### **European Commission United Nations Development Programme**

## SUPPORT TO THE 2003-07 AND 2007-11 NIGERIAN ELECTORAL CYCLES CASE STUDY

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#### STRUCTURE OF PRESENTATION

- NASCENT AND FRAGILE NIGERIAN DEMOCRACY.
- ISSUES AROUND 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS.
- POST 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS DEVELOPMENTS.
- STRATEGY FOR 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS.
- 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS: LESSONS LEARNT.
- POST 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS DEVELOPMENTS.



- Of 47 years of independence Nigeria remained under Military rule for over 30 years except for the periods 1960-66, 1979-93 and 1999 onwards.
- 2007 General Elections only third since civilian transition in 1999.
- CHALLENGE: TO HOLD CREDIBLE ELECTIONS.



• Overall assessment: 2003 Elections flawed.

#### Pointed, inter alia, to

- Delayed funding from the Government of Nigeria
- Insufficient political will to follow a proper timetable.
- Inadequate legal framework.
- Flawed voters' registration.
- Absence of institutionalized arrangement to channel International support.



#### POST 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS

- July 2003 INEC assessed conduct of 2003 Elections.
- Nov. 2003 INEC-CSO forum discussed Agenda for Electoral Reforms.
- July 2005 EU,DFID,CIDA and UNDP agreed to contribute to Joint Donor Basket Fund (JDBF).
- Nov. 2005 INEC submitted revised statement of needs.



#### POST 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS

 May 2006 - JDBF Project to support 2007 Nigerian Elections was signed after protracted negotiations with limited activities but with electoral cycle approach in mind and intention to stay engaged.

• June 2006 - Project started.



#### SUPPORT FOR 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS

#### Two pronged strategy:

- Strengthen INEC's institutional development and technical ability to conduct elections.
- Enhance civil society engagement.



#### SUPPORT FOR 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS

- JDBF support amounted to only approx. 5% of the total election budget (of around USD 435 ml).
- Donors had limited leverage to influence decisions.
- National Ownership challenge 'we know it all syndrome on one hand and Paris Declaration principles on the other'.



#### SUPPORT FOR 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS

- INEC 'NOT KEEN' on technical and advisory support and could 'VETO' selection of experts.
- INEC was reluctant to share full information.
- Ambiguity in the areas of support became issue between the Donors and INEC.
- UNDP walked a tight rope being the HONEST BROKER.



• Overall assessment: 2007 Elections also flawed.

#### Minuses:

- Flawed voters' registration.
- Lack of will on the part of EMB to improve technical and operational capacity.
- Perceived influence of party in power over EMB.
- Inadequacies in Legal framework.
- Delay in programming International support.
- International support too focussed towards elections.



#### **PLUSES:**

- Schedule for general elections followed.
- Modern technology adopted for voters' registration.
- New voters' I-cards facility set up.
- Effort made for electronic transmission of results.
- Media and Judiciary played more constructive roles.
- Civil Society Organisations became more vocal.
- Less violent when compared to 2003.



 DEMOCRACY SURVIVED – first transition of civilian power.

Development Partners still have 'foot in the door'.



#### 2007 DONOR SUPPORT - KEY ISSUES

- Donor support on the eve of elections.
- Support too focussed towards elections.
- EMB not enthusiastic to receive support in core areas.
- Support areas and activities not clearly defined.
- How to maximize leverage in a financially independent state.



#### DONOR COORDINATION - KEY ISSUES

Micro - management of project.

• Trust in Implementing Partner.

#### Visibility

- External visibility to public.
- INFLUENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT.
- Share in the Basket vs visibility proportion.



#### 2007 DONOR SUPPORT – KEY VALUE

Common and strong voice.

• Synergy.

 Cost effectiveness - reduction in transaction and operational costs.



#### WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN BETTER

 International support provided immediately after 2003 Elections for the next Electoral Cycle.

 Donor support aimed at strengthening wider democratic and electoral regime.



#### WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN BETTER

 Clear understanding ON SUPPORT with willing EMB.

 Donors not micro-managing the project and showing trust in the Implementing Partner.

## COMPARISON OF POST GENERAL ELECTION 2003 AND 2007 EVENTS

1 <sup>st</sup> Year after 2003 Elections	1 <sup>st</sup> Year after 2007 Elections
July 03 - INEC assessed conduct of 2003 Elections.	Sept. 07 - INEC assessed conduct of 2007 Elections. Nov. 07 - JDBF conducted lessons learning exercise.
Nov. 2003 - INEC-CSO forum discussed Agenda for Electoral Reforms.	Aug. 2007 - Presidential Electoral Reform Committee Constituted.



## COMPARISON OF POST GENERAL ELECTION 2003 AND 2007 EVENTS

2 <sup>nd</sup> Year after 2003 Elections	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year after 2007 Elections
2004 - INEC prepares strategic plan for 2007 elections.	Aug. 08 – Electoral Reform Committee's report expected.
April 05 - Development Partner discuss electoral support.	June 08 - JDBF Partners Retreat to discuss the way forward.  Advantage 10 months



## JDBF RETREAT FOR WAY FORWARD 'A BEST PRACTICE'

- Discussed lessons learned.
- Analysed partners priorities and limitations.
- Highlighted partners concerns.
- Debated strategy for future support.
- A CLEAR PICTURE EMERGED
  - WHERE WE STAND TOGETHER.



#### **HOPE 2011**

- Reform Agenda will be successful.
- Donors will engage in time realising risks of not engaging early.
- Multi pronged approach will be followed to strengthen democratic and electoral regime.
- The Government and EMB will become willing partners.



#### **HOPE 2011**

# NIGERIA WILL HOLD CREDIBLE 2011 GENERAL ELECTIONS THAT ARE NATIONALY AND INTERNATIONALY ACCEPTED



#### **HOPE 2011**

#### HOPE IS NEVER LOST

THANK YOU