

THE
NIGERIAN
LEGISLATURE'S
ROLE IN
ADVANCING

WOMEN, PEACE
AND SECURITY



GUIDE

THE NIGERIAN LEGISLATURE'S ROLE IN ADVANCING WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY



NIGERIA COUNTRY OFFICE
UN WOMEN
Abuja, May 2020



WITH SUPPORT FROM



Norwegian Embassy

CONTENTS

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS		CHAPTER 5: BUDGETING FOR WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY IMPLEMENTATION	38
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		5.1 The Role of the Legislature in the Budget Process in Nigeria and Implications for Gender and Women, Peace and Security Funding	38
FOREWORD	1	5.2 Understanding Gender-responsive Budgeting vs. Women, Peace and Security Budgeting	40
PREFACE	2	5.3 Ensuring Women, Peace and Security Budgets are Effectively Utilized	42
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	3	CHAPTER 6: OVERSIGHT OF WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY IMPLEMENTATION	44
CHAPTER 1: WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA OVERVIEW	6	6.1 Powers of Oversight	44
1.1 Context: How Conflict Affects Women	6	6.2 Committee Oversight of National, State and Local Action Plans	45
1.2 Women's Participation in Decision Making	8	6.3 Committee Oversight on Specific Women, Peace and Security Sectoral Issues	47
1.3 UN Security Council Resolution 1325	11	6.4 Oversight Tools and Women, Peace and Security	47
1.4 Women, Peace and Security – Why This Matters	11	CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTATION	51
1.5 Opportunities for Legislative Action on Women, Peace and Security	14	7.1 Legislators as Representatives	51
CHAPTER 2: ALIGNING THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA WITH INTERNATIONAL, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORKS	17	7.2 Legislators as Gender-sensitive Peacebuilders	52
2.1 Linkages between the Sustainable Development Goals and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325	17	7.3 Legislators as Advocates and Champions	52
2.2 Aligning Women, Peace and Security with International Human Rights Frameworks and Processes	20	CHAPTER 8: THE ROLE OF LEGISLATIVE GROUPS	54
2.3 Aligning Women, Peace and Security with Regional Frameworks	22	Cross-party Women's Caucuses and Groups	54
2.4 Domestication of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Nigeria	24	CHAPTER 9: HARNESSING LEGISLATIVE STAFF	56
CHAPTER 3: THE LEGISLATURE IN NIGERIA AND THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA	28	USEFUL RESOURCES	58
CHAPTER 4: MAKING LAWS TO IMPLEMENT THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA	31	REFERENCES	59
4.1 Identifying Law Reform Priorities	31		
4.2 Women, Peace and Security Law Reform Issues in Nigeria	32		
4.3 Strategies for Women, Peace and Security Law Reforms	34		

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
HRC	Human Rights Council
LAP	Local Action Plan
MDA	ministries, departments and agencies
NAP	National Action Plan
NILDS	National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies
SAP	State Action Plan
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UN OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
UPR	Universal Periodic Review
WPS	women, peace and security

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Guide was made possible through partnership with the Government of Nigeria and the generous support of the Government of Norway to implement a programme aimed at, among other things, legislative support to implement United Nations Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security at national and state levels, through institutional strengthening of national and state legislatures and capacity building for legislators and legislative staff.

A special thanks to the National Assembly of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Bauchi State House of Assembly, and the Benue State House of Assembly, who provided the utmost cooperation and were forthcoming with the necessary documentation and information for a legislative institutional and capacity needs assessment conducted at the beginning of 2020. This was instrumental in informing the design and development of this Guide.

Finally, a special appreciation and acknowledgement to the consultant, Dr. Jake Dabang Dan-Azumi, who drafted the Guide, as well as Sabine Friezer Gunes from UN Women Headquarters and Semiha Abdulmelik and Peter Mancha from the UN Women Nigeria Country Office for their extensive review of and substantive contributions to the text.

**Comfort Lamptey,
UN Women Representative
to Nigeria and ECOWAS**



Nigeria National Assembly by Kabusa16

FOREWORD

The Legislature in Nigeria, as a matter of practice, sets its Legislative Agenda to guide strategic priorities and actions over a legislative period. The current Ninth National Assembly has included in its Legislative Agenda a number of measures towards gender equity and equality, such as furthering the implementation of the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act 2015 and its adoption across various states; gender-responsive budgeting; strengthening institutional capacity and expertise on gender; reforms to promote women's representation and participation in leadership roles in the public sector; and protection measures for displaced women and children, among others.

These measures outlined in the Ninth National Assembly's Legislative Agenda align closely with many of the priorities and actions contained in Nigeria's National Action Plan (NAP) on UNSCR 1325 (2017–2020). This policy document represents an important point of collaboration, consultation, partnership and synergy between the Legislature, the Ministry of Women Affairs, which is the custodian of the NAP, as well as the broader ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) that are concerned with its full implementation. If we do not ensure accountability and performance for this agenda and related commitments collectively and in partnership, we fail the citizens we represent.

As you may be aware, the Ninth House of Representatives under my leadership has engaged in partnerships to educate relevant House committees on gender-responsive budgeting aimed at creating a framework for subsequent annual appropriations budgets. We have also within the past year engaged key actors in girl-child education, especially in areas of conflict, an action which aims to serve as a catalyst for mitigating the intersections between conflict, displacement and peace, with a focus on the potential of incorporating gender perspectives into sustainable humanitarian and peacebuilding objectives; launched an engagement strategy for the domestication of the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act 2015; and advocated for closing the gender gap in politics to reflect gender equality through the Federal Constitution, among other efforts.

In this regard, I welcome this timely and relevant document: *The Nigerian Legislature's Role in Advancing Women, Peace and Security*. It represents a significant resource for leveraging the unique functions of our Legislature to advance Nigeria's commitments on women, peace and security as contained in UNSCR 1325 and related instruments. The Guide not only provides a substantive overview of the women, peace and security agenda, how it applies to Nigeria and its linkage to the global and national development agenda, but also presents practical insights and guidance on how the Legislature, at all levels, can use its lawmaking, oversight and representational functions to further implementation, with its usefulness extending to parliamentary staff, legislative groups and organizations, as well as development practitioners who work with the Legislature.

I believe that this unique and timely contribution by UN Women to support stronger engagement of legislators at both state and national level to advocate for and support measures to implement Nigeria's NAP and the broader women, peace and security agenda will bear fruit.

Rep. Femi Gbajabamila
Speaker, Nigeria House of Representatives

PREFACE

This year is a critical milestone! It represents the twentieth anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, a landmark global commitment on women, peace and security midwifed by Africa. The resolution for the first time acknowledged the heavy impact of violent conflict and war on women and girls, as well as the crucial role that women should, and already do, play in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peacemaking and peacebuilding. The subsequent related ten UN Security Council Resolutions have reinforced and expanded the women, peace and security agenda. As a global commitment, UNSCR 1325 links multiple actors in its robust implementation, including various entities of the UN, regional organizations and member states. The coming anniversary highlights the achievements in the previous 20 years through member states and collective action, while stressing that much more remains to be done for a deeper impact of women's involvement to be felt globally.

In Nigeria, UNSCR 1325 and the broader women, peace and security agenda have been domesticated through the development of a national-level strategy, namely a National Action Plan coordinated by the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs, as the national machinery for ensuring and supporting gender mainstreaming within ministries, departments and agencies. Nigeria's second NAP (2017–2020) is due for review, having rolled out its first NAP for the 2013–2017 period. It is worth noting that the NAP has been further localized through the development of State Action Plans (SAPs) in 11 states: Adamawa, Bayelsa, Borno, Delta, Gombe, Kaduna, Kano, Kogi, Plateau, Rivers and Yobe. Some of the states have gone further to put in place Local Action Plans (LAPs) and Ward Action Plans (WAPs).

A number of achievements were recorded under the first NAP, including the establishment of a national coordination mechanism; passage of key legislation such as the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act 2015; creation of networks for women and youth; and setting up of Gender Desks at police stations across the country. With the second NAP ending, we are embarking on a review and stocktaking exercise. This evaluation is critical in recommitting to the immense work that needs to continue at national and local levels, as well as in re-emphasizing the vital role of all actors in accelerating the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda on the continent.

Indeed, while there has been promising progress in ensuring multi-ministerial coordination and action on delivering on the NAP, a continuing challenge – which should be addressed at national, state, local government and ward levels – is limited legislative engagement in the process of developing, monitoring and budgeting for the NAP and the SAPs, LAPs and WAPs. This guide is then a noteworthy and timely contribution by UN Women. I would therefore like to acknowledge the efforts of UN Women to accelerate the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda in Nigeria through the recognition of the important role that the legislature does and can play as part of its law-making, oversight and representational functions, and through its various mechanisms and tools.

This guide represents a significant and practical resource to orient legislators at national and state levels on the significance of the women, peace and security agenda as part of Nigeria's global commitments, national development endeavours, and specific legislative, oversight and budgetary measures for its accelerated implementation. It is my belief that, together and with unity of purpose, we can achieve more for Nigerian women and girls in the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda.

H.E. Dame Pauline K. Tallen, OFR, KSG
Minister of Women Affairs

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Women and girls are impacted differently and disproportionately in conflict situations. To understand how conflict affects women, it is important to understand gender and its structural relation to power. Gender refers to behaviours of men and women based on roles, attitudes and values that are culturally assigned exclusively on the premise of biological and physical characteristics, i.e. 'sex' (Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, 2001). At its core, therefore, gender is about how power relations are structured in society among men and women. Consequently, rights and responsibilities, as well as access to resources (political, social, economic, cultural, legal, etc.), are defined based on gender. This leads to the differing experiences of, and impact of violence on, women, men, boys and girls before, during and after conflict. It highlights the varied needs, vulnerabilities and capacities of women; the nature and extent of various forms of violence they face; and the opportunities for and barriers to their meaningful participation in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction.

These vulnerabilities include increased exposure and susceptibility to various forms of sexual and gender-based violence. A study on the wars and armed conflicts in Africa between 1989 and 2009 showed that 236 armed forces and groups have participated in 48 wars. Of these, 64 per cent of the armed forces and groups used sexual violence. The continent also experienced 28 civil armed conflicts, ten (36 per cent) of which were characterized by rape (Cohen and Nordås, 2012). Those most vulnerable are women and girls from targeted ethnic or religious groups, unaccompanied women or children, female-headed households, elderly women, and women with disabilities and children. The dimensions of violence against women and girls during conflict are reflected in their increased vulnerability to loss, violence and harm. Specifically, women and girls experience 'reduced access to resources, livelihood inputs and basic services; increased family and social responsibilities; restricted mobility; unequal access to protective services and legal mechanisms; and inadequate political power at local and national levels' (Cohn, 2013).

In Nigeria, there has been an unprecedented rise in violent conflicts. A report of the World Bank and the National Bureau of Statistics (2018) showed an

increase in armed conflicts across Nigeria between 2010 and 2016. The North East zone has been ravaged by Boko Haram, while the North Central region has seen a rise in violent clashes between farmers and herders. In the North West zone, there has also been a surge in violence and banditry. The oil-rich South South (Niger Delta) zone has seen a rise in militancy, while the South East and South West zones have not been spared various forms of violence and conflict. The victims of these conflicts are largely women.

Despite being integral to the very essence of society via the family, playing a central role in the informal economy, and participating in elections (particularly through mobilizing support for candidates), very few women are involved in formal decision-making and resource allocation processes. A statistical report on women and men in Nigeria shows that gender representation among high-ranking government officials with decision-making powers is heavily lopsided in favour of men (National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Accordingly, this structural inequality and exclusion of women from peacebuilding and conflict resolution processes has severely undermined efforts at conflict prevention.

The pervasiveness of violence against women in Nigeria has been attributed to other factors, including patriarchal and cultural norms, low levels of literacy, weak legal frameworks, non-inclusion of women in formal peacebuilding and conflict resolution processes, and weak capacity of existing government institutions, including the Nigeria Police Force and the National Human Rights Commission. On the other hand, the low level of women's participation in elective politics has been attributed to factors such as cultural and socio-economic barriers, lower levels of female employment and education, corrupt and patronage-based political systems, electoral violence, etc.

On 31 October 2000, the UN Security Council endorsed the ground-breaking **Resolution 1325** on women, peace and security. The resolution established four pillars of gender-sensitive conflict prevention and peacebuilding: **Prevention, Participation, Protection, and Relief and Recovery**. It also offered a way to track progress and account for implementation. The goal of the resolution is to ensure that human rights and human dignity are protected and sustainable peace is equally promoted.

Nigeria developed the first National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 in 2013. Some of the achievements recorded under the first NAP include the establishment of a national coordination mechanism, the development of a gender policy for the Nigeria Police Force, advocacy for and passage of the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act 2015, and localization through the development of State and Local Action Plans, among others. Despite these achievements, some gaps were identified: the non-inclusion of violent extremism and the related rehabilitation and reintegration of women and girls previously associated with non-state armed groups; limited consideration of post-conflict and reintegration issues; and the absence of crisis management and recovery strategies. It has also been criticized for its ambiguous language, several policy and operation gaps, and an inadequate monitoring and evaluation architecture.

In light of these observable deficits, the second National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and Related Resolutions was adopted by the government and launched in May 2017. The policy framework has five pillars that centre on the women, peace and security agenda. At the sub-national level currently, 11 states now have State Action Plans and an additional 11 Local Government Areas have Local Action Plans (LAPs) in various states.

A multi-agency steering committee has also been established for national and local levels to drive the implementation and monitoring of the NAP. The NAP has thus become a useful tool to articulate priorities on the women, peace and security agenda; raise awareness and coordinate across MDAs at all levels of governance and decision making in Nigeria; and, importantly, provide a basis for monitoring and evaluation as well as for promoting accountability on policy commitments.

The process of developing the National Action Plan is meant to be inclusive and participatory. However, there has been little engagement with the National Assembly in the drafting of the first and second NAPs. This has also been the case with the few states that have developed State Action Plans and Local Action Plans. There is still opportunity for the legislature to be involved in the development process at the local level as more states move to develop and adopt SAPs. Furthermore, the implementation of the provisions of the NAP, SAPs and LAPs are not being properly monitored by the legislature, nor are appropriations towards their implementation being considered.

Given the unique functions of the legislature, it is vital that legislators are equally involved in the development, implementation and overall oversight of the various action plans. Whole-of-government ownership of the action plans is paramount. Gender equality and women's empowerment should not be regarded as 'external projects', but should be mainstreamed into government processes such as peacebuilding.

This Guide provides direction to the Nigerian Legislature (National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly) on their role in supporting the UNSCR 1325 agenda. Specifically, it provides information to legislators on the global women, peace and security agenda and how it applies to Nigeria. More importantly, it offers guidance on how the legislature and lawmakers at all levels can help implement the women, peace and security agenda and the NAP. The usefulness of the Guide extends to parliamentary staff, legislative groups and organizations, and development practitioners who work with the legislature. The Guide presents examples of good practice from other parliaments that could assist Nigerian legislators.

Spread over nine short chapters, this Guide identifies opportunities for legislators to raise awareness about the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda and ensure successful implementation. The National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly are uniquely positioned to promote peace, gender equality and women's empowerment by virtue of their tripartite functions of law-making, oversight and representation, as contained in Section 4(2) and Section 4(7) of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria.

By virtue of these powers, legislators can create conditions for greater public participation in political decision making and political processes that are responsive to the needs of women and girls. Through their policy- and law-making functions, the legislature can bring about public sector reforms and stronger social protection for women and girls in Nigeria.

Through its appropriation and budget-approving powers, the legislature can also ensure that sufficient resources are committed to WPS issues, and that monies so appropriated are not only disbursed in a timely fashion, but also spent according to the wishes of parliament as defined in the national budget.

The role of the Nigerian legislature in the successful implementation of the women, peace and security agenda is therefore tied to its constitutional mandate and as such should be given adequate attention. The legislature is uniquely placed not only to drive the process, but also to champion greater collaboration with other stakeholders, including gender advocates and civil society.

At the end of each chapter, a short series of self-assessment questions and a set of action ideas are presented in order to spark reflection, discussion and action on the WPS agenda.

CHAPTER 1:

WOMEN, PEACE AND

SECURITY AGENDA

OVERVIEW

1.1 Context: How Conflict Affects Women

Women and girls are impacted differently and disproportionately in conflict situations. To understand how conflict affects women, it is important to understand gender and its structural relation to power. Gender refers to behaviours of men and women based on roles, attitudes and values that are culturally assigned exclusively on the premise of biological and physical characteristics, i.e. 'sex' (Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, 2001). At its core, therefore, gender is about how power relations are structured in society among men and women. Consequently, rights and responsibilities, as well as access to resources (political, social, economic, cultural, legal, etc.), are defined based on gender. This leads to the differing experiences and impacts of violence on women, men, boys and girls before, during and after conflict. It highlights the varied needs, vulnerabilities and capacities of women; the nature and extent of the various forms of violence they face; and the opportunities for and barriers to their meaningful participation in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction.

These vulnerabilities include increased exposure and susceptibility to various forms of sexual and gender-based violence. A study on the wars and armed conflict in Africa between 1989 and 2009 showed that 236 armed forces and groups have participated in 48 wars. Of these, 64 per cent of the

armed forces and groups used sexual violence. The continent also experienced 28 civil armed conflicts, ten (36 per cent) of which were characterized by rape (Cohen and Nordås, 2012). Those most vulnerable are women and girls from targeted ethnic or religious groups, unaccompanied women or children, female-headed households, elderly women, and women with disabilities and children. The dimensions of violence against women and girls during conflict are reflected in their increased vulnerability to loss, violence and harm. Specifically, women and girls experience 'reduced access to resources, livelihood inputs and basic services; increased family and social responsibilities; restricted mobility; unequal access to protective services and legal mechanisms; and inadequate political power at local and national levels' (Cohn, 2013).

In Nigeria, there has been an unprecedented rise in violent conflicts. A report of the National Bureau of Statistics showed an increase in armed conflict between 2010 and 2016 in three geo-political zones: North East, North Central and South South (Niger Delta region). In general, however, households in the North East were the most exposed to the fallouts of conflict in this period due to the rise and proliferation of Boko Haram, a violent extremist organization that has been responsible for numerous human rights abuses in the region. By the end of 2019, more than 2.03 million people were internally displaced as a result of the insurgency (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Over 80 percent are women and children (UN OCHA).

The resulting government response and military operations in the six affected states (Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe) are said to have affected more than 15 million people since 2009 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). The ensuing acute humanitarian crises and forced displacement have negatively affected the livelihoods of millions more. Consequently, existing underdevelopment and inequalities in the region have deepened. The most affected groups are women, children and youth who have been recruited as child soldiers and suicide bombers and abducted and pushed into forced marriage and sexual slavery.

Similarly, displaced women who shelter in the various internally displaced person camps across the region are susceptible to and have been victims of one or several forms of sexual violence and exploitation. These camps experience food shortages and the attendant nutritional challenges. Thus, many women and girls, both unmarried and married, engage in hawking and other trades that increase the risk of exposure to violence. Others engage in survival sex in order to get the resources they need for themselves and their families. A 2015 UN Women study showed that the most vulnerable to violence are internally displaced persons, women and girls with disabilities, girl hawkers, and those who are experiencing food insecurity. For instance, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs estimates that six out of ten women in the North East have experienced one or multiple forms of gender-based violence (UN OCHA, 2017). Additionally, more than 33 percent of women and girls in the North East are said to be experiencing physical violence (Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey, 2018).

The nature and rate of violent conflicts in the North Central zone (Benue, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger and Plateau States) have also metamorphosed and worsened in recent years. Hitherto localized conflicts between farmers and herders have escalated as a result of multiple factors, including climate change, the shrinking of grazing land, incursion into farmland, population increase, cattle theft and rustling, and crime. Additionally, there are religious, ethnic, political and other factors. The socio-economic effects of the conflicts have been well documented

and include reductions in crop yield and income of farmers/nomads, loss of lives and properties, and loss of products in storage (Ofuoku and Isife, 2010). Women and girls (especially widows) have been the worst affected, given that they are predominantly farmers and have been forced to abandon their farms. In addition, many women and girls have been killed, raped or rendered homeless. Those who have survived are facing increased poverty and food insecurity.

In the North West, there has also been a surge in violence in the last ten years, but most recently between 2014 and 2019. There has been an escalation of disputes between farmers and herders over issues of access to land and pasture, resulting in the deaths and displacement of thousands of people. Similarly, the level of banditry has escalated in the past five years and has significantly undermined security, peace and development in the region. Some of the worst affected states are Zamfara and Katsina, where gangs of armed men have committed various acts of violence. The number of casualties of this conflict is not known, but experts estimate that over 44,000 children have been orphaned between 2010 and 2018 (Suleiman, 2018). The number of displaced people is even higher in both states.

The oil rich South South geo-political zone (comprising Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers States) is the economic nerve centre of Nigeria and has also been a hotbed of conflict for over two decades. The rise in militancy has been associated with the ire resulting from the resource wealth of the region not leading to a correlating level of development. Instead, the region has suffered from ecological degradation as a result of oil spills and gas flaring. In addition, the rate of unemployment in the region, especially among the youth, has been steadily increasing. The rate of inequality between indigenous people and employees of rich oil companies has widened, with little provision for technology/skill transfer to the local population. Ethnic and political issues, as well as competition for oil wealth, have equally worsened the crisis in the region (National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Consequently, the region continues to experience high levels of crime and violence perpetrated by militants

who target the oil companies, pipelines and specific individuals. The activities of the militant groups have led not only to loss of lives and damage to essential government infrastructure, but also to displacement of people from their homes or communities. Women and girls have been more severely affected by both the environmental degradation plaguing the region and the activities of militants, which have disrupted their economic activities and livelihoods.

1.2 Women’s Participation in Decision Making

Women are integral to the very essence of society via the family, and they play a central role in the economy and community management as well. Additionally, over the years, there has been an increase in the number of women participating in politics, particularly in elections (campaigning and voting) and mobilizing support for candidates. Despite this, very few women are involved in decision making in elective and appointive positions at all levels. Similarly, peacebuilding processes do not sufficiently ‘address the structural, gendered systems of violence that underpin militarization and the political economies of war’ (Mazurana and Proctor, 2013). This is despite the reality that conflict is conducted along gender lines, as shown above.

A statistical report on women and men in Nigeria shows that gender representation among

high-ranking government officials with decision-making powers is heavily lopsided in favour of men (National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Women have also been very poorly represented in peace and security processes and mechanisms, including in security sector institutions. Accordingly, this structural inequality and exclusion of women from decision-making, peacebuilding, and conflict resolution processes has severely undermined efforts at conflict prevention.

The political space in Nigeria has remained largely dominated by men, at all levels. Even though the 2006 National Gender Policy prescribes 35 per cent affirmative action for women to appointive and elective positions, and all political parties in Nigeria signed a 2018 Charter of Demands that includes commitments towards enhanced women’s participation in politics and decision making, not much progress has been made in attaining this target, as shown by the data from the National Bureau of Statistics (2018).

Representation of women in the executive arm of government has equally been very low. There has never been a woman president or vice president. In addition, the number of women elected into executive positions at the subnational level has remained abysmally low. The number of women appointed to ministerial positions has not changed significantly since 1999; as shown in Table 2, it has remained between 5 (in 2015) and 15 (in 2011).

TABLE 1
Gender Representation in the Senate and House of Representatives since 1999

Election Year	No. of Seats	Senate				House of Representatives				
		Men	%	Women	%	Seats	Men	%	Women	%
1999	109	106	97.2	3	2.8	360	347	96.4	13	3.6
2003	109	105	96.3	4	3.7	360	339	94.2	21	5.8
2007	109	100	91.7	9	8.3	360	333	92.5	27	7.5
2011	109	102	93.5	7	6.5	360	335	93.1	25	6.9
2015	109	102	93.5	7	6.5	360	338	94	22	6
2019	109	102	93.5	8	7.3	360	350	97.2	15	4.1

TABLE 2

Appointive Ministerial Political Positions by Sex (1999–2015)

1999		2003		2007		2011		2015		2019	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
89	11	38	4	83	12	53	15	31	5	37	7

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, 2018

TABLE 3

Top Government Officials and Senior Administrators (1999–2015)

Position	M	% M	F	% F
Head of Service	9	75	3	25
Permanent Secretary	95	86	15	14
Special Adviser	27	77	8	23
Special Assistant	98	72	38	28
Central Bank Governor	4	100	0	0
Chief Executive Officer	307	87	44	13
Director General	114	90	12	10
Executive Secretary	29	78	8	22

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, 2018

Similarly, very few women have been appointed to top government and senior administrative positions since 1999, as shown in Table 3.

The level of participation of women in the judiciary has also been very low, as shown by the number of women judges in federal courts from 2011 to 2016.

This picture is replicated at the state level. A baseline study by UN Women and the Institute for Peace

and Conflict Resolution (2019) in Bauchi and Benue States indicated similarly low levels of representation of women in the legislature and executive, with women making up 7 and 0 per cent of Benue and Bauchi State Houses of Assembly respectively and 5.3 and 20 per cent of Commissioners in Bauchi and Benue respectively.

Many reasons have been advanced for the low level of women's participation in elective politics, including

TABLE 4

Number of Judges in Federal Court, by Court, Year and Sex

Court	2011		2012		2013		2014		2015		2016	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Supreme Court of Nigeria	11	3	13	3	13	3	13	3	14	3	11	4
Court of Appeal	48	17	52	19	49	17	63	25	61	26	53	26
Federal High Court	43	16	40	15	45	20	38	17	36	17	57	23
National Industrial Court	5	3	5	3	11	9	11	9	11	8	11	8

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, 2018

an unfavourable political system that makes it difficult for women to fully participate. Some of the barriers women face include cultural and socio-economic barriers, lower levels of female employment and education, a corrupt and patronage-based political system, and electoral violence. Indeed, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women recommended in its 2017 concluding recommendations that Nigeria should introduce temporary measures such as quotas for political appointments and the accelerated recruitment of women (with further measures for women with disabilities) to decision-making positions, in order to accelerate their full and equal participation in political and public life (CEDAW Committee, 2017).

The under-representation of women in politics is not a problem limited to Nigeria. A report by the Inter-Parliamentary Union in 2019 shows that male dominance, especially in legislative bodies, is prevalent in many countries. To address this imbalance, several countries have devised strategies to improve women's participation, mostly by

increasing electoral positions for women through quota systems. Evidence shows that these strategies have largely resulted in an increase in the global average of women legislators, from 11.6 per cent in 1995 to 24.5 per cent in 2019. However, other factors responsible for this increase include application, enforcement, and electoral systems. Despite this progress, the rate of women's participation globally is below the 35 per cent recommended for women's representation.

Several African countries have made significant progress in promoting women's participation in elective and appointive positions. This has been achieved through means such as constitutional amendments, electoral codes, quota systems, etc. For instance, in Rwanda women's representation in parliament is 61.25 per cent. Senegal also witnessed an increase following the passage of a gender parity law in 2010 – women representatives increased from 22.7 to 41.8 per cent in the National Assembly and from 16 to 47 per cent in local legislatures in the 2014 local election. After the 2019 general elections in

TABLE 5
Percentage of Women in National Parliaments in Sub-Saharan Africa as at December 2018

Rank	Country	Lower or Single House			Upper House or Senate		
		No. of seats	Women	% Women	No. of seats	Women	% Women
1	Rwanda	80	49	61.25	26	10	38.46
7	Namibia	104	48	46.15	42	10	23.81
10	South Africa	393	168	42.75	54	19	35.19
11	Senegal	165	69	41.82	-	-	-
17	Mozambique	250	99	39.6	-	-	-
19	Ethiopia	547	212	38.76	153	49	32.03
27	Tanzania	393	145	36.9	-	-	-
28	Burundi	121	44	36.36	39	18	46.15
29	Tunisia	217	78	35.94	-	-	-
32	Uganda	459	160	34.86	-	-	-
41	Zimbabwe	270	86	31.85	80	35	43.15
43	Cameroon	180	56	31.11	-	-	-
48	Angola	220	66	30	-	-	-
181	Nigeria	109	7	6.5	360	22	6.1

Source: Adapted from Inter-Parliamentary Union's Website (2018), 'Percentage of Women in National Parliaments'

South Africa, the President ensured that his cabinet reflected fifty-fifty gender representation; similar actions were taken in Ethiopia and Rwanda.

1.3 UN Security Council Resolution 1325

There has been a steady strengthening of international normative and policy frameworks on issues related to women in the context of armed conflicts, starting from the 1979 **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)**. The Nigerian government became a state party to CEDAW after ratifying it in 1985 without reservations. It signed the Optional Protocol in 2000 and ratified it in 2004. CEDAW has been called the international bill of rights for women. The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, also adopted the **Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action**, which agreed on 12 critical areas of concern and called for gender equality and an end to violence against women and girls. These two documents, in addition to many more, laid the foundation for future international agreements on women, peace and security.

TABLE 6
Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

The 12 critical areas of concern for women globally were identified as follows:	
1.	Women and poverty
2.	Education and training of women
3.	Women and health
4.	Violence against women
5.	Women and armed conflict
6.	Women and the economy
7.	Women in power and decision making
8.	Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women
9.	Human rights of women
10.	Women and the media
11.	Women and the environment
12.	The girl-child

However, several emerging issues that had not been addressed in CEDAW or the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action needed to be dealt with in a specific agenda on women, peace and security. A landmark instrument, Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, sought to close this gap. Adopted by the UN Security Council on 31 October 2000, the resolution established four pillars of gender-responsive conflict prevention and peacebuilding: Prevention, Participation, Protection, and Relief and Recovery. It also offered a way to track and account for implementation (UN Women, 2015a). The resolution acknowledges the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women and girls and how this can be addressed through the adoption of a gender perspective that recognizes the special needs of women and girls in conflict situations.

UNSCR 1325 is significant in a number of ways, given that it was unanimously adopted and effectively took on the status of international law, committing member states to its implementation through various measures, including national-level strategies. The resolution built on numerous earlier international documents, treaties and statements, as shown below.

1.4 Women, Peace and Security – Why This Matters

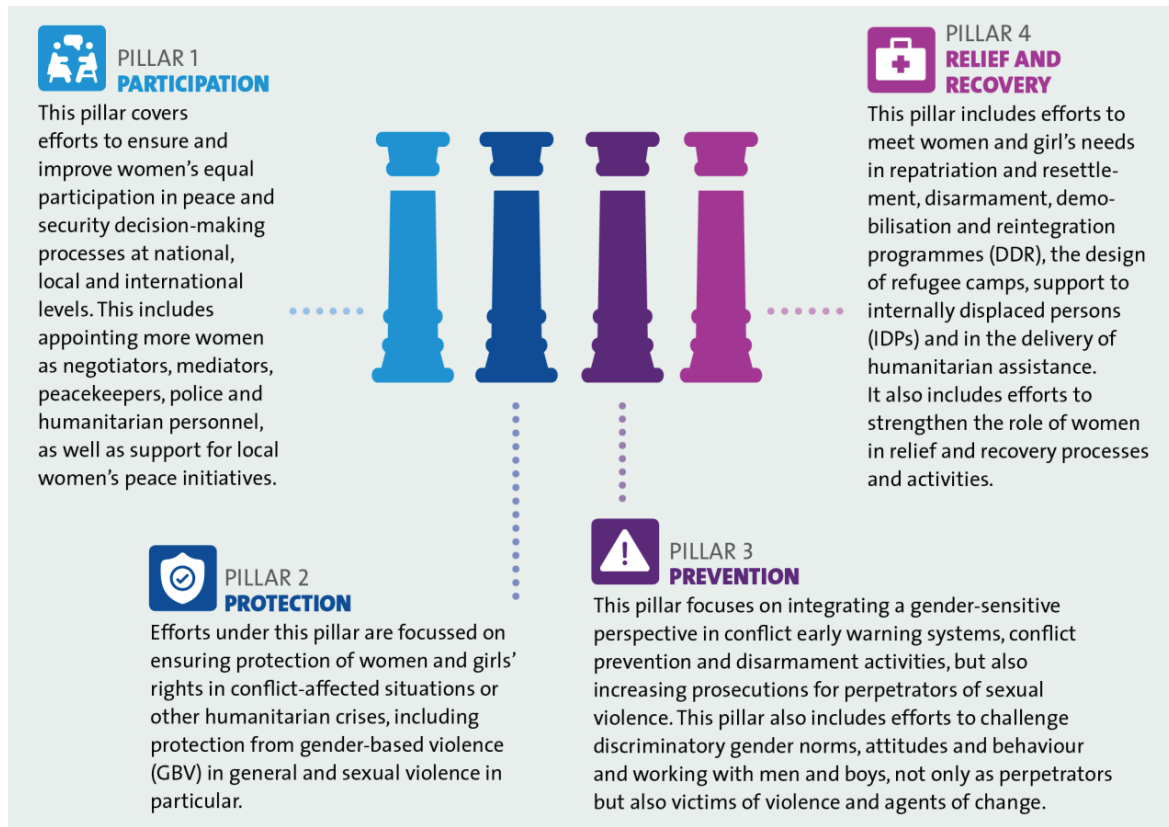
Women’s Participation Can Strengthen Peacebuilding and Avert Conflict

The role that women can play in promoting peace and fostering security has often been ignored; historically, women are only marginally or never included in peace processes. This means that women’s voices are stifled, their particular needs ignored, and their skills and experiences disregarded. The inability of women to influence decision making and implementation means that the peace secured is often unbalanced and unsustainable.

It is therefore important that the rights of women are strengthened through formal structures and regulatory/legal frameworks. Additionally, it is

FIGURE 1

Pillars of UN Security Council Resolution 1325



Source: Desmidt and Davis (2019)

important that resources are made available to women, particularly in post-conflict situations. Their capacities must be built, networking opportunities created, and market opportunities expanded to enable meaningful participation.

Despite the multiple barriers that women face in Nigeria, including limited representation in governance structures and decision making (as shown in Section 1.2), there are numerous documented cases of their contribution to peacebuilding.

Women's participation in decision making should not be tokenistic but holistic. By including women in peace processes, the scope of peace agreements would be broadened and the needs and priorities of all segments of society would be better integrated

(UN Women, 2015a). The scope of women's involvement should not be restricted to political participation, but should also include social and economic participation. For example, a UN Women programme in Adamawa, Gombe and Plateau worked to address discriminatory practices and attitudes in those states, pushing for the inclusion of women in traditional councils and community structures (UN Women, 2019).

The involvement of women in all aspects of decision making can significantly improve the chances of sustainable peace. Similarly, when women contribute to designing and implementing early warning systems, the possibility of their success (for instance, in detecting gender-based violence) is greatly enhanced.

FIGURE 2
Landmark Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security

RESOLUTION 1325 (2000)	Addresses the impact of conflict on women and recognizes the contribution of women in preventing and resolving conflict and their role in maintaining international peace and security.
RESOLUTION 1820 (2008)	Recognizes conflict-related sexual violence as a tactic of war used by warring parties to achieve military or political ends that generally results in impunity, which requires strengthened efforts to end sexual violence in conflict.
RESOLUTION 1888 (2009)	Provides for more effective implementation of Resolution 1820, including by establishing a Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict to provide high-level leadership, and establishing women protection advisers within peacekeeping missions.
RESOLUTION 1889 (2009)	Focuses on post-conflict peacebuilding, includes a strategy for increasing the number of women participating in peace talks, and calls for the development of global indicators to measure the implementation of Resolution 1325 by the UN and member states. A set of 26 indicators have now been developed to track and account for implementation, organized into four pillars: Prevention, Participation, Protection, and Relief and Recovery. The indicators are listed in the Secretary-General's Report (S/2010/498).
RESOLUTION 1960 (2010)	Reaffirms the earlier commitments required to address sexual violence in conflict and mandates the creation of tools to combat impunity by listing perpetrators and establishing monitoring, analysis and reporting arrangements.
RESOLUTION 2106 (2013)	Requests all actors, including the UN Security Council, to do more to implement earlier resolutions and to combat impunity for perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict. Acknowledges the importance of civil society in preventing and responding to sexual violence in conflict.
RESOLUTION 2122 (2013)	Puts in place stronger measures to improve women's participation and representation in conflict resolution, especially through leadership positions. Reaffirms that gender equality is central to achieving international peace and security. Sets out the need for humanitarian aid to ensure access to the full range of sexual and reproductive health services.
RESOLUTION 2242 (2015)	Emphasizes women's roles in countering violent extremism and terrorism and improved UN Security Council working methods on women, peace and security.
CEDAW General Recommendation No. 30 (2015)	Links the women, peace and security agenda to CEDAW, providing detailed guidance on the implementation of the agenda.
RESOLUTION 2272 (2016)	Provides measures to address sexual exploitation and abuse in peace operations.
RESOLUTION 2467 (2019)	Calls on parties to conflicts around the world to put an end to sexual violence immediately and to prevent such acts in the future; introduces accountability measures for perpetrators of sexual violence; and calls for effective support measures for victims of sexual violence to be implemented.
RESOLUTION 2493 (2019)	Urges member states to commit to fully implementing the nine previously adopted resolutions.

Source: UNDP, 2019

TABLE 7

Women's Contributions to Promoting Communal Peace in Nigeria

- The Women Without Walls Initiative in Plateau State mobilized a peaceful protest march in March 2010; about 100,000 Christian women within the state came out to make their voices heard towards putting a stop to the ethnic conflict.
- Women in Borno State, including members of the Women, Peace and Security Network, organized a protest to the Shehu of Borno when the attacks in the North East started. They engaged in activism against the abduction of girls from Government Secondary School, Chibok, Borno State. In August 2014, about 300 women and 500 children gathered for two days at the gates of a military base in the Borno State capital, claiming that their spouses were ill-equipped to fight against the Islamist militants.
- Nasarawa widows in May 2014 protested peacefully against the ambush and murder of their husbands by the 'Ombatse Cult' members in Nasarawa State.
- Women staged peaceful protests asking for the release of corpses following the Shiite uprising in Kaduna State. The Sisters Forum of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria staged a peaceful protest to demand the immediate release of their leader, Sheik Ibraheem El- Zazaky, and his wife.
- Women in the Niger Delta have a history of social organizing and activism. Notably, in the 1990s the Federation of Ogoni Women were at the forefront of the demands for autonomy and control of resources in Ogoni land. By the early 2000s, women in Rivers, Bayelsa and Delta States organized protests and occupations against environmental destruction and lack of development and employment by oil companies such as Shell, Chevron, Elf, Mobil and Agip. In 2002, 600 women from different generations and ethnic groups – Ijaw, Itsekiri and Ilaje – came together in an alliance with young people to peacefully demonstrate against the oil firm Chevron. The internationally televised sit-ins called on the company to provide employment for youths, investment in the local infrastructure, and clean-up of the environmental damage caused by oil exploration. This advocacy highlighted the important role women can play in changing policies in the region.
- Women in the North East and in the Niger Delta have often been drawn into political activity as a result of attacks by the Nigerian Army's Joint Task Force or repeated intimidation by local militias.
- A network of 121 Women Peace Mentors was established across Gombe, Plateau and Adamawa States, and they undertook a number of strategic conflict prevention and peacebuilding initiatives, including resolution of communal conflicts, mediating crises between youth and herders, and peace advocacy in communities.

Source: UN Women (2018), *Programme on Women, Peace and Security 2018–2020*; UN Women (2019), *Promoting Women's Engagement in Peace and Security in Northern Nigeria (Evaluative Report)*

1.5 Opportunities for Legislative Action on Women, Peace and Security

Several opportunities exist for legislators to raise awareness about WPS and ensure successful implementation. Legislators are, in fact, uniquely positioned to promote peace and pluralism in their role as the elected representatives of the people. They

can also ensure that the needs of women, especially those at the grass-roots, are properly assessed. Furthermore, through their law-making and oversight functions, they can ensure that government institutions promote peace, security and gender equality by guaranteeing that all laws – in their intent and in their application – promote and protect human rights, inclusive governance, and accountability. This is of particular importance in the law and justice sectors.

Moreover, legislators can use several oversight tools at their disposal to observe what actions government officials and heads of MDAs are taking to address rural women's needs. In legislative committees, particularly the committees that deal with WPS issues (Women Affairs, Security, Finance and Appropriation, Sustainable Development Goals, etc.), legislators can propose the initiation of specific legislative inquiries into critical issues, including whether the WPS agenda is being implemented to address rural women's specific needs. They can encourage targeted budgeting to ensure women are included in peacebuilding and economic development efforts, and they can support funding of National Action Plans on women, peace and security (Dieye, 2018). For legislators to effectively advance the WPS agenda, they need to embrace the WPS agenda and to take steps to advance it in Nigeria.

Despite the progress made regarding the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Nigeria, several challenges have been identified that should be taken into cognisance and addressed by the legislature at both national and state levels. The first relates to the process of development of the National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and Related Resolutions, which is meant to be inclusive and participatory. Typically, ministerial and inter-ministerial bodies are responsible for the development of NAPs, in collaboration with civil society organizations. Though there appears to be extensive consultation between the executive and civil society, there was little engagement with the National Assembly in the drafting of the first and second National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325. This has also been the case with the few states that have developed State Action Plans and Local Action Plans. There is still opportunity for the legislature to be involved in the development process at the local level as more states move to develop and adopt State Action Plans.

Secondly, the implementation of the provisions of the NAP, SAPs and LAPs are not being properly monitored by the legislature. In light of the appropriation and budgeting function of the legislature, it is vital that legislators are equally involved in the oversight

of the various action plans. The legislature not only ensures that sufficient resources are provided towards the execution of the various provisions in the action plans, but also makes sure that the funds allocated are used judiciously and in a transparent manner.

Furthermore, in order to ensure sustainability, ownership of the action plans is paramount. Gender equity and women's empowerment should not be regarded as 'external projects', but mainstreamed into government processes such as peacebuilding. The legislature has a vital role to play in this regard.

Lastly, the linkages among all forms of violence (domestic violence, sexual violence, terrorism, war, etc.) and how they create a vicious cycle of marginalization and subjugation of women and girls need to be properly understood by the legislature and taken into account during budgeting.

WHAT LEGISLATORS CAN DO TO RAISE AWARENESS ABOUT WPS AND MEASURE PREPAREDNESS

- Legislative staff and support institutions such as the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS) can raise awareness of WPS in parliament by distributing materials to members of parliament on the women, peace and security agenda (e.g. this guide, key resolutions, a WPS National Action Plan, and national reporting on WPS issues).
- NILDS, the leadership of the National Assembly, relevant committees (Women Affairs, Sustainable Development Goals, Human Rights and Foreign Affairs, among others), women legislative caucuses in the Senate and House of Representatives, male legislator champions, and other interested legislators can work with staff, media, civil society organizations or development partners to organize a seminar and other sensitization and capacity-building initiatives for members of parliament on the WPS agenda.
- Interested legislators, relevant committees and women's legislative caucuses in the Senate and House of Representatives can undertake a WPS self-assessment based on the questions in this guide. Such self-assessments can benefit from involving external partners (e.g. UN Women, other women's organizations, local politicians, civil society organization leaders, and development partners) who can offer their expertise, resources or facilitation support.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- Have any information sessions or trainings been held for legislators, parliamentary staff or legislative aides on the WPS agenda?
 - Did previous inductions and orientation programmes for newly elected legislators at the national and state level include briefings on gender and/or WPS?
 - Has the legislature reached out to the national WPS focal point (Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development) and relevant departments to request a briefing or training for legislators and staff on the WPS agenda?
- Have the relevant institutions and departments of the legislature (including NILDS, the National Secretariat of Nigerian Legislatures, and research departments) or a relevant government department provided legislators with any materials or information seminars on the women, peace and security agenda?
 - Has this legislative guide on the women, peace and security agenda been shared with all legislators?
- Has the legislature been involved in the drafting of previous or current National Action Plans, State Action Plans and Local Action Plans?
- Has the legislature reviewed the status of implementation of the WPS agenda and agreed to a set of priorities to move forward?

CHAPTER 2: **ALIGNING THE** **WOMEN, PEACE AND** **SECURITY AGENDA** **WITH INTERNATIONAL,** **REGIONAL AND** **NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT** **FRAMEWORKS**

2.1 Linkages between the Sustainable Development Goals and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

Peace and security are essential to realizing sustainable development. Hence, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development emphasizes the importance of building peaceful, just and inclusive societies. Essential elements of such societies include respect for the human rights of all, entrenchment of rule of law and good governance at all levels, and equal access to justice. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which came into effect in January 2016, represent a universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet, and guarantee that all people enjoy peace and security.

The SDGs are designed to be fundamentally interconnected. In order to realize the SDG targets, legislatures need to make progress on women, peace and security. In fact, there are 45 targets and 54 indicators that are directly related to gender equality. Meanwhile, 3 of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals are directly linked to UNSCR 1325: Goal 5, Goal 8 and Goal 16.

In general, therefore, the SDGs reinforce the women, peace and security agenda, as both the SDGs and the WPS agenda maintain that peace, conflict and inclusion are inextricably linked. Legislative engagements with the SDGs can take place at different levels, as identified in the *Sustainable Development Goals Oversight Manual for the Nigerian Legislature*. These activities are outlined in Table 9.

FIGURE 3

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals



TABLE 9

Sustainable Development Goal Legislative Activities at Different Levels

Activity Level	Activities
Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Annual SDG work plans Field visits complemented by oral/written questions Investigative hearings into activities of MDAs Enforcing reporting compliance from MDAs Participation in national and international networks on the SDGs Ensuring government spending has SDG justifications Ensuring that engagements with development partners and the work of civil society organizations complement the SDGs Creating greater awareness among parliamentarians
Plenary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Annual parliamentary debates on SDG reports Oral and written questions to ministers and heads of government agencies Promotion of SDG-related legislation Ensuring SDG compliance during budget passage Reflecting views of citizens during debates on SDG reports Participation in national and international networks on the SDGs Sponsoring private members' bills to advance pro-poor legislation; even where such bills do not result in new legislation, they can highlight issues and pressure government to take action
Parliamentary Political Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support for the establishment of a joint SDG secretariat for the two chambers to serve as the focal point Support for the establishment of an SDG Resource Centre within the parliament to make available real-time information Organizing breakfast meetings with key stakeholders Participation in global and regional parliamentary networks
Individual Parliamentarian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Holding public meetings to gather views of the public on the SDGs Participation in global and regional parliamentary networks

Source: NILDS (2018), *Sustainable Development Goals Oversight Manual for the Nigerian Legislature*

TABLE 8

Linkages between the SDGs and WPS and Action Points for Legislators

Goal	Some Targets	Action Points for Legislators
SDG 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere. • Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislators should reflect on the experiences of women with regard to sexism and/or abuse within the legislature itself. • Legislatures should put in place robust policies and guidelines that promote women's participation and protect the rights of women who work in and for the legislature, including parliamentary staff, legislative aides, ad-hoc staff, National Youth Service Corps members, consultants, contractors, vendors, etc. • To begin with, the legislature in Nigeria should start by dealing with the issue of inclusivity of membership – both at the National Assembly and in State Houses of Assembly. • Women should be included as equal partners in policymaking and decision-making processes. • Voices and perspectives of women on peacemaking, peacebuilding and peace sustainment ought to be incorporated into the law-making processes. • Post-conflict legal frameworks such as the North East Development Bill, which was passed by the Eighth National Assembly, should incorporate women into the post-conflict governance structures in the region.
SDG 8: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By 2030, achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value. • Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, in particular women migrants, and those in precarious employment. • Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking, and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The legislature has an important role to play in making laws that promote gender equality and women's empowerment, including decent work and equal access to economic opportunities. • Legislators should promote policies that encourage entrepreneurship and job creation, especially for women and girls. • Lawmakers should put in place measures to eradicate forced labour, slavery and human trafficking.
SDG 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere. • End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The legislature must bring the SDGs to the attention of the public and the media by holding regular public hearings, requesting clarifications directly from MDAs, and requesting reports from plenary sessions. • The legislature itself is part of the governance system and requires a peaceful, just and inclusive governance system to represent people and play a role in the political decision-making process. • Ensure the inclusiveness of national, state and local legislative (and other public) bodies, including security sector institutions and peacebuilding commissions or agencies. The global indicator is SDG Target 16.7 on responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making.

Source: Author (2020)

ACTION POINTS FOR LEGISLATORS AND PARLIAMENTARY STAFF: INTEGRATING WPS IN PARLIAMENTARY PROCESSES ON THE SDGS

- The National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies has developed both a manual and an oversight toolkit on the SDGs for the Nigerian legislature. These documents should be adopted and mainstreamed into the legislative process.
- In addition, this guide on WPS can be integrated into and made to supplement these existing tools. State Assemblies can adopt the same instruments.
- The National Assembly has Standing Committees on the SDGs in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. Similarly, some State Assemblies have similar committees. These committees with jurisdiction to oversee the SDGs (working alongside the Committee on Women Affairs, the Committee on Security, and other relevant committees) can also take the lead on WPS and review the progress made in Nigeria in implementing the WPS agenda in support of SDG 5 (gender equality), SDG 8 (decent work) and SDG 16 (peace, justice and inclusion).

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- Does the legislature have a committee that monitors SDG implementation and progress?
- What other committees have mandates that have a bearing on the SDGs?
- How effective are these committees in monitoring progress?
- Has any legislative committee undertaken an inquiry into how best to align the WPS agenda (the NAP in particular) with national SDG plans and programming?

2.2 Aligning Women, Peace and Security with International Human Rights Frameworks and Processes

2.2.1 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

CEDAW predated UNSCR 1325. It was adopted on 18 December 1979 and entered into force as an international treaty on 3 September 1981. The convention was instrumental in shining a light on women and their human rights concerns. It is one of the most ratified treaties in the history of the United Nations, with 189 parties (CEDAW, n.d.). Nigeria ratified CEDAW in 1985.

Even though none of CEDAW's provisions refers to the WPS agenda, there is a clear synergy between CEDAW and UNSCR 1325, as the latter broadens the scope of application of CEDAW by showing its relevance to all parties in conflict and peace. In turn, CEDAW provides concrete strategies for achieving some of the broad commitments outlined in UNSCR 1325.

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women reviewed the implementation record of Nigeria under CEDAW in July 2017. To inform such a review, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Nigeria, in coalition with seven women's rights organizations, submitted a report highlighting the gaps in the implementation of the

convention in Nigeria, with specific attention to women, peace and security issues (Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, 2017). Areas highlighted and possible strategies for addressing them include the following:

- **Implementation of the second National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 across all states of Nigeria:** Adequate budgetary provisions should be made for the implementation of the NAP, particularly as it relates to protecting women and girls in conflict situations, such as the farmer–herder conflict.
- **Monitoring and halting the proliferation of small arms and light weapons:** This can be done through legislation.
- **Eliminating discrimination and gender-based violence:** Focus should be on domesticating the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act, the Child Rights Act, and CEDAW in all states; expediting the adoption of the Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill; and addressing the root causes of trafficking of women and girls.

- **Promoting women’s participation in political and public life:** Legislation is required on temporary special measures to increase the participation of women in political and public life, education, and employment; to provide adequate resources to the national machinery for the advancement of women; and to intensify awareness raising in the media and film industry about discriminatory gender stereotypes.
- **Advancing and protecting the rights of rural women:** A review of land laws is necessary to ensure rural women’s access to land and to expand rural women’s access to credit and economic opportunities.

2.2.2 United Nations Universal Periodic Review process

The Universal Periodic Review (UPR) is a process that reviews the human rights records of all UN member states once every four years. Through the UPR, the human rights implications of the WPS agenda can also be reviewed and addressed. More recently, other

TABLE 10

The Role of Committees on Foreign Affairs in Overseeing CEDAW and UNSCR 1325 Implementation

Both the Senate and House of Representatives have always had a **Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs** whose jurisdiction covers international relations of the Federal Republic of Nigeria generally.

These committees in both chambers can play an active role in overseeing national efforts on the women, peace and security agenda, especially when overseeing CEDAW implementation. According to Article 18 of the convention, state parties are obliged to submit periodic reports to the CEDAW Committee every four years. Nigeria submitted the sixth country periodic report in 2006, which was deliberated upon on 3 July 2008. A combination of the seventh and eighth periodic reports on the implementation of CEDAW was reviewed in July 2017 (CEDAW Committee, 2017).

In 2010, CEDAW issued guidance on the role of parliaments in relation to CEDAW. For instance, it stipulates that national CEDAW reports should be tabled for discussion in the National Assembly by the relevant legislative committee. Moreover, once the CEDAW Committee provides its written recommendations to the government, these should also be tabled in both chambers of the National Assembly, in order to identify what, if any, action the National Assembly should take to advance the recommendations. Recommendations from the CEDAW Committee often include guidance on law reform priorities.

Source: Adapted from UNDP Global Handbook on WPS (2019); Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, 2017

intergovernmental organizations have also established regional human rights treaties and monitoring mechanisms. In Africa, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights monitor state compliance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. These are useful avenues for monitoring the implementation of UNSCR 1325 by states.

2.3 Aligning Women, Peace and Security with Regional Frameworks

In 2014, the African Union was the first regional organization to appoint a Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security with the responsibility to facilitate the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in member states. At the moment, 25 member states have developed a

National Action Plan towards the implementation of the WPS agenda. These are shown in Table 12.

Several regional organizations have equally developed frameworks on UNSCR 1325. In the Horn of Africa, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development has adopted a Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security. At the country level, five of the seven active Intergovernmental Authority on Development member states (Uganda, Sudan, Djibouti, Kenya and South Sudan) have developed National Action Plans for the implementation of UNSCRs 1325 and 1820.

The Dakar Declaration on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its related regional plan of action for the Economic Community of West African States were adopted in Dakar on 17 September 2010 at a regional forum. Three years later in 2013, its plan of

TABLE 11

Legislative Engagement in the Universal Periodic Review Process

Legislatures have a critical role to play in protecting and promoting human rights, including through their engagement with the UPR process. For example, legislators or legislative committees can do the following:

- Request from the executive a copy of the draft UPR report for review.
- Join the delegation that presents the UPR report to the UN Human Rights Council (HRC), to hear the HRC's inquiries and recommendations first-hand.
- Review the recommendations of the HRC on the national UPR report, and recommend law reforms or other actions.

In 2018, the UN issued a report produced in collaboration with the Inter-Parliamentary Union on parliaments' contributions to HRC and the UPR process (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2018). The UN/ Inter-Parliamentary Union study provides considerable detail of how parliaments across the world have been using their powers to promote human rights, including women's rights in the context of peace and security.

The Nigerian Legislature (both the National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly) have Standing Committees on Human Rights. In the Senate, it is called the Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters, while in the House of Representatives it is simply the Committee on Human Rights. The committees' jurisdiction covers the following: all human right issues, including petitions of rights; the National Human Rights Commission; public trustees; coordination and implementation of the Child Rights Act and other matters related thereto; and the National Refugee Commission.

The Committee has a leading role to play in ensuring that the executive fulfils its human rights obligations vis-à-vis the WPS. There is an established guide developed by the Inter-Parliamentary Union on how the legislature and can structure the operations of the human rights committees to achieve this objective.

TABLE 12

National Action Plans for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Africa

Year	Country
2008	Ivory Coast Uganda
2009	Rwanda Liberia Guinea
2010	Democratic Republic of Congo Sierra Leone Guinea Bissau
2011	Senegal
2012	Gambia Burkina Faso Togo Burundi Mali Ghana
2013	Nigeria
2014	Central African Republic
2015	South Sudan
2016	Kenya
2017	Niger Angola Cameroon Nigeria (second)
2018	Mozambique Tunisia
2019	Namibia

Source: *Peace Women (2020)*, <https://www.peacewomen.org/member-states>

action for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 was also launched.

The East African Community developed a regional framework on UNSCR 1325 to guide its secretariat and partner states on how to promote women's rights and integrate gender perspectives into peace and security efforts, as well as promote women's participation in conflict prevention, management

and resolution. The Regional Implementation Framework on UNSCR 1325 ran between 2015 and 2019.

In 2018, the Southern African Development Community also developed a regional framework to guide its regional efforts in mainstreaming gender into peace and security systems and processes. The community's Regional Strategy on Women, Peace and Security (2018–2022) also addresses challenges experienced by women and children and supports their participation in peace processes.

On the implementation of the WPS agenda at the various local levels, a detailed global study on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 conducted in 2015 reported limited progress. Similarly, the 2017 *Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security* claimed that, despite the global visibility that WPS has provided to women's experiences of conflict, the implementation of the agenda at the country level continues to fall short. In 2016, only half of the peace agreements signed contained gender-specific provisions, compared to 70 per cent in 2015. The 2019 *Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security* stated that women still face exclusion from peace and political processes and are victims of violence and conflict (UNSC, 2019).

Nonetheless, according to UN Women (2015b), since the adoption of Resolution 1325, 27 per cent of peace agreements have included references to women, compared with only 11 per cent between 1990 and 2000. In addition, several approaches and tools have been developed to aid its implementation across different countries. These have helped to deepen the understanding of gender mainstreaming, improve women's participation in peacebuilding processes, and ensure protection of the rights of women in conflict situations. As a result of the Resolution, there has been a significant change in the way peace and security policies are understood and addressed. The push for gender equity has also highlighted the importance of understanding underlying structures and causes. Finally, the focus on gender mainstreaming and institutionalizing gender strategies in management has led to 'gender' becoming a separate domain of expertise in many organizations.

2.4 Domestication of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Nigeria

In order to implement UNSCR 1325, the Security Council in 2002 encouraged member states, civil society and other relevant stakeholders to develop strategies and action plans. The UN Secretary-General, in a

report from October 2004, invited all member states to prepare their National Action Plans towards more decisive implementation of UNSCR 1325. The nature of the involvement of national parliaments with regard to the development, adoption and monitoring of NAPs varies. This section focuses on the national architecture for delivery on WPS in Nigeria and outlines the role of the legislature within it.

ACTION POINTS FOR LEGISLATORS AND PARLIAMENTARY STAFF: WPS AND TREATY REPORTING

The UPR and treaty reporting provides multiple opportunities for the legislature to engage with WPS issues (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2018; Hybsier, 2014):

- During the preparation of the national UPR and/or CEDAW report, the National Assembly can hold hearings and have the resulting recommendations integrated into the final national report that is submitted to the UN by the executive branch. In this way, the legislature can play an important role in facilitating feedback directly from citizens and civil society.
- Legislators can take part in the UN review of the UPR and CEDAW reports. This can include legislators whose committees' jurisdiction covers human rights and/or women's rights. This is also an excellent opportunity for legislators to champion women's human rights internationally.
- Once the UPR and CEDAW concluding reports are produced by the Human Rights Council and the CEDAW Committee respectively, legislators can also call for the report to be tabled in the National Assembly and referred to relevant committees for further consideration and action.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- Do the committees on foreign affairs or any other committee have a mandate to connect legislators with UN activities and goals, including reporting to the UN?
- Does the executive submit its CEDAW reports and other UN human rights reports to the National Assembly for consideration?
- Do the relevant committees review national CEDAW and UPR reports – including any recommendations from UN human rights bodies – in relation to the women, peace and security agenda?

The National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and Related Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security in Nigeria

The localization of the WPS agenda in Nigeria aligns with governments' commitments to domesticate the 2030 Agenda, and with the overarching recognition that there can be no sustainable development without peace. Nigeria is a signatory to many of the international frameworks discussed above, including CEDAW and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (called the Maputo Protocol).

At the national level, the government has equally developed policies and frameworks to promote gender equality and inclusive development in Nigeria. In 2006, the National Gender Policy was adopted; it spells out the government's commitment to eliminating violence and discrimination against women, promoting equal access to political, social and economic wealth creation opportunities for both men and women, and ensuring protection for all, including children. In 2008, the Strategic Framework for the Implementation of the National Gender Policy was launched.

Nigeria developed the first National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 in 2013, and its implementation at national, state and local government levels was supported largely by UN Women and the Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme, among others. It had five pillars: Prevention; Protection; Participation; Prosecution; and Promotion.

Some of the achievements recorded under the first NAP include the establishment of a national coordination mechanism for implementation and monitoring/reporting; development of a gender policy for the Nigeria Police Force as well as the setting up of gender desks at police stations across the country; advocacy for and passage of the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act 2015; localization of the NAP through State and Local Action Plans; and establishment of women's and youths' networks.

Despite these, some noticeable gaps were the non-inclusion of violent extremism and conflict issues; a

limited consideration of post-conflict and reintegration issues; and the absence of crisis management and recovery strategies. It has also been criticized for its ambiguous language, several policy and operation gaps, and an inadequate monitoring and evaluation architecture.

In light of these observable deficits, the second National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and Related Resolutions was adopted by the government and launched in May 2017. The policy framework has five pillars that centre on the women, peace and security agenda: i) Prevention and Disaster Preparedness; ii) Participation and Representation; iii) Protection and Prosecution; iv) Crisis Management, Early Recovery and Post-Conflict Reconstruction; and v) Partnership, Coordination and Management.

At the subnational level currently, 11 states now have State Action Plans: Adamawa, Bayelsa, Borno, Delta, Gombe, Kaduna, Kano, Kogi, Plateau (its second SAP), Rivers and Yobe. An additional 11 Local Government Areas have Local Action Plans: Wase, Jos North, Riyom, and Mangu in Plateau State; Kaltungo and Yamaltu-Debaa in Gombe State; Yola North, Numan, Maiha, and Mubi South in Adamawa State; and Fagga in Kano State. A multi-agency steering committee representing all levels has also been established to drive the implementation and monitoring of the NAP. The NAP has therefore become a useful tool to articulate priorities on the women, peace and security agenda, raise awareness, and coordinate across government at all levels of governance and decision making in Nigeria. Importantly, it will also provide a basis for monitoring and evaluation as well as promoting accountability on policy commitments.

As mentioned in Section 1.5, despite the progress made with regard to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Nigeria, several challenges have been identified which should be taken into cognizance and addressed by the legislatures at both national and state levels. These include limited legislative engagement in the process of the development of the National Action Plan and poor monitoring of the provisions of the NAP, SAPs and LAPs by the legislature. The legislature has a vital role to play in this regard.

TABLE 13

Legislative Involvement in the Development and Adoption of the NAP – Good Practices

Germany: The NAP was officially introduced in parliament (Bundestag). It was subjected to a debate and a hearing of a subcommittee of the Standing Foreign Relations Committee. At the hearing, two national women’s rights organizations were invited to provide comments on the NAP’s objectives, its timing and the financing of its activities, which were taken into account in the final version of the NAP. However, the NAP was not subject to approval by the Bundestag.

Norway: The parliament formally adopted a NAP elaborated by the government.

Source: *European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (2013), UNSCR 1325 IN EUROPE: 20 Case Studies of Implementation*

TABLE 14

Engaging Legislators in the Development of National and State Action Plans

Good practice suggests that legislators should be involved in the development of National and State Action Plans as early as possible. As representatives of the people from the various constituencies, legislators can make inputs on the specific issues facing women and girls at the grass-roots level. In addition, they can use their experience in law reform, budgets and legislative processes towards achieving better and more sustainable results.

Where legislators are not involved in the actual development of a NAP, SAP and LAP, it is useful to sensitize them on the WPS agenda and its relevance for Nigeria. This will generate political goodwill, create commitment on the part of legislators, lead to ownership, and result in effective legislative oversight of implementation.

Sensitization of legislators on WPS can be done either through interactive sessions with heads of relevant MDAs or training workshops/seminars particularly targeted at the leadership and relevant committees of the legislature. Such sensitization should situate WPS within larger development frameworks such as the SDGs or national development plans such as the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (2017–2020).

WPS awareness-raising workshops can be supported by development partners and UN agencies, including UNDP, UN Women, etc.

ACTION POINTS FOR LEGISLATORS AND LEGISLATIVE STAFF: ENGAGING IN THE WPS NAP/SAP/LAP PROCESSES

- Federal legislators should be included in the working groups responsible for developing and monitoring the implementation of any subsequent NAP. Members of State Assemblies and Legislative Councils should be involved in any ongoing efforts at developing and monitoring the implementation of SAPs and LAPs.
- Even though the National Assembly was not directly involved in developing the second NAP, it can be formally presented to both chambers for acknowledgement or endorsement. The same should be done at the state level.
- Regular progress reports on the NAP should also be submitted to the legislature to enable monitoring. The second NAP currently has provisions for annual reporting to the National Assembly, which the legislature should request as a matter of practice.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- What other opportunities are available for legislators to be involved in developing the NAP, SAPs and LAPs?
- Were the final versions of the second NAP and the various SAPs and LAPs submitted to the legislature for its information, debate or endorsement?
- How can the legislature be involved in the implementation of the NAP, SAPs and LAPs?

CHAPTER 3: **THE LEGISLATURE** **IN NIGERIA AND THE** **WOMEN, PEACE AND** **SECURITY AGENDA**

The National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly are uniquely positioned to promote peace, gender equality and women's empowerment by virtue of their tripartite functions of law-making, oversight and representation, as contained in Sections 4(2) and 4(7) of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria.

By virtue of these powers, legislators can create conditions for greater public participation in political decision making and political processes that are responsive to the needs of women and girls. More so, through their policy and law-making functions, the legislature can bring about public sector reforms and stronger social protection for women and girls in Nigeria.

Through its appropriation and budget-approving powers, the legislature can also ensure that sufficient resources are committed to WPS issues, and that monies so appropriated are not only disbursed in a timely fashion, but also spent according to the wishes of parliament as defined in the national budget.

The role of the Nigerian legislature in the successful implementation of the women, peace and security agenda is therefore tied to its constitutional mandate and as such should be given adequate attention. The legislature is uniquely placed not only to drive the process, but also to champion greater collaboration with other stakeholders, including gender advocates and civil society.

Table 15 summarizes some of the entry points for the legislature to support the WPS agenda.

TABLE 15

How the Legislature Can Support the Five Pillars of the National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 through Its Core Functions

Pillar		Law-making	Appropriation	Oversight	Representation
Pillar 1: Prevention and Disaster Preparedness	<i>To ensure prevention of conflict and all forms of violence against women and girls, institute coping mechanisms and systems for averting and mitigating disasters.</i>	<p>Assess the adequacy of and level of implementation of existing laws (e.g. the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Act 2015).</p> <p>Pass new laws that protect women and girls in conflict situations and enhance conflict prevention systems for women (e.g. the Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill).</p>	<p>Make adequate budgetary provision to institutions that implement such laws (e.g. the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons, National Human Rights Commission, Nigeria Police Force, judiciary).</p> <p>Provide funding for special programmes on peacebuilding and preventing violent extremism.</p>	<p>Relevant committees (Women Affairs and Foreign Affairs) should undertake regular review of UPR, CEDAW and other recommendations from all treaty bodies related to women's rights and gender-based violence, including WPS reporting.</p> <p>Undertake regular post-legislative scrutiny of laws made (e.g. the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Act) to determine efficacy and identify areas that need further legislative intervention.</p>	Legislators should utilize their constituency offices and outreach activities to address local tensions and potential conflict triggers and their gendered impact, in collaboration with civil society.
Pillar 2: Participation and Representation	<p><i>i. To increase participation and engagement of women and inclusion of women in decision-making processes related to conflict prevention and peacebuilding.</i></p> <p><i>ii. To ensure the full and equal participation and representation of women at all levels of decision making.</i></p>	<p>Introduce quotas and other measures for increasing women in the legislature and other public bodies.</p> <p>Legislate on the National Gender Policy's recommended representation of women, which is at least 35 per cent of both elective political and appointive public service positions.</p> <p>Initiate other legal reforms to enhance women's participation and representation in the peace and security architecture.</p>	<p>Provide resources for increasing political participation of women at both the national and subnational levels.</p> <p>Build capacity of security personnel on gender and peace.</p> <p>Develop capacity for women candidates.</p>	<p>Review the level of women's participation in peace and security decision making.</p> <p>Review peacekeeping efforts and security operations in various parts of Nigeria (e.g. the North East) in respect of WPS.</p>	<p>Strengthen women's legislative caucuses to work on WPS issues.</p> <p>Introduce a mentoring programme for women leaders and/or women candidates at the constituency level.</p>
Pillar 3: Protection and Prosecution	<i>To ensure women's and girls' rights and security are protected and promoted in conflict and peace, and also to prosecute such rights violators.</i>	<p>Review existing laws (Child Rights Act 2003; Trafficking in Persons Prohibition Act, 2003; and Violence Against Persons Prohibition Act 2015).</p> <p>Ensure states adopt and domesticate existing laws.</p> <p>Pass new laws on sexual and gender-based violence (e.g. the sexual harassment law).</p> <p>Criminalize sexual exploitation of women and girls by security forces and operatives in conflict settings.</p>	<p>Make budgetary provision for the implementation of legislation that tackles sexual and gender-based violence, including actions such as women's shelters, counselling services, police services and court processes.</p> <p>Provide resources for training of security forces and personnel on their WPS and gender obligations.</p>	<p>Review the effectiveness of existing criminal and sexual and gender-based violence laws and their implementation.</p> <p>Oversee the use of resources allocated for the implementation of sexual and gender-based violence legislation.</p>	Utilize constituency visits and outreach activities to discuss local sexual and gender-based violence issues and challenges and their impact on the rights of women and girls.

Pillar		Law-making	Appropriation	Oversight	Representation
Pillar 4: Crisis Management, Early Recovery and Post-Conflict Reconstruction	<i>To ensure women's and girls' specific relief and recovery needs are met and women's capacities to act as agents in crisis, recovery and post-conflict situations are reinforced.</i>	<p>Enact laws to support government relief programmes in conflict areas (e.g. the Nigeria Delta Development Commission and North East Development Commission).</p> <p>Enact laws that promote reconciliation and reparations for women in post-conflict situations. Enact laws that promote women's economic empowerment.</p> <p>Put in a place a legal framework to regulate disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes such as the rehabilitation of Boko Haram members and the amnesty programme for militants in the Niger Delta.</p> <p>Initiate laws to ensure support for war widows, women ex-combatants, women-headed households, and spouses of dead servicemen.</p>	<p>Provide resources to implement government intervention and relief programmes, including for women and girls affected by conflict.</p>	<p>Review the relevance and effectiveness of the various disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes.</p> <p>Review legislation and government programmes on women's economic empowerment.</p> <p>Conduct oversight of government relief programmes and use of allocated resources.</p>	<p>Utilize constituency visits and outreach activities to support peacebuilding and discuss issues related to women and girls.</p>
Pillar 5: Partnerships and Coordination and Management	<i>This is a cross-cutting pillar to ensure an increase in the capacity and resources to coordinate, implement, monitor and report on women, peace and security plans and programmes.</i>	<p>Ensure that Nigeria's commitments to WPS are made into laws.</p> <p>Ensure that all relevant bills introduced on the floor satisfy government WPS commitments.</p>	<p>Allocate adequate resources to the Ministry of Women Affairs to enable it to better coordinate and implement the WPS agenda and the NAP, SAPs and LAPs.</p> <p>Allocate adequate resources to the various agencies implementing the various action plans: security agencies (Nigeria Police Force, Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps, Customs, Nigeria Immigration Service), Nigerian Armed Forces, National Security Adviser, Judiciary (Law Reform Commission, Legal Aid Council), National and State Emergency Management Agencies, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Budget and National Planning, Federal Ministry of Finance, Federal Ministry of Information and Culture, National Orientation Agency, National Human Rights Commission, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Federal Ministry of Interior, Independent National Electoral Commission, Federal Road Safety Corps, National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons, National Centre for Women Development, Ministry of Justice, etc.</p>	<p>Request for an annual review of the NAP by the Ministry of Women Affairs.</p> <p>Standing committees overseeing relevant MDAs should ensure that resources allocated for WPS are provided and effectively utilized.</p>	<p>Include legislators in WPS Inter-Government Coordination Groups.</p> <p>Launch community forums on the WPS agenda at the constituency level to include civil society organizations.</p>

Source: Author's adaptation from the UNDP Global Handbook on WPS (2019)

CHAPTER 4: **MAKING LAWS TO** **IMPLEMENT THE WOMEN,** **PEACE AND SECURITY** **AGENDA**

The legislature in Nigeria, as in most other democracies in the world, is the arm of government charged with the responsibility of law making and oversight functions over executive bodies and authorities. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria vests legislative powers in the legislature. Section 47 and 90 establish a bicameral National Assembly and unicameral state legislatures. The power to make laws for the peace, order and good governance of the federation or the state are contained in Section 4(2) and Section 4(7) respectively. The powers to make laws on any matter on the legislative lists in the second schedule, as apportioned between the National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly, are contained in Section 4(3)(4) and (7).

In Nigeria, any person or organization may initiate a law. This may only be presented to the House or Senate through a legislator in his or her own name. These are called private members' bills. However, the executive is the major source of legislative proposals, known as executive bills. In light of the powers of legislators to initiate legislation, law making is a key way through which the legislature in Nigeria can support the women, peace and security agenda.

4.1 Identifying Law Reform Priorities

For the law to maintain its relevance in society and respond to emerging challenges such as WPS, periodic reform of the law is necessary. In Nigeria, there is broad consensus that many laws are archaic, often products of colonialism or military dictatorship. Over the years, the National Assembly has engaged in several law reform exercises with support from the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies and the Nigerian Law Reform Commission.

In 2015, the House of Representatives inaugurated the Committee on the Review of Existing Laws and Law Reform. The committee considered over 300 pieces of legislation and made recommendations therefrom. It drafted 178 bills, some of which pertain to WPS. There was the harmonization and consolidation of certain legislation such as the Terrorism (Prevention) Act 2011 and the Terrorism (Prevention) (Amendment) Act 2013. In addition, there was the ratification and domestication of treaties such as the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, their Parts and Components

TABLE 16

Parliamentary Rules Requiring a Gender Review of Proposed Laws

In some countries, parliament is required to undertake a gender assessment of draft legislation to identify whether a proposed law is gender sensitive and protects rather than diminishes gender equality and women's rights.

In **Kyrgyzstan**, for example, the Law on Normative Legal Acts 2009 guides the Jogorku Kenesh (parliament) on how it reviews draft laws. Article 20 specifically requires that draft laws be subjected to an analysis to assess their impact on human rights protection, gender responsiveness, anti-corruption actions, and ecological protection.

In **Fiji**, a parliamentary standing order mandates committees to review draft laws and undertake inquiries, and then states that committees 'shall ensure that full consideration will be given to the principle of gender equality so as to ensure all matters are considered with regard to the impact and benefit on both men and women equally'.

and Ammunition, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime 2001 and the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention).

4.2 Women, Peace and Security Law Reform Issues in Nigeria

In addition to the law reform efforts discussed above, the National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 has also identified some law reform priorities. Other government policy documents such as the National Gender Policy, human rights processes and sectoral strategies similarly contain recommendations for reform relating to gender equality and women's empowerment in Nigeria. Some of these are outlined below and can point the legislature to a range of WPS issues on which they can enact further legislation.

4.2.1 Non-discrimination, Equality and Equal Participation

- **Passage of the Gender Equality Bill:** The bill seeks to end socio-cultural practices such as female genital mutilation and other forms of

gender-based violence that impinge the human rights of girls and young women in Nigeria. The purpose of the bill is to give effect to Chapters II and IV of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, international covenants on human rights, international and regional treaties, and national policies. The bill has been in the National Assembly since 2015.

- **Sponsoring UNSCR 1325-linked bills in the legislature**
- **Passage of political participation laws:** One of the most successful ways of ensuring that women are included in decision-making structures has been to enact broad-reaching laws related to political participation, including quotas. The legislature can give legal backing to aspects of the National Gender Policy on affirmative action and legislate on quotas for women's participation in political institutions and decision-making processes or recruitment to military, police, public service, peacekeeping or diplomacy (especially in relation to peace operations). Gender quotas have been adopted in many countries around the world despite varying political and socio-economic realities (see Section 1.2). Legislatures at all levels can initiate legal/policy reforms to enhance women's participation and representation in the peace architecture.

TABLE 17

Gender Quotas

- Gender quota systems can be controversial. Some arguments are made against them:
 - They give women preference over men.
 - Voters should decide who is elected.
 - Women will be elected solely based on their gender and not on their qualifications.
- However, there are strong arguments in favour of gender quotas, and **advocates and practitioners should be able to articulate these arguments.**
- Quotas are allowed by **CEDAW and other international and regional instruments** as **temporary measures** to ensure that women are given equal opportunity to men to participate in public and political life.

Types of Quotas

- **Legislated candidate quotas** determine that a certain number of candidates must be women.
- **Reserved seats** keep a certain number or percentage of seats in parliament or other bodies for women.
- The types of quotas used generally depend on the type of electoral system in place in a country. Uganda and Rwanda have led regarding reserved seats.

Source: Arostegui and Bichetero (2014)

TABLE 18

Good Practices in Political Participation: Uganda

- Under **Uganda's** constitution, each of its 112 districts must have at least one female representative to parliament.
- Its electoral law includes 112 district women; ten Uganda People's Defence Forces representatives, of whom two must be women; five youth representatives, of whom one must be a woman; five representatives of persons with disabilities, of whom one must be a woman; and five representatives of workers, of whom one must be a woman.
- According to parliamentary rules, all committees are to have 30 per cent women representation.

Source: Arostegui and Bichetero (2014)

4.2.2 Preventing and Responding to Violence and Trafficking

The legislature can make laws to address various aspects of gender-based violence as follows:

- **Sexual violence laws** – These should be updated to include definitions of rape and other sexual assault that are up to date. Major defects of the Criminal Code include its narrow definition of rape and treatment of rape as gender neutral. In addition, the Penal Code does not recognize rape within marriage, and as such does not prohibit it or ascribe punishment for it.
- **Laws providing for prosecution of sexual violence during conflict** – This includes sexual violence perpetrated by security personnel and the military in peacekeeping, internal or counter-terrorism operations.
- **Domestic violence laws (home vs. public)** – It is critical to recognize that this is a form of violence against women that must be dealt with under the law.
- **Laws prohibiting harmful cultural practices** – The legislature must ensure strict implementation of the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act 2015 through effective oversight. The act clearly prohibits acts such as female genital mutilation

(Section 6-1), forceful ejection from home and/or refusal of access (Section 9-1), harmful widowhood practices (Section 15-1), abandonment of a spouse, children and other dependents without sustenance (Section 16-1), spousal battery (Section 19-1), and harmful traditional practices (Section 20-1). The act also prohibits stalking (Section 17-1), intimidation (Section 18-1), attacking with a harmful substance (Section 21-1), administering a substance with intent (Section 22-1), and incest (Section 25-1).

- **Anti-trafficking laws** – The legislature should ensure full implementation of existing/new laws and adoption by states. These include the Child Rights Act 2003, the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Act 2003, and the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act 2015. Only 11 states – Anambra, Bauchi, Cross Rivers, Ebonyi, Edo, Ekiti, Imo, Lagos, Enugu, Bayelsa and Rivers – have laws with provisions of legal terms to counter gender-based violence. The Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act can also be amended to sufficiently cover other types of violence dealt with in the Criminal Code and the Penal Code. There should also be specific provisions allowing for extra-territorial jurisdiction to allow for the prosecution of offences committed overseas (e.g. by peacekeepers).
- **Sexual harassment laws** – Legislation is needed that provides criminal and civil penalties for sexual harassment in the workplace, on public transport or in public.
- **Gender-sensitive legislation on transitional justice** – This is required with regard to both the process (i.e. including women) and substantive issues (i.e. topics relevant to women and girls).
- **Amending the Terrorism (Prevention) (Amendment) Act 2013** – It is necessary to amend this act to address the prevention of violent extremism and radicalization, taking into account the different experiences of men and women in such contexts.
- **Legislation providing for economic support for people affected by conflict** – This should include gender-sensitive provisions that address the special needs of women ex-combatants, war widows, children orphaned by conflict, and post-conflict woman-headed households.

4.3 Strategies for Women, Peace and Security Law Reforms

The processes of law making in Nigeria generally requires a long period of deliberation and consideration of the many interests and implications of a bill. As mentioned earlier, in Nigeria individual legislators can initiate legislation, which are introduced as private members' bills. This presents an opportunity for law reform, and legislators can be supported to introduce either amendment bills or entirely new legislation on various aspects of WPS.

After a bill passes the first reading (to notify members of a legislative proposal, i.e. a bill) and second reading (when members consider the bill's general principles and import), it is then referred to the relevant committee. At this stage, standing committees receive bills referred to them by the chamber and examine all aspects of the bill clause by clause. Processing of the referred bill will include public hearings, where stakeholders are invited through either public advertisement or special invitation to make contributions.

At the end of the process, the report of the public hearing is prepared and discussed by the committee, after which it is laid before the House for adoption and passage. When a bill has been reported by the Committee of the Whole House, it is given the third reading, after which a clean copy is printed, incorporating all amendments. This is then sent to either the President or the Governor for assent.

At every step of the legislative process, members can ensure that WPS issues are sufficiently addressed. Perhaps where legislators have the best opportunity to make inputs is at the committee stage, where they can propose amendments to a bill. It is also at this stage that public hearings are held. Legislators can involve all relevant stakeholders working on WPS to get their views and inputs on proposed legislation.

TABLE 19

Some Bills Introduced in the National Assembly Related to Gender/WPS since 1999

- Circumcision of Women (Prohibition) Bill, 2000
- Maternal and Child Welfare Health Services Procedure, etc. Bill, 2001
- Children’s Rights Bill, 2002
- Uniform Legislation on the Succession and Inheritance of Intestate Property in Nigeria Bill, 2002
- A Bill for an Act to Ratify and Enforce the Treaty on the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 2003
- National Council for Assistance to Widows, Dependent Children and Orphans (Establishment, Special Provisions, etc.) Bill, 2007
- Abolition of Discrimination against Women Bill, 2008
- National Hospital for Women and Children Act (Amendment) Bill, 2008
- Gender and Equal Opportunities, Abuse and Administration Bill, 2010
- Women and Girls Advancement Bill, 2012
- Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Bill, 2012
- Property Right of Spouses Bill, 2013
- Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill, 2016
- Sexual Harassment in Tertiary Educational Institution Bill, 2016

Source: *Compilation from NASS Bill Progression Charts, 2019*

TABLE 20

Integrating Law Reform Analysis and Action into the Women, Peace and Security National Action Plans in Nigeria

The **Nigerian NAP** (2017–2020) identifies five pillars of work, which are supported by five core strategies to implement the priorities; one of these strategies is ‘Legislation and Policies’, with the following details:

Pillar 1: Prevention and Disaster Preparedness

- Establishment of new laws aimed at protecting women’s and girls’ vulnerability to conflict and disaster
- Implementation of existing and new laws and policies that enhance conflict prevention systems for women

Pillar 2: Participation and Representation

- Sponsoring UNSCR 1325–linked bills at the National Assembly
- Initiating legal/policy reforms to enhance women’s participation and representation in the peace architecture
- Implementing existing sectoral gender policies and plans (Independent National Electoral Commission, Police, Army, Ministry of Budget and National Planning)

Pillar 3: Protection and Prosecution

Establishment of new laws and review of existing laws aimed at protecting women and girls

Pillar 4: Crisis Management, Early Recovery and Post-Conflict Reconstruction

Enactment and formulation of appropriate laws and policies

FIGURE 4
The Bill Process in Nigeria

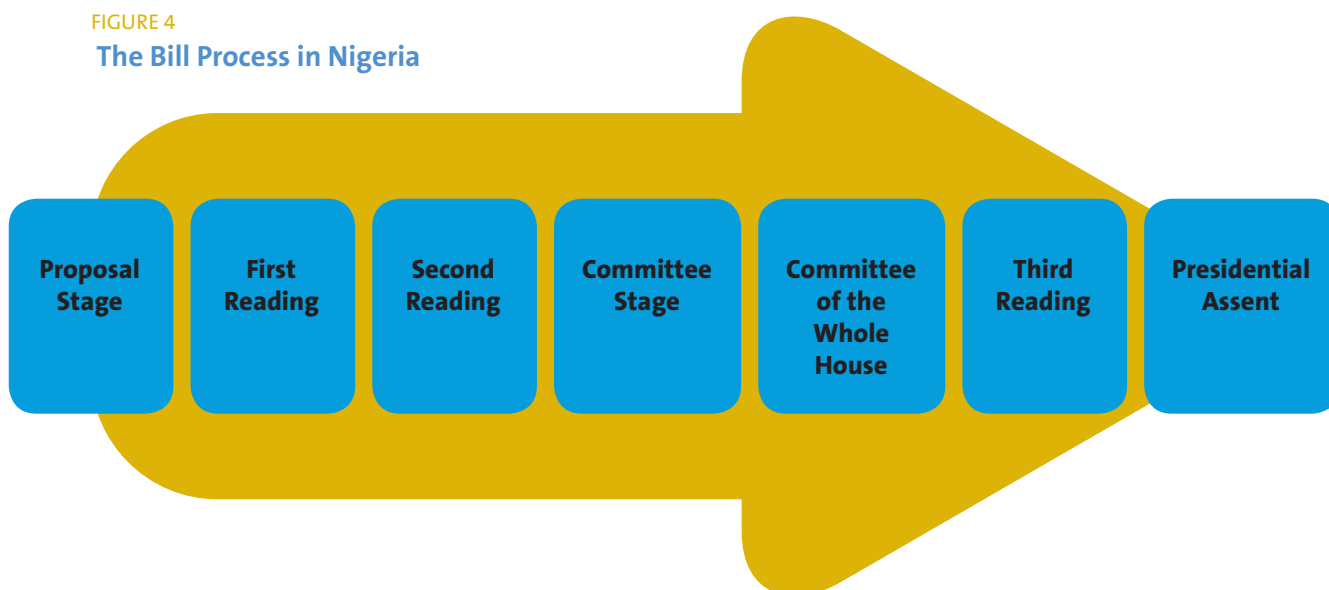


TABLE 21
Philippines Congress Takes Action to Pass Laws in Support of Women, Peace and Security

The **Philippines** has produced two WPS National Action Plans, the first from 2010 and the second from 2017. Both NAPs reference key laws as the basis for further reform efforts, including the Anti-Rape Act of 1997 (RA 8353), the Rape Victim Assistance and Protection Act of 1998 (RA 8505), the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2003 (RA 9208), and the Anti-Violence Against Women and Their Children Act of 2004 (RA 9262). The NAPs recognize that these laws already contribute to the national legislative framework protecting women’s security.

The Philippines has also passed two pieces of legislation that provide good practice models for consideration by other countries. Republic Act 7192 ‘recognizes the role of women in nation building and shall ensure the fundamental equality before the law of women and men’. The law requires that a large portion of official development assistance from foreign governments or multilateral agencies be dedicated to programmes for women, that government departments ensure that women benefit equally from such programmes, and that government agencies remove gender biases from their regulations and procedures.

In August 2009 the Philippines Congress enacted what is called the Magna Carta for Women (RA 9710), which promotes gender equality broadly and in particular provides for increased participation of women in peace-building and for their protection against gender-based violence in armed conflicts. One section of the law, for example, calls for an increase in women in decision making in peace processes and greater inclusion of women’s concerns in the peace agenda.

Source: UNDP Global Handbook on WPS, 2019

ACTION POINTS FOR LEGISLATORS AND STAFF: LAW REFORM

- The National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 includes a legislative needs analysis and identifies areas where new legislation or amendments are needed in all five pillars. This can serve as an entry point for the legislature. Further legislative engagement can be organized with constituents, academics, national law associations and other experts to identify the most critical areas requiring law reform.
- The law reform needs identified through the above process can be included in the legislative agenda of both the National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly, which will place the legislature in the driving seat of the reform agenda.
- In support of an agreed set of law reform priorities, the legislature or its committees can do the following
 - Request the executive branch to prioritize key law reforms.
 - Raise a question about law reform with the heads of MDAs.
 - Propose a motion on WPS to draw the attention of the legislature and the government to a key concern.
 - Use the committee investigative processes to discuss a WPS issue in detail and propose legislative reforms in the form of committee recommendations.
 - Work with the parliamentary legal counsel or consultants to develop draft laws.
- Legislators should propose private members' bills on topics related to women, peace and security.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- Has a systematic Gender and WPS Law Reform Assessment been undertaken (whether as part of a NAP development process, sectoral plan development process or by the legislature itself) to identify law reform priorities?
- Does the legislative agenda of the House adequately address issues of gender and WPS?
- Has an annual legislative plan been developed to guide the work of the legislature with regard to key WPS law reform priorities?
- Do legislators and committees have access to legal expertise to support their efforts to advance WPS-related law reforms?

CHAPTER 5: **BUDGETING FOR** **WOMEN, PEACE** **AND SECURITY** **IMPLEMENTATION**

One of the most important ways in which the legislature can ensure that it fulfils its constitutional responsibility of ensuring peace, order and governance in Nigeria is through the appropriation process. It is also the means through which it can allocate sufficient resources towards successful implementation of the WPS agenda. Failure to provide the needed resources can negatively affect the effectiveness of laws made by the legislature. The global non-governmental organization Peace Women has reported that, of the 79 WPS National Action Plans adopted around the world, only 34 included a budget.

The national budget is a very important tool for economic management and promoting growth and development. The proposal comprises the financial allocations (recurrent and capital) to all projects and activities of the ministries, departments, and agencies of government.

The 1999 Constitution of Nigeria also defines the roles and powers of the executive and the legislature in the budget process. Sections 81 and 121(1) of the constitution accord the roles of budget preparation to the executive and approval to the legislature. It clearly assigns to the executive the powers to formulate and prepare the draft budget, while the powers of budget scrutiny, amendment and approval are given to the legislature (the National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly).

5.1 The Role of the Legislature in the Budget Process in Nigeria and Implications for Gender and Women, Peace and Security Funding

In Nigeria, the preparation of the budget is the shared responsibility of the executive and legislative arm of the federal government. The budget, which is officially referred to as the Appropriation Act, is introduced by the executive, approved by the legislature and signed into law by the President.

5.1.1 Budget Planning and Formulation

The Budget Office of the Ministry of Finance develops the budget in accordance with government's fiscal policy. It prepares a Medium-Term Expenditure Framework Report, which includes the Fiscal Strategy Paper and MDAs' expenditure ceilings, which is presented by the Minister or Commissioner of Finance to the Federal/State Executive Council and then to the legislature for consideration and approval. Once approved, the Budget Office, under the supervision of the Ministry of Finance, issues a call circular instructing the MDAs to allocate their allotted capital expenditure ceilings across their existing and new projects, programmes and other initiatives. MDAs are also required to submit estimates of their

FIGURE 5

The Budget Process in Nigeria



recurrent expenditure requirements for personnel costs and overhead. The Budget Office evaluates and consolidates the submissions of the various MDAs and prepares the draft budget. This process usually takes place in August. The approved budget is formally presented by the President/Governor to the National Assembly for consideration and appropriation.

5.1.2 Role of the Legislature in Budgeting

Funding for WPS is critical to successful implementation. Although the power of the legislature is limited in the preparation and drafting of the budget, it can exercise tremendous power during the legislative process (plenary and committee) to enquire how WPS issues are being funded by the government. Indeed, various MDAs at federal and state levels have specific contributions with regard to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the NAP, in line with their respective mandates.

Upon introduction of the budget by the President or the Governor, the legislature subjects the budget proposal (appropriation or money bill) to a detailed legislative procedure similar to that done to ordinary bills. At the completion of the second reading, the bill is committed to the Appropriations and Finance Committees. Each committee of the legislature is allotted an aspect of the schedule to the bill and its corresponding part of the estimates relating to the ministry or department under their charge. It is at this stage that sectoral committees hold budget defence hearings with MDAs. At this point, legislators can ask how sectoral budgets (for women affairs, judiciary, foreign affairs, security, etc.) address WPS issues.

The legislature can also hold public hearings on the budget to solicit public input. In the Eighth National Assembly, a public hearing on the budget was institutionalized as part of the budget enactment process. This is an important avenue to get input

TABLE 22

WPS Budget Scrutiny

Budget scrutiny involves the examination of the financial allocations (current and capital) to all gender and WPS projects and activities of the MDAs of government. The objectives of legislative budget scrutiny are as follows:

- Exercise of the constitutional mandate of oversight
- Holding the executive accountable for expenditures made
- Ensuring that WPS policies and strategies will provide the best results
- Ensuring consistency between government commitments and allocations
- Driving improvements in WPS planning and implementation
- Allowing for the concerns and interests of the public and their communities and constituents

from stakeholders and experts on gender and WPS. After consideration, the sub-committees report back to the Appropriations Committee, which deliberates and reports to the Committee of the Whole, which at this stage sits as the 'Committee of Supply'. When the Appropriations Bill has been passed by the Committee of Supply, it is then moved for the third reading.

When passed, the bill and the schedule to it are sent to the President or Governor by the Clerk for Assent in accordance with the provision of Section 58(3) of the Constitution and the Acts Authentication Act 2004. Clearly, therefore, the legislature in Nigeria usually applies its wide powers to delete and insert items into the national budget, albeit controversially. As such, the legislature can allocate the resources needed to implement the WPS agenda.

5.2 Understanding Gender-responsive Budgeting vs. Women, Peace and Security Budgeting

For the legislature to effectively allocate resources to gender and WPS issues, the practice of gender-responsive budgeting needs to be understood and institutionalized at both federal and state levels. Gender-responsive budgeting initiatives seek to create a direct linkage between social and economic policies through the application of a gender analysis to the formulation and implementation of government budgets.

It is important that budgets are reviewed and analysed holistically rather than just focusing on allocations made to the Ministry of Women Affairs. This is particularly crucial considering that addressing WPS requires a cross-sector approach. This underscores the need for expertise in both the Finance and Appropriation Committees, but also in all sectoral committees, to undertake a gender analysis of the budget. Gender budget analyses can be applied to gender- and WPS-specific expenditures, expenditures that promote gender equity within the public service, and general or mainstream expenditures.

A gender-responsive budget can become an important mechanism for ensuring greater consistency between government's gender/WPS commitments and its resolve in implementing these commitments via the budget process. It will also enable the government to streamline its gender/WPS programmes and activities and ensure more efficient use of resources. Most importantly, through such gender analyses of government budgets, gender/WPS can be better targeted and tracked. Gender-responsive budgeting can enable the government to adjust and reallocate resources in line with its commitments as stipulated in CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action, UNSCR 1325 and the Sustainable Development Goals. Lastly, gender budgets can also improve the effectiveness, efficiency, accountability and transparency of government budgets. Gender budgets can also reveal budgetary priorities and discrepancies between what a government says it is doing and the actual impact of their policies. In Nigeria, gender-responsive budgeting has been used as part

of mainstreaming gender issues within the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (known locally as NEEDS): 'The thrust of NEEDS in respect of women is to fully integrate them through enhancing their capacity to participate in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the country. This will be achieved by mainstreaming women concerns and perspectives in all policies and programmes' (National Democratic Institute, n.d.).

The gender analysis of NAP/SAP/LAP budgets should specifically do the following:

- Revisit the analysis of the differential impacts of conflict and post-conflict violence on women, men, girls and boys (as well as different sub-groups) that was completed during the NAP development process.
- Take into account how much the NAP/SAP/LAP addresses gender issues and gaps, including the gaps between written legislation and policies and their implementation.

- Assess the adequacy of NAP/SAP/LAP budget allocations to implement the gender-sensitive policies and programmes.
- Review whether the funds for the previous NAP/SAP/LAP were spent as planned, examine how much it promoted gender equality as intended, and determine who delivered services and to whom. This involves looking at sex-disaggregated data on financial, physical and technical deliverables.

NAP/SAP/LAP 'costing' is an essential part of gender/WPS budgeting and refers to the process of assigning cost to each activity in the plan. Costing is the first step toward developing an action plan budget and should be accompanied by identifying the relevant sources of funding for each activity, including existing streams, as part of budgetary allocations to various MDAs and gaps.

This is an essential step in preparing a comprehensive and realistic budget. Without identifying the

TABLE 23

Gender-responsive Budgeting and UNSCR 1325

The following examples are gender-responsive budgeting measures at the global, national and local levels that may support funding for NAP implementation:

1. In the **Philippines**, the gender and development budget requires all government departments and agencies at national, provincial, municipal and local levels to allocate 5 per cent of their total budget to programmes on gender equality.
2. The Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning in **Rwanda**, in partnership with the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion and UN Women, has adopted a national programme for gender-responsive budgeting. A central strategy entails capacity development for people inside and outside the government who have roles at various stages of the budget cycle. The programme has provided in-depth trainings, hands-on workshops and mentoring to a core technical team, while civil society groups and parliamentarians have attended sessions on holding the government accountable for budgetary commitments.
3. In **Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone** and **Tanzania**, local authorities are learning to formulate gender-sensitive plans and budgets, while local communities can better articulate their needs through participation in local planning. Assisted by UN Women and the UN Capital Development Fund, local districts tap into special funds allocated for gender equality. Spending is directed by capital investment plans based on priorities identified by local women's groups.
4. In **South Africa**, the Women's Budget Initiative's annual publication analysed and provided policy prescriptions on issues of importance to women to inform budgetary discussions in the country. Such a publication can also be used to inform advocacy for a NAP on UNSCR 1325 in South Africa.

Source: *Cabrera-Balleza and Santos (2017)*

cost and dedicating the resources needed, activities in the action plan will not be implemented (Cabrera-Balleza and Santos, 2017).

5.3 Ensuring Women, Peace and Security Budgets are Effectively Utilized

The legislature is constitutionally empowered to consider, scrutinize and approve the national budget. When utilizing this oversight power, the Committee on Appropriation acts as the lead committee, while the other standing committees become sub-committees. Budgeting for gender and WPS issues is limited, but it should still be backed up by action. The legislature should play a leading role in ensuring that approved funds are cash backed and released for the implementation of WPS programmes and activities. Through the instrumentality of oversight (see Chapter 7), the legislature can track actual releases by the government for WPS.

TABLE 24

National Budgeting Processes and Gender-responsive budgeting – Actions for the Legislature

National budgeting processes may vary from country to country, but generally follow these four stages: 1) preparation, 2) approval, 3) implementation, and 4) monitoring. The following are notes for the legislature regarding gender-responsive budgeting:

1. Advocacy and efforts to ensure NAP funding and the gender responsiveness of budgets more broadly can and should be at all stages of planning, implementation and monitoring.
2. Gender-responsive budgeting is a crucial tool that promotes equality and women's rights.
3. Effective gender-responsive budgeting entails a gender analysis of existing budgets, the reformulation of budgetary policies, and the mainstreaming of gender in all budgetary processes.
4. Gender-responsive budgeting should be applied to all budgets.

TABLE 25

Using Legislative Committees to Assess the Gender and Women, Peace and Security Impacts of Budgets

For many years, countries have been encouraged to implement 'gender-responsive budgets', but limited resources in the executive and legislative branches have often hampered their ability to undertake a proper gender analysis of the budget. Nonetheless, some countries have forged ahead.

In **Bangladesh**, for example, gender issues are integrated into the Medium-Term Budget Framework, which requires ministries to link their objectives back to the advancement of women's rights, including WPS. Their annual budgets must then also identify how gender equality is being promoted. A gender budget analysis of all ministries is then done by the Ministry of Finance and submitted to the parliament during each budget session. The government has presented a gender budget since the 2009–2010 financial year, and now applies it across 43 ministries or divisions.

In **Canada**, the government produces a Gender Budget Statement that provides a gender-based analysis of the budget, identifying how policies may affect women differently than men. Additionally, committees have used the budget review process to examine gender and WPS issues. In 2018, two House of Commons Standing Committees joined together to examine the spending of governmental departments responsible for the implementation of the WPS agenda. Members of parliament questioned the Minister of National Defence on the recruitment of women, the Department of National Defence's commitments to peace operations, and its policies on eliminating inappropriate sexual behaviour in the military.

Source: UNDP (2019) *Parliaments as Partners Supporting the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: A Global Handbook*, Oslo, Norway

ACTION POINTS FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND PARLIAMENTARY STAFF: WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE BUDGET CYCLE

- Legislators can engage gather information from their constituents on whether and how government programmes have been useful in advancing the WPS agenda. This information can be used to inform budget defence and public hearings on the budget.
- When the draft national budget is tabled in the legislature, legislators can use committee processes to ask whether and how WPS issues will be funded.
- Committees responsible for reviewing budgets can task their secretariats or engage experts to undertake an analysis to identify how existing budgets could be targeted more effectively to address WPS, such as by redirecting existing funds or using them more efficiently.
- All relevant committees can hold interactive sessions with representatives from relevant ministries, including the Ministry for Women Affairs, but also ministries responsible for foreign affairs, the police force, the military, security services, etc. Each of these ministries could be asked about what funds they have allocated towards implementation of the WPS agenda and whether and how they have set performance indicators to assess the impact of such funds.
- Standing committees and Public Accounts Committees can hold annual public hearings with MDAs to review what government funds were actually spent and whether they had a positive impact. Such a review should look at value for money, but also the results for people on the ground.
- Public Accounts Committees can examine reports of the Auditor General to focus attention on WPS implementation. Committees may wish to recommend that the Supreme Audit Institution (Office of the Auditor General for the Federation) integrate some form of gender audit into their work, and/or undertake performance audits that include gender equality and WPS issues.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- Have legislators or parliamentary staff received training on gender-responsive budgeting, especially budgets to support women's peace and security?
- Do the government (federal and state) and the legislature implement gender-responsive budgeting? In any case, is an analysis of gender and WPS impacts of the budget produced for legislators to inform their work?
- Do standing committees overseeing MDAs hold hearings to examine budget allocations for national gender equality and WPS priorities?
- Do standing committees overseeing MDAs hold interactive sessions or ask questions of MDAs to assess whether budget allocations to implement national gender equality and WPS priorities (i) are provided as budgeted, (ii) are expended efficiently, and (iii) are expended efficiently to improve the lives of women and girls, especially the most vulnerable and marginalized?

CHAPTER 6: OVERSIGHT OF WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY IMPLEMENTATION

Oversight is an important and constitutional part of law making. Legislators are required to monitor the implementation of the budget by the executive arm of the government. Through Section 88 and 128 of the Constitution of Nigeria, the legislature (National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly) is empowered to conduct investigations into any matter or thing with respect to which it has power to make laws. It also has the power to conduct investigations into the conduct or affairs of any person, authority, ministry or government department charged, or intended to be charged, with the duty or responsibility of executing or administering laws enacted by it and the disbursement or administration of funds appropriated or to be appropriated by the lawmakers.

The legislature can effectively use investigative committees – the Appropriation Committee, standing committees, the Public Accounts Committee, ad hoc committees and various other committees – to collect and analyse information concerning the implementation of WPS. The Public Accounts Committee analyses reports of the Auditor General, who is required to present his/her reports before the legislature. Historically, it has been found that the possibility of legislative investigation contributes to administrative responsibility and rectitude. Constituents can also be used to collect information on the nature of WPS services provided by government, if they exist. Legislatures can also utilize other tools or mechanisms – oversight visits, public and investigative hearings, questioning, confirmation of executive appointments, etc. – to perform their oversight functions.

6.1 Powers of Oversight

The legislature derives the power to conduct oversight from the Constitution of Nigeria, statutes and standing rules of the National Assembly. Importantly, the power conferred to statutory bodies to conduct their oversight function requires that these bodies submit their reports to the National Assembly through its relevant committees.

The powers to conduct oversight include **constitutional powers**, which are divided into three broad groups. The first is the power to appropriate (Sections 80–84 and the Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2007), and the second is the power to conduct investigations (National Assembly – Sections 4, 88 and 89; State Houses of Assembly – Sections 128 and 129). The third group is routine oversight power over all MDAs – Sections 85(2) and (5) as well as 125(5).

The second set of powers are the **legislative powers**, i.e. power to make laws. Section 4(2) provides for the exclusive power of the National Assembly to make laws for the federation on matters contained in the Exclusive Legislative List, while Section 4(4) provides the National Assembly with the power to make laws on any matter in the Concurrent Legislative List. Section 4(6) vests the legislative powers of a state in the House of Assembly of the state. Section 4(7) specifically provides the State Houses of Assembly with the power to make laws with respect to the matters not included in the Exclusive Legislative List and any matter included in the Concurrent Legislative List.

The legislature equally has **statutory powers**, through which it establishes statutory bodies via laws made. The establishing statutes of some statutory bodies confer oversight duties to them. However, these bodies are then by law required to report to the legislature, who may also conduct oversight functions over the individual agencies.

6.2 Committee Oversight of National, State and Local Action Plans

Legislative Committees are small units or groups of legislators set up within the legislature. They allow the legislature to perform several functions simultaneously and provide the opportunity for more detailed investigation and discussions (Yamamo, 2007). Section 62(1) of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria empowers the legislature to appoint committees for both special and general purposes as may be considered expedient.

The standing orders of both the Senate (Order 96) and the House of Representatives (XIV) provide for the establishment of special committees within the first few legislative days of the first sitting. Similar provisions are obtained in the standing orders of State Houses of Assembly.

In addition, Section 62(3) of the Constitution provides for the appointment of a Joint Finance Committee by the Senate and House of Representatives, while Section 85(5) makes the establishment of a Public Accounts Committee in each house mandatory. Section 62(4) empowers each house of the National Assembly to make its internal regulations for the conduct of legislative business.

The jurisdictional functions of each standing committee of both houses of the National Assembly and the State Houses of Assembly are clearly itemized in the rules or standing orders of these houses. However, powers of the standing committees generally include the following:

- Conduct oversight of executive agencies under their jurisdiction.
- Scrutinize measures and bills assigned to them by their parent bodies in a detailed manner.
- Conduct hearings on bills and other matters assigned, thereby serving as arenas for citizens' participation in the legislative process.
- Consider annual budget estimates of the executive agencies under their legislative jurisdiction.
- Conduct research for legislative action.
- Screen and recommend executive nominees for appointment.
- Deal with resolutions of the house and make recommendations.

By virtue of the constitutional powers vested in the legislature to conduct oversight, they can play a significant role in reviewing government programmes and policies on gender/WPS and inquiring into the implementation of the NAP, SAPs and LAPs. To effectively monitor and oversee the implementation of the WPS action plans, the legislature has multiple options available to it. It can conduct periodic monitoring based on predefined guidelines or occasional monitoring through ordinary oversight mechanisms.

A growing trend is the establishment of legislative committees on gender equality to oversee the implementation of WPS action plans as well as government commitment to SDG 5 on gender equality and the well-being of women and girls. Nigerian legislatures can either establish similar committees or expand the jurisdiction of the Committee on Women Affairs to specifically include gender equality.

The committee can undertake joint hearings to share experiences and solicit input from the sectoral expertise of MDAs and other committees. It can also review the implementation of the WPS agenda in collaboration with other committees such as the Foreign Affairs Committee.

TABLE 26

Legislative Committees and Women, Peace and Security Sectoral Issues

Committee	WPS Sectoral Issues
Committee on Sustainable Development Goals	Can assess WPS as part of the review of the implementation of SDG 5 on gender equality, SDG 8 on economic development, and SDG 16 on peace, justice and strong institutions
Committee on Appropriations	Can assess and improve WPS funding
Committee on Army and Committee on Air Force/Navy	Can examine military and civilian peacekeeping activities and internal gender mainstreaming, as well as the gendered impact of any domestic military operations
Committee on Police Affairs	Can oversee access to justice for victims of violence, and the promotion of gender equality and awareness in the police
Committee on Women Affairs and Social Development	Serves as the coordinating committee and clearing house for all WPS issues
Committee on Poverty Alleviation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provides a disaggregated understanding of the gendered dimension of poverty and how that affects women, as well as the susceptibility and vulnerabilities it creates, particularly in conflict situations Ensures that women affected by violence are included in recovery efforts, including efforts to rebuild their economic security in the aftermath of conflict
Committee on Climate Change/ Environment	Examines the impact of climate change and the intersection between climate change and conflict and how that affects women and girls
Committee on Defence	Reviews WPS issues as they relate to the security sector
Committee on Education	Reviews government programmes on education to assess whether they are gender sensitive and include components to address the special economic needs of women and girls affected by conflict
Committee on Emergency and Disaster Preparedness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ensures compliance to laws and policies safeguarding women from conflict and in conflict situations Ensures that the rights of women and girls are protected in disaster and conflict situations
Committee on Foreign Affairs	Monitors compliance to international commitments and ensures regular reporting of WPS issues to the legislature
Committee on Health	Reviews government programmes on health to assess whether they are gender sensitive, and includes components to address the special economic needs of women affected by conflict
Committee on Judiciary/ Justice/Human Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Considers issues of law reform as they pertain to gender and WPS Oversees existing legislation on gender and WPS
Committee on Labour, Employment and Productivity	Puts forward legislative proposals on women's economic empowerment and gender equality
Committee on Public Safety and National Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reviews national security processes and priorities to specially include and be responsive to the needs of women and girls, particularly those in conflict situations Reviews WPS issues as they relate to the security sector

6.3 Committee Oversight on Specific Women, Peace and Security Sectoral Issues

As mentioned earlier, issues of gender and WPS are cross-cutting. Consequently, effective oversight of WPS implementation will require the action of other standing committees such as those on human rights, education, police, military, SDGs, etc. In the Nigerian legislature, several committees deal with aspects of the WPS agenda; some of these committees are listed in Table 26.

6.4 Oversight Tools and Women, Peace and Security

6.4.1 Oversight Visits

Oversight visits relate to the visits that legislators embark upon to MDAs to promote public accountability. Through oversight visits, the legislature can ensure that allocations to WPS are spent in an efficient manner. They can also evaluate specific gender/WPS programmes of government and assess performance. Through oversight visits, legislators can gather information on aspects of government programmes and policies on WPS that are working or that need reform.

6.4.2 Public/Investigative Hearings

The legislature can use public hearings to obtain information from MDAs about progress on WPS implementation and provide recommendations accordingly. These hearings can also be investigative. The legislature has many of the judicial or quasi-judicial powers to support a legislative inquiry, including the power to issue summons and warrants, cross-examine a witness, and hold a witness in contempt.

6.4.3 Interactive Sessions

Interactive sessions can ease the oversight responsibility of the legislature; it can enable legislators

and MDAs to interact with government officials and engage in a dialogue with relevant stakeholders on gender and WPS. Through this, legislators can obtain first-hand information on WPS and related issues. Interactive sessions make it easier for legislators to ask questions that ordinarily would not arise in the discharge of their oversight mandate or responsibilities. Such sessions also expose the degree to which MDAs are organized in their management of funds allocated for WPS.

6.4.4 Bill Referral

Bill referral is an oversight tool that is used to improve the quality of a proposed legislation to enhance good governance. After a bill goes through the second reading stage, the bill is referred to the appropriate committee to subject it to deeper scrutiny and analysis. It is an opportunity for sectoral committees dealing with gender/WPS issues to make inputs and ensure that these issues are sufficiently addressed in proposed legislation.

6.4.5 Petitions

A petition is a formal request to an authority that can take the form of either a request for assistance with a specific issue or for the redress of a grievance. The standing orders establish the Public Petitions Committee to investigate complaints about good governance in the country – e.g. alleged mismanagement of public funds and administrative highhandedness. The committee can also mainstream gender/WPS into its processes and address these issues as they arise.

6.4.6 Questions

The Nigerian legislature uses questions to request information on gender and WPS, and individual legislators or committees can request such information from any MDA. A question can be either written or oral. Legislators can use this tool to ask about WPS implementation and draw the government's attention to key law reform issues and other WPS concerns.

6.4.7 Confirmation of Appointments

The Constitution of Nigeria confers several powers on the Senate that do not require the concurrence of the House of Representative to be effective. It also confers similar powers on the State Houses of Assembly. These Senatorial powers include the power to approve ministerial appointments for the President (Section 147).

Other powers conferred on the Senate include those to confirm appointments of chairpersons and members of established executive bodies (Section 154), and to approve the appointment of judicial officers. Through the exercise of this role, the legislature can ensure that 35 per cent of all appointive positions are reserved for women, as stipulated in the National Gender Policy.

6.4.8 Motions and Resolutions

Resolutions are important legislative tools that are utilized by the legislature to convey its position on major issues of public concern, such as the need for the executive to stop or allow certain actions that hinder or promote public good. Resolutions carry heavy weight because they are considered to be the position of the legislature. Legislators can propose motions that call attention to gender and WPS issues. The resultant outcome, i.e. a resolution, can put pressure on the executive to take action.

6.4.9 Independent Oversight Bodies Reporting to the Legislature

Several other oversight bodies report to the legislature in Nigeria. The ombudsman is the Public Complaints Commission, which is the machinery for the control of administrative excesses or injustices at federal, state and local government levels. This body reports to the National Assembly.

The Office of the Auditor General for the Federation is a constitutional body and the Supreme Audit Institution of Nigeria. Its existence, powers, duties and responsibilities are provided for under Section 85 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999. Section 85(6) of the constitution states that ‘in the exercise of his function under the Constitution, the Auditor General shall not be subject to the direction or control of any other authority or person’.

There is also the National Human Rights Commission, which was established by the National Human Rights Commission Act 1995 and strengthened by the 2010 Amendment Act. The functions and powers of the commission are to encourage and promote awareness, understanding and respect for all human rights – economic, social, cultural, civil and political – to everyone everywhere in Nigeria, and to ensure best practice with regard to human rights.

All these bodies can also examine complaints regarding gender equality and women’s rights, including the failure of the government to properly implement the WPS agenda.

TABLE 27

Using Parliamentary Processes to Focus Government Attention on Women, Peace and Security

In countries with strong political parties, it can be difficult for members of parliament to push for action outside the party system. Nonetheless, parliamentary processes exist that MPs can use, whether they sit as independents or simply want to take action on their own because an issue is important to them.

In 2018, members of parliament from **Sierra Leone** participated in a WPS workshop for parliamentarians supported by UNDP, which produced an outcome statement capturing MPs' discussions and identifying priorities for parliament and recommendations for the government. The chairperson of the Sierra Leone Women's Caucus later worked with the Clerk of Parliament (with UNDP support) to develop those outcomes into a parliamentary resolution.

The 2019 debate over the resolution covered critical issues such as an amendment to the Chieftaincy Act and ensuring land, property and succession rights for women. At the end of the debate, the resolution was formally adopted by parliament. The resolution now commits parliament to do a host of things, including moving forward with an affirmative action bill to promote women in decision making. Also in 2019, the parliament held a one-day workshop on the new Sierra Leone WPS National Action Plan. With input from relevant ministries, the members of parliament then identified which items in the new NAP would be prioritized, and this parliamentary WPS action plan will be used to guide further work.

Source: UNDP (2019) *Parliaments as Partners Supporting the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: A Global Handbook*, Oslo, Norway

ACTION POINTS FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND PARLIAMENTARY STAFF: OVERSIGHT

- Legislators can engage with their own constituents to gather information on whether and how government programmes have been useful in advancing the WPS agenda. This information can be used to inform questions and public hearings.
- Legislative committees can hold regular hearings to assess progress with implementation and provide recommendations accordingly.
- Sectoral committees can hold their own or joint hearings to assess progress with implementation on WPS sectoral issues and provide recommendations accordingly.
- Legislators can use questions, interactive sessions or parliamentary motions to draw the attention of government officials and the whole house to WPS issues.
- Legislators or legislative committees can use the tabling of reports by independent oversight institutions (e.g. the National Human Rights Commission, the Auditor General, and the Police Service Commission) to draw attention to WPS issues. Public hearings can be held to examine such reports and/or ask questions of ministers and heads of agencies and departments of government.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- Does the legislature have a committee on gender equality or another area with an interest in conducting a regular review of progress on the WPS National Action Plan?
- Has a review been undertaken by the legislature to inform sectoral committees on whether and how they could use their mandates and powers to advance inquiries on key WPS issues?
- What oversight tools do legislators and committees use to ask heads of MDAs questions regarding the implementation of WPS priorities?
- Are there any WPS issues that would benefit from legislators proposing a resolution to the house for debate and endorsement?

CHAPTER 7:

REPRESENTATION

Representation is an important function of the legislature that is central to democratic development. It is the hinge that connects citizens to the government. Legislators can express responsiveness by engaging in different forms of linkage activities, including the following: 1) policymaking efforts within the legislature to reflect constituents' interests and opinions; 2) communication and contact with constituents through constituency offices and outreach activities; 3) efforts to meet constituents' demands for services; and 4) endeavours to influence the allocation of scarce governmental resources to constituency projects and services (Park, 1988).

7.1 Legislators as Representatives

Direct communication with citizens is key for elected officials to effectively represent and respond to their constituents' needs in the legislature. Through constituency outreach, legislators achieve the following: a) bringing constituents closer to elected legislators; b) assisting legislators to address constituents' needs; c) engaging with constituents in mutually beneficial problem identification and problem solving; d) informing the development, introduction and enactment of or advocacy for legislation; and e) ensuring accountable, equitable, accessible and appropriate services for all who need them. For them to be effective, it is important that outreach strategies and services are tailored to 'fit the norms, values, traditions, needs and concerns' of the constituency (National Democratic Institute, 2004).

In the context of the WPS agenda, effective representation means that legislators should reach out to women and men, young and old, to find out what issues are most impacting women's peace and security. Legislators in Nigeria engage with constituents through the following means:

- **Public/town hall meetings** can be periodic (quarterly, for example) meetings and have been established as one of the most effective methods of keeping in touch with constituents. Through the meetings, representatives are able to meet and interact with constituents. Such meetings provide platforms to assess the needs of women and girls and provide feedback on sexual and gender-based violence, government implementation of the WPS agenda, etc. Legislators can also collaborate with civil society organizations that not only have strong networks at the grass-roots, but also convening power and gender expertise.
- **Constituency offices** are very critical to the effectiveness of constituency outreach. A functional constituency office conveys a sense of permanence about the elected representative to the constituents and ensures that there is always a physical site for meetings, programmes, issues, concerns and constituency administration. It also serves as a central location where resources, including physical materials, can be obtained or disseminated. It means that information regarding government programmes (including those on gender and WPS) in a particular constituency can be obtained at a central location. This is important for non-governmental and civil society organizations and development partners with sectoral expertise on WPS interested in working in a particular constituency.
- **Social media use** by legislators is gaining prominence in terms of public discourse and political communication and participation in society. In particular, online platforms and various accessories offered by the social media companies can be helpful in reaching constituents. Many legislators operate verified accounts on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, etc. These and

other platforms can be used to consult with constituents and civil society on draft laws, and to solicit input and memoranda for public hearings.

- **Research and opinion polls** have also been identified as vital ways of undertaking constituency outreach. The advantage of research and polls over other strategies is that they tend to be much more accurate, especially when conducted in a scientific way, e.g. by an independent thinktank or researcher. Legislators can thus learn not only the mindset of their constituents about key WPS issues and activities, but also their greatest concerns regarding the implementation of WPS. The downside, however, is that research and polls can be 'complicated, time consuming and very expensive' (Omotola, 2015).
- **Constituency projects** have become pivotal to effective constituency outreach in Nigeria. Legislators have argued that, as direct representatives of their people, they understand better the development needs of their constituents and should have a role in identifying and nominating projects for implementation in their constituencies. These projects are usually financed through Zonal Intervention Funds or Constituency Development Funds. Legislators can thereby introduce projects that have a bearing on WPS as well as other issues affecting women and girls in their constituencies.

7.2 Legislators as Gender-sensitive Peacebuilders

Given their status as elected representatives of the people, legislators have a critical role to play in crisis prevention and recovery. Legislators therefore can serve as a medium for diverse societal actors and constituents (including women and minority groups) to air their concerns, which can be incorporated into the processes of dialogue, reconstruction and conflict resolution.

By having a pulse on the issues affecting their constituents, legislators can reduce tension and encourage peaceful resolution of conflict. They can also encourage their followers to respect human rights, including the rights of women to live securely and peacefully. Finally, the legislature has a fundamental role to play in peacebuilding processes, including overseeing reconstruction, legislating human rights guarantees, and addressing post-conflict security issues (UNDP, 2006).

7.3 Legislators as Advocates and Champions

In order to achieve better results in achieving gender equality and the implementation of the NAP, legislators can partner with non-governmental and civil society organizations, pressure and lobby groups (including trade unions and organized private sector bodies), and women's caucuses with shared objectives.

The relevant committees with a cross-cutting mandate on WPS (SDGs, human rights, education, health, security, employment, climate change, etc.) can also benefit from the technical expertise available in non-governmental organizations.

Some of these organizations have been known to commission and publish independent research and produce 'shadow reports' that can assist the legislature in tracking implementation at national and state levels. Reports produced by non-governmental organizations can offer perspectives other than those contained in government reports, and can be used during WPS oversight by legislators and committees.

ACTION POINTS FOR LEGISLATORS AND LEGISLATIVE STAFF: EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION

- Legislators can reach out to constituents to learn about their concerns regarding women's peace and security, through such means as constituency visits, constituency offices, email, social media, or public hearings on draft laws or WPS topics.
- Legislators and staff can develop their own peacebuilding skills. Legislators can participate in mediation and sensitivity training and use these skills to engage in peacebuilding activities ranging from local mediation to high-level peace talks.
- Training curricula of legislative support institutions such as NILDS should include WPS topics.
- Legislators can develop partnerships with civil society and non-governmental organizations, which can provide expertise, research services or assistance in convening community meetings.
- Legislators can work with the media to raise community awareness about WPS issues and any work that the legislature is doing to address these issues.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- Do legislators engage in regular constituency outreach and or public consultations? If so, have any such forums or consultations been organized to discuss WPS issues?
- Does the legislature (the National Assembly or State Houses of Assembly) have a public outreach or communications unit that can help legislators engage in dialogue with their constituents on WPS issues?
- Have legislators received any peacebuilding training – for example, on conflict analysis, mediation, dialogue or consensus building?
- Do legislators work with groups or communities at risk of conflict, in order to build trust and mitigate potential conflicts?
- Are legislators aware of the civil society organizations that work on WPS in their constituencies? Do they meet with these organizations regularly?

CHAPTER 8: **THE ROLE OF** **LEGISLATIVE GROUPS**

Party caucuses generally refer to groupings of party members within a legislature. Meetings of the caucuses are organized to establish party policy, elect legislative leaders, resolve internal party differences, and develop strategies for passing priority legislation or publicizing important matters. Legislative caucuses in presidential systems such as Nigeria's may be tools for determining party strategy, but their decisions are not necessarily binding for legislators.

Cross-party Women's Caucuses and Groups

Increasingly, legislatures in Nigeria and beyond are benefiting from the organization and contribution of women's caucuses, which bring together women legislators across party lines to encourage consideration of issues important to women. This can also be an effective vehicle for the development of women's leadership in the legislature and for enhancing

women's political participation in general. They can also be useful vehicles for driving the WPS agenda within the legislature. In Nigeria, women's caucuses have been created with the aim of increasing women's impact on political decisions. It is generally believed that the building of cross-party caucuses can help provide the peer support necessary to promote a legislative and policy agenda on gender equality.

In general, the number of women legislators has been low since 1999; given that the WPS agenda is not only for women legislators, it is important to establish cross-party peace and security legislative groups that include male legislators. These caucuses can play a key role in pushing for gender-sensitive legislation and policies, including those relating to WPS, and can serve as contact points for women's rights non-governmental organizations to engage in the legislative processes.

ACTION POINTS FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND PARLIAMENTARY STAFF: WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AND PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS

- Urging all legislators, regardless of gender, to discuss, debate and address WPS issues.
- A cross-section of legislators may come together to form a parliamentary group on WPS, which can be used to promote the WPS agenda within and outside parliament, including by organizing seminars on WPS topics, working with civil society organizations to develop policy briefs, or using the group's influence to engage with the media on WPS issues.
- Women legislators may use a cross-party women's caucus to come together as a like-minded group to promote women's rights, including the WPS agenda.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- Does the legislature have a women's caucus? If so, does it have a clear action plan and the necessary resources to implement its priorities? Do these priorities include activities to advance the WPS agenda?
- Are legislators interested in setting up a WPS parliamentary group? Is there any non-governmental organization or other body that could support such a group?

CHAPTER 9: HARNESSING LEGISLATIVE STAFF

Legislative staff are the 'corporate memory' and procedural experts of parliaments. These civil servants are employed on a permanent and pensionable basis. They are the 'engine room' of the legislature and are the link or transition from one legislative term to another. In other words, they constitute the bureaucracy of the Nigerian legislature.

They are employed by the National Assembly Service Commission or State Houses of Assembly Service Commissions, in accordance with the provisions of the National Assembly Service Commission Act or the State House of Assembly Service Commission Acts of the various State Houses of Assembly. A service commission is vested with the powers of recruitment, promotion and discipline of the staff of the legislature.

Legislative staff are different from legislative aides, who are employed on a temporary basis to assist the legislators in the discharge of their legislative mandate. Aides are usually drawn from the constituencies of the legislators or professional groups. They include legislative assistants, media assistants,

protocol officers, constituency liaison officers, personal assistants, research officers, legal officers, etc. They assist in developing policies and influencing the contributions that legislators make during plenary and committee meetings. The appointments of legislative aides are at the instance and pleasure of their principals.

Legislative staff have a strong understanding of legislative practices and procedures, and many have worked over a long period either in the chamber or as clerks/staff of committees. They are competent bureaucrats who have technical, research and analytical skills. At the national level, the bureaucracy is well staffed, unlike the State Houses of Assembly, where capacities of staff are relatively weak; many subnational legislatures are not well staffed.

With regard to the WPS agenda, the capacities of both legislative staff and legislative aides need to be strengthened to enable them to undertake gender analyses of budgets, legislative proposals and policies.

SUMMARY OF ACTION POINTS FOR LEGISLATORS AND LEGISLATIVE STAFF

- Legislative staff can be identified within the legislative bureaucracy for capacity development relating to WPS issues, to ensure that in-house expertise is available to legislators regarding the WPS agenda.
- Legislative staff can engage with legislators and civil society to help facilitate the development of partnerships.
- Legislative staff can stay alert for national, regional and international opportunities for legislators to engage in WPS events and activities.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- Do committees responsible for overseeing the implementation of the WPS agenda have sufficient staff to discharge their duties effectively?
- Are there sufficient specialist staff members who can provide legislators with gender analyses as needed, including in relation to WPS issues?
- Are there sufficient specialist staff members who can provide legislators with gender-responsive budget analyses?
- Are legislative support institutions such as NILDS and the National Assembly Budget and Research Office well equipped to provide gender-responsive budgeting, drafting and review?

USEFUL RESOURCES

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-8&chapter=4&lang=en.

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Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, <https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/>.

Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council on Women, Peace and Security, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/repertoire/thematic-items#W>.

UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs webpage on Women, Peace and Security, <https://dppa.un.org/en/women-peace-and-security>.

UN Women, Promoting Women's Engagement in Peace and Security in Northern Nigeria programme, <https://africa.unwomen.org/en/where-we-are/west-and-central-africa/nigeria/northern-nigeria-women-peace-and-security>.

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With support from



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