these violent conflicts and thousands more have been plunged into unexpected widowhood and childlessness and are left permanently traumatised owing to these conflicts.

5.1.1. Women and religious conflicts in the Northern states

Women residing in the northern states are affected by cyclical clashes between Muslims and Christians, which have been provoked by incidents as apparently trivial as the misinterpretation by the followers of one religion of the Holy Text of the other religion. In 1987, for example, riots broke out in six northern towns due to this issue. More recently, the extension of the Sharia legal system in Zamfara state in 2000 culminated in serious rioting in several northern cities such as Maiduguri, Gombe, Sokoto, Jos, Kano and Kaduna. An estimated 2,000 persons were reported to have died in the Kaduna riots and the reprisal killings which followed. The volatility of the region induces fear and feelings of insecurity among women residing in these locations.

5.1.2. Inter-ethnic clashes and inequity in the Middle belt states

Women in the middle-belt states are confronted with inter-ethnic clashes that erupt with unfortunate regularity over access to land, issues of recognition and identity, or over perceived injustices in the state's distribution of political offices, amenities or patronage. The scale of losses resulting from these clashes is sometimes extremely high. The 1995 conflict in Tafawa Balewa local government for example, involved the burning of 44 villages and hamlets.⁶ Likewise, the Nigerian media reported that over 40,000 persons had been displaced from their communities in the most recent outbreak of the recurring Tiv/Jukun hostilities. The

majority of women in these states are subsistence farmers who rely on their farm produce for both income and feeding. The forced abandonment of their farms will affect their ability to meet their present and future survival needs.

5.1.3. Women, boundary disputes and conflicts over land in the Eastern and Southern states

In the eastern and south-eastern states, boundary disputes and conflicts over land challenge the peace and security of the women in the region. Another serious problem for them is the violence that is regularly perpetrated by the supporters of rival political parties, factions and personalities. These clashes involve murder of political opponents, assault and destruction of property. Although women do not feature heavily on the list of casualties of such violence, it has created a general environment of lawlessness and disorder and of course women as mothers, wives and sisters are affected.

5.1.4. Political violence and inter-ethnic clashes in the Western states

Political violence is also a problem in the western states although to a lesser degree than other states in Nigeria. However, there has been a rise in the number of inter-ethnic clashes between Yoruba and other groups, which has severely affected many women, particularly in the suburbs of Lagos. A recent example is the fierce fighting that broke out in a suburban community in Lagos, Idi-Araba, in the early part of 2002, between Yoruba and Hausa groups in the community. Hundreds of women were made homeless and became destitute as a result of the fighting. Like some cities in northern Nigeria, some suburbs of Lagos are considered to be unsafe because of their volatility. Also in Western Nigeria, women with ties to both sides of the Modakeke/Ife conflict (natal and marital) have been special targets of violence on suspicion of 'divided loyalties'. This is a gender specific threat not experienced by men in similar positions who are assumed to owe their loyalty to their paternal communities.

5.1.5. Women environmental, social and political problems in the Niger-Delta

In the Niger-Delta, a combination of environmental, social and political factors severely challenge the peace and security of women. On the one hand is a protest movement against the environmental impact of oil exploration activities and a struggle for resource control that has grown in scale and intensity over the past decade. On the other is the violence with which these protests are suppressed by state authorities. An additional source of unrest is the feuding that has broken out intermittently over entitlement to oil royalties between Niger Delta communities. Again, women in many communities of the area sustain heavy physical and material losses in the course of these confrontations.

The conflicts mentioned above are merely symptomatic of the political instability that has characterised the Nigerian polity from its earliest stages. It is still evident today in the violence,

infighting and factionalism within the main structures of the Fourth Republic and in the poor relations between the main organs of government. In less than three years, the Nigerian Senate has impeached two Senate Presidents. Every state in the land has replaced their Speaker at least once and others more than once. Political party elections have been beset by acrimony and cancelled elections among other issues. Additionally, more than seven months into the year, the federal, executive and legislative organs of government have been unable to co-operate sufficiently to produce the 2002 Annual Budget. These events all affect the peace and security of Nigerian women and have generated fears about the forthcoming 2003 general elections.

5.2. Lack of Good Governance

The lack of good governance in Nigeria over the past decade is largely responsible for the poor security status of Nigerian women. Various aspects of poor governance undermine their peace and security. The first is endemic corruption in the Nigerian public sector including those organs responsible for the maintenance of the public peace and security. The extent of looting of national resources by Nigerian public officials was recently illustrated by the huge sums of US dollars returned to the public treasury by the family of the late General Sani Abacha. This has restricted the funds available for internal security. Secondly, corruption has so eroded the confidence of Nigerians in the nation's mediatory mechanisms that whenever possible, Nigerians resort to *self help* to resolve their disputes - approaches that include such methods as lynching suspected criminals, engaging in armed battle to resolve inter-communal disputes and assassinating political opponents.

The absence of justice, equity and impartiality as guiding principles of governance by past Nigerian governments is another aspect of poor governance that has contributed to the pervasiveness of crime and civil strife in the country. The fierce competition between various ethnic, sub-ethnic and religious groups for access and control of State machinery is due to the conviction that such control is essential for a 'fair share' of the 'national cake'.

Additionally, the incompetent management of the Nigerian economy by successive military and civilian governments has kept the Nigerian economy in a state of permanent recession.⁷ The habitual failure to pay civil servants or pensioners for lengthy periods increases the cost of essential services while the imposition of multiple taxes and harassment of traders by state officials impact negatively on the material well-being of Nigerians and have contributed to conflict generating conditions such as high unemployment and mass poverty.

Poverty is a serious problem in Nigeria and analysts have established the close connection between poverty and social conflict.⁸ According to UN statistics, 48.5 per cent of the Nigerian

population is poor i.e. over 55 million Nigerians, of which 45 per cent live in absolute poverty.⁹ Wide disparities in life style between advantaged and disadvantaged segments of society further fuels social disaffection. The high unemployment rate, particularly among secondary school leavers and young graduates has created frustrated youth groups in every urban centre of Nigeria and especially in northern states where school enrollment is below the national average. Thus frustrated and alienated young persons are easily mobilised to form the major group of combatants in ethnic, religious or political confrontations. As in other places, these social problems impact on women particularly within the family in the form of higher rates of domestic violence, a larger number of dependents to cater for and fewer resources to do it with. The additional financial pressure on Nigerian women is responsible for the human trafficking, prostitution and sexual exploitation crisis now prevalent in Nigeria. The safety and well-being of young Nigerian women is also further affected by this new social trend.

The 'militarisation' of the Nigerian society is another conflict/security related legacy of 29 years of military rule. The combined effect of the leadership style of post 1983 military regimes and the environment of lawlessness that prevailed for a considerable period in Nigeria's history has displaced traditional norms and values supportive of peace, (such as respect for elders, tolerance and consensus building) and entrenched instead, a culture of violence. The culture of force, domination and coercion has eaten deep into the fabric of Nigeria's social life and is depicted by the readiness of Nigerians to take up arms to resolve disputes of every nature. It is also evident in the high incidence of thuggery and violence in the Fourth Republic and in social phenomena such as secret cultism in the nation's tertiary institutions. Nigerian women also bear a special responsibility to inculcate positive moral values in their children

5.3. Poor Institutional Capacity for Conflict Management/Peacebuilding

The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria states that '*...the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government... and that...national integration shall be actively encouraged...(by the State)*'. Notwithstanding these constitutional provisions, the capacity of the Nigerian State to manage the numerous threats to the physical and mental well-being of the Nigerian woman is weak owing *inter alia* to a poor policy framework with regard to peace, conflict and security and the inadequacies of the major security organs and the ineffective conflict management methods employed by the State.

5.3.1. Weak Policy Framework

No comprehensive security/conflict management-resolution/peacebuilding policy has ever been developed by any Nigerian government in spite of the frequency of inter-group conflict between Nigerians. Likewise no policies have been formulated to guide the nature, scope or form of state intervention in internal conflict situations. State responses to serious armed

conflict is consequently wholly inadequate, reactive and uninformed by peace promoting principles. A good example is the 2001 Jos riot, where Christian and Muslim rioters burned, killed and pillaged in Jos metropolis for over 48 hours without any effective government intervention. The same is true of national disasters and emergencies where the inadequacy of the State's responses frequently increases the human and capital costs emanating from such occurrences, exacerbating the suffering of victims and exposing women in particular to gender based rights violations. Furthermore, the conception of *national security* as interpreted by successive governments is wholly restricted to the protection of the political interests of the government of the day to the exclusion of the peace and welfare of the citizens.

5.3.2. Inadequacy of existing security organs

The corruption, inefficiency and orientation of the Nigerian police authorities, have severely compromised the ability of the Nigerian police force to fulfill its function of maintaining the public peace and protecting the person and property of Nigerians. Chronic under-funding by successive military governments have left Nigerians with an ill-trained, ill-equipped and demoralised agency, unable to protect women from the robbery, banditry and assaults that have become commonplace in Nigeria. Moreover, current training programmes include no gender components and gender-based crimes such as domestic violence and sexual abuse are therefore unsatisfactorily dealt with.

More seriously, civilians suffer physical intimidation, economic exploitation and violence at the hands of the police on a day-to-day basis. Extra judicial killings of suspected criminals, have become fairly routine practice in large urban centres. At least 6 cases of accidental discharge killings by the police have come to the public notice in the three months preceding this report. Two of the victims have been female.

Arbitrary arrest and detention by the police is an acute hazard for unprivileged Nigerians who may be picked up from their homes, places of work or from the streets at any time in sudden police raids. The majority of prison inmates in Nigeria are 'Awaiting Trial Persons', who spend long periods without due process owing to the inadequacies of the justice system.

5.3.3. Ineffective Conflict Management by the State

The State practice of using overwhelming force to quell civil disorder also threatens the security of Nigerian women. Since the Babangida era when the early stages of the Ogoni protests were contained by stationing troops in Ogoni territory, successive governments have utilised the armed forces for 'peace keeping' operations. This policy has been employed on two occasions by the present civilian government with disastrous effects on the women in the conflict areas as recorded in the Odi and Choba incidents.

A 1999 military expedition to identify the murderers of 12 policemen in Odi town culminated in the death and injury of many women who lost all their property in what appeared to be a punitive military raid. Similarly, the 2001 military expedition to Kaki-Biam and environs has inflicted severe hardship on the thousands of women who were compelled to flee their homes and who were killed and lost children and other relatives. According to media reports, the number of internal refugees created by the incident may be as high as 40,000. Furthermore, the mode of operation of other state agencies and 'Task Forces', such as the Nigerian Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), frequently involves the violation of the civil rights of male and female citizens. Arbitrary arrests, illegal detentions, grievous bodily harm and seizure of property by these agencies are not uncommon.

5.4. Peace/security and Gender Inequality

In her opening statement, the Special Guest of Honour, Justice Ifunanya Udom-Azogu, identified gender discrimination as the major underlying cause of the severe conflict-related problems confronting Nigerian women. Discrimination against women permeates every facet of Nigerian society and excludes women from decision-making processes. After citing as an example personal experiences of discrimination in her professional sector (the judiciary), the meeting was urged to accord the issue of discrimination against women, the highest priority in the course of their deliberations. The meeting was further urged to take up individual cases of gender discrimination with the relevant State authorities.

The Nigerian Constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of gender and forbids legal, executive or administrative discrimination against any person on grounds of gender, place of birth, religious status or ethnic or linguistic association. Other constitutional provisions enshrine the principle of equality of rights and opportunity before the law, equality of rights in employment, educational opportunities and 'equal pay for equal work'.

However, the constitutional position of Nigerian women, as equals of Nigerian men, is wholly undermined by traditional norms that ascribe them an inferior social position on the one hand and relegate them to the private and reproductive sphere on the other. These norms still structure the domestic, professional and social lives of Nigerian women particularly in rural areas where over two thirds of Nigerian women reside.⁹

Gender discrimination, though moderated by the social changes that have taken place over 30 years, is an example of the structural violence embedded in the Nigerian society and lies at the root of many of those factors which erode the peace and security of Nigerian women. Cultural practices such as forcible marriage, widowhood rites and female genital mutilation (FGM) often offend the dignity of women and violate their bodily integrity as well as and denying them mental peace. These issues are rooted in unequal gender relations between

men and women in the society. Other features of contemporary Nigerian life such as spousal subjugation/intimidation, male child preference and domestic violence in the home or sexual harassment and discrimination in the workplace, generate stress, feelings of insecurity, helplessness and low self-esteem in women and stem from the unequal social positions of the respective sexes.

Representation of women in governmental structures

In the present administration for example, only 13 members of the 469 in the federal legislative organ and fewer than 7 of the 49 member executive arm of government are women. No woman has ever headed a state government in Nigeria although 1 out of the 36 deputies is female. Out of 774 local government chairmen, only 9 are female and in many states in the federation, women are not represented in the state legislative organ. The severe under-representation of women in policy-making positions diminishes their ability to protect their security interests and to influence policy in a manner that meets their needs.

The exclusion and marginalisation of women from leadership positions and from decision-making structures in both the formal political realm and traditional political structures is also attributable to the inferior status of women in society. In the present administration for example, only 13 members of the 469 in the federal legislative organ and fewer than 7 of the 49 member executive arm of government are women. No woman has ever headed a state government in Nigeria although 1 out of the 36 deputies is female. Out of 774 local government chairmen, only 9 are female and in many states in the federation, women are not represented in the state legislative organ. The severe under-representation of women in policy-making positions diminishes their ability to protect their security interests and to influence policy in a manner that meets their needs. In spite of the wide recognition of their gender specific vulnerabilities during and after armed conflict women's security related concerns and needs tend to be overlooked by policy-makers.

The need for these issues to be taken into account was demonstrated by the notorious Choba incident, when military personnel posted to the Niger-Delta town for peacekeeping duties, are alleged to have committed sexual offences against the female population. That these allegations continue to be made against security forces on subsequent occasions underscores the need for the incorporation of a gender component in Nigeria's security and peace building framework. Moreover, the failure of women to fully exploit informal channels for influencing state policy (e.g. personal relationships with key policy makers) does not derogate from their right as Nigerian citizens to be formally integrated into mainstream conflict

management and peace building processes.

Additionally, the near total domination of the security related organs and conflict management institutions by men, has also served to exclude the female perspective from conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes. The failure of the state authorities to ensure that women are represented on ad hoc conflict resolution bodies such as Panels of Inquiry, Peace Committees, Judicial Enquiries and others further marginalises women and undermines their security. An example of such marginalisation is the Peace Committee appointed by the state government to look into the causes of the 1997 Ife/Modakeke clash where only one member of the 27 person Committee was a woman. Though women play marginal roles in precipitating conflict or determining its duration or intensity they are primarily victims of violent conflict when it erupts. Though the full brunt of the ensuing social disorder is borne by them, institutionalised gender inequality denies them the opportunity to influence the terms of peace. However, in considering the factors affecting the safety and peace of women, their own contributions to those factors must also be considered. Nigerian women are occasionally the inciters and perpetrators of violent conflict, particularly within the domestic setting. Moreover they are usually the main actors in maintaining traditional and customary practices that inflict trauma, physical harm and humiliation on other women.

Part VI. Women's response to conflict: Containment strategies and coping mechanisms

6.1. Domestic conflict

Within the home women have managed the stress, trauma and physical harm occasioned by domestic conflict in a variety of ways. These include physical retaliation, acceptance, separation, divorce and abandonment of the conflict arena. A minority resorts to the formal law enforcement agencies to seek protection and redress.

6.2. Inter-group Conflict

Women sometimes intervene to moderate the scale of human loss by protecting targets of violence. In conflicts within their communities, women collectively step in to end the violence. In Abiriba town, Eastern Nigeria women succeeded in bringing two years of violent political crisis to an end in the 1990s by organising themselves and deserting the town en masse until the protagonists of the crisis agreed to cease hostilities. In Nigerian communities that have a tradition of collective action, women engage in discreet peace advocacy by exerting pressure on the main actors in the intra-communal conflict. In such communities, organised peace demonstrations are an additional strategy. Influential women also use their social positions to initiate or encourage settlement between the combatants and to provide material and moral support for victims of violence.

6.3. Crime

Women support the formation of alternative security organs against the high incidence of violent crimes. They also take collective protest action in instances when they feel particularly threatened as in the case of the women in a town in Abia state. They mobilised themselves and deserted their town *en masse* (like their counterparts in Abiriba) to protest a string of unresolved ritual murders of women until the culprit was found and detained.

6.4. Structural Violence

Nigerian women have mobilised themselves and formed groups to oppose particular aspects of structural violence such as harmful traditional practices, the political marginalisation of women, work-related inequities, human trafficking and early or forced marriage among others. Action by Nigerian women against manifestations of gender inequality include the following activities:

- ❖ engagement in advocacy campaigns;
- ❖ policy intervention through the lobbying of opinion leaders, policy makers with delegations, petitions and other strategies;
- ❖ public awareness and sensitisation campaigns to win support for their various causes. Successful instances of intense lobbying by women's groups in Nigeria are the cases of two women sentenced to a public caning and stoning by death respectively under the new Sharia regime for fornication. The sentences were commuted following rigorous public campaigns by women and human rights groups nationally and internationally;
- ❖ initiation of legislative action on some of these issues i.e several States in Nigeria have enacted laws against harmful traditional practices owing to these efforts;
- ❖ peace advocacy in Nigeria's NGO sector is a relatively new area of interest although prominent groups, such as WOPED and Z-Karatu have focused on the promotion of peace and the expansion of women's role in peace building, for a number of years. Some other NGOs, such as Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network and the recently created National Women's Peace Group (NAWOPEG), have worked to build the conflict management capacity of women at the communal level through skills programmes for a number of years to promote the cause of peace and work for the integration of women in mainstream conflict management and peace building structures;
- ❖ women's groups in Nigeria have also begun to address the psychological costs of crisis on women by establishing trauma-counseling centres for female victims of armed conflict.

Part VII. Resolution 1325 and Linkages to the Nigerian Context

Resolution 1325 is relevant to the Nigerian situation as it addresses local problems affecting the security status of Nigerian women. On the issue of the involvement of women in mainstream conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes, the resolution addresses:

- ❖ the absence of a gender perspective in the peace/security enforcement framework in Nigeria;
- ❖ the lack of institutional or other forms of support for community level initiatives by women to maintain the peace within their localities;
- ❖ the marginalisation of Nigerian women in formal policy-making positions, traditional peacebuilding mechanisms, security, enforcement institutions and ad-hoc peace building mechanisms created by the State;
- ❖ the failure of State authorities to consult women, even informally, in the course of State initiated peace processes.

With regard to the United Nations, guidelines and materials for the incorporation of gender perspectives into peacekeeping and peace building training would be of use to the Nigerian authorities in view of their inexperience in formulating gender sensitive security policies/approaches. Furthermore, Nigerian peace activists should support international advocacy campaigns directed at UN organs or elsewhere, to enhance the peace and security of women globally.

In the Resolution, the Security Council and State Parties are urged to address the protection of women by all parties to armed conflict and to initiate various measures for peacekeeping. This is particularly relevant in the Nigerian context given the absence of guidelines for the conduct of military personnel during peacekeeping operations and in the face of the allegations which have beset these operations and the manner in which women and girls are treated in conflict situations. This also affects the increasing use of the military for the enforcement of internal security.

Part VIII. Recommendations

8.1. International Commitments

The provisions of international instruments ratified by Nigeria should be carefully studied by activists to determine which are applicable to the Nigerian situation. Some articles in treaties not directly concerned with peace and security issues contain provisions that are relevant to the underlying causes of social unrest in Nigeria. For example, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, refers to the right to employment and the right to shelter. Also, the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery touches on an issue that is relevant to the peace and security of Nigerian women i.e. human trafficking and sexual exploitation of women and girls. The State's neglect of critical areas affecting the peace and security of women and the many forms of 'State Induced Conflict' in Nigeria may also contravene some sections of the Covenant against Torture.

Following the meeting's review of the treaties ratified by Nigeria, the following recommendations were made for immediate implementation by Nigerian peace activists:

- ❖ Human rights activists in Nigeria should advocate for the amendment of the law to permit the automatic incorporation of international instruments ratified by the Nigerian Government into the domestic legal system;
- ❖ Human rights activists could also assist in the domestication of these instruments by reproducing their content in local bills which could then be presented to Nigerian legislative houses for enactment. This strategy has already been successfully employed by activists in Nigeria, and four states of Nigeria have already passed laws giving effect to the international position regarding harmful traditional practices;
- ❖ To inculcate human rights ideals into the Nigerian political system, activists should seek entry into mainstream political structures so as to influence Nigeria's political culture from within;
- ❖ Creativity in the use of international instruments should be encouraged by activists in order to bring their provisions to life and make them more meaningful in a concrete way, in litigation of cases and general human rights jurisprudence;
- ❖ There is a need for women to maintain pressure on the government to encourage compliance with, and accountability for, their obligations under international law.

8.2. The International Community and the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Nigeria and regionally

The International Community can support the realisation of Resolution 1325, nationally and regionally, in a number of ways:

Foreign Governments and Inter-Governmental Agencies should:

- ❖ exert diplomatic and other pressure on Nigerian and other African countries to institute measures in their countries giving effect to Resolution 1325;
- ❖ provide technical support to both women's peace activists and government agencies by making available statistics, training guidelines and information about the techniques and strategies already employed by them to implement the resolution;
- ❖ establish a monitoring body at the UN to monitor implementation of Resolution 1325;
- ❖ impose economic/political sanctions on nations contravening the provisions of Resolution 1325;
- ❖ fund/support local projects for the implementation of Resolution 1325.

International organisations and donor agencies should:

- ❖ support the creation of a critical mass of skilled women peace activists by funding training programmes to build technical skills needed for effective peace advocacy particularly at the community level;
- ❖ support the creation of a critical mass of women peacebuilders/conflict management and security experts by sponsoring academic study for individuals and group training projects, particularly at the community level;
- ❖ build up the knowledge base of women peace activists nationally and regionally by sharing knowledge, past experiences and documentation on conflict/peace/security related issues and making available data and statistics on peace issues;
- ❖ create opportunities for Nigerian and other African women to meet, share experiences and develop a common agenda pertaining to the peace and security of women in the region;
- ❖ fund/support local projects for the implementation of Resolution 1325.

Multilateral and bilateral Agencies should:

- ❖ make compliance with the provisions of Resolution 1325 a condition for transacting business with regional organisations and other national governments.

International Media should:

- ❖ focus international attention on women's peace/security related issues in Nigeria and other countries.

Regional agencies should:

- ❖ commit African Governments to implementing Resolution 1325 by adopting similar resolutions through regional organs such as the OAU/Africa Union, ECOWAS and others;
- ❖ give effect to Resolution 1325 in judicial decisions through regional judicial organs;
- ❖ appoint a Rapporteur on Women's Peace and Security in Africa (OAU/Africa Union);
- ❖ incorporate Resolution 1325 into the New Partnership For Africa's Development (NEPAD);
- ❖ develop mechanisms for the enforcement of Resolution 1325 (e.g. Reporting Procedure).

8.3. Awareness raising strategies for Resolution 1325:

Awareness of Resolution 1325 can be achieved by wide dissemination in newspapers, newsletters, the electronic media, traditional media in local languages, billboards and other IEC materials; organising media roundtables, workshops and seminars for the public, civic education programmes in schools; the use of popular artistes and celebrities. Information should be disseminated to government institutions concerned with women's issues (e.g. Ministry of Women's Affairs at national and state levels), women and peace activists, the media and popular community, religious and public figures.

Targeting Nigerian women as stakeholders and:

- ❖ Generating and sharing information about conflict/security/peace related issues;
- ❖ Documenting and publicising the experiences of Nigerian women in conflict situations and the impact of armed conflict on their safety and well being;
- ❖ Developing a common agenda reflecting the priorities, needs and security concerns of Nigerian women of all ethnic, religious and social groups;
- ❖ Networking and coalition building among different women's groups and associations;
- ❖ Taking public positions about specific peace/security related incidents and advocating through traditional mechanisms, such as the 'August Meeting' for women in the Eastern states,
- ❖ Strengthening the leadership, negotiation and communication skills of women.

Targeting key policy makers and opinion leaders and informing them of the content and implications of Resolution 1325 through advocacy visits, petitions, provision of hard data about the impact of present policies on women.

Targeting in particular, women in leadership or top policy making positions.

Establishing a line of communication with major conflict management/security institutions in Nigeria, such as the police, the armed forces, the judiciary, research institutions and raising the awareness of this

sector of the content and the implications of Resolutions 1325.

8.4. More effective advocacy approaches

On advocacy approaches that would enhance the effectiveness of the awareness raising campaign, the following suggestions were made:

- ❖ An inclusive campaign drawing in different strata of the society during the design and implementation stages of the campaign, would enhance the quality of the campaign, (the inclusion of some men for example, would be important);
- ❖ The involvement of celebrities and popular community/political figures in the campaign, would give the messages wider acceptability;
- ❖ The use of empirical evidence and case studies supportive of the message, would enhance the campaign's credibility;
- ❖ The translation of the Resolution into local languages and interpretation of local issues of concern, in order to confer relevance in the public perception of the resolution.

8.5. Women's action plan on advocacy using Resolution 1325.

8.5.1. Conceptual

1. More work is necessary in the area of developing a conceptual framework within which peace efforts by women could be placed: operative terms should be clearly defined, the causes and dynamics of armed conflict in Nigeria studied and more clearly understood; and a clear vision of the aims of women peace activists developed.

2. Cultural impediments to the participation of women in peace building should be identified and controlled.

3. Gender roles and concepts of masculinity and femininity within the Nigerian society and their relationship to violent aggressive behaviour require careful analysis. The socialisation process in Nigeria should also be studied to lay a foundation for the promotion of values, attitudes and behaviours supportive of peace;

4. Local peace building conflict resolution initiatives by women should be researched and documented;

5. Traditional conflict resolution tools and approaches for the maintenance of peace should be studied, adapted and adopted by peace activists;
6. Women's experiences of conflict in Nigeria should be documented and analysed;
7. Statistics and data on the human and material cost of all violent conflicts in Nigeria should be researched and subjected to gender analysis;
8. 'Best practices' in women's peace building and conflict management should be documented and widely disseminated;
9. Institutions in need of reform to promote peace should be identified, particularly those relating to conflict management and security;
10. Women's peace activism in Nigeria should be conducted within a unified framework. A powerful women's pressure group spanning ethnic, religious, social and economic divisions should be formed by women to collectively pursue the peace cause;
11. Women's peace activism, peace building and conflict resolution efforts should be founded on and guided by conflict situation analysis and conflict impact assessment.

8.5.2. Policy

12. Conduct a comprehensive review of all national policies on conflict management, law enforcement and security, subject to gender analysis;
13. Advocate for the following policy reforms:
 - ❖ The development of a ***National Conflict Management/Peacebuilding Policy*** by the State, incorporating the special security needs of Nigerian women and including regulations guiding internal civil-military relations;
 - ❖ A redefinition by the State, of ***the concept of 'national security'*** to incorporate the security needs, interests and rights of the average Nigerian citizen;
 - ❖ The development of an ***Emergency Response and Disaster Management Policy*** by the State with popular participation in the formulation thereof;

- ❖ The development of a comprehensive ***National Integration Policy***, to promote inter-ethnic/religious harmony in Nigeria and cultural values supportive of a culture of peace in Nigeria;
- ❖ The incorporation of a ***gender perspective in the training of national security/law enforcement agencies***;
- ❖ **The inclusion of a specified number of women in national institutions and agencies connected to conflict management/peace building and security.**

13. Advocacy for legal reform providing for the automatic enforceability of international treaties ratified by Nigeria and the domestication of present international instruments expanding civil, political, cultural rights of Nigerians (including CEDAW), is of paramount importance;

14. The establishment of a Gender Character Commission is similarly of great importance.

8.5.3. Recommendations for the promotion of social justice and peace in Nigeria

Good Governance

Peace activists must deal with the underlying causes of conflict and insecurity in Nigeria by;

- ❖ Joining or initiating a popular crusade against corruption in Nigeria;
- ❖ Combating poverty among women and other sectors of the Nigerian society by initiating and supporting economic empowerment programmes for women;
- ❖ Conducting budget analysis and monitoring the State expenditure at the Federal, State and Local Government levels;
- ❖ Working to encourage the entrenchment of democratic norms and practices in the Nigerian political system.

Gender equality

- ❖ The mass ignorance among the Nigerian female populace regarding their legal/social/civil rights, should be addressed; a massive civic education campaign should be designed and implemented by women's rights activists at the grass-roots throughout the country (female illiteracy levels in Nigeria is 31-38%).
- ❖ The relevance of women to peace and conflict management processes can be enhanced by building a critical mass of skilled women in every locality of the nation,

equipped with the ability to intervene effectively in local conflicts. A mass conflict resolution training initiative should be considered by peace activists.

Part IX. Conclusion

There was universal concern among those present at the consultation that the measures proposed during the meeting should be followed up by actual implementation and that decisions taken at the consultation would not suffer the fate of resolutions taken at similar past fora. There was widespread agreement that the meeting would focus on strategies that could be implemented by committed stakeholders outside the state sector. The Plan of Action devised by the meeting, would ensure the involvement of grassroots women, religious institutions and educational institutions.

Redressing the political marginalisation of Nigerian women and all other forms of gender discrimination is also key to the work of peace activists. Now, in the run-up to the 2003 elections, is the appropriate time for women to work actively for equitable representation of Nigerian women at all levels of government. However, attention must be given to the quality of representation. Women should extend their support only to gender sensitive candidates who are prepared to promote women's agenda once in government. One method of achieving this is the careful monitoring of female candidates in the course of their political campaigns.

There is a need for the Nigerian NGO sector to be more communicative to donor agencies about the real needs of their constituencies. The activities of donor agencies in Nigeria should be guided by these needs.

Nigerian NGOs must also inform donor agencies about defects in their methods and approaches. A common problem is the lack of sustained support by many donors of sponsored projects implemented in Nigeria. Though the lack of sustainability of some projects is partly attributable to lack of integrity on the part of some local NGOs, the failure of donors to follow up on projects and the insistence on small, short-term initiatives is the main cause of the lack of sustainability.

The importance of good governance in Nigeria cannot be over-emphasised. Nigerian women must be extremely focused in their approach to achieve social justice and peace in Nigerian society.

Appendix 1: Social Indicators of Nigerian Women

❖ Life Expectancy	54 years
❖ Fertility Rate	6.0
❖ Maternal Mortality Rate	1,000 to 1,500 deaths per 100,000 live births (UNICEF/UNDP)
❖ Literacy Levels	38 per cent
❖ Women Headed Households	10 per cent

Appendix 2: Regional and International Treaties Ratified by Nigeria

OFFICIAL NAME OF TREATY
INTERNATIONAL TREATIES
International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights (ICCPR)
International Covenant on Economic, Social & Cultural Rights (ICESCR)
Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)
Convention Against Discrimination in Education (CDE)
Equal Remuneration Convention (ERC)
Convention Relating to the Status Of Refugees (CRSR)
Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (SCAS)
Convention Against Torture (CAT)
REGIONAL TREATIES
The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (The Banjul Charter)
Plus a host of World Conference Agreements and Platforms for Action.

Appendix 3: The Agenda

**National Consultative Meeting on Women, Peace and Security
Resolution 1325, Issues and Instruments
The Nigerian Context
September 2002**

Assessing the security issues and peace building support needs of women in Nigeria and the relevance of international instruments from women's perspectives, with special relevance to the UN SC Resolution 1325.

Objectives:

1. To create an opportunity for women's organisations from different regions in Nigeria to come together, discuss and analyse their own perspectives of issues affecting their security and the situation of peace in the country.
2. To identify the national instruments that Nigeria has developed that impact on the peace and security of women in the country.
3. To identify the sub-regional and international instruments relating to women, peace and security to which Nigeria has acceded, assess their value and relevance and examine their implementation within the country.
3. To present and unpack UN SC Resolution 1325 and elicit women's perspectives on its usefulness as a tool for advocacy within the Nigerian context.
4. To link the issues highlighted by women to the Resolution, identify possible gaps within the Resolution and areas for further research.
5. To develop a forward looking plan of action and recommendations for national, regional and international policy makers.

DAY ONE - March 28

MORNING

8:00 - 9:00 am	Arrival, Registration, Breakfast
9:00 – 9:30 am	Welcome <i>Facilitators: WOPED and International Alert</i>
9:30 – 10:30am	Introduction to the Consultation & Participants <i>Facilitator: Theresa Akumadu, Executive Director, WOPED</i>
10:30 – 11:00am	Coffee
11:00 - 12:00 pm	Expectations & Concerns

Facilitator: Nicola Johnston, Senior Policy Advisor, International Alert

12:00 – 1:00pm **Women, Peace and Security: Understanding the global context**
Presenter: UNIFEM (TBC)
Facilitator: International Alert (AAP)

1:00 – 2:00 pm **Lunch**

AFTERNOON

2:00 – 2:30 pm **Defining Peace and Security: The Nigerian Context**
2:30 – 4:00 pm **Working Groups**

*Questions: How do women define security in their different contexts in Nigeria?
What are the issues affecting women's peace and security?*

4:00 – 4:30 pm **Coffee**

4:30 – 6:30 pm **What activities do women engage in to address these issues?**
Video: Gulu: The Struggle for Peace
Close

7:00 pm **Dinner**

DAY TWO – March 29

MORNING

8:00 – 9:00 am **Breakfast**

9:00 – 9:10 am **Introduction to the day/Housekeeping issues**
Main Facilitator

9:10 – 10:30 am **Promoting women's peace and security: International instruments**
Instruments to which Nigeria has signed
Facilitators: International Alert (AAP) + TBC

10:30 – 11:00 am **Coffee**

11:00 – 1:00 pm **Introducing and unpacking Resolution 1325**
Facilitators: International Alert

1:00 – 2:00 pm **Lunch**

AFTERNOON

2:00 – 3:00 pm **Resolution 1325: Initiatives taken since October 2000**
Video: Visible Silence
Facilitator: International Alert

3:00 – 4:30 **Working Groups: Linking 1325 to peace and security issues in Nigeria:** How are the issues identified by the women reflected in the Resolution? *Are there any gaps?*
Facilitator: TBC

4:30 - 5:00 pm **Coffee**

5:00 – 6:00 pm **Feedback**
Facilitator: TBC

7:00 pm **Dinner**

DAY THREE: March 30

MORNING

8:00 – 9:00am **Breakfast**

9:00 - 9:10 am **Introduction to the day/Housekeeping issues**
Main Facilitator

9:10 – 10:00 am **Advocating for Women’s Peace and Security: Relevance of 1325**
Video: Only Through Dialogue: The Somali Way to Peace
Facilitator: WOPEd

10:00 – 10:30 am **Coffee**

10:30 – 1:00 pm **Working groups: The Way Forward**
Who are the key actors/targets in Nigeria?
What can women do?
What recommendations can they make to policy makers?
Facilitator: TBC

1:00 - 2:00 pm **Lunch**

2:00 – 4:00 pm **Feedback from the Working groups**
Facilitator: TBC

4:00 – 5:30 **Evaluation/Feedback**

5:30 –6:00 **Summary, Thanks & Close of Consultation**

Endnotes

- ¹. *A Global Survey of Armed Conflict and Minority Movements* (2000), Centre for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland.
- ². The Economist Magazine, London 15th September 2001.
- ³. See recent Central Bank of Nigeria yearly reports, 2001 and half year report 2002.
- ⁴. The Nigerian Human Development Report 1998, UNDP, Lagos.
- ⁵. Otite, Owigu and Isaac Olawale Albert (eds) *Community Conflict in Nigeria: Management, Resolution and Transformation*: Ibadan: Academic Peaceworks.
- ⁶. Between 1975-1998 Nigeria has had negative or zero GDP per capita growth rates in 18 years. This has aggravated income poverty in Nigeria. Nigerian Human Development Report 1998, UNDP, Lagos.
- ⁷. Colletta, Nat J: *From Reconstruction to Reconciliation*, World bank 2000 and Gurr, Ted Marshall, Monty. G. and Deepa Khosla 2000: 'Peace and Conflict: A Global Survey of Armed Conflicts, Self Determination Movements and Democracy.' Maryland: Centre for International Development and Conflict Management, 2000
- ⁸. The Nigerian Human Development Report 1998, UNDP, Lagos.
- ⁹. The Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey 1990.