

# NIGERIA AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

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## ABSTRACT

*With a determination to addressing the negative impacts of violent conflicts and wars on women and girls, the United Nations Security Council made Resolution 1325 in October 2000. In an effort to repositioning women and girls to play active roles in peace and security through the Resolution, the United Nations sought the involvement of UN member-states in its implementation. In response, the Nigerian government through the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development formulated the first National Action Plan in 2013. Despite coming after twelve years, the first NAP did not achieve its major formulation goals owing to poor coordination of stakeholders; poor inter-agency collaboration; non-inclusion of violent conflicts/extremism; poor logistics; and lack of political will on the part of some states and local governments to domesticate gender-related laws. These challenges bedeviled the first NAP and occasioned the introduction of the second NAP in May 2017. This study, therefore, interrogates the challenges confronting the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in mobilising women and girls to overcome the traditional challenges militating against their effective mobilisation for peacebuilding and engagement in security-related activities in Nigeria. Data for the study were generated from primary and secondary sources. The study revealed among other things that certain socio-cultural factors coupled with inherent ecological issues within Nigeria's policy environment have affected the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security and such undesirable trend may continue if concerted efforts are not geared towards addressing them.*

**Keywords:** Peace and Security, Policy Implementation, Women Involvement, UNSCR 1325

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Events in human history have revealed that one of the most tragic consequences of wars and violent conflicts is the high rate of sufferings experienced by women and girls. Women and girls are often victims of violent rape and sexual exploitation of various forms. Apart from this, their involvement in peacebuilding, conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and counterterrorism activities had over-time proven

to be a major criterion/prerequisite for achieving peace (United Nations, 2002: ix). Therefore, in a bid to addressing the negative effects of violent conflicts and wars on women and girls; and reposition them to play active roles in conflict resolution and peace building activities, the United Nations Security Council made Resolution 1325 on 31st October, 2000. In the Resolution, the Security Council highlighted the importance of bringing gender perspectives to

the centre of all United Nations conflict prevention and resolution, peace-building, peacekeeping, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts.

In order to realise the objectives of the UNSCR 1325 (and other subsequent but related resolutions), the United Nations sought the involvement of UN member-states in its implementation. In response, the Nigerian government through the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development formulated the first National Action Plan on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2013. Despite coming twelve years after the introduction of the UNSCR 1325, the first National Action Plan was bedeviled by numerous challenges, which included (but not limited to) poor coordination of stakeholders; poor inter-agency collaboration; poor logistics; lack of political will on the part of some states and local governments to domesticate gender-related laws; and the non-inclusion of violent conflicts/extremism in its planning and execution process. These shortcomings perhaps occasioned the introduction of the second in May 2017.

To this end, this study raises some fundamental issues around Nigeria's policy environment particularly as these issues impinge on the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 and other related resolutions. It also highlights efforts by second NAP to make up for the failures of the first NAP. To realise the objectives of this study, both primary and secondary data were obtained and included a review of relevant reports and documents; and interviews with relevant key informants. One of such interviews was with the Deputy Director-in-charge of Women Affairs at the Federal Ministry

of Women Affairs and Social Development. Besides, conceptual discourses were made on peace and security and public policy implementation. Structurally, the article is divided into six parts. The first which is introduction provided a brief background, while the second part captured the theoretical framework and conceptual discourses on peace, security and public policy/policy implementation. The third part examined the philosophies governing the UNSCR 1325 and other related resolutions. The pillars of Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) were also highlighted. The fourth part discussed Nigeria's activities in the implementation of the UNSCR 1325. Under the section, analyses were made on the first NAP, its thematic areas and identified gaps. Similarly, a discussion on the second NAP was presented. The fifth part of the article analysed general problems of policy implementation in Nigeria and particularly those affecting gender-related issues. The sixth part is the conclusion and recommendations.

## **2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The theoretical framework adopted for this study is incrementalism that captures fundamental issues arising from policy challenges experienced in Nigeria in the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security. It is opposite to start this aspect by stating that a good theoretical underpinning will facilitate the easy comprehension and explanation of certain reasons behind the successes and failures of a policy process particularly the implementation stage. On the other hand, a poor theoretical underpinning makes it difficult to understand and explain how and why

implementation succeeds or fails, thus restraining opportunities to identify factors that predict the likelihood of implementation success and develop better strategies to achieve more successful implementation (Nilsen, 2015). It is based on this premise that this study adopts incrementalism as the theoretical handle for this study.

Incrementalism as a model in policy analysis views public policy as a continuation of past government activities with only incremental modifications (Dye, 2005: 18). Political scientist Charles E. Lindblom gets the credit for pioneering incrementalism in the domain of public policy analysis. According to Lindblom, decision-makers do not annually review the whole range of existing and proposed policies, identify societal goals, and research the benefits and cost of alternative policies in achieving these goals, rank order of preferences for each policy alternative in terms of the maximum net benefits and then select based on all relevant information (Lindblom, 1959). On the contrary, constraints of time, information and cost prevent policymakers from identifying the full range of policy alternatives and their consequences (Dye, 2005: 18).

It is important to note that the constraint of politics prevents the establishment of clear-cut societal goals and the accurate calculation of costs and benefits. Incrementalism recognises the impracticality of “*rational-comprehensive*” policymaking and describes a more conservative process of decision-making. Within the confines of this study, the incremental model is well suited as Nigeria’s efforts at implementing the UNSCR 1325 as reflected in the first National Action

Plan did not put into consideration certain determinants/variables. Visibly, the first NAP did not capture the whole rationale behind the formulation of the UNSCR 1325 despite coming twelve years after the Resolution was made. Besides, the second NAP, as incrementalism as argued, was just a little improvement on the first NAP.

### **3. A CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSE ON PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

It is important to commence this discourse by explaining certain important underlying philosophies that govern public policy. This would provide an intellectual foundation for public policy implementation to be built upon. According to Pearson (1999:3), the starting point for the discussion of public policy must be to consider what is meant by ‘public’ and to account for the development of the concept in theory and practice. Public according to him comprises that dimension of human activity that is regarded as requiring governmental or societal regulation or intervention or at least common action (Pearson, 1999:4). Public policy can, therefore, be lucidly explained from the notion of what John Dewey called ‘the public and its problems’ (Dewey, 1927). In his view, Dye (2005) explained that public policy is: Whatever the government chooses to do or not to do. The government does many things – they regulate within society; they organise society to carry on conflict with other societies; they distribute a great variety of symbolic rewards and materials services to members of the society; and they extract money from society, most often in the form of taxes. Thus, public policy may regulate behavior, organise bureaucracies, distribute benefits, or ex-

tract taxes – or all these things at once.

Importantly, the philosophy of public policy is predicated on the sanctity of public interest/public good. Theories (particularly the social contract) that explain the purpose of the state and its machinery, the government argued that the state is a means to an end; an end, which is to make life meaningful for its people. Janda, Berry, and Goldman (2000:557) captured this and stated that the central piece of the social contract theory, irrespective of its variations is that all citizens are willing to submit their personal freedom or at least, their affairs to the state in return for some benefits from the government. Such benefits are however made visible through public policies. Therefore, the state is of necessity a problem-solving mechanism, while public policy is a deliberate action (or inaction) in response to societal problems (Dye, 2005). In a similar vein, Udo-fia and Abasilim (2015) posited that: The issue of public policy is central to public administration and public administration is involved in the entire process of policymaking and implementation. The negligence of public policy is at the peril of any state or organisation and this is because it is through public policy that the needs of the citizens and problems of any society have been taken care of.

Pearsons, therefore, submitted that “public policy concerns itself with how issues and problems come to be defined and constructed and how they are placed on the political and the policy agenda” (Pearsons, 1999: xv). However, the policy process is a complex one that involves a series of political activities such as – problem identification, agenda setting, formulation,

legitimation, implementation, and evaluation (Dye, 2005:14).

The policy implementation stage is the stage in the policy circle/process when political decisions are carried-out through organised bureaucracy, public expenditures and the activities of executive agencies (Dye, 2005: 14). It is also regarded as the Achilles heel in the public policy process (Agagu, 2010: 14). Anderson (2011) lends a voice to this foregoing and stated, “if the implementation fails, (then) all that preceded was of no avail” In other words, it can be posited, “*policy is as good as its implementation*”. As May has observed, the realities of a policy in actual practice often differ from their original intention on paper because of certain factors, which include distortion by a plethora of unanticipated intervening variables. Specifically, these variables may be bureaucratic or institutional, political, ideological, economic, social, environmental or the combination of these factors (May 2003:223 in Peter, and Pierre).

### 3.1 Peace and Security

Whenever the word ‘peace’ is heard, what ordinarily echoes in mind is a state of total absence of conflict, war, violence, fear, crisis, and any other potentially damaging factor. Ironically, despite often framed as the “absence of violence, conflict, inequality or oppression, there has been increasing attempts by diplomats, scholars, and policymakers to develop theories, paradigms, frameworks and practices that aim at peacebuilding. Johan Galtung's idea of ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ peace has made the foregoing more complicated. Galtung (1996) has argued that the notion of nega-

tive peace describes peace as the absence of war or direct physical violence, while the positive notion includes the increase in social justice and the creation of a culture of peace among people within and across societies (Berghof, 2012: 59). Therefore, the definition of peace is content-specific and situational as what constitutes peace in one society may be seen as constituting threats or aggression in another.

Knowing the complexities around the subject of peace, Berghof cautioned that an attempt at conceptualising or working in any peace-based or related endeavor should note three major things, which are: Peace on an individual level obviously differs from international peace; researchers, politicians, and artists all use the term “peace” in different ways, and interpretations vary according to culture. In some societies, the word “peace” might even cause resentment due to experiences of oppression inflicted in the name of peace. Peace definitions are therefore context-specific. Second, it is crucial to specify the conditions for peace in or between societies, with a view to establishing these conditions. Third, comparing the current realities in a given society with the peace vision is essential to find out what is lacking. A wide range of strategies and methods are used to make, keep or build peace on different actor levels (2012: 60-61).

Contributing to this foregoing, International-alert.org expressed that “peace is when people are able to resolve their conflicts without violence and can work together to improve the quality of their lives”. Furthermore, peace is viewed from any of these five areas or a combination of two or more:

- Peace is when everyone lives in safety, without fear or threat of violence, and no form of violence is tolerated in law or in practice;
- When everyone is equal before the law, the systems for justice are trusted, and fair and effective laws protect people's rights;
- When everyone is able to participate in shaping political decisions and the government is accountable to the people;
- When everyone has fair and equal access to the basic needs for their wellbeing – such as food, clean water, shelter, education, healthcare, and a decent living environment; and
- When everyone has an equal opportunity to work and make a living, regardless of gender, ethnicity or any other aspect of identity (International Alert, 2017).

It is important to clarify that these perspectives of peace as enunciated above captures the entire gamut of the United Nations Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security 1325 and other related resolutions. Just like peace, defining security is elusive; this despite being a natural instinct of human being. Sauter and Carafan (2012) attest to this and stated that “*security as a social construction means different things to different people in different places at different times...history, tradition, politics, and culture all have a part in what security means*”.

Admitting the complexities that defining security conjure, Nnoli confessed that “*defining security has been so mystified that it has given rise to intellectual uncertainty, analytic confusion, paradigmatic disorder, and theoretic*

cal impotence" (2005). This paradigmatic disorder pointed out may have risen as a result of the various dimensions of security which covers human security, national security, global security, environmental security, homeland security and so on. From the perspective of the state, providing security is the main duty of the state (Almond, et al. 2002). Of the various philosophical constructions that try to explain the origin of the state, the version as presented by Thomas Hobbes subscribed to a strong government that would ensure the protection of lives and properties.

Articulating the views of Hobbes, Apadorai (1975) and Gauba (2007) expressed that the state of nature (the period that preceded to the formation of the state and modern government), was characterized by horror and constant war. Consequently, the lives of humans were solitary and poor, nasty, brutish and short. Therefore, the most pressing need of that period was a strong government that would guarantee safety. The notion of state security however held sway until the 1990s before the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) published a report in 1994 (Stewart, undated).

This implication of such report was that the scope and meaning of security expanded to accommodate human dimension. Human security, therefore, demotes socio-economic well-being and covers: Safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, and repression; and ii. Protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the pattern of daily life – whether homes, in jobs or community (Stewart, undated). Nonetheless, for the purpose of this study, security is simply defined as "freedom

from intending or actual threat to life and human well-being in general.

### **3.3 Overview of the Philosophy of and Rationale behind the United Nations Resolutions on Women, Peace, and Security**

One of the commonest and perhaps the most tragic consequence of wars and violent conflicts is the high rate of sufferings experienced by women and girls. Women and girls are often victims of violent rape, sexual exploitation and slavery, abduction, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS), and forced labor (United Nations, 2002:2). In many cases, they act as custodians/transporters of weapons and even become combatants. More alarming is the increasing spate of women's involvement in terrorism as suicide bombers and active members of terror groups. Aside from the direct involvement of women and girls in armed conflicts and terrorism, they can as well provide non-military support through cooking and cleaning for combatants/terrorists.

They can also act as porters and messengers, developers and disseminators of propaganda, encouragers of their children to go to war and even vote governments that launch military campaigns and foment distrust (UN, 2002: 3). Paragraph 135 of the Beijing Platform for Action, noted that "while entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflict and terrorism, women and girls are particularly affected because of their status in society and their sex. Apart from women and girls becoming instruments and victims of wars, terrorism and violent

conflicts, their involvement in peace-building, conflict prevention and conflict resolution, terrorism prevention, and counterterrorism activities is a major criterion/prerequisite for achieving peace. In other words, any conflict/war-prevention activity or peace-building effort that does not mainstream women would be a colossal failure. This position is entrenched by Mr. Kofi Annan and maintained that: Efforts to resolve conflicts and address their root causes will not succeed unless we empower all those who have suffered from them - including and especially women.

Only if women play a full and equal part can we build the foundations for enduring peace -- development, good governance, human rights, and justice. (UN Report, 2002: ix). Attesting to the viability of women in conflict resolution and peace building-related activities, Kofi Annan stressed that: *In conflict areas across the world, women's movements have worked with the United Nations to rebuild the structures of peace and security, to rehabilitate and reconcile societies, to protect refugees and the internally displaced, to educate and raise awareness of human rights and the rule of law (UN Report, 2002: ix).* Hence, in a bid to addressing obvious effects of wars, terrorism and violent conflicts and mainstream women and girls into peace and security-related issues, the UNSCR 1325 was reached in October 2000.

The Resolution is premised on the belief that women's inclusion, participation in peace processes, perspectives and contributions are crucial to the peacebuilding and conflict resolution dialogues. In addition, their inclusion

and involvement would improve the chances of attaining viable and sustainable peace; since women's exclusion is a major cause of violence (Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, 2017). The UNSCR 1325 is a landmark resolution that recognises the importance of a gender perspective on peace and security. Grounded in the legal framework of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law, UNSCR 1325 (and related resolutions) serve as important advocacy tools for advancing the Women, Peace, and Security agenda.

Expressing his views on the rationale behind the UNSCR Resolution 1325, the Deputy Director-in-charge of Women Affairs at the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, expressed that: Actually, women suffer more all over the world. This came to the notice of the United Nations that women suffer most in conflict and are least represented in decision-making processes and committees. In 2000, they came up with a solution to this that women need to be involved in peace processes. Also, the government of the world should ensure the participation of women in conflict resolution as well as their protection of women and girls. That was the genesis of the UNSCR 1325 (In-depth Interview, 2017).

From the foregoing, it is thus important to add that where cultures of violence and discrimination against women and girls exist prior to the conflict, they will be exacerbated during the conflict. If women do not participate in the decision-making structures of society, they are unlikely to become involved in decisions about the conflict or the peace process that follows (UN, 2002).

In addition to Resolution 1325, the United Nations Security Council has as well adopted subsequent and related resolutions. Such resolutions include: Resolutions 1829 of 2008 that recognises sexual violence as weapon of war; Resolutions 1888 of 2009 that reiterates the threat of sexual violence and call for deployment of experts to areas where sexual violence is occurring; Resolution 1889 (also of 2009) that focuses on the importance of women as peace-builders at all stages of peace process (Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, 2017: 6).

Others resolutions are: Resolution 1960 of 2010 that reiterates the importance of ending sexual violence in conflict; Resolution 2106 of 2013 that addresses the operational details for combating sexual violence; Resolution 2122 (also of 2013) that focused on stronger measures and monitoring mechanism to allow women engage in conflict resolution and recovery; and Resolution 2242 of 2015 that refocused on 1325 and its obstacles, including incorporation of 1325 in the UN itself.

In the same vein, Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) enacted General Recommendation 30 of 2015 which links the women, peace and security agenda to CEDAW including measures to ensure the protection of women during and after conflict and promote reporting on progress. Resolution 2272 of 2016 of the UN provided measures to address sexual exploitation and abuse in peace operations while Resolution 2349 of March 2017 emphasizes peace and security in Africa. (Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, 2017: 6; A.U, 2016).

### **3.4 The Four Pillars of the UNSCR 1325 Agenda on Women, Peace, and Security**

According to the UN Strategic Results Framework on Women, Peace and Security, 2011-2020, the four pillars of Women, Peace and Security (WPS) are:

#### *3.4.1 Prevention*

Prevention of conflict and all forms of violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situation. The Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) explains that the pillar 'prevention' focuses on prevention of conflict and all forms of violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations and is the one that has received least attention (SIDA, 2015).

#### *3.4.2 Participation*

Women participate equally with men and gender equality is promoted in peace and security decision-making processes at national, local, regional and international levels. The Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) explains that 'prevention' as adopted by the UN Strategic Results Framework on Women, Peace, and Security is aimed at ensuring women's equal participation and influence with men and the promotion of gender equality in peace and security decision-making processes at national, local and international levels (SIDA, 2015). It as well includes the appointment and inclusion of more women in the process of negotiation, mediation, peacekeeping, policing and humanitarian activities and as well, as support for local women's peace initiative (SIDA, 2015).

### 3.4.3 Protection

Women and girls' rights are protected and promoted in the conflict-affected situation. Protection is a political concept that differs from security. Protection ensures that women and girls' rights are protected and promoted in conflict-affected situations or other humanitarian crisis including protection from gender-based violence (GBV) in general and particularly sexual violence (SIDA, 2015).

### 3.4.4 Relief and Recovery

Women and girls' specific relief needs are met and women's capacities to act as agents in relief and recovery are reinforced in conflict and post-conflict situations. In addition, relief and recovery aims to ensure that women and girl's specific relief needs are met, for example in repatriation and resettlement, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes (DDR), the design of refugee camps, support to internally displaced persons (IDPs) and in the delivery of humanitarian assistance (SIDA, 2015).

## 4. NIGERIA AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNSCR 1325

### 4.1 The First National Action Plan: Context, Content, and Limitation

In response to the implementation demands of UNSCR 1325, the Nigerian government through the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development formulated the first National Action Plan in 2013. Giving reasons for this long delay, the Deputy Director-in-charge of Woman Affairs at the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, Mr. Egbe expressed that:

Well, just like so many things that have to do with Gender equality, it took a long time for people to see the need for it. Likewise, the patriarchal nature of our society also contributed to this. Even before the first NAP, Nigeria has been working on it but with the help of development partners. It is also something that requires so much passion and understanding of the issue (In-depth Interview, 2017).

Contextually, the three-year action plan was premised on what is referred to as 5Ps: Prevention, Participation, Protection, Promotion, and Prosecution. For instance, prevention was targeted at strengthening women's roles/contributions in conflict resolution; promoting the culture of peace; strengthening early warning and early response mechanisms; conduct research with the view to enacting gender responsive laws and policies (FMWASD, 2017: 20). Participation, under the first NAP, was specifically geared towards the training of women and girls as mediators, negotiators, and conciliators in conflicts and post-conflict situations. Besides, it aimed at taking measures to ensure the participation of women at all levels of the peace process; engender the involvement of men and youths in the dissemination and enlightenment of the NAP; and ensure increased participation of women in peacekeeping missions and in the security sectors (FMWASD, 2017: 20).

Under the 1st NAP, protection was fashioned at strengthening the capacities of women and girls to resist sexual and gender-based violence during and after conflicts; empowerment of women and girls in conflict and post situation; socio-economic empowerment of women and girls in post-conflict

reconstruction and integration; and provision of adequate and accessible humanitarian services (FMWASD, 2017: 20-21). Under promotion, the 1st NAP planned to undertake massive enlightenment programmes to increase awareness creation on the provision of UNSCR 1325 and other related Resolutions; intensify advocacy against traditional and cultural practices that inhibit or obstruct the effective implementation of 1325; facilitate the engagement among governments, civil society organisations and the media in the promotion of international, regional and national instrument on women, peace and security; and create adequate funding to ensure effective implementation of 1325 Resolution in Nigeria (FMWASD, 2017: 20-21).

Finally, a prosecution was directed at the establishment of special courts to try violators of women and girls during and after conflicts. In achieving this, a working collaboration was to be established between the police and social workers in the prosecution of gender-based violence; and the development of a robust transitional justice Programme in the country. Despite the laudable initiatives that were contained in the first NAP, it did not achieve its major formulation goals.

Addressing certain gaps in the first NAP, The Minister of Women Affairs and Social Development, Senator, Aisha Jumai Alhassan expressed that: In the course of the NAP implementation, several gaps were observed which formed the basis, among other reasons, to review the plan in order to incorporate emerging issues in Nigeria, as well as address the gaps identified in the 1st NAP. Such gaps include the non-inclusion of

violent extremism and conflict issues; limited consideration of post-conflict and re-integration issues, like the demobilisation and de-radicalisation problems and other concerns such as the reintegration of victims of the insurgency, girls forced into marriage with Boko Haram members, former insurgents and abductors etc. The 1st NAP did not also address post-conflict, reconstruction and re-integration issues including internal displacement of people particularly women and children (FMWASD, 2017: xii).

Another notable omission from the 1st NAP was crisis management and recovery strategies. Besides, some of the languages of the 2013 NAP was ambiguous and unclear. For instance, under the 5Ps, explanation on the prevention of 'what' was not given (FMWASD, 2017: xii). Again, the 1st NAP was challenged by poor collaboration and coordination of agencies and bodies responsible for security, peace, and justice. Finally, there was an absence of adequate monitoring and evaluation strategies (FMWASD, 2017: xii).

In addition, the Deputy Director-in-charge of Women Affairs at the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development adds to the foregoing and expressed that: *The first NAP didn't take into consideration emerging issues such as reconstruction, management, insurgency, and the likes. While discussing, somebody pointed out that Boko Haram insurgency started since 2009, yet it wasn't taken into consideration as its effect on women wasn't considered. Also, the use of ambiguous languages, for example, participation – it didn't specify who was doing the participation or what the person is participating*

*in. It wasn't specific. Also, some key areas were omitted e.g., coordination and partnership. It didn't specify who was coordinating and who was partnering. It didn't really provide for state-level participation. It was a National Action Plan but doesn't take into consideration the peculiarity and diversity of Nigeria. Then, it didn't have good Monitoring and Evaluation component. These are some of the lapses of the first NAP (In-depth Interview, 2017).*

In spite of these identified gaps, the First NAP is remarkable in certain areas. Apart from providing the impetus for future initiatives in the implementation of frameworks on Women, Peace, and Security, it succeeded in establishing the Multi-Sectoral National Steering Committee on WPS at the Federal level and a WPS-project Office set-up in the FMWASD (FMWASD, 2017: 8). Besides this, the first NAP motivated the passage of the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Bill into law in 2015; an effort that birthed the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Act (VAPPA).

## **4.2 The Need For The Second NAP**

Due to the identified gaps in the First NAP, there was a need for the second to improve on the first and further propel the implementation of the UNSCR 1325. To set in motion the second NAP, the National Action Plan Steering Committee, met in February 2016 in Abuja with the goal of reviewing the first NAP and establish tools to give the second a realistic chance of succeeding. Two months later at an event to commemorate the 15th Anniversary of the establishment of the UNSCR 1325, 400 stakeholders were drawn from governmental function-

aries, Non-Governmental Organisations and Civil Society Groups for extensive deliberations. The product of such meeting included a communiqué which inspired consultations in the six geo-political zones and resulted in the development of State and Zonal Action Frameworks/Plans for cascading the implementation of NAP to the grass root level (FMWASD, 2017: xii).

Consequent upon these processes, new pillars that reflect present realities of insurgency, militancy, communal clashes others were adopted (FMWASD, 2017). Suffice to note, the pillars adopted were in consonance with United Nations General Resolution 30, the UNSCR 2349 of March 2017 as well as other related national documents (FMWASD, 2017). It is important to note that UNSCR 2349 of March 2017 specifically emphasises peace and security in Africa.

Commenting on issues around the formulation process of the second NAP, the Deputy Director-in-charge of women affairs at the FMWASD, explained that: *The first step is that we made a plan in how it will be properly disseminated. One of the problems of the 1st NAP was low awareness creation. Many people were not aware of it. Again, it will be simplified and the structure in the NAP will be operationalised to ensure good understanding. Also, a lot of efforts have been going on to ensure that all the state has a State Action Plan and Local Governments have local Action Plan.*

*National Technical Working Committee has been established. If all these are done collectively will be able to achieve the aims of the sec-*

and NAP (In-depth Interview, 2017).

### 4.3 Problems of Public Policy Implementation in Nigeria

As earlier discussed in this article, a policy is as good as its implementation; hence, the policy implementation stage ought to be taken with the utmost importance. Within the context of the Nigerian state (and in many other African countries), many well-formulated public policies have failed to leave up to their formulation orientations/goals due to poor implementation. Political, social, economic, bureaucratic, ideological, cultural, environmental and other unanticipated variables may intervene in the process in selecting, planning and executing relevant programmes and project. Besides these factors, the policy environment of the Nigerian state is laden with certain complexities and inconsistencies. Agagu explained that the policy implementation in Nigeria is subjected to the whims and caprices of the chief executive and his associates; therefore, there is no commitment to policy continuity or stability (Agagu, 2010: 21). Others issues are; erratic budgetary allocation, devastating corruption, delay in fund release, lack of political will and impact of uncertain economic environment (Agagu, 2010: 21-22).

Another notable factor is poor logistic and appropriate data. Hence, Olugbenga (2013) opined that the policy implementation stage is often the graveyard of many good policies in Nigeria. Specifically as relating to gender-related frameworks and particularly the implementation of the UNSCR 1325, it can be said that poor coordination and the non-involvement of relevant

stakeholders, particularly those at the grass root; lack of political will on the part of some states and local governments to domesticate gender-related laws and poor logistic are prominent limiting factors. In his view, the Deputy Director-in-charge of women affairs at the FMWASD lamented that: First, I think there is poor conceptualization... In addition, community stakeholders are not usually fully involved... Many time assumptions are made which are not accurate and may intercept total implementation. Essentially, there is a lack of involvement on the part of key stakeholders (In-depth Interview, 2017). He also stressed that: *The wide expanse of the country and then the attitude and lack of understanding of Gender Equality are key issues. There are some laws that should be in place for the easy implementation of the UNSCR 1325, e.g., the Violence against Persons Prohibition (VAPP) Act should be domesticated in all the states. In addition, the Gender and Development Policy and Equal Opportunity Law should be domesticated. Relevant laws and policies should be in place to make it easy for the NAP to thrive. Likewise, poor monitoring is a problem* (In-depth Interview, 2017).

### 5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The article has presented Nigeria's efforts towards the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. It was observed that women still represent an insignificant minority and thereby receive less attention than men in peacebuilding and conflict management-related activities in Nigeria. On this note, this article recommends that: *There is a need for*

*inter-agency collaboration on peace and security-related issues in the country. This is simply because gender-related issues cut across different spheres of national life. Issues like security, health, and justice are better-taken care of by other government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) rather than the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, which is saddled with the responsibility of coordination. Besides, the active involvement of other relevant stakeholders especially those at states and Local government levels including community groups is highly needful if the UNSCR 1325 would be successfully implemented in Nigeria.*

*Hence, concerted efforts should be geared towards this. In addition, efforts should be geared towards the domestication of gender equality-related laws in all the states and LGAs. If this is done, it would provide a level playing field to all states and local governments in the country. Beyond this, awareness campaigns should be organized to inform various individuals and groups domiciled in these areas.*

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## INTERVIEW

Interview with the Deputy Director-in-charge of Women Affairs at the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development during the Consultative Forum on Women, Peace and Security held in Gombe state, Nigeria between 28 and 29 September, 2017.