Mapping and Analysis of Peacebuilding Initiatives in Nigeria

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# Table of Contents

Intersectional context analysis of economic, political, health (COVID-19) and humanitarian-related crises and challenges  
Responses to economic, political, health (COVID-19) and humanitarian-related crises and challenges, including adaptation and mitigation strategies  
Recent initiatives and efforts to address root causes of conflict and build peace  
Opportunities and barriers to women’s meaningful participation  
Recommendations to enhance women’s participation in local governance and public life  
Annex I: Mapping the key actors – template for annotated directory
The COVID-19 pandemic was the most cited crisis by interviewees in Nigeria; its impact has overwhelmed the populace and is felt by both women and men. However, a Key Informant Interview (KII) clarified that while both men and women have felt the impact of the pandemic, “the psychological effect and its attendant consequences vary and are mostly different…the pandemic’s ramifications have been worse for women than men due to their vulnerable positions in society.” Multiple interviewees expressed that women bear the brunt of pandemic-related challenges, including the substantial increase in violence against women. Women are also largely excluded in the formal peacebuilding processes at all levels, yet, they constitute the majority of internally displaced persons (IDPs). Women and girls are also often considered as soft targets for kidnapping or abduction by bandits and the insurgents, thus they are highly vulnerable.

The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent government response on women, especially the lockdown, fall into the following key categories:

1. **Economic challenges:** Due to the COVID-19 lockdown, people lost their jobs, faced serious health risks, and were unable to go out to work, the market, or other places to earn a living. This seriously affected women, especially those running small businesses, and led to increased levels of poverty and heightened domestic burdens. Women farmers also suffered serious losses. One interviewee from Bauchi State explained, “farm produce such as vegetables, [which are] produced mainly by women farmers, were wasted because of their perishable nature and lack of preservation and lack of market.” According to a representative of an NGO that provides grants to women to support small businesses in Borno State, “most of our beneficiaries’ businesses collapsed due to the lockdown as both gains and capital were used up as there was so much hunger coupled with rising prices of food and inflation as markets and intercity movements were restricted leading to a shortage of food and subsequently high cost of food items. This led to psychological and mental challenges as they worried more about their wellbeing...
in the midst of acute shortages of resources." Further, a focus group in Borno state raised that due to these economic challenges, many women and girls were forced to resort to “negative coping strategies” in order to survive, including “giving out their bodies as a means to earn a living,” leading to an increase in sexually transmitted disease, pregnancies and early marriage.

2. **Increase in sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV):** The requirement to remain at home during the pandemic significantly exacerbated the already existing risks of SGBV, especially rape, domestic violence, physical assault, psychological abuse and child abuse, amongst others. Women, young women and girls were at increased risk of domestic violence during the pandemic due to limited involvement in decision-making, increased food insecurity, reduction in mobility, and limited access to information and services. Responses gathered from KIIIs across the federal, state and local levels reflected that confinement in the home fostered increased violence against women while simultaneously separating them from the people and responses that could provide support and relief. The closure of schools for several months resulted in increased exposure of children and young people to SGBV in their homes. Further, there were reports of women who left their houses being molested by security officers.

3. **Lack of health care access:** Women faced reduced or completely limited access to medical facilities due to travel restrictions or a lack of means to travel. This was a particular challenge as many women could not access health facilities for sexual health services, prenatal care, postnatal care, childcare, or any other emergency. Additionally, many women were reluctant to access any health services due to fear of being considered COVID-19 positive; this led to increased reliance on self-medication at home. Interviews showed that the pandemic caused varying levels of psychological health problems, especially for medical-field workers, those who have underlying medical problems and women who are unable to feed their families. Research further indicated that the lockdown and quarantine led to increased levels of depression, as well as substance/drug abuse among young people and women. However, relief for these challenges remained out of reach.

4. **Social impact:** Most women and young girls experienced a change in their social roles as a result of the pandemic, taking on the role of becoming breadwinners for their households. Additionally, restrictions on social distancing resulted in a loss of activities in the social sphere that women often lead, such as weddings, naming ceremonies, and gatherings where communities share their problems and challenges. Women from the focus group in Borno state shared that “women are very social human beings whose activities bring about social cohesion;” thus, the absence of these activities resulted
in a decrease in overall community social cohesion.

Other than women, several other subgroups were also reported as being heavily impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. Among the groups most affected by the pandemic, women with disabilities (WWD) were mentioned by all participants. According to a KII living with a disability, “I am worst hit by all forms of crisis across the board, but the one that stands out most for women with disabilities is the economic crisis as imposed by the COVID 19 pandemic and governments’ associated lockdown leaving WWDs extremely poor and so not able to access quality and affordable healthcare and not well enough to participate in social or political activities. The crisis does have a great multiplier effect.” One national-level organization carried out a rapid assessment on the effect of the pandemic on persons with disabilities and found many had an inability to social distance because they require care and support from others, and that many individuals faced difficulties in implementing health and hygiene measures on their own.¹

All respondents from the target states also identified IDPs as a group that has been more severely affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. The poor hygiene conditions within camps and lack of social amenities, food, medical care, and access to work were cited as factors that make IDPs more susceptible to the pandemic. School children were similarly noted, as schools were closed across the country for over four months due to the pandemic. Children in poverty and many in public schools were especially affected as they had no access to lessons on radio, television, or other forms of distance learning. Children attending private schools were better off because they had home access to their classes in an online format. Other responses from KIIs and focus group discussions (FGDs) on groups that have been more severely impacted by COVID-19 included elderly women, lactating mothers, women and adolescent girls that are heading households, and young people.

In addition to the COVID-19 crisis, other insecurities in various parts of the country were cited as crises by respondents from the national to sub-national levels. These include the Boko Haram crisis in the northeast, banditry and criminality in the northwest, the farmer-herder conflict mostly in the north-central and northeast and kidnapping across the country. These crises have given rise to a serious humanitarian situation with IDP camps scattered across the country. According to one respondent, the “volatile security situation in virtually all regions of the country has contributed to fear and restrictions to field missions for social development and humanitarian response.” In addition to the aforementioned challenges, the youth-led EndSARS Protest² was cited

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² The nationwide demonstrations against police officers of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) erupted across states in Nigeria due to the prevalence of human rights abuse perpetuated by security operatives and the inadequacies of law enforcement agencies to bring the perpetrators of abuse to justice.
as a major crisis by 50 per cent of the respondents at the national level. The protest resulted in the death of 92 persons, 87 injured, the destruction of properties and livelihoods, and the closure of most offices.

The Boko Haram crisis, which is considered one of the worst crises in recent history, was cited by all participants as the most serious situation that has assailed northeast Nigeria. It has resulted in the deaths of more than 37,000 people, over 2.4 million internally displaced, over 200,000 refugees in the neighboring countries of Cameroon, Chad and Niger, and the destruction of infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, markets and police stations. The impact of this crisis is felt by everyone – women, men, and children. According to some participants from Borno state, men are more physically affected than women because they are on the frontline of the war and are thus more susceptible to physical harm or death. However, around 80 per cent of the population of IDPs in the camps are women and children. Many women and young girls have experienced a change in gender roles as they became heads of household and breadwinners, and many are left with psychological challenges and increased trauma in IDP camps. The lack of resources and access to social services as a result of the conflict has continued to have a severe negative impact. Furthermore, an interviewee in Borno emphasized that “women and girls continue to suffer in the camps as victims and survivors of SGBV including rape, survival sex, sexual exploitation, and abuse by perpetrators ranging from formal and informal security actors, humanitarian actors, camp managers, and members of the Armed Opposition Groups that subject them to various forms of sexual violence.” Another participant, speaking on the over 200 Chibok girls that were abducted from their school and forced to marry the insurgents, stated that “those that were rescued came back with horrible stories of the sexual violence they faced in the hands of their abductors, with many coming back with children.” Despite sexual violence being a widespread and predominant challenge for women, according to one of the organizations working with IDPs in Borno, “there is a lot of stigmatization and isolation of women that were rescued by military from the hands of Boko Haram and brought into the camps and also those that have suffered SGBV in the camps,” making it near impossible for them to receive adequate care and social services to recover.
RESPONSES TO ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, HEALTH (COVID-19) AND HUMANITARIAN-RELATED CRISIES AND CHALLENGES, INCLUDING ADAPTATION AND MITIGATION STRATEGIES

At the national level, the establishment of the Presidential Task Force (PTF) by the President on 9 March 2020 was the first multi-sectoral response of the Nigerian government to coordinate and oversee Nigeria’s efforts to contain and mitigate the COVID-19 pandemic. It provided overall policy direction, guidance, and continuous support to the National Emergency Operations Center (EOC) as well as other ministries and government agencies involved in pandemic response. The task force conducted a daily broadcast through various television channels, including the National Television Authority (NTA) and other media houses, which provided information on preventive measures such as wearing face masks, social and physical distancing, hygiene protocol and use of sanitizers to ensure the community transmission of the virus was curtailed. The PTF prescribed a temporary lockdown of the country to contain transmission of the virus and oversaw the establishment of isolation centers to take in affected persons. At the sub-national level, COVID-19 task forces and committees were established in the 36 states and in the Federal Capital Territory.

Other efforts by the government at both the national and state levels included the distribution of palliatives to cushion the socioeconomic impacts of the pandemic. However, according to respondents, this initiative “was marred with corruption and fell short of the desired impact;” many of those who received the distribution were the wealthy or those with direct ties to the government. In Gombe, a government program headed by the Ministry for Women’s Affairs gave grants to about 30,000 women and youth. In Borno, the Ministry for Women’s Affairs and Social Development led an awareness-raising campaign in the maximum-security prison on COVID-19 and the preventive protocols. In addition, the Ministry worked to address the problem of sexual violence through community mobilization and sensitization to improve understanding and knowledge of SGBV.

For NGOs there was also a shift in practices after the onset of the pandemic. All organizations adhered to strict precautionary measures as required by the World Health Organization and the Nigerian Center for Disease Control (NCDC) to prevent contracting the virus. More than 90% of respondents said their organizations were involved in sensitizing and mobilizing the general public to comply with the safety and preventive measures of NCDC, which were announced through radio programs, television and print media. Some organizations also raised awareness of the consequences of not complying
with government health mandates and how to access services, including health care, aid from the UN Migration Mental Health and Psychological Services and other emergency recovery and relief programs.

In addition, most organizations adopted technological solutions to continue their work as they were forced to move into the digital space, including virtual training sessions, webinars and meetings. Even after the lockdown was removed, some organizations only had a few staff at a time working in the office to ensure compliance with COVID-19 protocols. However, despite efforts to continue carrying out work in a virtual format where possible, interviewees did report that the virtual transition did affect a lot of implementation and programmatic activities, upsetting the flow of fieldwork delivery and timeline. This also affected several organizations’ abilities to pay staff salaries, which in some cases was impossible because they were unable to carry out project implementation. Additionally, many organizations reported the loss of global funders and partners during the pandemic, which vastly impacted their ability to carry out operations and projects. Most organizations interviewed emphasized that their resource management had been heavily impacted and stated that they no longer spend money on anything that wasn’t essential to cut costs.

With the transition to more virtual work, radio programs became a quickly growing area of operation in Nigeria. One such example is the weekly broadcast of a Women, Peace and Security (WPS) radio program in Bauchi and Benue state. In addition to the radio program, the WPS website for Nigeria launched in September 2020 and features several publications and documentaries on COVID-19 from a gender perspective. The radio program and WPS website were led by International Alert, with technical and financial support from UN Women and Norway. The radio program featured men, women and youth, with expertise on the subject of discussion each week. Interviewees spoke highly of women’s participative role in the program, noting that “women and youth were featured as guest discussants on the radio program. Listeners of the program, especially women, were given the opportunity to contribute in live discussions via phone calls and SMS.” Furthermore, reporting showed that these initiatives did well in terms of sensitization as women from a variety of backgrounds listened to the program, including IDPs and young women. Overall, interviewees expressed that the radio program increased public awareness on the pandemic from a gender perspective. COVID-19 sensitization jingles in English and local languages were also aired during the program. Many organizations were involved in sensitization programs and jingles, such as the Gender Equality, Peace and Development Centre (GEPaDC) which has been running jingles in English, Kanuri, Shuwa and Hausa on the radio for over one year. The jingles have been used to share information on COVID-19 and SGBV and aim to cascade information to those in very rural communities. GEPaDC also created banners on COVID-19 in IDP camps in Borno. WANEP-Nigeria had a radio program titled “Let’s Talk

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3 https://wpsnigeria.net/
COVID-19 and SGBV” in order to provide a platform for more women to listen to and air their views on incidences of SGBV.

Respondents highlighted several specific examples of work that local organizations conducted in the wake of COVID-19, which are outlined below:

• Several groups carried out fact-finding research. The Women Advocate Research and Documentation Centre (WARDC) carried out an online national survey on the Impact of COVID-19 on Households in Nigeria through a gender lens. WANEP-Nigeria carried out an online survey for women to report incidences of SGBV during the lockdown in order to create more effective referral services. Partners West Africa Nigeria (PWAN) carried out research around the impacts of the pandemic on women, the security sector, and judicial sector, and offered recommendations towards ensuring that systems and institutions are strengthened to ensure efficient and high-quality service delivery.

• A few organizations were involved in the provision of palliatives and other medical materials. The Women in Humanitarian Response in Nigeria Initiative (IWiHRIN) created a cash transfer initiative to serve as a form of economic support to the most vulnerable women; the program reached over 400 women across the 36 States of Nigeria, including the Federal Capital Territory. At the outset of the project, a mapping was conducted to identify women who had been most severely impacted by the pandemic, who then became the beneficiaries of the project. Those selected included rural women between the ages of 25-65, the majority of whom were petty treaders and IDPs.

• WANEP Nigeria provided food to women in seven target communities to help alleviate the poverty faced by women during this time and provided hand wash facilities at designated places within major markets and IDP camps. WANEP also hosted a virtual training on Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) and SGBV with civil society organizations in the project states.

• In Borno, GEPaDC distributed hand-washing materials in various IDP camps to encourage compliance with the hand-washing protocol and enhance sanitation. Additionally, they provided face masks, sanitizers and soap to women-friendly spaces and about 301 vulnerable households in a project funded by the Women Peace and Humanitarian Fund. Also, women and youth-focused organizations provided food for women, children, elderly persons and persons living with disabilities.

• Some organizations carried out capacity-building initiatives. 180 women’s groups in camps in Borno were trained on COVID-19 leadership by GEPaDC. The women leaders, comprised of an intergenerational mix, worked on mobilizing and campaigning

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4 The seven Target Communities included: Katagum in Bauchi State, Maiduguri in Borno State, Ossissa in Delta State, Uneme Nekhua in Edo State, Agboyi Ketu in Lagos State; Ogoni in Rivers State and Balanga in Gombe State.

5 Women friendly spaces are spaces where vulnerable women and survivors of SGBV meet and openly discuss their fears, concerns and needs. It is a method of community support.
around COVID-19 initiatives in their various communities.
• In the area of education, GEPaDC used the Last Mile Learning Approach to sustain IDP children's learning during the lockdown and closure of schools. This approach uses technology platforms to develop learning content for children in IDP camps.

Information about these initiatives was made available through mainstream media, virtual meetings, social media, community radio and word of mouth, especially at the community level. Additionally, information was spread via Information, Education and Communication (IEC) materials and Behavior, Change and Communication Materials; these materials were direct outputs of crisis and risk communication workshops organized by WANEP-Nigeria and the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP); the materials mostly consisted of posters, flyers, stickers and t-shirts.

Interviewees also shared various ways that individuals responded to the pandemic. Many noted that compliance with COVID-19 protocols was very difficult for most people in the early days of the pandemic. Some individuals made deliberate efforts to know more about COVID-19 and the various preventive measures they could take, reached out to others in order to create greater awareness, and provided COVID-19 protection materials such as face masks, soap, sanitizers, food and other items to individuals who needed them. Most interviewees also recalled the shift in personal use of technology as things shifted into a more virtual format.

Finally, several interviewees highlighted how the pandemic reorganized their resource management and forced them to get rid of unnecessary expenses; this was exemplified by one individual who explained, “I try to reduce my spending; I focussed more on the most pressing needs.”

RECENT INITIATIVES AND EFFORTS TO ADDRESS ROOT CAUSES OF CONFLICT AND BUILD PEACE

There are numerous conflicts and insecurities that have been plaguing the country – the Boko Haram insurgency, banditry and criminality, the herder-farmer conflicts, kidnapping, and youth unemployment and restiveness, amongst others. Many respondents opined that the main challenge surrounding violent conflicts in Nigeria is the government’s inability to address their root causes due to bad governance, corruption, injustice, poverty, unemployment and low investment in peacebuilding initiatives. Respondents voiced that there are more investments in militarization than there are towards peacebuilding; the peace architecture in the country is seen to be weak, with limited inter-agency collaborations, low level of women’s participation and early warning and early response systems that are neither gender-sensitive nor effective.

However, there are still many initiatives that have been put in place at the national and sub-national levels by the
government and NGOs:

- The Localization of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 has been underway through the development of National Action Plans (NAPs). Nigeria has developed two WPS NAPs and is currently in the process of developing its third. These processes were led by the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development with support from UN Women, the British Council, the and the government of Germany. Their development included consultations from diverse groups of women, such as working professionals, academics, women from faith-based organizations, and people living with disabilities. More than 70% of those WANEP-Nigeria spoke to for KIIIs participated in the development of the 1st and 2nd iterations of the NAP, including being part of the NAP Steering Committee and the NAP Monitoring Committees. Organizations such as Partners West Africa Nigeria (PWAN) monitor and track policy implementation and behavioral changes of key stakeholders involved in WPS, especially the government and various criminal justice actors. Other initiatives that have been undertaken to implement the international WPS resolutions include the passing of the VAPP Act at the National level, which has since been domesticated within some states.

- 14 states have developed State Action Plans and four states have gone beyond that to develop Local Government Action Plans – Plateau, Gombe, Kano and Delta. At this level, the processes were headed by women-led NGOs, WPS networks, peacebuilding groups and women mediators.

- The HeForShe campaign was launched nationwide. HeForShe aims to garner male champions who advocate for the rights of women and girls in Nigeria, as well as advocate for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 across the country.

At the state level, many efforts have been put in place that are led by local NGOs and some by community-based organizations.

- In Gombe, youth engagement on WPS has been led by the Gombe State Agency for Social Development. The Risk Communication and Community Engagement Project led by UN Women in partnership with the Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN) comprises about 1,000 women, about 65% of whom are young women. The project focuses on empowering community women to enable their strong recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as equip them with the knowledge and skills to participate in peacebuilding at the community level. As a part of the project, women were trained as peace advocates and mediators. Mediation of the herder-farmers conflict has been

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6 The Violence Against Person Prohibition Act was passed into law in 2015. This Act prohibits all forms of violence against persons in private and public life. It provides maximum protection and effective remedies for victims and punishment of offenders.

7 Nigeria is divided into three levels of government: Federal, State and Local. At the state level there are States that have developed State Action Plan (SAP) on UNSCR 1325. At the Local Level we have local areas that have developed Local Action Plan (LAP) on UNSCR 1325

8 The Farmer-Herders Conflict is a protracted conflict in Nigeria between farming communities and cattle herders over grazing fields used by the farmers to cultivate food crops. The herders who are oftentimes Fulani allow their cattle to graze on these farmlands. This is a major cause of conflict in the north-central region of Nigeria.
led by FOMWAN and the Women’s Wing of Christian Association of Nigeria (WOWICAN). The women involved in this effort are both Muslims and Christians and represent multiple social classes. Not many women are aware of this initiative, but those that are tend to have heard of it by word of mouth or the community radio – Amana FM. Women Peace Mentor, an organization established under an EU-Funded Program and implemented by UN Women, aims to provide strategic direction, overall guidance, mentoring, and capacity building for women and young girls to be actively engaged in the mechanism of State Peace and Security architecture and forms the basis of a networked cadre of women peace advocates at all levels. One interviewee shared that “we are establishing peace clubs in girls’ schools in Gombe state and sensitizing them on peace, gender and human rights issues. We are also mentoring women and youth for community peacebuilding and conflict resolution.”

• In Bauchi, advocacy by women’s organizations, spearheaded by the Women Advocate Research and Documentation Centre (WARDC), to the Bauchi State House of Assembly led to the localization of the VAPP Act in the state. Additionally, the Zauren Sulhu, a traditional peacebuilding committee in Bauchi State, was established in various local areas but it has very low representation of women and youth. There is also an ongoing Risk Assessment and Community Engagement project, led by a local NGO and involving more than 700 women and young women, that is addressing the challenges of SGBV and harmful traditional practices such as widowhood rites and female genital cutting.

• In Borno, the Ministry of Women’s Affairs and Social Development, in partnership with women-led organizations, is lobbying to localize the VAPP Act. In this regard, two major events were carried out – a retreat organized for all members of the House of Assembly in Abuja, and the high-level advocacy meeting organized by FIDA in collaboration with GEaDC. The N3lew9 Sexual Assault Referral Centre (SARC), an initiative to address the problem of SGBV, is led by the Gabasawa Women and Children Empowerment Initiative and supported by the European Union. A sub-chapter in Borno was established by WANEP and GEaDC. The chapter has a radio program, “Mariyan Mata na Zaman Lafiya,” (Women’s voices for peace), aims to sensitize the general public to UNSCR 1325, and gives women the opportunity to speak out on key peace and security challenges. The radio program has been aired in seven radio stations across seven states in Nigeria and is on air seven times per week. Additionally, GEaDC established the Barka da Zuwa Girls’ Cooperatives, a movement that is fighting for the elimination of SGBV among women in Borno. The Youth Peacebuilding Initiative comprises over 500 youth made up of both males and females. Ra’ayin Mata (Voices of Women) is women-led and involves 100 women and 50+ young women and

9 The “3” in N3lew is an English transliteration of the Arabic Letter ٣ or أ, which has no exact equivalent in the English alphabet.
provides a platform for more women to listen and air their views on incidences of sexual and gender-based violence. Women in New Nigeria (WINN) works to monitor SGBV in Borno.

**WOMEN’S AND YOUTH’S ROLE IN CONFLICT PREVENTION AND PEACEBUILDING: MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION AND INFLUENCE OVER MAKING DECISIONS**

Many women and youth are participating in the localization of UNSCR 1325 in Nigeria, including through the development and launching of the first WPS NAP in 2013. The development of the WPS NAP was led by FMWASD and had many women participating in its consultation and drafting. However, there were very few youth participants included. Many of the respondents at the national level participated in the development of both of Nigeria’s NAPs, as well as in radio programs that worked to create awareness of UNSCR 1325.

At the state level, especially the states that have developed a State Action Plan (SAP) on WPS, women and youth groups are implementing the NAP on UNSCR 1325 through diverse activities:

- Women and youth play a role in community-based conflict monitoring systems with local monitors to produce conflict and peace assessment reports and early warning reports. WANEP-Nigeria trains women and young women in conflict prevention and early warning monitoring so they can contribute to community-based monitoring programs. The reports from these community programs are then assessed and disseminated to relevant stakeholders.
- Women and youth facilitate activities that foster relationship-building among refugees, IDPs, returnees, and host communities.
- Women mobilize and influence peers toward cultivating positive attitudes that will strengthen co-existence among community members.
- Women strive to promote women’s inclusion and participation in decision-making activities and maximize women’s roles in mediation and peacebuilding.
- Women lead community advocacy to gatekeepers and policymakers to ensure full and meaningful participation of women in social, economic and political spheres.

The women involved in the above activities include all ages of women, young women, and youth, varying levels of literacy and economic security, and numerous ethnicities and religions.

**WOMEN’S AND YOUTH’S ROLES IN CRISIS RESPONSE**

The roles played by women and youth depend on the type of initiative. In the realm of COVID-19, women were most often involved in educational and sensitization campaigns that aimed to stop the spread of the virus and help

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10 By gatekeepers we refer to the custodians of patriarchal cultural norms, such as traditional rulers, council chiefs, religious leaders and other male leaders. However, some women leaders are also taught to uphold cultural norms that harm them or hold them as second-class citizens; the advocacy also targets these women.
identify fake-news about the pandemic. Some women IDPs have been leading a campaign on COVID-19 and SGBV in their various camps; one respondent noted that the campaign has “heightened their visibility and agency in the camps and has led to their meaningful participation in mixed committees in the camps making their contribution to decisions on community issues.” Where many organizations provided palliatives or other humanitarian relief, women were often the ones doing mapping and desk research and were less-commonly found on the distribution teams. However, women and youth-focused organizations have participated in delivering food and non-food relief materials, including dignity kits, to vulnerable women and women living with disabilities. The women’s ministry has also been involved in the distribution of these items, but distribution was marred with corruption and many women in dire need of food items were never reached. In some states, the distribution of items and their level of distribution became a reward for political party members; for example, party-members were given higher quality items and generally received a larger amount of support, while non-party members received little to none. Additionally, distribution was a one-time event, rather than something that offered sustained support.

Beyond the area of COVID-19, women have been the drivers of capacity-building efforts for the political, economic, and social empowerment of women across the country. Additionally, young women have been involved in supporting homeless children in education, including human rights education. Continuing in the realm of education, women were often involved in awareness raising of a variety of challenges; this was largely done through radio, social media, as town criers, and through community-based activities such as meetings, trainings, and house-to-house sensitization. In Bauchi state, 90% of the respondents believed that awareness-raising efforts of the above-mentioned initiatives resulted in women from different backgrounds being aware of the initiatives, including refugees, IDPs, WWDs, youth, and the elderly. Similarly, in Borno state, all respondents believed women of all backgrounds were aware of these initiatives. However, respondents at the national level stated that while many women from different backgrounds are aware of these initiatives, especially from the media and daily broadcasts, IDPs and refugees may not have heard about them unless if they have access to radios.

It should also be noted that in general, the women who play leading roles in the initiatives or crisis response tend to be women who are already leaders and decision-makers or women who are the most influential women within communities.
THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 TASK FORCES

As highlighted previously, COVID-19 task forces (PTF) and committees were established at the national and state levels. At the national level, there are only two women in the task force, which is very low considering the impact of COVID-19 is felt more by women. At the state level, the representation of women is also extremely low. In the three target states, no respondent was able to indicate whether or not there were women serving in the state task forces. A GEPaDC representative quoted the statement by UNDP Chief Achim Steiner who stated that “women have been on the frontlines of the COVID-19 response; however, they have been systematically excluded from the decision-making processes on how to address the impacts of the pandemic. To highlight women’s needs during the recovery process, it is imperative to ensure governments have women in decision-making roles.”

In the provision of information, the taskforce was involved in the daily broadcast on COVID-19, providing information on the disease and preventive protocols. These broadcasts were made via television and radio. The television and radio broadcasts technically fulfil the PTF’s mandate, however, many people, especially among the IDPs and refugees who are struggling for their basic survival, have no access to televisions or radios. Thus, awareness raising efforts at the state level had little to no impact on IDPs, refugees, and other vulnerable groups.

The Federal Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs Disaster Management and Social Development announced that food rations would be provided to vulnerable households in the target states. Unfortunately, the government was not able to provide food support to everyone who needed it, as the distribution system was marred by corruption and a lack of accountability. The palliatives were distributed based on political association, with discrimination and stigmatization against those who were not in the ruling party. According to a respondent at the national level, “the food items were hoarded by the governors of some states, and it was only during the End Sars protest that this was exposed.”

In the area of health care, there was a consensus that the PTF did not bring about adequate health care. In Gombe state, about 60% of the respondents reported that there was no proper care for those in isolation centers, and “the patients in the center/hospital protested against the lack of proper care.” In Borno, during the lockdown, the COVID-19 Task Force was involved in the distribution of cards to organizations and individuals that allowed freedom of movement during the lockdown period for emergencies and essential humanitarian work, but these cards were not equitably distributed, and some organizations working in the area of SGBV could not access the cards. One respondent recalled, “GEPaDC had an unfortunate issue during the lockdown: a girl of 12 years was raped within this period. I can still remember it was a Friday. In between making frantic phone calls to get a card that can enable us get permission to move and the weekend, the girl had to stay unattended until the following Monday by which time some
In general, there was no consensus among respondents on whether the task force and committees were working effectively and adequately to address the impact of the pandemic. At the national level, respondents tended to say that it was working effectively. However, they also emphasized that the task forces were not gender-responsive. At the state level, there was general agreement amongst respondents that the task forces were not meeting the needs of diverse communities. They did not adequately consider the unique needs of vulnerable groups such as women, youth, IDPs, refugees, and people living with disabilities. Second, the government had little to no political will to deal with the problem, often caring only to meet the needs of government officials rather than those of the general public. Third, the state-level committees were also not gender-responsive, with their actions being generalized responses for the public. Additionally, it was emphasized that the state-level task forces had poor management of resources and never made efforts to engage with local communities to understand their needs.

**ANALYSIS OF LOCAL PLANS, STRATEGIES AND OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATED TO CRISIS RESPONSE AND RECOVERY**

Many local plans, strategies and documents related to crisis response and recovery exist in the three target states, but very few respondents were aware of them. At the state level, 60% of the respondents in Bauchi were not aware of any such plan. In Borno, 60% of the respondents said they were aware of the plans, but only 10% were able to mention the name of any plan. Similarly, in Gombe state, 64% of the respondents said they were aware of such plans, but none were able to name any.

The existing strategies and whether or not they adequately addressed the differing needs of women and other vulnerable groups are outlined:

- **Nigeria Crisis and Response Plan (2021):** None of the respondents were involved in the discussion or development of this document, and most agreed that this plan did not completely address the needs and concerns of diverse groups of women and men. This belief is further reinforced as cases of abuse of women and other vulnerable groups have been increasing. Few respondents were able to recall the existence of this plan.

- **Nigeria’s Economic Recovery and Growth Plan:** The plan prioritizes the agricultural sector and agribusiness as part of an ongoing effort to diversify the economy. Additionally, it aims to promote food security and increase employment rates, especially in rural areas where 80% of the population

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For example, items such as menstrual health products were not considered in the distribution of palliatives.
resides. This initiative stresses entrepreneurship to address the high unemployment rates, particularly among women and Nigeria’s sizeable youth population. This plan was mentioned by only one respondent at the national level.

• The Buhari Plan (2016): this plan prioritized rebuilding the northeast and included agricultural interventions to restore livelihoods and promote food security. The only respondent who mentioned this plan did not state whether it addressed the unique needs of diverse groups.

• The National Livestock Transformation Plan: the principal aim of this plan was to address the Farmer-Herder crisis. According to some respondents, this plan was considered controversial and was resisted by most states. This is because the plan assumes that establishing ranches will reduce competition over land and water and boost production, but many state governments in Nigeria are unwilling to give their lands for the ranching of livestock, especially cattle.

• The Central Bank of Nigeria Stimulus Package: The stimulus involved $50 billion in credit in order to cushion the adverse effects of COVID-19 on households. However, the loan required collateral and was not interest-free. Women who had no collateral were automatically excluded. According to the only respondent at the state level who mentioned this effort, many poor households and businesses in the informal sector didn’t know about the government’s stimulus package, and if they did it was unattainable due to requirements for collateral and interest rates.

ANALYSIS OF LOCAL PLANS, STRATEGIES AND OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATED TO CONFLICT PREVENTION AND ENSURING PEACE AND SECURITY

Various national and regional frameworks were identified as supporting respondents’ work for conflict prevention, including localizing UNSCR 1325, efforts to implement Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5 on gender equality and SDG 16 on Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions. These include:

• The Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act: Since its signing in 2015, the act has been adopted in at least 18 states. This document was mentioned by around 70% of interviewees, who went on to express that they believe it does cater to the needs of diverse and vulnerable groups, especially in the states that have domesticated it. There is both high-level and grassroots-level sensitization around this act, making it known to a diverse group of women.

• WPS NAP: The development of Nigeria’s 1st and 2nd WPS NAPs has been an important pillar within Nigeria’s conflict prevention landscape. The NAPs have been further localized in 14 states through the development of State Action Plans (SAPs) and Local Action Plans (LAPs). The national and sub-national governments of Nigeria lead the development of the NAP, often with support from UN
agencies, development partners, and CSOs. There was also a wide range of stakeholders this research identified that were involved in the development of SAPs, which include NGOs/CSOs, WPS networks, government ministries, development partners, and traditional and religious leaders. Youth- and women-led organizations were also prominent in these processes. Many interviewees believed that the NAP, and subsequently the SAPs and LAPs, meet the needs of a diverse group of women. Two male respondents at the state level expressed that these plans only meet the needs of women.

- The Investigative Panel on Human Rights Violations: This panel is an ongoing hearing against Security Forces whose brutality eventually led to the ENDSARS protest of 2020. The existence of this panel in the context of conflict prevention was mentioned by only 3 respondents at the national level.

All the above frameworks support the involvement of women in promoting peace and security. The respondents at the state level opined that the level of awareness of these frameworks by women in their communities was very low, with the level of awareness being lower in rural areas. Primary sources of information on these frameworks include word of mouth, community meetings, workshops, radio and television.

INTERNATIONAL WPS RESOLUTIONS AND THE NIGERIAN WPS NAP

At the national level, every person interviewed, either in their individual capacity or representative of an organization, was aware of the National Action Plan. Many interviewees were part of the development of the document or part of the national steering or M&E committees. Several respondents noted that they use the NAP to support their work, and many others are working in the area of localization and implementation of the NAP. However, research by WANEP-Nigeria in 2019 indicated an abysmally low level of awareness of the WPS NAP by key stakeholders, including policymakers, at the sub-national level. Though the awareness level of the respondents on the WPS SAPs were high (100% in Gombe and 80% in both Bauchi and Borno), when it came to awareness of other actors in the community, respondents generally said they were unaware. The launch of SAPs in Bauchi, Borno and Gombe states and the LAP in Gombe state has increased the visibility of the international and national WPS policies, but there is still significant improvement needed. Many CSOs operating at state and local levels also remain unaware of the NAP or SAPs, even if their work is relevant to its implementation. This is critically important to note because one of the key barriers mitigating the implementation of the NAP and SAPs is the low level of awareness of these documents and, more largely, the WPS Agenda; awareness is considered the beginning of implementation.
Various efforts are currently being utilized to raise awareness about WPS at the state and local levels. Many organizations working at the local level on peacebuilding are creating awareness through meetings, trainings, community dialogues, media engagement, radio programs, word of mouth, reports, advocacy and policy engagement. Additionally, groups are pushing to involve more stakeholders in the SAP and LAP process. Finally, work on translating LAPs into local languages in Gombe is being carried out to provide access to more individuals.

There are ongoing dialogues, negotiations, and capacity-building efforts centered around the WPS resolutions. Additionally, peace clubs have been established in conjunction with efforts to mainstream peace education. In the area of prevention, there are several initiatives focused on awareness-raising and sensitization of WPS, as well as policy engagement in order to advocate for policies that protect women and girls and enhance their participation in peace processes. Training of women, youth, mentors, paralegals and the creation of help desks has helped to address some issues around lack of awareness and struggling WPS implementation. The effectiveness of those efforts has been measured by assessing the number of step-down trainings\(^\text{12}\) conducted and the number of women appointed to participate in decision-making regarding peace and security at community and local levels.

According to interviewees, while the programs are good on paper, implementation has been a challenge. These initiatives are monitored at the national level by M&E committees and by the gender desks on WPS that were set up in FMWASD. At the state level, these initiatives are monitored through M&E projects established by specific communities and project areas. Notably, most of the SAPs, especially the SAP in Borno, have a pillar dedicated to M&E. Other means of monitoring include through carrying out the National Survey on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Nigeria in 2021 to put forward recommendations for the effective implementation of the WPS Resolutions. Additionally, the Ministry of Women’s Affairs carried out several advocacy visits and organized programs around WPS in 2020 to commemorate the 20\(^\text{th}\) anniversary of Resolution 1325. It should be noted that several populations of women remain under-represented in many of these efforts, including refugees, IDPs, impoverished women and women with disabilities.

\(^{12}\) Step-down trainings are held by the target beneficiaries of a project when they return to their communities.
OPPORTUNITIES AND BARRIERS TO WOMEN’S MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION

ANALYSIS OF WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

The participation of women in governance in Nigeria is incredibly low at all levels. In the current Nigerian 9th National Assembly, women occupy only 7 out of 109 Senate seats and only 11 out of 360 seats in the House of Representatives (less than 6 per cent). At the local level, as of 2015, the percentage of women in local government is 5.91. Furthermore, only 15 per cent representation at local councils are women. Predominantly, women generally take positions as assistants to their male counterparts, with very few women becoming chairpersons or other decision-makers. In an exceedingly small number of communities, women are allowed to be chiefs or join traditional leadership councils. For the few women who gained seats, their success is predominantly due to their education and political party support. Occasionally, parliamentary seats are zoned according to Local Government Areas (LGAs) in the state, and women were able to win with significant determination. In some places, women were able to gain seats because the community heads were part of the Gender and Equal Opportunity Bill movement or there was some other presence of political influence that pushed for gender equality. These women are mostly well-educated, well-connected women from high social classes. Some of the female respondents who ran for elections emphasized that their motivation for running was “to represent women, add voice and women’s perspectives in the conversations, and encourage other women.” However, according to a mixed focus group discussion, even the women who were elected to political seats were not able to meaningfully participate—“they are only given seats but then dominated by men and overpowered.”

OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND OTHER ASPECTS OF DECISION-MAKING AND PUBLIC LIFE

In some places, certain posts or jobs are reserved for women. Notably, the position of Honorary Minister of Women Affairs and Social Development is reserved for women across many states in Nigeria. Yet, in many of these positions, education, experience and other forms of privilege are still very important. Within the three target states, women’s involvement in local government councils is exceedingly low; less than 1% of women are involved in Gombe, and no women are on the council in Bauchi or Borno. Interviewees from Gombe said that the women involved in the council do their best to “bring on board the issues related to women.” Typically, these women are over 30 years old and are highly educated. In Gombe, there is a quota system in place.

One of the interviewees expressed that despite the limitations women face in terms of political participation, those who have been given opportunities
serve as a testament to what women can accomplish when given the chance; “we are participating meaningfully, ensuring that voices and issues of women are heard and taken into cognizance.”

**OVERVIEW OF ALTERNATIVE AVENUES FOR WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION OR CAPACITY TO INFLUENCE LOCAL GOVERNANCE**

“Women can be change-makers in the community, have membership in informal security organizations, traditional/religious councils, trade unions, etc. Women can use the platform to influence decisions that benefit women and men. However, the most prominent challenge is the cultural norms and stereotypes that exist. Women’s participation can be influenced by several factors such as, religion, class, social status, etc. for instance, women in southern Nigeria participate more than those in the North. This has been statistically proven.”

Though women are not participating meaningfully in local governance, they are actively participating in religious groups, market associations, dance groups, trade unions and other informal groups. However, the number of women involved and their level of participation largely depends on the individual community, as there are cultural and religious restrictions for women that vary based on location. Some women are involved at the community level through membership in the traditional council. Women who hold titles given to them by heads of traditional councils vary in terms of age, class, level of education, and religious affiliation.

Most of the respondents identified NGOs, faith-based organizations, and community-based organizations as the platform where most women are involved and have the greatest impact. They participate at different levels in the community by creating local mechanisms through women’s groups, the family and other avenues. Different women participate in different ways as a result of age, social class and ethnicity.

**Barriers to Women’s Participation in Local Governance and Other Aspects of Decision-Making and Public Life**

Over 90 per cent of female interviewees reported that they face barriers that prevent them from fully participating in public life. The barriers identified by respondents are outlined in Table 1.
Family support is a crucial privilege, as women without access to childcare are limited in their capacities to pursue outside work. Ethnicity is a significant barrier depending on the region of work; in the North Central and Southern regions, ethnicity has been a key factor that instigates violent conflict. Additionally, some interviewees who work in regions of the country that they are not from have experienced challenges with gaining the trust of the local people and carrying out their decision-making mandates effectively. Often, individuals within a given region tend not to trust those in other regions due to fear of violence. Similarly, religion has been reported as an area of workplace discrimination. Age has also become a significant barrier, as it is very difficult for young women and young men to participate in governance, as they are often overlooked in favor of older individuals. Finally, simply being a woman makes participation difficult due to the pervasive conservative ideology, which is especially prevalent in northern Nigeria.

Unfortunately, efforts to overcome these barriers are not trending in a positive direction, with current crises worsening the situation for women. According to a respondent at the national level, “these barriers have worsened in the past year because the COVID-19 crisis took us several steps backwards in our fight for gender equality. The changes are minimal and new emerging threats like banditry and abduction are posing new challenges to women in Gombe state and eroding the little gains made.”

According to responses across the local, state and national levels, these barriers play out differently for women depending on a variety of factors. For example, older women are more likely to be competitive in elections and tend to be given leadership positions over younger women due to their perceived experience. Another interviewee explained that “women with disabilities are hardly considered as [political] candidates because they are seen as a liability because of the rigorous nature of campaigns in Nigeria.” Furthermore, IDP and refugee women are not considered for political elections, despite still being
valued as voters. However, according to a respondent working with IDPs in Borno, “things are changing (within camps) as there are deliberate and conscious efforts to include IDP women in camp committees and building their capacities to participate meaningfully.”

Notably, there are attempts to counteract some of these obstacles. For example, there is an ongoing constitutional review that is considering the National Assembly’s commitment to special seats for women, ongoing high-level advocacy by the Minister for Women Affairs and women organizations across the nation for improved participation of women in decision-making positions, and preparation for the development of Nigeria’s third WPS NAP. Additionally, there is a gender and equal opportunity bill and a quota system for women in some states such as Gombe and Borno, and in some local areas. However, the national bill on gender and equal opportunity has been continuously rejected in Nigeria’s National Assembly. Another ongoing effort is the Not Too Young to Run Bill, which was passed into law in 2018 and is now a provision under the Nigerian Constitution. The Bill reduces the age requirement for individuals running for election, making it possible for greater youth inclusion.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO ENHANCE WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC LIFE

The low participation of women in local governance was an issue of great concern for all women interviewees, as they recognized that women’s equal participation improves the quality of local governance and results in more successful peacebuilding efforts.

The following recommendations to enhance women’s participation in local governance and public life were offered by respondents:

• A quota system or affirmative action principle, backed by constitutional provisions, to enhance women’s political representation. This system should apply whether it is an elective position or an appointive position and should be implemented at all levels of governance;
• Gender equality should be entrenched in the Nigerian constitution;
• Stakeholders should engage in continuous and effective advocacy to change the negative perceptions about women’s participation in decision-making and leadership;
• Advocacy to political parties should be pursued in order to adopt measures, including internal quotas, to ensure that women are proportionately represented in local offices and on electoral rolls;
• One of the factors that contribute most to women successfully gaining political seats is educational qualification.
This underscores the importance of education for girls and young women. Efforts to give girls and young women the opportunity to attain a high level of educational qualification should be increased;

• Training and capacity building of relevant skills, such as public speaking, communication, leadership and advocacy, in order to strengthen the political leadership of women should be provided to assist women in gaining leadership and decision-making roles;

• Mentoring programs between experienced female politicians and aspiring leaders or female political candidates should be implemented;

• Cultural norms that reinforce the idea of women as less than men and expectations of women to fulfill their traditional roles remain in place and serve as an obstacle to women’s participation. More educational campaigns and engagement with religious and traditional leaders should be carried out in order to combat these mindsets; and

• The ‘Not Too Young to Run’ Bill was passed into law and is now a provision in the constitution of Nigeria. However, there is still a further need to sensitize young women to this opportunity and build the capacities of young people to pursue political positions. To this end, there is also a specific need to advocate for increased support and recognition of young women candidates at the local level.
ANNEX I: MAPPING THE KEY ACTORS – TEMPLATE FOR ANNOTATED DIRECTORY

In addition to the analysis produced based on the above research questions, in all countries, the researchers will develop an “annotated directory” of the key peacebuilding and WPS actors. The directory can be created by circulating the below template and requesting the actors interviewed to insert the information about themselves, as well as other relevant stakeholders.

NATIONAL/LOCAL CIVIL SOCIETY:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization Name</th>
<th>Type of Organization</th>
<th>Area of Work</th>
<th>Geographical scope of work</th>
<th>Involvement in WPS Implementation</th>
<th>Notable projects or achievements</th>
<th>Contact person(s) and details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Youth for Peace and Climate Action Africa              | Youth-led            | YPS Agenda; WPS Agenda; Climate Change; Democracy and Governance | National; Regional         | Involved in NAP development       | He4She Community dialogues to counter narratives of violent extremism Sensitization and advocacy | a. Full name: Andy Iji  
b. Positions : Lead Director at Youth 4 Peace and Climate Africa  
c. Convener -Youth 4 peace and security Network and Country Youth  
d. Representative on UNOWAS Working Group on WPS & YPS in West Africa and the Sahel  
e. email peaceambassador2000@yahoo.com  
f. Phone number: +234 8036115513  
g. Websites: [www.youthpeaceandsecuritynetwork.org](http://www.youthpeaceandsecuritynetwork.org) |
| Jere unity & progressive youth development cooperative society | Youth-led            | Women’s economic empowerment      | State                      | Sensitization and advocacy        |                                                                                                  | a. Full name: Hadiza Abdulkarim  
b. Position: PRO  
c. Email: hadizaabdukarim20@gmail.com  
d. Phone number: 08032303624                                                                                                                       |
| Ngurthavu Women Association, Maiduguri Chapter        | Women-led            | Women’s economic empowerment      | State                      | Involved in Borno State Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions | Sensitization and Advocacy                                                                      | a. Full name -Dr. (Mrs.) Ashilarju Solomon  
b. Position – Chairperson  
c. email - ashilarju4651@gmail.com  
d. Phone number - 08034573359                                                                                                                            |
| Organization | Women-led | Support to victims of sexual violence; Women's rights; Women's political participation; WPS | Borno State | Participated in localization | Community dialogues to counter narratives of violent extremism; Sensitization and advocacy | a. Full name: Amina Sanda  
b. Position: Leader  
c. Email: ngamdu001@gmail.com  
d. Phone number: 07035076449 |
|--------------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Arise Women  | Women-led | Support to victims of sexual violence; Women's rights; Women's political participation; WPS | Borno State | Involved in NAP development | Community dialogues to counter narratives of violent extremism; Sensitization and advocacy | a. Full name: Esther Juma Jibrin  
b. Position: Leader  
c. Email: esterjibrin74@gmail.com  
d. Phone number: 08066940174 |
| Shark 8      | Women-led | Support to victims of sexual violence; Women's rights; Women's political participation      | Borno state | Involved in SAP development | Community dialogues to counter narratives of toxic masculinity  
Community dialogues to counter narratives of violent extremism  
Sensitization and advocacy  
Assisting trafficked girls and CSW with alternative livelihoods/IGA (Barka) | a. Full name: Esther Juma Jibrin  
b. Position: Secretary  
c. Email: esterjibrin74@gmail.com  
d. Phone number: 08066940174 |