



**European Commission
United Nations Development Programme**

**SUPPORT TO THE 2006-2011 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.
- ISSUES AROUND 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS.
- WHERE WE GO FROM HERE ?



NASCENT AND FRAGILE DEMOCRACY

- Of 47 years of independence – Nigeria remained under **Military rule for over 30 years** except for the periods 1960-66, 1979-93 and 1999-07.
- 2007 General Elections **only third** since civilian transition in 1999.



FLAWED 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS

- Overall assessment of the 2003 electoral process was critical.

Pointed, *inter alia*, to

- **delayed funding** from the Government of Nigeria and the Donors.
- **Insufficient political will** to follow a proper timetable, including for flow of Federal funds.
- **Inadequate legal framework.**
- **Flawed voter registration.**



FLAWED 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS

- Deficiency in international support:
 - design and delivery,
particularly, absence of formalized and institutionalized arrangement to channel donor funding and coordination.



POST 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS

- July 2003 - INEC assessed conduct of 2003 Elections.
- Nov. 2003 - INEC-CSO forum discussed Agenda for Electoral Reforms.
- 2004 - INEC drew Strategic Plan 2004-07 for:
 - reviewing the Electoral Act of 2002, and
 - improving the Electoral Process 2007.



POST 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS

- Donors agreed for an efficiently targeted and coordinated approach.
- July 2005 - EU,DFID,CIDA and UNDP agreed to contribute to Joint Donor Basket Fund (JDBF).
- Nov. 2005 - INEC submitted revised statement of needs.
- Jan. 2006 - Needs Assessment Mission mounted.



POST 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS

- May 2006 – After protracted negotiations, JDBF Project to support 2007 Nigerian Elections was signed **with limited activities but with electoral cycle approach in mind and intention to stay engaged.**
- June 2006 - Electoral Act 2006 passed.
- 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.
- Drawbacks
 - Project document ambiguous.
 - Technical and advisory assistance to be provided **only if requested** by INEC.
 - INEC did not utilize support in core areas.
 - Assistance not sought to fill critical and identified gaps.



SUPPORT FOR 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS

- JDBF support amounted to only approx. 5% of the total election budget of around USD 435 ml in a financially independent state.
- 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 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.



2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS - MINUSES

- Widely flawed according to observation reports and civil society.
- Voters' register left lot to be desired.
- Major logistic and operational glitches.
- Result collation not transparent.
- INEC considered not neutral.
- Electoral law and procedures not well codified.



2007 GENERAL 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 constructive roles.
- Civil Society Organisations became more vocal.
- Less violent when compared to 2003.



2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS

- **DEMOCRACY SURVIVED** – first transition of civilian power.
- Donors still have 'foot in the door'.



2007 DONOR SUPPORT - ISSUES

- Donor support on the eve of elections – limited to general elections 2007.
- Delay in bringing experts on board.
- Valuable time lost in clarifying support areas / activities.
- Delay in receiving requests from INEC.
- INEC staff not enthusiastic when support in DEX – mode.



WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN BETTER

- Immediately after 2003 Elections - Electoral Cycle approach.
- Early Donor support covering all areas - not focussed toward limited Electoral Management Body (EMB) and Civil Society Organisations interventions alone.
- Long term capacity building of CSOs, political parties, other stakeholders like media, security forces, female politicians.



WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN BETTER

- Clear understanding with a willing EMB.
- Donors not micro-managing the project.
- Trust in the managing partner.
- Timely enactment of Electoral Act and codification of electoral procedures.



POST 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS

- Nigerian Government has constituted an Electoral Reforms Panel.
- Sought help for carrying out Electoral Reforms.
- JDBF has agreed to extend the project up to 31 March 2008 for supporting activities aimed at Reforms process.
- EU – mid term evaluation of the project completed.
- Lessons learning exercise over.



HOPE 2011 – WILL WE DO IT RIGHT ?

- Adopt Electoral Cycle and multi pronged approach - support not focussed towards EMB alone.
- Donor support continues without any gap realising that **failure to engage risks missed opportunity.**
- Have a willing partner in the EMB.
- Support various activities for various elections between 2008 -2011.
- **Intervene now when sensitivities are less and not on the eve of elections.**



HOPE 2011

HOPE IS NEVER LOST

THANK YOU