

# Doing Accountability **Differently:** A 'VERTICALLY INTEGRATED' APPROACH

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**Cover photo:** The Voice to the People programme has transformed the lives of individuals and communities, by giving marginalised groups voice and a space to participate in decision-making that affects their lives.

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# Doing Accountability Differently: A 'Vertically Integrated' Approach

Exploring practice and results of Christian Aid's Voice to the People Programme in Anambra State, Nigeria

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# List of Acronyms

<b>ABG</b>	Advocacy Budget Group	<b>PG</b>	President General
<b>APGA</b>	All Progressive Grand Alliance	<b>PHCs</b>	Primary Health Centres
<b>ASHoA</b>	Anambra State House of Assembly	<b>PWDs</b>	People living with disabilities
<b>ASPBf</b>	Anambra State Participatory Budget Forum	<b>RHCs</b>	Referral Health Centres
<b>ASATU</b>	Anambra State Association of Town Unions	<b>SAVI</b>	State Accountability and Voice Initiative
<b>CAFE</b>	Caring Family Enhancement Initiative	<b>SDoC</b>	State-level Drivers of Change
<b>CBOs</b>	Community-Based Organisations	<b>SEC</b>	State Executive Councils
<b>CAP</b>	Change Advocacy Party	<b>SG</b>	State Government
<b>CBM</b>	Community Based Monitor	<b>SPARC</b>	State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability
<b>CCD</b>	Community Charter of Demand	<b>SSG</b>	Secretary to the State Government
<b>CENTRE-LSD</b>	The African Centre for Leadership, Strategy & Development	<b>TR</b>	Traditional Ruler Faith-Based Organisations
<b>COMEN</b>	Community Empowerment Network		
<b>COSATU</b>	Council of State Association of Town Unions		
<b>COTAGG</b>	Coalition for Transparency, Accountability and Good Governance		
<b>CRC</b>	Civil Rights Concern		
<b>CSOMPAN</b>	Civil Society Organisation Media Policy Advocacy Network		
<b>DBPRS</b>	Department of Budget, Planning, Research and Statistics		
<b>ESIBR</b>	Equity and Social Inclusion Budget Platforms		
<b>EU –SRIP</b>	European Union – Support for Reforming Institutions Programme		
<b>FBOs</b>	Faith-Based Organisations		
<b>FGDs</b>	Focused Group Discussions		
<b>GEADOR</b>	Gender Empowerment and Development Organising Resource		
<b>IPSAS</b>	International Public-Sector Accounting Standards		
<b>IWIG</b>	Idikacho Women in Governance		
<b>JDPC</b>	Justice, Development and Peace Centre		
<b>JONAPWD</b>	Joint National Association of Persons with Disabilities		
<b>KIIs</b>	Key Informant Interviews		
<b>LGAs</b>	Local Government Areas		
<b>M&amp;E</b>	Monitoring and Evaluation		
<b>MDAs</b>	Ministries, Departments and Agencies		
<b>MEPB</b>	Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget		
<b>NATPA</b>	Njiko Anambra Tax Payers Association		
<b>OPS</b>	Organized Private Sector		
<b>P2P</b>	Power to the People (DFID's GTF funding)		
<b>PCR</b>	Project Completion Review		
<b>PEA</b>	Political Economy Analysis		
<b>PERL</b>	Partnership to Engage Reform and Learn – DFID		



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Thanks to DFID for all their support, for agreeing to build on successful learning in V2P and having confidence in the programme.

All mistakes are our own.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Enhancing accountable governance has long been a major concern of development programming, but matching this interest with change that is both sustainable and replicable at multiple levels has not been easily achieved. Recent studies suggest that accountability initiatives will only work if they take local power relations into account, and that the limited traction attained to date could be kick-started with a strategy geared towards vertically integrated accountability. To that end, Voice to the People (V2P) has taken a power-aware approach that enabled collaboration amongst community-level, local government and state-level actors and vertical integration of advances at each stage, making it an instructive case study for replicating and scaling up effective accountability programming. Drawing on focus groups and interviews with key informants and a review of project documents, this paper reflects on the lessons that can be learned from V2P, a programme funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and implemented by Christian Aid in partnership with local organisations in Anambra State, Nigeria. Initially running from May 2013 to September 2016, V2P analysed power imbalances between marginalised people and the elites who benefit from inequality in order to overcome obstacles to progress and emphasise the need for coordinated, independent oversight of public sector actors at all levels. V2P began by working in communities, and particularly amongst women and girls, to achieve greater participation, representation and effectiveness in demanding rights and accountability from government actors. The project then expanded horizontally, into alliances across and between local areas, and vertically to improve institutional dialogue and interaction up to and including the state level.



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V2P achieved remarkable change not only in citizen engagement with budgeting and planning of community projects, but also in institutionalising processes for gains at local and state government levels in accountability, responsiveness and public service delivery.



Moving outward into horizontal alliance-building, V2P amplified the voices of citizens by forging links amongst communities and making use of emerging opportunities. At the local level, V2P built community networks through capacity-building and rights awareness events, opening up opportunities to integrate a wider variety of voices, help people—especially women and girls—to see themselves as agents of change, and encourage confident and concerted demands from citizens to their governments.

V2P's most important gains have been in vertical integration, leveraging community-level mobilisation and horizontal alliances to shift power in the interest of more accountable governance. Using power analysis to discover how unequal power relations cause accountability failures, V2P has made strides towards institutionalising the kind of transparent mechanisms that enable a shift in power from traditional leaders and other elites to communities.

V2P has achieved remarkable change not only in citizen engagement with budgeting and planning of community projects, but also in state government responsiveness and public service delivery. Anambra State has seen absolute poverty and relative inequality rise in recent years, due in part to top-down modes of governance and ineffective delivery of public services. Previous accountability programmes had unfolded in Anambra, including V2P's predecessor Power to the People (P2P), but none had achieved V2P's impact in institutionalising their progress or translating their work into regional and state-level accountability gains. Building local-level voice and horizontal alliances At the local level, V2P built community networks through capacity-building and rights awareness events, opening up opportunities to integrate a wider variety of voices, help people—especially women and girls—to see themselves as agents of change, and encourage confident and concerted demands from citizens to their governments. With their established roots in communities, the local Justice, Development and Peace Centres (JDPCs), a network of existing community development agencies, were instrumental partners in creating trusting and empowering relationships from the outset as they coordinated existing community groups. They also facilitated selection of Community-Based Monitors (CBMs), a role designed to help communities refine their own lists of priorities and present them to decisionmakers using V2P's purpose-built tool, the Community Charter of Demand (CCD).

Moving outward into horizontal alliance-building, V2P amplified the voices of citizens by forging links amongst communities and making use of emerging opportunities: a collective action by Anambra's teachers, for example, presented a chance to make inroads against corrupt government procurement practices with support from V2P and its strategic allies, including the DFID-funded State Accountability and Voice Initiative (SAVI), which worked with Anambra State officials and institutions.

The Community Empowerment Network (COMEN), established and nurtured by V2P partners Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development (Centre-LSD) and Civil Rights Concern (CRC) over the course of the project, is now a key facilitator across local government areas in Anambra, where it helps communities obtain and use information on government projects for monitoring and fraud prevention.

Moving success up the ladder V2P's most important gains have been in vertical integration, leveraging community-level mobilisation and horizontal alliances to shift power in the interest of more accountable governance. Using power analysis to discover how unequal power relations cause accountability failures, V2P has made strides towards institutionalising the kind of transparent mechanisms that enable a shift in power from traditional leaders and other elites to communities. Here, COMEN has taken on a central role in supporting communities to formulate their CCDs, facilitating the monitoring of budgets and plans, enabling interaction between communities and progressively higher levels of government, and institutionalising and even spreading the V2P approach to communities not formally involved in the programme.

Centre-LSD has also been influential in brokering high-level and strategic links for policy and budget analysis at the state and national levels. V2P's symbiotic relationship with SAVI has proven vital to advancing the programme's successes to higher levels of governance, as V2P developed robust capacity and spaces for participation while SAVI acted as a facilitator and intermediary for engaging citizens with state-level actors and processes.

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As a result, V2P has seen a marked increase in citizen voice and engagement in the planning and monitoring of government projects and services, as well as improvement to service delivery. Anambra State's Ministry of Economic Planning and Budgeting reports a rise in budget allocations to social development from 12% in 2014 to 21% in 2015. Insider opinions consider that this has reflected in part, the unprecedented government response to CCDs, a V2P-created tool. Through their CCDs, 23 communities made demands for spending on education and 29 on health, with 52 and 77 items approved respectively. Actual spending on social development also improved relative to funds budgeted.

V2P's accomplishments in strengthening social accountability and engagement between government and communities, and shifting power relations for key groups like youth and women and girls, show that success requires action on a number of fronts (for more, see the section on Potential lessons and new questions in chapter 5):

- Finding trusted and strategic partners: A range of partners, like the JDPCs with their high level of trust amongst the local population, helped V2P make inroads. Many gains at state level were also due to V2P's relationship with SAVI, offering a mechanism to link citizens directly with state government.
- Conducting power analysis: Assessing invisible power relations between individuals and groups helped V2P to locate important allies, choose smart priorities, work politically and seize opportunities.
- Supporting inclusion: V2P encouraged communities to challenge restrictive gender norms and increase women's social, economic and political participation. The programme provided safe spaces for women to reflect on discrimination and develop agency, while it also shifted attitudes amongst traditional leaders and local elites. Increasing numbers of women now sit on community bodies like COMEN.
- Community Charters of Demand: Institutionalising this tool has been critical to expanding potential for vertically integrated accountability. The unprecedented response of governance actors to the CCDs has led to increased budget allocations for health, education and infrastructure and wider space for citizen engagement in future public processes. The CCD is now recognised in Anambra as a practical conduit for government to engage in consultation quickly and easily.
- Finding—and building—political will: The political context in Anambra was strongly supportive and, in particular, open to V2P's focus on soft policy issues and citizen participation. The 2014 local elections gave V2P a valuable opening to mobilise citizens and reach out to candidates.

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Over the course of its implementation, V2P proved an effective and low-cost approach to strengthening local governance and linking these incremental successes upwards to actors and processes at the state level. This report suggests that the feedback loop on vertically integrating accountability in the region is starting to close, creating incipient capacity in Anambra for engaged citizens and communities, effective policy monitoring and prevention of corruption, and accountable governance at multiple levels—outcomes worth studying, scaling up and replicating in other States of Nigeria and beyond.

## V2P Key Information

**What:** Voice to the People was a two-and-a-half year project promoting good governance in Anambra State through citizen-driven and oriented development and accountability. The key aims of V2P are supporting communities and civil society to establish dialogue between citizens and the state, increase citizen voices and participation in governance, see communities and civil society organisations effectively holding their leaders to account, and improve government responsiveness and service delivery.

**Where:** 48 communities in 12 local government areas of Anambra state.

**Project duration:** May 2013 – March 2016

**Funder:** UK Department for International Development (DFID)

**Total amount:** £2m

**Focus areas:** To achieve its goal, V2P focused on four main areas:

1. Improving the skills, organisation and confidence of marginalised groups, communities and civil society so they can better demand their rights.
2. Increasing the participation and representation of women and adolescent girls in informal and formal decision-making structures, such as elections and town union meetings.
3. Improving dialogue and interaction between marginalised groups, community groups, civil society and local and state-level authorities.
4. Effective sharing of learning between civil society partners working on voice and accountability programmes in Anambra State.



**Below:** Through V2P training, communities developed key skills to demand their rights and improved service delivery using strategic approaches.

# 1. INTRODUCTION



## Voice to the People (V2P) Endline evaluation (2013-2016) findings



### Increase in citizen voice and engagement with government

In the three years of implementation, there was a significant increase in citizen voice and engagement in the planning and monitoring of government projects and services in Anambra State.



### Participation, Representation and Consultation

Communities, particularly women and marginalised groups have experienced increased participation and representation in local governance. Community-Based Monitors now scrutinise projects and expenditure, and facilitate budget analysis and tracking, through a network of community representatives (COMEN or Community Empowerment Network).



### Service delivery improvements

More responsive governance is evidenced in the improvement in service delivery by government and powerful actors as influenced by communities. This in turn served to make communities stronger and more influential over their own social and infrastructural development.



### Gender and Social Inclusion

V2P empowered communities (especially women) to participate in local governance processes and demand accountability from government. It also promoted positive social gender relations. Key evidence of this is the changes in widowhood and inheritance rights in some parts of Anambra state.



### Links with government reform and public participation and scrutiny programmes

V2P has been able to create a linkage between local and state governance issues through its effective and efficient collaboration with SAVI. For example, SAVI has helped link V2P supported communities to their elected representatives in the State House of Assembly.



### Building on past learning and local success

The success of the project was boosted by Christian Aid's pre-existing relationships and experience in the state. Prior to V2P, Christian Aid operated a project called Power to People (P2P) in Anambra state, which was funded by DFID's Governance Transparency Fund (GTF). This was scaled-up, and enabled Christian Aid to develop critical relationships at state level, learn about the political context and pilot test its methods for engaging with communities. V2P would not have achieved near the same level of results without this previous experience, a lesson that has important implications for the extension of the V2P approach to other states.



### Community Demands

Increase in voice has been accompanied by the institutionalisation of the Community Charter of Demand process within State level planning and budgeting processes. Anambra State Government is now making additional money available in a Special Fund integrated within the Medium-Term Budget framework.



● Ability to influence government's decisions

### Government response to demands

There is a massive increase in communities' positive perception of their ability to influence government, especially for local governments to listen and respond positively. (State/ Federal-level changes need more time to work through to implementation that might be noticed)

Note:  
Detailed discussions of these findings will be explored and discussed through the paper

# 1.0 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background: Governance and Accountability Learning

During the last seven years, there has been widespread recognition that power-blind, donor-driven blueprint models to enhancing government capacity and accountability are often ineffective, and therefore policy makers and practitioners need to think and act more politically. McGee and Gaventa's (2011)<sup>5</sup> review of citizen led transparency and social accountability initiatives; often described as 'working on the demand side' of the governance equation, questioned simplistic assumptions underpinning commonly applied governance, transparency and accountability models.

This triggered a series of theoretical<sup>6</sup> and empirical<sup>7</sup> studies that draw attention to the limitations of discrete social accountability projects that expect information disclosure to trigger changes in citizens' accountability seeking behaviours and government responsiveness. These studies broadly pointed out that accountability initiatives will only 'work' if they are informed by context-specific understandings of how politics and other manifestations of power mediate information in accountability relationships.<sup>8</sup>

Five years later, by 2015, several cases that illustrate the benefits of 'doing development differently' and more politically, had been documented. Many supported multi stakeholder approaches or broad-based coalitions that dissolve the demand and supply dichotomy previously used to describe accountability work. Such initiatives included state reformers as well as civil society groups and private sector actors who often engage in 'network governance'.<sup>9</sup> They take iterative, locally led and power-aware approaches.<sup>10</sup> Instead of being driven by the availability of donor funding, they emerge from local concerns and problem analysis. In addition, they are issue based. Some take advantage of politically savvy individuals or 'development entrepreneurs',<sup>11</sup> who have nuanced understandings of the local power relations that are often blamed for blocking collective action to address common service delivery problems.

A recent paper (2016) on 'vertical integration' by Jonathan Fox makes recommendations for how civil society organisations might apply the above ideas to doing accountability differently, this time at scale.<sup>12</sup> Vertical integration tries to address power imbalances, between poor and marginalised people and the elites who benefit from harmful exercise of power over ordinary people, by emphasising the need for coordinated, independent oversight of public sector actors at local, subnational and national, and transnational levels.<sup>13</sup> Fox argues that to achieve sustainable institutional change, civil society organizations and reformers must form coalitions across society that then undertake vertically integrated strategies and work at different levels: local to global.



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This is not a solution driven approach. Rather, it requires detailed analysis of how various power relations cause problems as accountability failures in essential service delivery (health, education, agricultural inputs etc). Such analysis is a vital foundation for strategic, vertically integrated solutions that enable policy analysis and monitoring data to flow between levels in support of evidence based collective action and engagement between different actors.

This paper draws from a lesson learning exercise conducted for a DFID funded programme, Voice to the People (V2P); designed in 2013, that supported a power-aware, vertically integrated approach that was evaluated to have done somewhat better than its predecessors.<sup>14</sup> Following an evaluation, DFID assessed V2P as having delivered great value for money by “demonstrating an effective and low cost approach to strengthening community governance institutions and linking these to budget, planning and project monitoring processes”. Increasing the participation and voices of women in initiatives that succeeded in triggering responses from government actors at different levels, resulting in improved service delivery are among its achievements.<sup>15</sup> Linking with SAVI (State Accountability and Voice Initiative) a State-level, DFID-funded accountability programme, led to enhanced responsiveness at higher levels of government.

V2P partners and Christian Aid built on previous lessons and success for V2P, and are now building on this for an extension of the programme. Again, in partnership with DFID, they have embarked on a two-year extension alongside the Engaged Citizens (ECP) pillar (successor to SAVI) of the Nigerian Partnership to Engage Reform and Learn (PERL) programme.

Power-blind donor-driven blueprint models to enhancing government capacity and accountability are often ineffective, and therefore policy makers and practitioners need to think and act more politically.



This paper draws from a lesson learning exercise conducted for a DFID funded programme – Voice to the People (V2P) – designed in 2013 that supported a power-aware, vertically integrated approach that was evaluated to have done somewhat better than its predecessors.

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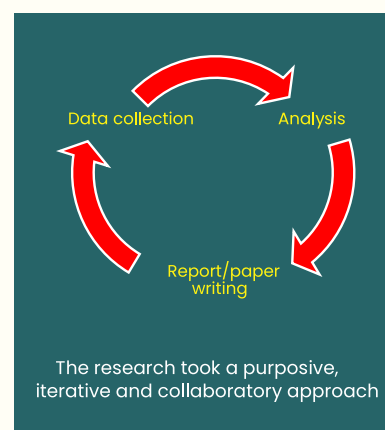
## 1.2 Purpose

The primary aim of this paper is to stimulate discussion to enable better understanding and adaptation of the V2P approach within the context of Nigeria's Partnership to Engage Reform and Learn (PERL), that aims for "policies and strategies devised, implemented, monitored and evaluated at federal and state level – to prioritise more transparent and efficient resource use, reflecting citizens' needs". Christian Aid and partners are keen to share the lessons we have learned with others as to citizens needs being included at all levels. Additionally, it will be of interest to Christian Aid staff and practitioners in other governance and accountability programmes globally who are keen to: a) 'do accountability differently',<sup>16</sup> and b) support a more vertically integrated approach.

V2P did not set out to address specific accountability failures through a focus on service delivery targets in particular sectors. However, it did take a power informed, integrated approach to building networks amongst community organisations and linking them to state and national level actors in partnership with faith-based organisations and the State and Voice Accountability Initiative programme (SAVI). Hence, vertical integration is viewed as a useful learning lens for analysing V2P's achievements and challenges. Christian Aid has not yet perfected the use of a vertically integrated framework as an analytical tool therefore discussions prompted by this paper will help fine tune it and contribute to ongoing debates.

The key questions guiding the study were:

- How has V2P contributed to enhancing voice and institutions at the community level?
- How has V2P contributed to horizontal alliances and linkages at local levels of governance?
- To what extent has V2P with other stakeholders been successful in leveraging change at the community level and horizontal alliances to promote vertical integration that shifts power imbalances in interests of more accountable governance?
- What factors helped or hindered improved engagement or shifts in gender and power relations for the key groups concerned?



## 1.3 Methodology

Given this research aimed to identify lessons rather than evaluate V2P, it took a purposive, iterative and collaborative approach to the collection of data, analysis and report/paper writing. A review of V2P and SAVI documents and discussions with programme staff, partners and SAVI officials were used to purposefully identify key Informants and focus group discussants who were particularly knowledgeable in areas that related to the key research questions around 'vertical integration' or multi-level governance, and the 'political' or power dimension of governance. Efforts were made to include people from communities across the LGAs with varying poverty level and characteristics. Interviewees included Traditional Rulers, President Generals (PGs), Women Leaders and Youth Leaders of various communities; Information Officers at the LGA level; as well as top Government Officials at the State executive, the Clerk of the State House of Assembly, the Speaker of the House of Assembly and two members of the State House of Assembly. Information from other informants (ordinary people) across some communities was also used to triangulate information.

Information was gathered through (1) In-depth interviews [Key Informants Interviews (KIIs), Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) and Case studies] with Narratives, detailed responses to probing questions employed, (2) Direct observation where field notes containing descriptions of activities, behaviors, actions, interactions, and processes were taken and Document analysis where written documents including records, memoranda, The research took a purposive, iterative and collaboratory approach correspondences, reports, where thoroughly read and formed part of the analysis. The study roadmap involved was in an order that included: Data Gathering Process (data gathering and describing); Analysis process (organising, connecting and corroborating/ legitimising); Interpretive process (describing, organising, connecting, corroborating/ legitimising and representing the account); and finally, reflexivity.

The four authors all participated in processes of analysis, sense making and report writing, using a power framework described below. Uzochukwu Amakom, who led the fieldwork and analysis, comes from Anambra, and his knowledge of the context proved invaluable in giving nuanced meanings to the findings during critical questioning by the rest of the team members. Dr Amakom's close knowledge of the context and key actors, communities and the V2P partners aided selection of the LGAs and communities for the research: based on the Poverty index and human development index report for the state as well as communities that constituted hard to reach thereby lacking in social development opportunities like roads, schools, health facilities among others.

Ethical issues related mainly to interviewees giving permission to cite names but the decision to not quote individuals considering the very power-relevant results in some sections that might adversely impact on individuals concerned. The power and political dynamics of the relations between local civil society and local government officials has led to a similar approach where it was considered that quite informal meetings with key actors has enabled rich reflections that are reported but not necessarily citing names<sup>17</sup>.

### 1.3.1 Outline

We begin by situating the V2P programme and Christian Aid's approach in the wider Anambra context, explaining how its design was influenced by the local team's learning from their experience in a pilot project as well as from earlier programmes. The next section explains V2P's relationship with SAVI. The main findings are then structured around the three key levels of V2P's engagement and the ways in which it was trying to shift power away from men, government and powerful local actors towards women, marginalised groups and local communities/ CSOs. These align with the study questions.

First, we consider how V2P influenced changes in the power relations at community level (men, women, young, old, widows, PWDs and other marginalised groups) by empowering people to find power within and power to influence change with others. Second, we explore how this translated into the creating power with others through building horizontal alliances and linkages between community organisations and engagement with local government institutions, both formal and informal. Third, we explore if and how V2P and its allies have leveraged community level empowerment and horizontal linkages to contribute to vertical integration that has enabled participation in and accountability relationships with budgeting and monitoring processes at different levels. This section also explores whether such integration has led to government responsiveness and what that might mean in terms of change in power relations between state and citizens. An analytical section that pulls together findings relating to the factors that have helped and hindered V2P's various aims follows and precedes the conclusions and lessons.



**Below:** Through V2P training, communities developed key skills to demand their rights and improved service delivery using strategic approaches.

## **2. V2P AND THE ANAMBRA CONTEXT**

## Christian Aid's Power Analysis Tool

Power Analysis is a participatory process that involves people - with a stake in a particular situation - to analyse how power relations affect it and might be changed for the better. It uses a structured approach and aims to understand the reality for those stakeholders. It is not a one-off process but should be returned to, challenged and reassessed. Power Analysis is similar to Political Economy Analysis in many ways and can be used alongside as complementary: it can help to add understanding of power dynamics within the household and between individuals in relationships; power analysis actively seeks to identify and 'add in' hidden and invisible power dynamics; and it values the process of beneficiaries undertaking the analysis for themselves. This is critical in raising awareness about the root causes of poverty, and actions they can take to address power imbalances.



### Stakeholder and structure 'Power Mapping' tool

Maps out the key stakeholders, actors, influences and context including political, economic, environmental, social and legal issues. This tool includes understanding of risks from changes in climate and overt or covert dangers from conflict and violence – increasingly used with vulnerability and conflict analyses

### 'Body Mapping' Power Tool

Helps to analyse more closely the agency of people - focused on types of personal empowerment aimed at building skills and closer understanding of harmful norms and gender/ inclusion issues

### Power Matrix' Tool

Builds strategic plan of action



**The power map tool builds a picture of the key actors in a particular context and the power relationships between them. It can help us answer some fundamental questions such as:**

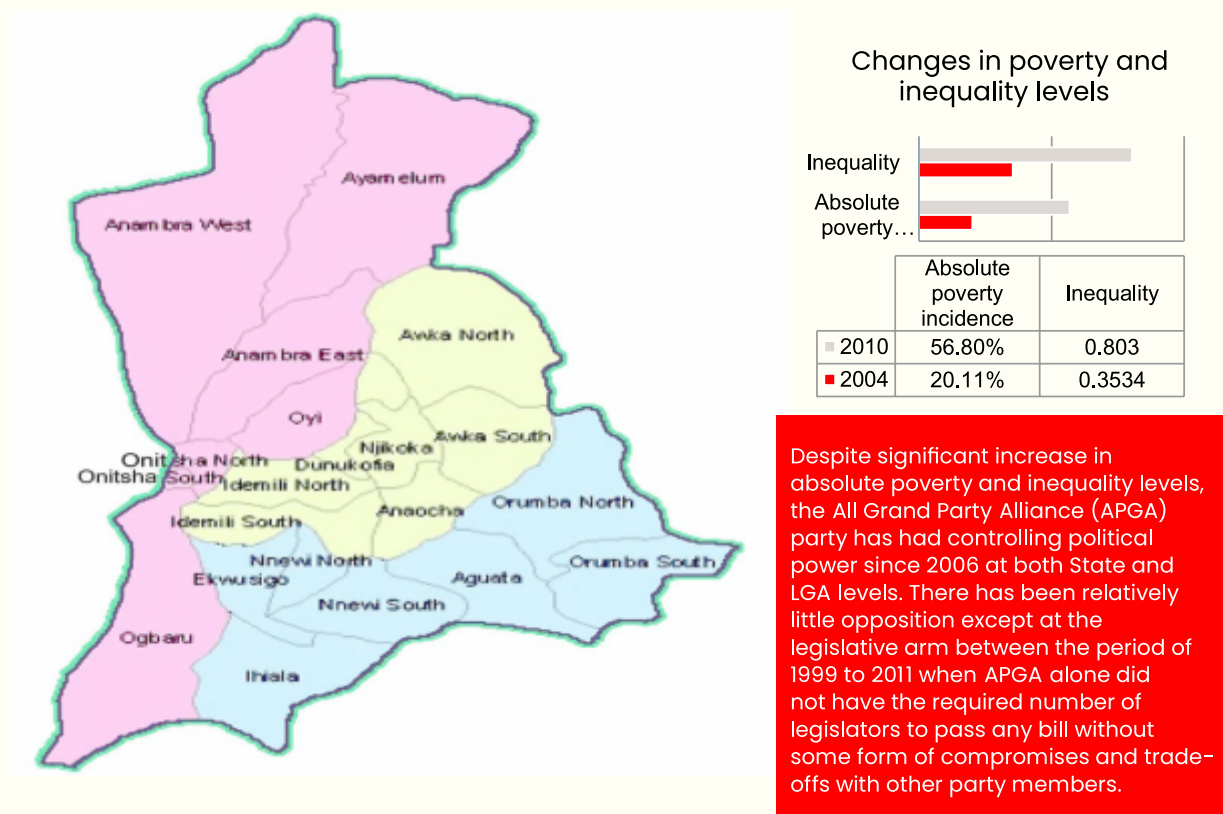
- What are the power dynamics which keep people poor in a given context?
- What power/ agency do people have to create or resist change? Collective actions solutions?
- What power do other stakeholders have to create or resist change?
- What can we do to change institutions or structural power dynamics which keep people in poverty?
- What additional types of power do people need?
- How can power be more equitably distributed? Government's power to facilitate change (policy, plans, resources)
- Who are, or who could be our allies to address power imbalances?



## 2.0 V2P AND THE ANAMBRA CONTEXT

With a population of approximately 5.6 million in 2017, Anambra state is divided into 21 Local Government Areas (LGAs) with a total of 177 communities.

Below: Map of Anambra State showing all LGAs



The absolute poverty incidence in Anambra rose from 20.11% in 2004 to 56.8% in 2010, while the State Gini coefficient for inequality increased from 0.3534 in 2004 to 0.803 in 2010. V2P therefore set out to address the high levels of poverty that persisted in Anambra State due to top down governance and ineffective service delivery as well as local conditions and cultural norms. Various accountability projects have tried unsuccessfully to address these indexes, and it was based on learning from the failure of previous attempts to enhance accountability in the state that V2P was designed. This made V2P a textbook case for the need to think and work more politically, while also highlighting the potential benefits of a vertically integrated approach.

At the State and LGA levels, the All Grand Party Alliance (APGA) party has had controlling political power since 2006. There has been relatively little opposition except at the legislative arm between the period of 1999 to 2011 when APGA alone did not have the required number of legislators to pass any bill without some form of compromises and trade-offs with other party members. APGA as a party was formed by South-Easterners and controls only Anambra State, although at some time Imo State as well before the Imo State Governor defected to the ruling party at the centre, the All Progressive Congress (APC). APGA as a party has all her power centralised in Anambra State, and hence party supporters see the party as theirs in a country with over 250 ethnic groups. Most of the PGs in the State belong to APGA, and will do anything to see the party succeed as individuals and in their respective communities in order to remain relevant during elections.

## 2.0.1 History of governance reform programmes

From 1995 to 2006, the main ministries responsible for economic planning and development underwent four rounds of institutional change that had limited effects on accountable governance<sup>18</sup>. This was partly because they failed to influence any change in the political economy of State and local government structures that were characterised by weak local government agencies and Town Unions (TU) operating under the leadership of President Generals (PG). These PGs were appointed by and often more accountable to the state government than they were to local people, and frequently lived/ spent time away from the community. Thus, local people had little opportunity or expectation of influence in decisions about how plans were made or budgets set, let alone scrutiny over effectiveness of public expenditure.

In 2006, an EU led donor consortium project on institutional reform, EUSIRP, supported by the World Bank, UNDP and DFID attempted to address this omission through promoting participatory budgeting. It funded a coalition of Non-Governmental Organisations, believed to understand and represent the needs of citizens across Anambra's Local Government Areas to lead the campaign. Operating under the umbrella of Coalition for Transparency, Accountability and Good Governance<sup>19</sup> (COTAGG), this coalition appeared to achieve some early success in increasing budget transparency and citizen participation, however it was superficial and unsustainable<sup>20</sup>. Without donor funding, COTAGG had little discernible technical capacity to sustain its work.

But, more importantly, its members had close links with state level actors representing particular political interests and weak links with citizens and grassroots constituencies.<sup>21</sup> This meant COTAGG failed to establish the trust and relationships necessary to shift power imbalances and enable citizen participation in budgeting and accountability seeking processes. When the programme ended in 2012, it was perceived as a typically apolitical donor programme that had failed to have any sustainable impact on inequitable power relations.<sup>22</sup> Ideas relating to how to work more politically to address such weaknesses were therefore central to V2P's design and approach.

From 2008, DFID's GTF-funded<sup>23</sup> learning programme Power to the People (P2P), worked as a pilot in Anambra (2008–13) implemented by Christian Aid in ten (10) communities across four (4) LGAs in Anambra State. Learning from that suggested that Power to the People had demonstrated the potential of enabling local community development organisations, with high levels of community penetration, to think and work more politically using its power analysis tools.<sup>24</sup> This had helped to establish community engagement and scrutiny in planning and performance but otherwise was small scale and focused at local level one-off gains.<sup>25</sup> That programme delivered promising results and led directly to the V2P programme, learning from mistakes and operating at a much bigger scale.

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**Period:** May 2013 to March 2016 and now in extension phase until March 2018

**Budget:** £2 million (£2 million extension)

**Location:** 12 LGAs in Anambra State, Nigeria. This was scaled up into all 21 LGAs of the State, the rest of the South-East region using a hub approach to spread learning and replicated in Kaduna State.

**Partners 2013-16:** CA, JDPCs, Civil Rights Concern, Development in Practice (gender/ exclusion), CLSD – Centre for Leadership

[www.voicetothepople.org](http://www.voicetothepople.org)

twitter: @V2PNaija; facebook: V2PNaija

In 2014 DFID's SAVI was expanded into Anambra State with close working ties established with V2P. SAVI ran until 2015, and has since been replaced with the PERL programme that now works, still alongside V2P, across the South East as a regional hub to share learning.

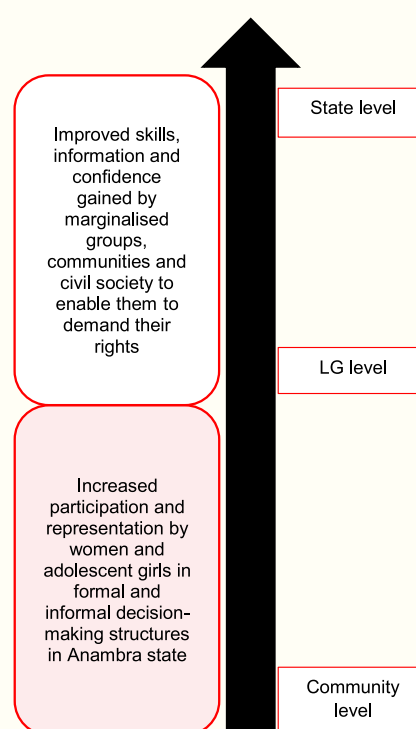
## 2.2 Background and introduction to V2P

1. Improved skills, information and confidence gained by marginalised groups, communities and civil society to enable them to demand their rights. Local social justice, welfare and community development agencies (Justice, Development and Peace Commission – JDPCs – of the Catholic Dioceses of Awka, Nnewi and Onitsha in Anambra state) lead the community-level organising of local communities to:

- Know their rights (to vote, to access health care, to get agricultural support, education facilities, to get public services delivered etc)
- Create Charters of Demand to improve local services
- Monitor and hold the local government accountable for public services
- Battle against bribery and dishonesty

2. Increased participation and representation by women and adolescent girls in formal and informal decision-making structures in Anambra state. A Nigerian gender rights organising NGO (Development in Practice – DIP) through the organisation and mobilisation of the JDPCs worked closely with women in communities and local area decision-making structures to:

- Promote gender equality and understanding between men, women, girls and boys,
- Increase women's voice and participation and
- To get women elected



And then reaches out horizontally and vertically to:

- Improve institutionalised dialogue and interaction taking place between marginalised groups, community groups, CS and authorities at local and state levels – facilitated and peer-supported by state-wide and national
- NGOs with links to and knowledge of those in power.
- Address capability gaps
- Institutionalise interaction
- Improve political engagement and elect
- Advocate and influence
- Leverage

Linking and learning in action for change Effective sharing of lessons learnt enables CS partners to achieve increased linkages and leverages between accountability programmes across Anambra State – e.g. SAVI

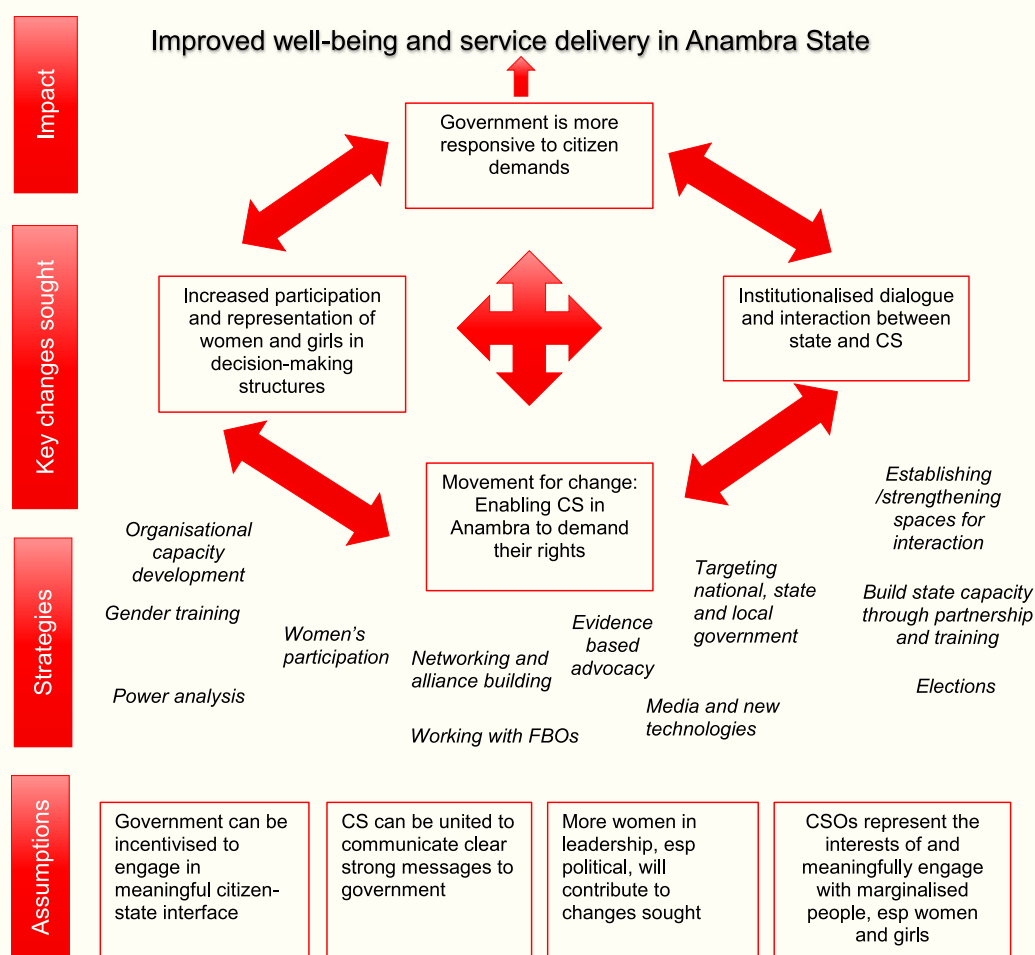
## 2.2.1 Technical approach of V2P

The community organisations (Christian Aid's implementing partners) were Justice and Development Peace Commissions (JDPC); faith based social justice and welfare organisations organised in local communities with strong links to the Catholic Church. JDPCs had, in the earlier P2P programme, been able to use concepts like 'invisible power' (power based on social and cultural beliefs, socialisation, ideology and religious beliefs that set rules and norms) to expose and encourage discussion about the informal institutions that prevented women mobilising and exercising voice.

At the same time, communities and the civil society groups developing in the programme forced recognition of how 'visible' decision-making power and 'hidden' power, or in other words, the mobilisation of bias and control of agenda by state and national levels of government – created bottlenecks to accountability at the local government level.

By facilitating power analysis at multiple levels and different locations, P2P contributed to more solidarity and opportunities for collective action<sup>26</sup> amongst civil society organisations trying to make health systems more accountable to poor people. The Power to the People Programme had tried to work with the media to publicise issues and gain traction for change and accountability before powerful actors. It achieved some small changes in local government engagement with communities in the project lifespan (2008–13). However, being a small-scale, learning-focused pilot project, P2P had not translated increased citizen interest and action into more significant change in government behaviour and accountability at State level. This was largely because of blockages encountered when engaging with local government administrations that had little power and few resources<sup>27</sup>. It is noteworthy that during the P2P era, the executive at the LGA level were controlled by a caretaker committee single-handedly appointed by the Governor instead of elected LGA officials that were chosen by their citizens.

Below: V2P's Theory of Change





## 2.3 V2P's Theory of Change

In light of previous learning, the theory of change developed by Christian Aid and its implementing V2P partners aimed for a vertically integrated approach that sought to overcome blockages at the LGA stage and link local/ sub-state level action to state and national level structures and decision makers. V2P's theory of change thus included assumptions that it could scale up the previous work of the JDPCs across more LGAs by leading context and needs analysis at community level that would mobilise citizen action and catalyse dialogue and engagement with government on service delivery. In the context of Anambra, this required local JDPCs working with a range of CSOs including: Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs), Community-Based Organisation (CBOs) representing men, women, boys and girls, Professional Associations (PAs), disabled groups and others.

One of JDPC's initial tasks was to support communities in Anambra to identify Community Based Monitors (CBMs) who would help facilitate community inputs into participatory planning and budgeting process using a simple tool called the Community Charter of Demand. This tool arose from the learning from P2P about the difficulty of finding collective voices from communities with many and various problems and issues.<sup>28</sup> It involves balancing up the priorities of different sections and power holders within the community, for example, one community's list of priorities of the men focused on electric power, farming and roads while the women of the community were more focused on health clinic staffing, water sources nearby and the school roof. The Charter is tested and rebalanced trying to listen to all sections of the community including youth, people with disabilities older people. But in the end, the chief, the women's leader and the youth leader have to sign off a mutually agreed set of priorities for the time period (other priorities can be put off until another year), and then agreed more widely with the President General, other traditional authorities and perhaps then the support and signature of the local councillor will be sought. The overall programme approach was issue based and primarily set out to focus on the health, education and agriculture needs of Anambra citizens initially.



COMMUNITY  
BASED MONITOR  
AMIYI

**Below:** Community Based Monitors help to facilitate community inputs into participatory planning and budgeting, as well as monitor the implementation of budget and delivery of public services within the community.

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The overall programme approach was issue based and primarily set out to focus on the health, education and agriculture needs of Anambra citizens initially across 12 of the 21 Local Government Areas (later to expand across all of the State) plus associated infrastructure.

The use of Christian Aid's power analysis tool (see above) was central to the programme design. Local JDPC partners were to lead in training new communities and partners on how to apply it to analysing the root causes of power imbalances in communities and local areas. This was to help individuals recognise their power within and power to act with others. Likewise, power analysis was to be used to help communities identify allies and use power with others to help overcome constraints. Building gender awareness to empower women to participate and lead community processes was a key plank of the project that again involved analysis of power. The Gender Empowerment and Development Organising Resource (GEADOR) Circle piloted and facilitated by V2P through its partner, Development in Practice (DIP)<sup>29</sup> was to engage women, men, boys and girls at community level, while also supporting all the V2P partners in trying to promote gender equality and women's participation in governance.

Linking individual communities and LGAs with their peers and or horizontal accountability actors such as Members of Assembly to amplify voice and power was Civil Rights Concern's (CRC) responsibility. With considerable experience working on engaging state policy and legislation, CRC was to support the establishment of horizontal networks. It was to help bring issues identified by the communities that were beyond the capacity of the Local Government Councils (LGCs) to the attention of relevant Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) of government. Another partner, the Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development, led by the hugely respected and experienced Dr Otiye, was to help broker high level and smart links using policy and budget analysis from State and national levels. The programme design also included an important role for media and an advocacy network established under P2P known as Media for Development was to amplify some of the efforts to create power with above through publications and radio debates in V2P.<sup>30</sup>

"Our women have been enlightened to seek for their rights, and widows have been liberated from wicked practices that they were subjected to after the burial of their husbands. Asking widows to stay indoors for a year, forcing them to go into the evil forests naked in the middle of the night have been totally abolished through the help of V2P projects"

FGD with women of Amaetiti Community, during V2P end-line survey

## 2.4 Innovation and learning in V2P

Instead of driving V2P partner relationships with huge aid grants, as had been the case in EU-SIRP, Christian Aid provided partners with some funds that allowed them to undertake regular community work, catalysing citizen action as well as some operational costs. In addition, it made a principled commitment to support specific activities in support of V2P aims.

Christian Aid's team undertook regular monitoring visits to encourage partner reflections and learning on what the most appropriate activities might be at a specific point in time. This was part of a broader venture capitalist and value for money strategy informed by learning from other DFID programmes in which a number of parallel voice and accountability

experiments are closely monitored to identify promising approaches for scaling up.<sup>31</sup>

Learning from P2P had shown the value of partners associated with faithbased organisations. The JDPCs are linked to the Catholic Church which has a substantial presence in Anambra – this trusted and community-rooted presence was proving to be a powerful route for community mobilisation when communities were frequently doubtful about the prospects of success or change and wary of yet another community mobilisation programme.

Innovation funds were made available for small scale trials of new initiatives that were judged to show some possibility of finding traction and change, for example, disability groups seeking implementation of equality laws, women lawyers taking rights education and legal assistance to people living in rural communities to support gender and inclusion change programmes with more practical rights claiming help.

## 2.5 The V2P and SAVI Alliance

In 2014, V2P decided to augment its intervention through forging a symbiotic relationship with another DFID funded programme, the State Accountability and Voice Initiative (SAVI).

SAVI programme<sup>32</sup>

£34 million DFID funded demand side governance programme. Started in 2008 in 10 Nigerian States – expanded to Anambra State in 2013.

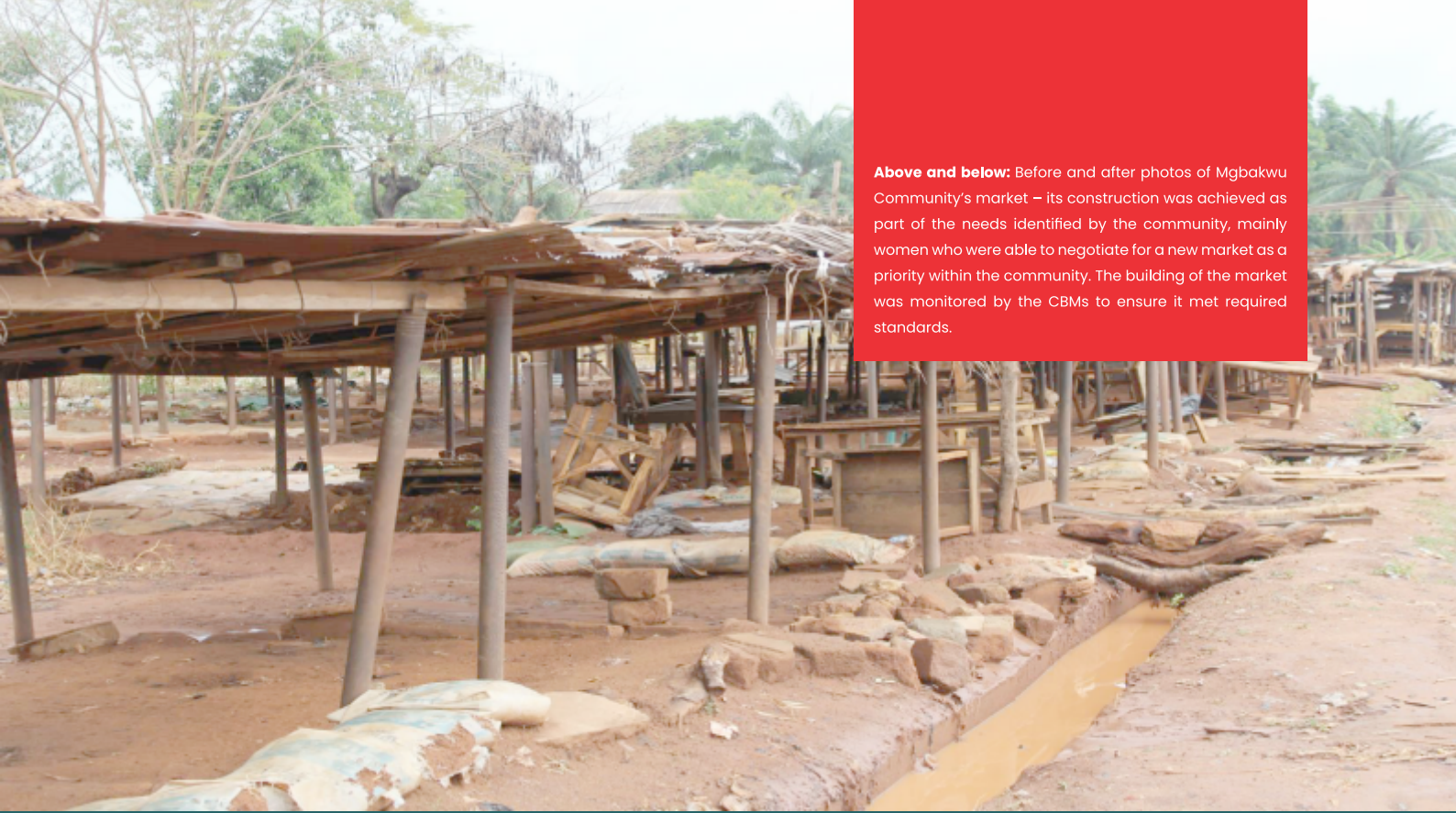
*Focus on citizen participation in state level governance – working with citizens, CS groups, media, and State House of Assembly politicians*

*Close working partnership with sister ‘supply side’ governance reform programme, SPARC, supporting greater capability, accountability and responsiveness in State Governments*

Like V2P, SAVI is a ‘demand side’ governance programme although works through CSOs, media and state parliament, but unlike V2P, SAVI did not give grants to local partners but rather established support officers and a programme team to carry out its mission. In Awka, Anambra state, the SAVI officers shared an office with the V2P staff. Learning lessons from the challenges faced by previous social accountability programmes in Nigeria, and building on successful home-grown initiatives, SAVI invested in state teams who facilitate locally driven processes of change from behind the scenes. SAVI’s state staff aimed to build the capacity of both demand and supply side players (citizens, CS groups, state politicians and the media) to be effective, influential, informed and politically smart agents of citizens’ voice. To this end, the SAVI Anambra team worked closely with V2P team to complement each other’s from both the state level and the LGA/community level respectively. SAVI focused on brokering constructive working relationships between non-government individuals/ groups and the State Government around issues and processes that are important both to citizens and to the state government such as health, education and state budget processes. The aim was to facilitate effective working relationships that are valued by all participants, that could take on a life of their own after the programme comes to an end.

SAVI and V2P’s working relationship with the State Partnership for Accountability Responsiveness and Capability Programme (SPARC)<sup>33</sup>, the governance reform programme was complemented through the support provided to the state executive systems, thereby ensuring that the state systems and structures from a supply side respond demands and needs of its citizens. The aim was to facilitate access to state government staff for civil society groups seeking to press accountability at higher levels of government. Through training and mentoring work with civil society organisations, SAVI wanted to build a better understanding of state government systems, processes, opportunities and constraints as well as pointing towards entry points into constructive citizen participation and influence. The model of change was to deliberately seek a more collaborative approach to facilitating multi-stakeholder engagement that could also take advantage of changes in the state capacity and development planning. This included government initiatives facilitated by the (SPARC). SAVI’s approach was to organise learning platforms, fora and lesson learning events between partners, community members, CSOs, and other DFID funded programmes to create opportunities for effective sharing of lessons learned. This mirrored the V2P project’s sharing learning objective and contributed to wider learning alongside other development partners such as SPARC, M4D, SunMap among others. They have all accessed relevant and useful lessons learnt by V2P and its partners, and have leveraged on each other’s strengths to facilitate wider linkages, promotion and adoption of good practices.





**Above and below:** Before and after photos of Mgbakwu Community's market – its construction was achieved as part of the needs identified by the community, mainly women who were able to negotiate for a new market as a priority within the community. The building of the market was monitored by the CBMs to ensure it met required standards.

## 3. FINDINGS





## 3.0 FINDINGS

As the V2P evaluation<sup>34</sup> noted, during the three years of implementation, there was a significant increase in citizen voice and engagement in the planning and monitoring of government projects and services in Anambra State, with some improvement in service delivery. This was achieved in conjunction with governance and accountability programmes like SPARC and SAVI, as well as the work of other Nigerian CSOs. However, document reviews and discussions with staff from the Ministry of Economic Planning and Budgeting identified specific contributions of activities and approaches introduced by V2P. According to them, significant increases in the amounts of State Budget allocated to social development (from 12% in 2014 to 21% in 2015) partly reflects an unprecedented government response to the priorities put forward in Community Charters of Demand (See more on this in Annex 1). For example, the change in Agriculture budget was reported to be the result of new requests from 22 communities of which had been supported by V2P.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, about 23 communities made new demands for expenditure on items for school and education and 29 on health, with 52 and 77 items being approved respectively.<sup>36</sup> Many of the 29 requests made on roads, water and sanitation also received positive responses<sup>37</sup>. These gains were achieved through the State Government requesting community inputs, including on gender and social inclusion issues and making money available in a Special Fund that later became integrated within the Medium- Term Budget Framework (MTEF).

In addition to increases in budgets or government responsiveness, there was also evidence of improvement in government accountability in terms of spend versus budget commitment. In 2016 the spend in health and education was above 80% of the budget commitment in education and health compared with only 70% in other sectors<sup>38</sup>. Although we were not able to determine links between this and community engagement, many of the communities visited had secured access to documents that they could use to monitor community projects and raise complaints with the State in instances of fraud or poor construction. According to Dr Amakom, who is from Anambra, this made local communities more powerful than they had ever been before.

In the next few sections V2P's contribution to these incipient changes in power relations, including through its relationship with SAVI, is explored using a vertical integration lens. The findings are organized around the main research questions.

### 3.1 Key Changes in attitudes and behaviours to create power at community level

According to those interviewed, various indigenous community level organisations representing different groups and faiths worked for the development of their communities for many years, however before the intervention of V2P in 2013, they seldom worked together. Furthermore, ideas found in democratic governance models that underpin programmes like V2P, such as citizens holding duty bearers accountable wasn't part of their terms of reference or culture. The long period of military rule created a gap in people's expectations of democracy or democratically elected leaders, let alone modern bureaucratic principles and ways of working. Thus, V2P had to start by raising awareness of Nigerian citizens' rights and the Nigerian state's responsibility, building trust and local level alliances as building blocks to enabling active citizenry. This was made easier by incentives provided by the 2014 local government elections that resulted in democratically elected ward and supervisory councillors from the communities concerned, facilitated relationships and inspired citizens to believe some of their demands could be addressed by these actors.

#### 3.1.1 Trusting relationships empower communities to recognise power to act

With existing roots in the community and links with the Catholic Church, JDPC found it easy to gain trust in predominantly catholic areas and bring various community groups together to increase their awareness of rights

and their power to influence change. But in non-Catholic areas, people living in terrible poverty were equally keen to get involved. With careful facilitation by local JDPCs, groups that had previously worked separately, largely because of cultural norms were encouraged to come together to

- (1) pursue their own community development and
- (2) to demand duty bearers be more responsive and accountable.

Effective collaboration required overcoming different kinds of power identified through the use of V2P's power analysis. For example, youth interviewed during the study talked about having overcome an 'invisible power' or a socialised understanding of relationships that had previously encouraged deference to elders. They were able to recognise it and deal with it in order to realise their right to participate in community development decision making. This meant challenging the 'visible' power that had allowed older titled men to dominate decision making through Igwe Cabinets, Town Unions, parish priests and village elders. It also required moderating 'hidden' power or 'behind the scenes' powerful forces that allowed male elites to close powerful spaces and control agenda, deciding on who was invited to Cabinet or Town Union meetings and what was discussed.

Similarly, holding government at any level accountable meant overcoming the prevailing political culture and understanding of state society relations. According to a President General in Idemilli South, prior to their engagement with V2P, communities had no idea that citizens could directly engage and demand things from the government and get results:

“What we were doing was to go to the Traditional Ruler and or representative at the State House of Assembly to lead the process and we have never had good results. With V2P, different CBOs, FBOs and other groups in the communities came together without really waiting for the Traditional Ruler and began to put pressure on the town union. This made the President Generals of different communities to wake up and in most cases, by-pass the traditional powers and swing into action.”

Others interviewed echoed this perspective, saying they always believed that “power belongs to the people.” It was only, however, when V2P clarified their respective roles in contributing to their own development as well as what they could expect of government that they truly understood what it meant and started to act. Additionally, V2P provided them with clear strategies to pursue this power.

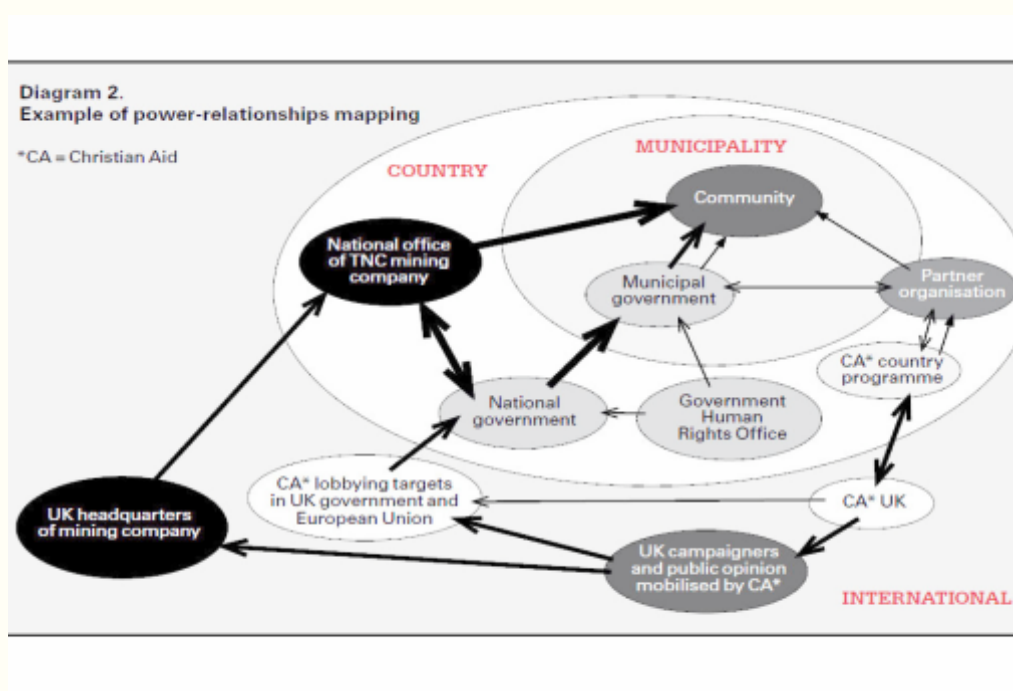
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### 3.1.2 Active citizens collaborate to increase voice and power with

Through capacity building and rights awareness symposia, people in Anambra began to see themselves as agents of change: able to influence the government sector to work in a more responsive and inclusive way. This personal sense of power and agency combined with bringing different CBOs and FBOs together began the process of coalition or network building for community development and for strengthening collective voice (power with).

Collaboration and cooperation between those with disparate interests on common concerns using an issue based approach increased the pace of community development activities. It also stimulated wider interaction on community needs and improved service delivery. Each community established small committees headed by someone judged to have relevant expertise, mainly in the areas of education, health, infrastructure (roads, bridges, culverts and drainages) and agriculture. Aided by JDPCs, the Community Based Monitors, elected by their communities, helped the committees reach agreement on their priorities to be included in their Community Charters of Demand. These Charters quickly became favoured tools for engaging with the local and State government as illustrated by the case study on an issue-based approach that spurred collective action to improve health services in Nawgu.

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## BOX 1: CASE STUDY

### Issue based approaches enable collective action for improved services

Nawgu community had been experiencing a high death rate (according to key informants, 2 to 3 people were dying daily), but there was little understanding of why as there were no medical resources to help diagnose or prevent the causes. The community had also not come to an agreement on any course of action to take to change the situation.

After Nawgu was chosen as a focal V2P community in 2014, this situation began to change. An initial coming together of CBOs, FBOs, NGOs and the traditional ruler with his council members looked at three areas: public health and best sanitation practices, simple first aid medical treatments and health educational tips. This gathering provided an ideal space to discuss the causes of poor health in the community and to identify possible solutions. Men, women, boys and girls observed that poor sanitation, water quality and an inability to access the hospital were major causes of the deaths. They decided to form a coalition and health committee to pursue a combination of community based self-help initiatives and demands for better medical and sanitation service delivery from government. The cooperation that followed this coming together, led to richer families helping poorer ones access water from their boreholes and a commitment to build toilets and eradicate open defecation: target was set for April 2017. Having established what they could do themselves, the community was then assisted by V2P partners working with the Community Based Monitors (established by the V2P programme) to develop requests to be included in their Charters of Demand to the government. In this instance, they asked for a resident doctor and nurse to staff their health centre, which was not being used, offering to partly foot the bill for their accommodation.

Developing a Charter of Demand required overcoming community level power dynamics and vested interests that blocked collective priorities being agreed, as well as securing support from more powerful actors operating at LGA and State level to support Nawgu's demands. This is where Christian Aid's power analysis approach really helped. In the case of Nawgu, traditional leaders were convinced of the benefits of using transparent processes such as the Charter of Demand to request State level support, however local councillors with vested interests in more discretionary flows of funds were not. But such was the power and determination of the newly empowered community, who exploited the changes in power balances elsewhere, and so with the State House of Assembly representative on their side and keen to keep them happy, the councillors eventually agreed. They became so overwhelmed by the collective lobbying and advocacy from the community demands that they gave in and had to go along with the community's plan. This included requesting the Health Department at the local government level and the more influential State Ministry of Health to support their requests.



In this instance, the U-turn by the local councillors was indicative of changes in power balances elsewhere.

The State House of Assembly representative for Nawgu who had political incentives to appease the community, had also bought into the Charter of Demand process. He therefore instructed the community to hurry and get their Charter of Demand documents in, putting additional pressure on the local councillors.

Unsurprisingly, given the support of MDA actors at different levels and Nawgu's Member of the House, the community's requests were soon approved. The award of a N20 million community grant funded the construction of a permanent residence for doctors, nurses and midwives that has resulted in the community having much easier access to better health services.

Source: Focus Group Discussions and key informant interviews with members of the community

Actions and achievements such as those recorded in Nawgu led to changes in power relationships and standard practices in many communities in Anambra. The community members found a collective action set of solutions through the intense community development efforts. Powerful local leaders and gatekeepers to service improvements were identified by the community through power and political analysis at local level. In some cases, this meant a significant change in that powerful actors were no longer able to rely on their traditional positional power and domineering behaviour. In others, there may have been less of a significant long-term change (only proven over time). In all cases, however, community collective action and 'power with', alongside increased positional power led to more opportunities and spaces for participation. Often these opportunities and spaces were formerly hidden or closed off to community members. Opening them up to include more voices, who were more confident to air their views and better able to make demands on government led citizens and community leaders to believe that they enjoyed the benefits of more inclusive participation. Particularly notable are the gains that were made in communities such as Ama-etiti and Nawgu in respect to gender and women's participation.

The pressure on powerful actors and governance spaces for change in attitudes and reform of openness to citizen participation and voice worked from above. As evidenced in the Nawgu case (in Box 1 above), there are always political forces acting upon elected representatives and there may be other power dynamics between the community and the politician seeking their approval. SAVI's programme was starting up at the same time in Anambra and contributed to the creation of moments when political will has changed or the softening of understanding of power and participation has enabled shifts in power. The long-term impact of this behaviour-change by the powerful is yet to be seen but the impact of these combined bottom-up, smart understanding of political and power dynamics alongside top-down change processes seems to have worked in the past three years.

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*In some cases, this meant a significant change in that powerful actors were no longer able to rely on their traditional positional power and domineering behaviour*

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### 3.1.3 Changes in women's empowerment and participation

V2P's work on gender contributed to increasing women's participation and representation in CBOs, Town Unions and some traditional governance structures, such as in the Cabinet of Igwes. Given the patriarchal power relations that govern Igbo society in Anambra this was no mean feat.

Though a number of laws were in place to protect women and children and women held senior positions in the State House of Assembly, at the start of V2P women and girls had a little or no involvement in community level decision-making processes. Women were rarely invited to public spaces, and, when they were, invisible power operating through cultural norms anchored in ethnic customs and religious beliefs prevented them from speaking out. Things were particularly bad for widows who belonged to some communities who were socially conditioned to believe that wives were responsible for the premature deaths of their husbands. These widows were discriminated against to such an extent that they were not permitted to seek hospital treatment if ill or visit any of their friends until a specific mourning period had elapsed. Sadly, their children suffered too, often becoming the targets of discrimination and abuse at school.

Community level V2P partners, who had received specialised training on gender empowerment were able to employ the Gender Empowerment and Development Organising Resource (GEADOR) tool (see Box 2) to tackle various issues arising from gendered cultural and societal norms. Underpinned by social inclusion principles it enabled a better appreciation of the nature and causes of gender issues in each individual community and the actors that perpetuated them. Staff were then able to devise community specific strategies to respond. These actions were informed by power analysis related to the gender issues using ideas from the Power Matrix framework in Appendix I. Successes ranged from preventing extreme discrimination to preparing and enabling women to play more active roles in politics and governance.

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Information from key informants and FGD participants confirmed that building community level networks and reaching consensus on CCD priorities were no easy tasks, especially in places where there were longstanding conflicts between different groups. But it became easier when people from the first set of communities that had succeeded shared experiences and became advocates. Moreover, examples from Nawgu and elsewhere suggest that careful power analysis helped. V2P partners were good at helping community members apply their contextual knowledge of both local power dynamics, including gender relations to develop community specific tactics to get their leaders on board. In some instances, they leveraged rather than opposed norms, CBMs and powerful individuals, including church leaders, who might be described as 'development entrepreneurs' played important roles in mobilising people and making successful demands for service improvement. For example, in Idemili South LGA, Ide Godwin Eze, the Secretary General of Oba Town Union, who is well respected and connected was instrumental in mobilising people to fight for a disused hospital to be revived.

The combination of V2P's work with women in communities and building momentum for change in traditional leadership, along with the reform programmes of SPARC in terms of improved practice in planning and budgeting and SAVI in terms of gender responsiveness has worked well together. SAVI in particular has evidenced instances of greater gender aware and responsive planning. Despite challenges, this push for systems reform and institutional change, alongside many of the demands that communities and their leaders made to higher level State actors, did succeed. However, this took time, and initially government responses were weak. Admittedly, this was sometimes due to the quality of Charter of Demand submissions and funding constraints of local government that had blighted progress in Christian Aid's earlier P2P programme. In other instances, though, relationships between Members of Assembly, supporting the communities they represented, and the relevant Ministerial Development Authority responsible for the services demanded by the communities were so poor that Charter of Demand requests met brick walls. In such instances, communities needed to coordinate action across LGAs and create more 'power with' through building and leveraging horizontal links and alliances. In the following section, we discuss a number of examples.

Building community level networks and agreeing on CCD priorities were not easy tasks, however they became easier when people from the first set of communities that had succeeded shared experiences and became advocates.

### 3.2 Horizontal linkages and alliances create 'power with' in Anambra State

As was noted earlier, vertical integration that seeks to address power imbalances requires the development of complex coalitions and networks, across different levels. One of the challenges facing V2P was to find ways to amplify the voices and demands of individual communities through forming linkages with other communities and horizontal accountability actors, such as the House of Assembly within the state. During the study, we identified several actions that had worked well. Some were informal or ad hoc responses to particular power imbalances and accountability deficits, including those relating to gender. Others involved more formal institutions that helped communities advance their Charters of Demand, scrutinise government budgets and monitor the implementation of projects through linkages between communities and agencies/ actors within each Local Government Area (LGA). Some scrutiny and advocacy actions involved cross-LGA collaboration linking up to power-brokers with a State-level profile. The following section reports examples of both and unpacks some of the power and political economy relationships involved.

Despite challenges, this push for systems reform and institutional change, alongside many of the demands that communities and their leaders made to higher level State actors, did succeed.

#### BOX 2: CASE STUDY

##### Women gain power within and power to participate in community governance

Emboldened by early gender analysis facilitated by V2P, women and widows began to confront unequal power relations perpetuated by traditions head on. V2P introduced communities like Nawgu to ideas that challenged perceived norms about what women and widows could do and how they should be treated. A GEADOR safe spaces technique initially focused on enabling women or girls to identify beliefs and practices that discriminated against them and then to decide how to address them. Instead of taking a confrontational approach, the women and their allies marketed the idea that reproducing customs and norms that excluded women prevented them from contributing to the economic development of the community. In some cases, educated and respected members of the community who had migrated and lived elsewhere were invited to wage in on the matter. In others, older male allies sided with the women and shamed their peers into changing protocols by challenging social norms. One man took a seat on the floor during a meeting and refused to move until the Igwe also gave women seats.

Unsurprisingly, traditional leaders in some communities with vested interests tried to resist community demands to overturn cultural norms, including those to do with greater participation of all women in community decisions and recognising their rights to inherit property, like land. However, in many instances, leaders were persuaded of the need for change. In Nagwu, women are now able to visit the Igwe's palace to present complaints without any form of discrimination. What is more, they have been appointed to various community level management committees for organisations that have been successful in attracting government funds. During 2015 for example, 10 cooperative societies (mostly women organised and managed) were successful in attracting grants for agricultural inputs from the local and state government. In addition, women have become Executive Members of the Town Union, and they are starting to use their newfound power to leverage commitments from aspiring political representatives.

During the 2015 State House of Assembly election, women in Nawgu mobilised and insisted that they could only vote for someone who would help in the development of their community market stalls that has been abandoned for years. A particular aspirant accepted the challenge and was duly elected. As of December 2016, this representative had mobilized the building of two long market stalls with several shops that are greatly appreciated by women in the community.

### 3.2.1 Women engage in horizontal alliances that create power with

Informal horizontal alliances identified during the study included the coming together of different women's groups from across Anambra to discuss women's issues. For example, instead of focusing on small-scale community development projects, women interviewed reported engaging in many collective and coordinated activities. During the "August Meeting"<sup>41</sup> that brings women together from all over Nigeria to the South East, they discussed what they could do to hold duty bearers accountable at every level of government. Another ad hoc collaborative action that also benefited women involved V2P and SAVI's joint support for teachers located in different LGAs to take collective action against a mandatory directive to procure over-priced laptops from a specific government source.<sup>42</sup> The action, which created the kind of horizontal linkages vital for vertical integration, resulted in a government response that enabled teachers to purchase the laptops on the open market.

Other initiatives that created power through linkages between women included a politically smart (or 'savvy') plan, implemented by the women's wing of the Town Union Association (ASATU), that successfully leveraged relationships with the wife of the Anambra Governor to secure funding for several women's projects. V2P partner, Development in Practice, helped them lobby the Governor's wife. Using their standard Power Analysis approach to map out power relations and identify powerful allies who could help take gender issues forward, they identified her as the wife of a senior political figure and a key route towards funding through the "Caring Family Enhancement Initiative (CAFÉ)" that she established. The analysis questioned her incentives to engage, the people and organisations who could most strongly influence her and the likely routes to access and engage her.

With help from SAVI - who had strong connections to the State level government and the Governor -, and the smart routes to engage that were identified (e.g. older women's groups and powerful women political figures close to the Governor), V2P began to facilitate regular meetings between the Governor's wife and the ASATU women's wing, female political appointees including commissioners as well as female legislators and councillors. Conversations between these different groups later led to communities accessing funds from the CAFÉ initiative, which has since funded and implemented many social projects and made training available for women including indigent widows and the less privileged across the state. So, it was clear that women began to develop and use institutions like ASATU to take on issues affecting



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women across the state. However, availing of funds from CAFÉ did not shift power relations in planning and budgeting in any meaningful way. While it allowed some women to become more empowered, it also reinforced patron–client relationships between citizens and powerful political actors. The changing nature of power relations and the temporal nature of political office makes these links and gains temporary.

During the 2014 election period, V2P partner, DIP was able to build on the foundations of this work and develop advocacy around gender issues in more formal budget spaces. This was supported by SAVI who facilitated greater coordination amongst CSOs working on gender and social inclusion policy and budgeting issues. These initiatives eventually resulted in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget inviting CSOs to make recommendations concerning how gender and social inclusion issues could be incorporated in the 2016 budget.

### **Box 3: Case Study**

#### **Collective action by teachers stops government fraud**

The imposition of a compulsory laptop procurement policy, resulting from a non-consultative meeting of the National Council on Education in 2014 caused outrage among individual teachers working in different communities in Anambra State. Under this policy, the government deducted N5,000 from every teacher's monthly salary to cover laptops costing N90,000 – almost 40% above the cost of those available on the open market. Although this affected all teachers, most of whom were women, they were not well represented by unions or sufficiently linked with other civil society organisations to take collective action and achieve the kind of 'power with' others required to challenge the policy. In despair, they turned to trusted V2P partners to help.

V2P consulted with SAVI, whose political economy analysis had identified the teachers' union lacking the horizontal relationships it required to effectively engage government. SAVI assisted V2P partners in the development of strategic and non-confrontational approaches to engaging media in their struggle for a more just procurement policy. SAVI staff helped to mentor V2P partners to support the teachers' efforts. Through continued engagement with V2P partners, the teachers soon began to realise what poor representation they were receiving from their teachers' union, and they became sufficiently empowered to decide to try and engage the government on the policy themselves. They recognised, however, to be truly powerful and increase their chances of success, they needed to continue to build horizontal linkages with others and leverage more public support. Hence V2P partners helped the teachers organise a press conference and get air time on radio programmes where they could raise public awareness of the laptop issue and their plight.

Following the media shows, the teachers gained public support, which increased their collective confidence and sense of power, as well as their resolve to take their case to higher levels of government. Here again, SAVI helped V2P to pursue a 'politically smart' strategy that amplified the public profile of the issue through the media and empowerment of the teachers. V2P continued to work with SAVI who used its relationships with senior state actors to connect the teachers to meet and engage with the Honourable Commissioner for Education. Preparation and planning for this meeting was supported by V2P with a smart power analysis of the key relationships and tactical support to the teachers for their collective advocacy.

The meeting led to a government decision to rescind the laptop procurement policy and compulsory deductions, leaving the teachers free to buy their laptops, more cost effectively, on the open market. The horizontal links and collaboration forged with the support of V2P and connections of SAVI, were an important achievement in terms of teachers' (women's) empowerment. Not only did it have a direct impact on the teachers' income and spending power; but also, the strategy and tactics used boosted their collective morale and empowered them to collectively voice their grievances and organise for action on other issues.

### 3.2.2 COMEN builds power required for a vertically integrated approach

One of the most important organisations that V2P partners like Civil Rights Concern (CRC) and The Africa Centre for Leadership Strategy and Development (Centre LSD) have helped to establish and nurture is the Community Empowerment Network, COMEN. This community-led network facilitates linkages between CBOs within and across local government council areas. As the case study below reveals, COMEN's capacity and ambition to use the collective power of its members to leverage state actors in a vertically integrated approach to doing accountability differently is now well established and growing. To summarise, collaboration between V2P and SAVI, and the establishment of community representative accountability agencies (COMEN), has resulted in empowering horizontal linkages across communities and LGAs that involve citizens (with increasingly inclusive voice of women and marginalised groups), key powerful actors and political representatives of the community.

These linkages have taken different forms as V2P and SAVI programmes progressed but they all essentially sought to amplify the voices of citizens making them better able to address power imbalances that contribute to poor quality service delivery. V2P has supported community-level empowerment and knowledge on raising community voice and formulating demands. Horizontal links between communities and across geographical divides have helped CSOs develop effective strategies and potentially sustainable movements like COMEN and women's groups, for collective action, engagement and positive dialogue with government actors on key budget and procurement issues. The laptop procurement campaign (above Box 3) illustrates the added value that programmes like SAVI can play by facilitating links with key reformers, resourcing civil society with knowledge and smart analysis, opening doors to higher government offices and brokering relationships at the State level. SAVI's political economy analysis and regular review of context have been important (well discussed elsewhere – see references in Introduction). V2P has been able to leverage on SPARC government reforms and SAVI's brokering and empowering approach to achieve some depth in community capacity and in horizontal civic muscle. Although some of these alliances are relatively new they have already played a part in triggering responsiveness. This has arguably increased prospects for a more sustained vertically integrated approach to accountability in Anambra state, the issue to which we now turn.



Below: COMEN from various LGAs holds regular review meetings at the State level with V2P partners in order to share experiences, and lessons.

## BOX 4: CASE STUDY

### The Community Empowerment Network (COMEN) becomes a considerable force

In 2013, V2P initiated the creation of the Community Empowerment Network (COMEN) comprised of community based monitors who successfully helped a number of individual communities prepare and garner support for their Charters of Demands (CCDs). Supported by Centre LSD, COMEN also helped communities to assess whether the funds remitted from the State are the amounts committed and whether the standard (quality) specified in contracts funded are met. Since 2013, COMEN has become valued by Anambra citizens and state actors to such an extent that it appears to be taking over the role of V2P partners in institutionalising the V2P approach. COMEN members are providing peer support and mentoring to communities and Local Government Areas (LGAs) that were not initially included in the V2P programme. According to several communities and LGAs, this has been highly successful. As Vitus Oraegbunan, community member from Onitsha South explained, COMEN members from other areas helped train his community and enable them to develop a Charter of Demand. COMEN also helped them engage with the LGA on the illegal levying of taxes (double taxation issues).

Thanks to COMEN, communities and LGAs have also used their muscle and connections to gain access to documents such as Bills of Quantities that they can use to monitor community projects. In Ezinifite, Nnewi South, the local authority staff, responsible for local development management, used them to hold a contractor accountable for breaching his contract by using sub-standard materials in the construction of a Health Facility. In another example, Community-Based Monitors were able to use relationships with the Ministry of Education to gain access to the information they needed to prove fraud. At issue was the collusion between a school Principal and a contractor that led to the misuse of funds. In both cases monitoring by community members and LGA staff led to the construction materials being of proper quantity and quality. But more importantly from the perspective of a programme trying to institutionalise change in accountability relationships, they established a precedent for communities requesting and accessing the Bills of Quality (BOQs) that they needed to prove fraud and hold service providers to account. Members of COMEN are concerned with enabling individual communities to achieve better services, and they are increasingly helping aggregate efforts in order create a more powerful network able to tackle power imbalances at local government and State levels. This involves sharing learning from early achievements. News of Ezinifite's successful challenge, for example, has encouraged other communities to demand access to the details of contracts for the construction or improvement of similar facilities. COMEN's future strategy aims to take similar action at higher levels through monitoring bigger programmes that are part of Local, State or Federal Budgets. It has already monitored a Federal level project being implemented in Awka Etiti, Idemili South LGA.

COMEN is also increasingly valued and legitimated by the Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget (MEPB). Members have been tasked to play an intermediary role in its relationships with LGAs and communities. The MEPB has asked COMEN to check Community Charters of Demand have gone through proper approval processes and to ensure timely submission of them to relevant Ministries. This enables COMEN to help communities use them to open space with other key agencies and actors at LGAs and State level. It also helps citizens to access horizontal accountability actors, such as Constituency representatives at local, state and federal levels (councillors and assembly members) to discuss their issues as well as church and faith leaders that who often play pivotal roles in mediating these discussions and relationships.

Along with other key stakeholders such as the council of Town Unions (COSATU), COMEN now receives all Budget Call Circulars issued by government. This has enabled it to make important contributions to budgetary decisions taken by the State Government regarding how it will fund Community Charter of Demand requests. In 2016, for example, COMEN's representations influenced decisions to set up a supplementary Special Fund amounting to N20 million for each community to fund projects requested.

In 2017 its actions also contributed to the State making a further provision of N3.6 billion available for community level projects. In addition, COMEN members have been given responsibility for monitoring the proper use of the Special Fund proceeds allocated for community level CCDs, before approving any community requests for additional resources. They feed community based monitors (CBMs) on state level policies or requests every single move that have been made at the State level through their 'WhatsApp' group. Despite its growing influence, it was only relatively recently that COMEN leaders considered coming together formally to act at the State level. According to Christopher Onuchukwu, the acting secretary of COMEN, learning and sharing across the different LGAs would give them more strength, and creative ideas.

"If we come together under one body, then we can directly discuss with the state government instead of going [to the state] local government by local government."

**Christopher Onuchukwu, acting secretary, COMEN**

Consequently, COMEN has registered with the Coalition of Civil Societies in the South East and acquired an office at the State Capital. It is currently fundraising to enable the effective set up and running of the Office. COMEN's priorities include mobilising citizens to participate in constituency level briefings that provide new spaces for them to engage with state and federal level legislators, who are important horizontal accountability actors, to discuss issues concerning their constituencies. In addition, it is planning to advocate for the Community Charter of Demand to be officially institutionalised through the passing of a relevant bill that would make it law.

### 3.3 Vertical Integration and Changing State Behaviour in Anambra State

Through coordinated oversight of public sector actors at different levels, vertical integration tries to address power imbalances that cause poor service delivery by using analysis of how power relations cause accountability failures. As mentioned in the introduction, the design of V2P, a relatively small programme was quite modest in this respect. Though it took a vertically integrated approach that was enhanced through its relationship with SAVI, V2P's initial focus was on using rights awareness to address power imbalances by increasing government budget commitments to improve service delivery. Building on this, V2P moved on to trying to change accountability behaviours through monitoring projects and advocating against corrupt practices. The V2P–SAVI relationship worked well for both programmes. A relationship with V2P provided SAVI with strong community linkages and facilitated V2P's mobilisation of community voices in state level policy and budget spaces.<sup>43</sup> SAVI worked with V2P to communicate downwards so that information concerning government policies reached local communities. V2P provided information in the simple terms needed by communities to enhance their participation in local governance. V2P partners benefited from and added to SAVI's contacts in the Executive, Legislature and the media: in the case of V2P's State-level partner, Centre for Leadership Strategy and Development, their connections with some of the key power-holders and power-brokers at State level were very strong<sup>44</sup>.



Therefore, V2P had robust capacity to create spaces for participation and voice and SAVI acted as a facilitator and broker<sup>45</sup> for citizen-state engagement. The two programmes worked together to boost the visibility of communities' demands, the COMEN, the key V2P partners themselves such as CRC and JDPC and the other CSOs who were mobilised by V2P at the State level by providing the required leverage, linking them up with the legislative arm of the government and brokering opportunities for community voices to be projected to the state level where policies are made<sup>46</sup>.

Despite some leaders being slow to cede space and embrace citizen engagement at community level, the JDPCs made important contributions to shifting community level power imbalances that were preventing citizens realising the rights to services, land etc through working with CBMs and other committees (see Section 3.1). In many of the LGAs where V2P was implemented men, women, girls and boys now have greater voice and influence in planning, budgeting and service delivery processes. What is more, these activities are becoming increasingly coordinated through COMEN creating relationships between community-based organisations across the different LGAs in Anambra. According to those interviewed, COMEN and other actors such as SAVI, V2P's media partners, CRC and the Centre LSD have also leveraged these horizontal networks to amplify the voice and power of people to have more influence at State level (Section 3.2).

Through linking participation at local and district levels with coordinated advocacy and analysis at State level, V2P partners and SAVI have created a feedback loop. Local V2P partners and SAVI identified opportunities for citizen scrutiny of budgets and services through CBMs. These have been aided by faith based leaders who are widely respected and able to link with reform-minded state actors with the power to improve policy and budgets for services. Anecdotal stories of Members of Assembly putting pressure on local leaders to submit their CCDs, positive responses from MDAs to request for project funds and action on complaints concerning corrupt procurement and expenditure, all indicate that the behaviour of some state actors towards citizens is changing. Feedback loops are starting to close and work both ways and there is incipient capacity in Anambra for "multi-level independent policy monitoring and advocacy" (Fox and Acheron 2016)<sup>47</sup>. In this section we examine some reported changes in state actor behaviour in more detail, asking whether they really signify a change in power relations. At the same time, we unpack the roles that V2P partners, such as CRC and SAVI played in enabling COMEN and other actors to leverage citizens' voices and bring these changes about.

### 3.4 Institutionalisation of the Community Charters of Demand

One of the most notable indications of changes in power balances between state level actors and citizens that implies vertical integration is beginning to work is the government's ongoing requests for citizen inputs into budgets through its acceptance and adoption of the Community Charter of Demand (CCD). Such is their importance that the collection and collation of CCDs from all communities in Anambra has become a permanent feature in the State's official budget calendar. Moreover, a special unit has been established within a Planning Division of the State

#### Box 5:

##### Understanding the CCD process

1. Sensitization of community members using local information dissemination methods.
2. Community/town hall meetings where women, men and youths are represented.
3. Identification, harmonization, prioritization and documentation of needs.
4. Endorsement of documented needs by President General (PG), Traditional Ruler (TR) Women leader (WL) and the Youth Leader (YL).
5. Submission of document to the Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget and other relevant MDAs, Local Government Administration through the Department of Budget, Planning, Research and Statistics (BPRS); as well as the Constituency representative at local, state and federal levels.

Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget (MEPB) that collects and collates them. This unit has to analyse the inputs, check that the proper formats have been used and that different actors within communities have agreed the content before the half yearly budget report is prepared. The following case study explores how this came about and what it means in terms of shifts in power imbalances.

6. Analysis and approval by the State Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget. President General, Youth and Women Leaders are respected and locally appointed authorities within communities in Anambra state.

## BOX 6: CASE STUDY

### Community Charters of Demand (CCD) contribute to more responsive budgets<sup>48</sup>

When V2P started, participatory budget forums (PBFs) organised by the government were commonly seen as invited spaces shaped by visible and hidden power. CSOs were informed of budget decisions, with little power or influence over the allocation of public funds; engagement between the media, the State House of Assembly and CS on budget matters was characterised by mistrust. In 2014 and 2015, these power dynamics changed dramatically with many communities receiving positive responses to requests for funding to improve local services. The use of CCDs was believed to have played a critical role in making special funds available that led to amounts of government budget dedicated to social development increasing from 12% in 2014 to 21% in 2015.

Events contributing to the change started before the 2014 PBF, with V2P's awareness and community mobilisation programmes, and the building up from community demand to engaging local government on key demands. This increasingly trusted and engaged community-driven force for change identified key stakeholders and powerful actors who were likely to provide routes towards change. V2P targeted quick wins and the Anambra gubernatorial elections provided many opportunities in late 2013. Then SAVI, in conjunction with SPARC which was leading budgetary process reform from within government, engaged CSOs, including V2P partners such as Civil Rights Concern and Centre-LSD, to use their collective power more effectively to advocate for change. SAVI worked with V2P to help these various partners, including several media stations, analyse the state budget and educate communities and the Town Union Association on how budget decisions were made at state and local level. Furthermore, COMEN provided crucial horizontal collective organising across and between the various communities and districts. SAVI also arranged for the CSOs to present their analysis of the State's budget performance at the 2014 PBF, using a non-confrontational, appreciative engagement and evidence based advocacy approach. The presentation, which evidenced and drew attention to low spending on social sectors, had the desired effect as it prompted the government to invite communities to submit their prioritised needs for consideration in the next budget cycle.

This was an opportunity for government officials and leaders to show they were listening and engaging (pressure from SPARC and SAVI) but it was also a win for V2P (and SAVI) who had pushed for this engagement. Armed and prepared, the 50 representatives from communities where V2P had been working produced their requests in the form of documented CCDs on the spot. Following a discussion with SAVI, DFID, V2P and SPARC, the Commissioner for Budget and Economic Planning requested that all the 177 communities of Anambra submit their 6 prioritized needs for the 2015 budget, using the Charter of Demand. At the same time, the government committed to partner with V2P and other CSOs on budget preparation through what was to become known as the Advocacy Budget Group.

The meeting also led to the formation of a State Budget Committee that included representatives from CS and the ASATU. Subsequently there was far more meaningful input from citizens and CSOs than had been possible previously. Civil Rights Concern (CRC), supported the evidence-based advocacy emerging from the COMENs. CRC staff helped present community level concerns raised in the CCDs and the results of community-based monitoring to the LGAs and State House of Assembly.

In this research, questions arose as to the reasons lying behind the change that had taken place, from the empty and largely decorative dialogue in the past, without any real buy-in from government or traction on key issues, to a participatory, meaningful dialogue with more balanced power relations between citizens/civil society and government. On the one hand could this change be read as simply a political game playing in response to donor pressure exerted under SPARC? The interviews with government staff suggested that instead there were more significant changes in government behaviour taking place and the use of the CCD tool indicated the beginning of more significant shifts in power imbalances between citizens and Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs). Increased publicity of the government taking ownership of and institutionalising the CCD, made possible through V2P and SAVI's relationships with media, raised the political profile of participatory budgeting, which added to pressure on MDAs to sustain and grow the initiative.

According to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget, every community had become part of the game and thus the State had no alternative than to respond. In fact, it had decided to make provisions for a Special Fund in order to cater for the demands of the people also working through the recognized town union in each community. In 2016 therefore, a Special Fund "Community Infrastructural Project - Choose your project" programme was approved, that allows each community to access N20 million or more every fiscal year. Moreover, 2016 budget circulars were disseminated widely and communities were once again invited to give their input using the Charter of Demand. As news of successful CCDs grew, even more communities started to demand projects, and the politically astute groundwork by V2P of appealing to State incentives began to have new implications. State actors felt they had to respond to continued and increasing demand from citizens and they were thus persuaded to increase the amount available to N3.6 Billion, as well as to integrate this Special Fund into the State's Medium-Term Budget Framework (see Annex 2 for details).

Over time, and because of engagement with V2P partners aided by SAVI, and with the supply-side governance reform measures of SPARC, State-level government and LGAs began to view the participation and inclusion of community voices in these processes as helping them do their job. During interviews, they remarked that the CCDs help the government to overcome the risk of prioritising the wrong things or omitting key community concerns from plans, as well as monitoring the challenges of non-implementation of programmes. They also see spaces created by the CCD process providing citizens an opportunity to understand the limitations of the State in terms of the resources it has available to it to meet demands. The CCD process has thus played an important part in shifting transparency norms that have made the entire state budget accessible to citizens who now understand what the state or local government can or cannot do at a given point in time.

Shifts in balances of power that have contributed to infrastructure and service delivery improvements reported earlier have resulted from community members' increased participation in budget processes plus better project monitoring. CBMs help to ensure that any funds received by communities, for example from the State Budget are well spent. The Community Empowerment Network (COMEN) (see 3.2 above) is playing a key role in helping communities use information such as Bills of Quantities to prevent fraud and poor construction of buildings. Additionally, there is some evidence that State Actors are taking actions that give these efforts teeth. The Principal of a secondary school involved in the collusion and improper use of funds in Ezinifite, for example, was fired by the Post-Primary School Management Board (PPSMB) for his actions. The community had complained about his misconduct and prompted action by the appropriate sanctioning managerial body. Clearly, much remains to be done before Anambra state achieves a fully vertically integrated accountability system capable of monitoring all public services at every level. Achieving vertical integration in accountable governance requires institutionalising monitoring at different levels in ways that prevent corrupt practices in one part of the system moving onto another.

In practice, budget allocations, commodity supplies and information availability required to hold the government to account are still often missing. But key informants spoken to during the study argue that the change that has been achieved may be irreversible because the pressure the people of Anambra and civil society at local and State levels are putting on the government is so strong. By working politically and in collaboration with SAVI, V2P partners have contributed to important progress. With a relatively conducive context and evidence of the growing power and confidence of COMEN to play a key role in advancing these gains, prospects for continued progress look good. COMEN is working with communities and alliances who have used power analysis to open up spaces for engagement at both community and state level and link these processes using coalitions and alliances that provide citizens in Anambra more power.

Additionally, it has also used this powerinformed thinking to make demands for more responsive governance that go beyond Anambra State. In 2017 COMEN not only submitted their analysis of the effects of the federal government's budget on Anambra State through their respective representatives in the Upper and Lower Houses of the National Assembly, they also started to advocate for more budget equality within and across Nigeria's different states. This contribution to the 2017 Federal budget process gets to the heart of what vertical integration is all about. Inequality in project allocation across states does not just happen. It is a product of the economic, social and political policy decisions and choices made by the State on behalf of her citizens. If community organisations in Anambra state like COMEN restrict their demands for accountable governance to Anambra alone, they could achieve more accountable governance there, while shifting unaccountable practices elsewhere. This makes COMEN's advocacy for the spread of the approaches of programmes like V2P and SAVI to other areas and States all the more important.

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The Community Empowerment Network (COMEN) (see 3.2 above) is playing a key role in helping communities use information such as Bills of Quantities to prevent fraud and poor construction of buildings.

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**Below:** Voice to the People empowered communities to demand for improvements in service delivery. Community members now periodically monitor the delivery of these services.

## 4. REFLECTIONS

## 4.0 REFLECTIONS ON FACTORS THAT HAVE HELPED AND HINDERED CHANGE

V2P's collaborative approach has had considerable influence on community empowerment and attitudes towards the state in Anambra. There is evidence that this has led to more collective action and coordination at LGA level and above that, has influenced state institutions and accountability behaviours. However, much more remains to be done to advance vertically integrated accountability. In this section, we bring together reflections on the various factors that have helped and hindered V2P and the Anambra government/ civil society to do accountability differently and achieve the various results discussed in earlier sections.

### Conducive political context and focus on soft policy areas

The political context in Anambra State was largely supportive of V2P's approach, which mostly focused on soft policy areas such as health, education and agriculture where quick wins could be made. Public accountability is weak, but politicians had incentives to respond to local demands for specific projects to win favour with local constituents.<sup>49</sup> The 2014 local government elections, which resulted in democratically elected ward and supervisory councillors from the communities concerned, facilitated relationships and inspired citizens to believe some of their demands could be addressed by these actors. Building community awareness and rights-claiming skills also appeared as non-threatening and acceptable, especially as these activities were initially led by a church-based agency (JDPC). The governance reform (SPARC) and accountability (SAVI) programmes also incentivised the shared search for demonstrable progress. Despite these helpful conditions, age-old power structures within the political economy, including those operating above state level, and cultural norms remain obstacles to achieving enhanced accountability in some areas.

### V2P partners credibility and ability to inspire respect and trust

Many people interviewed in communities mentioned trust and transparency as key reasons for participating in various awareness building and training initiatives. One of V2P's biggest strengths was that it worked with and helped existing local institutions develop capacity and undertake collective action together rather than trying to build new ones. Links with faith-based agencies such as the Catholic-linked JDPC helped instil confidence amongst the large Catholic population. But high levels of trust meant partners were able to mobilise people irrespective of their faith, beliefs and political affiliation for a common goal. Partners' relationships with senior level church leaders helped gain access to state level spaces too. And their commitment to communities even in the absence of donor funding (a feature rarely found in civil society organisations given their reliance on time-bound funds) inspired SAVI to engage with them too.

Lessons from the implementation of the V2P programme showed that the following factors have an influence on whether or not the change in governance processes we seek will be achieved:

1. Conducive political context
2. Credibility of development partners and CSOs and their ability to inspire respect and trust
3. Effective communication methods suitable for identified audiences
4. Citizens' desire and commitment to achieve change
5. Key individuals and development entrepreneurs
6. Duty bearers' responsiveness which inspires further participation

## **Ability to communicate information in simple and easy to understand formats**

Community members remarked on the effectiveness of V2P partners' communications strategies. The budget analysis and information fed to communities on their rights was strong. Citizens' desire and commitment to achieve change. None of the changes would have been possible without the commitment of hundreds of people living in different communities in Anambra. Like the teachers pursuing just procurement policies, they placed their trust in V2P partners and engaged in a series of activities that have brought change in the form of a sense of empowerment and improved services and gender relations. Key individuals and development entrepreneurs. As is to be expected from the initial literature reviewed, a number of influential individuals really made a difference. These included faith leaders and President Generals who raised women's issues. Similarly, SAVI staff played key roles in leveraging spaces for citizens to engage with duty holders.



V2P and SAVI worked in a symbiotic relationship that enabled each programme to leverage on the other to achieve key results

## **Responses by duty bearers inspired further participation**

Reformers committed to social development and politicians seeking reelection had incentives to increase funding for community development projects, as well as to institutionalise more participatory planning and monitoring processes. As a consequence, citizens recognising their power to influence state responsiveness and accountability were inspired to continue and deepen their participation in needs analysis as well as project monitoring, sometimes in new sectors and policy areas.

## **Strategic relationship between SAVI and V2P that enabled thinking and working politically**

Many gains made at state level were due to a symbiotic relationship between SAVI and V2P who offered a mechanism to link citizens directly with the state government. SAVI enabled V2P partners to take more strategic approaches to engage in planning budgeting and oversight. Approaches and tools that were shared during the partnership: V2P partners identified the following as being particularly effective include:

- Christian Aid's Community Charter of Demand that provided a very simple means for communities to come together in inclusive processes; to identify key issues; and to formulate requests in a format that they could use to open new spaces for engagement. Importantly, government officers later saw the CCD as a tool to help them prioritise community development needs and do their jobs.
- Christian Aid's approach to working with communities helped partners develop more participatory and holistic approaches to working at community level.
- Christian Aid's approach to power mapping and analysis helped partners and communities to identify different forms of power that held them back from realising their potential. It also enabled them to identify who had the most power and could help them open spaces, express voice and pursue their rights. Power analysis was particularly useful for identifying stakeholders from their communities who were close to the government and could overcome 'hidden power' and drive their agendas, sometime through working at the state level.
- V2P's Gender Analysis tools and circles: These approaches helped people to identify cultural norms - invisible power- that discriminated against various disadvantaged groups and develop sufficient peer support to try and confront them.

- The Innovation Fund allowed CBOs to try some short-term experiments. A few, such as including people living with disability in CCD processes and establishing mobile legal support for women, were successful. Yet there were several challenges. These included Christian Aid having inadequate resources to provide these small organisations the ongoing support they required.
- SAVI's politically smart, non-confrontational approach to building broad based coalitions and using evidence based approaches equipped V2P partners with new advocacy skills, while encouraging them to change tactics in their work with government, communities and media. They were appreciative of the links provided to media and State of Assembly members, but less so of relationships with other CSOs. Although they found political economy analysis useful for identifying allies and spaces for engagement at the State level, they did not find it so easy to link this to power analysis carried out with communities and LGAs. V2P partners also valued the backseat role SAVI took and tried to adopt this in their work with communities.

The partnership also benefited from V2P and SAVI sharing office space, which made planning, information sharing and learning much more efficient and effective. SAVI benefited from having negotiated a flexible results framework with DFID. This meant staff were able respond to opportunities and support needs as they arose. Christian Aid, on the other hand, was more constrained in terms of its results framework but used a learning and innovation approach to flex and adapt according to progress made.



## 5.0 CONCLUSION

Based on evidence that V2P, a DFID funded programme managed by Christian Aid had contributed to increasing citizens' voice in the planning and monitoring of Anambra state budgets, we set out to explore what these achievements might mean for more vertically integrated accountability. V2P and SAVI have both played important roles in establishing the foundations of a vertically integrated approach that can be strengthened within PERL.

Supported by V2P's faith-based partners, many communities in Anambra state have overcome bottlenecks and secured responses from politicians and other state actors, resulting in special funds for community projects. These achievements were encouraged by: trust established by V2P partners; an issue-based approach that strengthened collaboration amongst indigenous CSOs; alongside simple and effective tools to articulate demands and identify allies. One of V2P's most notable contributions to increasing prospects for vertically integrated governance has been the government's acceptance and institutionalisation of V2P's Community Charter of Demand (CCD). This has increased funds available for social development, while also shifting power imbalances between state and citizens by creating more space for citizen voices to influence state budgeting processes in the future. Reasons for success include a carefully orchestrated, non-confrontational evidence based campaign brokered by SAVI that enabled V2P to access high level budget forums and leverage the CCD tool, which had been used by individual communities and V2P partners to build horizontal alliances. Moreover, the practicality of the CCD tool helped administrators do their jobs, and given increasing demands from citizens, it was politically expedient for the government to adopt it. While it is hard to gauge the true implications of the institutionalisation of the CCD tool, state level actors feel that the level of citizen demands are such that there is no going back. It thus appears that the institutionalisation of the CCD tool could mark an important milestone in reshaping citizen state power relationships and an essential step in a longer term quest for accountable governance in Anambra.

Doing accountability differently involves influencing budgets, but it also requires careful monitoring of budget implementation, and there are increasing examples of V2P triggering community level social accountability initiatives with teeth. What is more, communities in Anambra state are beginning to develop the horizontal linkages required to monitor, larger state-wide programmes. The Community Empowerment Network (COMEN), for example, now plays a formal role in coordinating community demands and project monitoring, and has ambitions to do much more, though the effectiveness of this body as a LGA level oversight body is yet to be established.

A campaign against a corrupt laptop procurement policy foisted on teachers illustrates the potential for more ad hoc approaches to vertical integration; it also points to lessons for Christian Aid. The campaign's success in enhancing horizontal networks and engagement with relevant state level actors can be attributed to V2P's relationship with SAVI. Partners particularly appreciated SAVI's non-confrontational and backseat approach, as well as the relationships it brokered with media actors and State of Assembly members. Though they found the political economy analysis promoted by SAVI useful for identifying allies and spaces for engagement at the State level, they did not find it so easy to link this to the power analysis work carried out with communities and LGAs. This suggests Christian Aid's partners may need more support if they are to use power analysis to identify the root causes of accountability failures in vertically integrated approaches in the future.

One achievement deserving special mention is V2P's success in challenging gender norms and increasing women's social, economic and political participation. Providing safe spaces for women to reflect on social norms that discriminated against and prevented them from participating in society

created a greater sense of agency and power within. With support from male allies, these women also managed to shift some traditional leaders' attitudes and behaviours towards women's rights to property, as well as their social, economic and political participation. This may only mark a small step in the journey towards gender equality, but it is an important one when it comes to women playing meaningful oversight roles at different levels.

What all of the above means in terms of the potential for vertical integration and more significant change in Anambra's political culture and power relations between political elites and ordinary citizens is hard to tell. Gains are still modest and challenges experienced in some communities and the overall political context indicate change will take time. Nevertheless, it is evident that the V2P and SAVI relationship funded by DFID has enabled more coordinated engagement between citizens and government across administrative levels and geographical areas than was possible under previously funded donor programmes. Time will tell if PERL can iterate, adapt and replicate the effects, while translating them into more significant shifts in power. Such achievements will require strong coordination of activities to monitor spending of budgets on special projects and more significant government programmes. In the meantime, however, V2P's relationship with SAVI has generated some potential lessons and research questions worthy of further discussion by those who want to be more politically smart and do accountability differently.

## 5.1 Potential lessons and new questions

For communities and civil society organisations and state reformers in Nigeria:

- The V2P and SAVI experience demonstrates that combining an issue identification based approach with simple tools can mobilise and create solidarity between indigenous organisations within different communities in Nigeria. Such collective action can produce the power to open new spaces for engagement within communities and between communities and state level government. How, if at all, can the approach be replicated/ scaled up effectively in the current PERL programme and the new phase of V2P that seeks to embed and to integrate more emphasis on vertically integrated accountability?
- Fostering relationships with allies, like SAVI, who can broker relationships with influential reformers using modest, back seat approaches appears a useful strategy in Anambra. Linking such action with trusted faith based institutions in Catholic communities appears to increase efficacy. Does the approach work as well in states where different parties hold majorities or where people practice different faiths?
- Media is a powerful tool commonly used across many development projects. In V2P the lessons are that getting local media onside and building a campaign with media interests and journalists can consolidate small gains on issues and incentivise local leaders to act and be seen to be acting. The question is how can this approach be further integrated into programmes and scaled up in the future? Moreover, how can it be used to increase feedback to communities on the outcomes of accountability seeking efforts, which is an area needing improvement.
- Simple approaches to increasing gender awareness can have significant effects on norm perceptions about the political roles women can play in society. Can this be translated into policies that benefit all women equally?
- If vertical integration is to be truly effective and lead to shifts in state society relations that benefit all Nigerians, then communities need to support demands for community budget monitoring across all states as advocated by COMEN. This will prevent government actors responding to the needs of political constituencies, or groups who manage to organise and express voice more effectively than others.

For policy makers, practitioners and academics elsewhere:

- Can/has the model used in Anambra be/been applied in other contexts? What are the lessons? How can it be adapted to strengthen its emphasis on accountability?
- Despite its interest in power, this study did not have sufficient resources to explore how power dynamics worked within the Anambra networks seeking more accountable governance. Additional research on how these networks comprised of individuals with different cultural, political, personal and professional backgrounds managed differences of opinion and reached agreements or settlements could be fruitful. Participatory planning can be vulnerable to elite capture,<sup>50</sup> so a greater focus on this and how poor and marginalised men and women participate and benefit from processes such as Citizens' Demand Charter assessments could be a useful focus of research, evaluation and learning in PERL.

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For donors wanting to support politically smart adaptive development:

- The SAVI -V2P relationship in the context of Anambra certainly illustrates the potential benefits of strategic use of donor money in such a way that it supports/ catalyses locally-led change that can take on a life of its own beyond donor funding. Shaping, driving and incentivising Civil Society activity at all levels through indigenous and genuinely local programmes has been key to these benefits: highly motivated local groups and brokers seeking to hold governments to account. Yet it also suggests that there is an ongoing need for and value in providing relatively small amounts of support for community based organisations and small NGOs, particularly those with strong faith based connections. They are very good at doing development differently.<sup>51</sup>

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For INGOs:

- V2P's relationship with SAVI offers opportunities and challenges for INGOs. On the one hand, it illustrates the potential benefit of politically smart, locally led approaches that link local organisations with high penetration with brokers who work collaboratively and/or behind the scenes at higher levels of government. But it also raises questions concerning the roles and confrontational approaches taken by some international NGOs in the past.

## ANNEX 1: The V2P Power Matrix applied to Women's Participation in Governance

January 2016

**Table 3: V2P power matrix – increasing women's participation in local governance**

Actors	Problem/power analysis	Responses and strategies	
<b>Visible power: shown through observable/tangible decision-making mechanisms and forums</b>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>President General</li> <li>Traditional ruler (Igwe) and cabinet</li> <li>Village heads</li> <li>District councillor</li> <li>Policies, laws (formal and traditional)</li> <li>Budgets</li> <li>Men-only meetings</li> <li>Civil society organisations (CSOs)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tradition of not challenging male authority especially for women.</li> <li>Male domination of political power and leadership.</li> <li>Gender-biased policies and laws.</li> <li>Decision-making in exclusive groups and meetings that are only open to male elites.</li> <li>No complaints procedure, recourse, scrutiny or mechanisms of engagement with the government.</li> <li>CSOs reinforce the exclusion in their organisational behaviour.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Women's empowerment and gender sensitisation (and men involved in it) through gender empowerment (GEADOR) circles to change traditional view (<b>power with and within</b>).</li> <li>Capacity building and mentoring for women leaders (<b>power within and to</b>).</li> <li>CSO networks support collective action (<b>power with</b>).</li> <li>Media and social media make very visible connections between leaders and women (<b>power with, within and to</b>).</li> <li>Participation in town hall unions negotiated collectively (<b>power to</b>).</li> <li>Igwe influenced by advisors to involve women and supports women to participate (<b>power with and to</b>).</li> </ul>	Building collective power
<b>Hidden power: this forms or influences the political agenda behind the scenes, and excludes and discriminates</b>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Umuadas (wise women) groups</li> <li>Secret societies</li> <li>Vested interests of men (leaders)</li> <li>Igwe, village council, town hall union</li> <li>Igwe's wife and close associates</li> <li>Media: radio, newspapers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Umuadas exercise hidden but significant influence over individuals and the Igwe.</li> <li>Women (potential) leaders labelled trouble-makers or unrepresentative by men.</li> <li>Secret societies make key decisions behind closed doors (<b>closed spaces</b>).</li> <li>Women's issues: seen as private, individual, not worthy of public action.</li> <li>Media misrepresents or misinforms or ignores women's issues.</li> <li>Igwe's wife and close associates influence agenda in private (<b>intimate domain</b>).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Positively influencing informal umuadas (<b>private spaces for women/power with</b>).</li> <li>Collective representation by women (<b>power with</b>).</li> <li>Participatory community research and dissemination of information, ideas and images that validate women's issues (<b>knowledge power</b>).</li> <li>Use of alternative media outlets, social media and radio to expose true agendas (<b>knowledge power/public domain</b>).</li> <li>Build relationships with Igwe's wife and associates or find a bridging relationship of trust and confidence to utilise her strong influence on Igwe (<b>intimate domain</b>).</li> <li>Women's participation in cabinet influences Igwe's decision-making (<b>power to/claimed space</b>).</li> </ul>	Confronting, engaging, negotiating
<b>Invisible power: shaping meaning, values and what is 'normal'</b>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Unwritten rules of social behaviour and social norms</li> <li>Cultural norms and values, dominant ideologies, eg. religion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Inequality and discrimination in representation: lack of women, especially young, in key positions.</li> <li>Women are kept 'in their place' through cultural practices that protect male dominance.</li> <li>Ideologies, such as church doctrine or religious beliefs that reinforce women's place as 'in the home'.</li> <li>Lack of information and knowledge that inhibits women's ability to question, resist and posit alternative policies.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Media messages awareness and knowledge of rights: radio-listening clubs, Facebook groups (<b>knowledge power, power to, power within, power with</b>).</li> <li>CSOs and education programmes to work with key influential male leaders to overcome stigma or cultural barriers (<b>knowledge power</b>).</li> <li>GEADOR circle as a forum for open discussion, learning and sharing stories (<b>knowledge power, power within</b>).</li> <li>Religious leaders positively present benefits of women participating (<b>power within, positive power over</b>).</li> </ul>	Individual/collective power

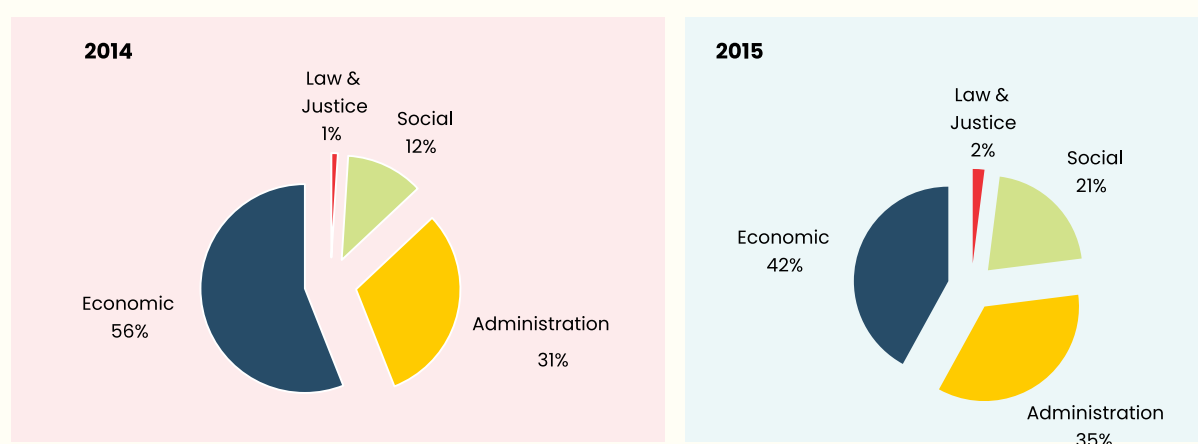


## ANNEX 2: DETAILED CHANGES IN BUDGET BEHAVIOUR<sup>52</sup>

In 2015, the State Budget was tagged “Budget for Wealth Creation and Social Cohesion” and targeted economic and social development priorities as outlined in four pillars that include: Agriculture, Industrialization, Trade and Commerce and Oil and Gas. Submissions of CCD and the demand for more accountable governance made the budgeting process more participatory and the spending commitments more people-centred. The social sector received 21% of the total budget in 2015 as against 12% in 2014, while for the first time, there was a 100% increase in the law and justice allocation from 2014 to 2015.

See figure 1 below for details in the shift in the two-year period.

Figure 1: Anambra State Expenditure pattern for the period 2014 –2015 by the four Major Sectors



Source: Anambra State Accountant General's Reports and Financial Statements for the period 2014 and 2015.

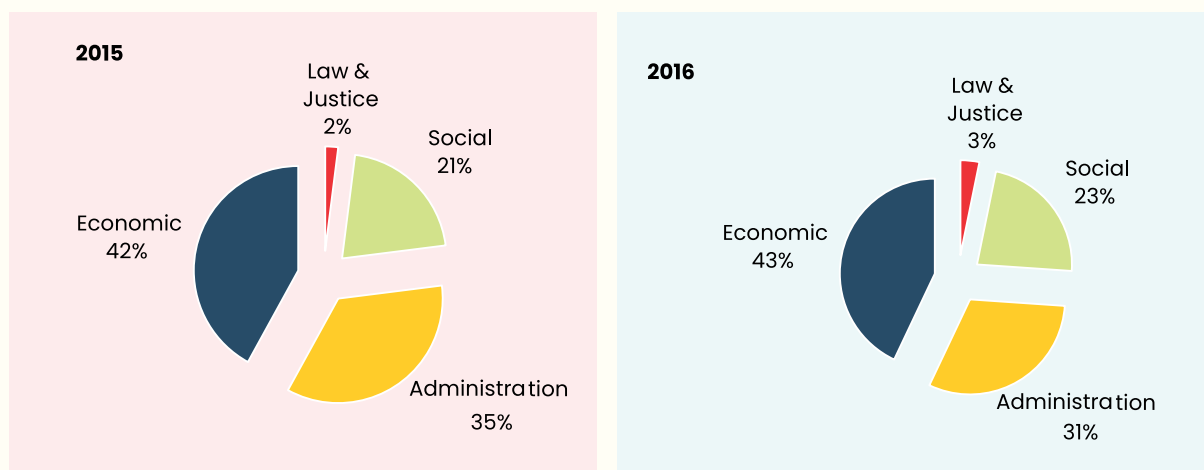
Submission of CCDs by different communities not only changed the major sectoral landscape of the budget but also the state ministerial budget. In 2014, when vertical integration wasn't that strong, the highest budget allocation were for Works (Roads, Bridges & Drainages); Executive Governor's Office; Education; Health, Office of Secretary to the State Government (SSG); Finance; Environment, etc. The 2015 budget took another turn as the new order became: Works (Roads, Bridges & Drainages); Education; Health; Agriculture; Housing and Urban Development, etc. According to information from the Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget, these changes were a result of new requests from 22 communities,<sup>53</sup> ranging from increase in agricultural loans, increase infertilizer and requests for provision of improved seedlings – yams, Cassava, Maize, Rice and provisions of tractors. All these requests were met at various levels according to government records the same year. This, according to the State Government officials have never happened before (Communities making demands and the demands being met).

Similarly, about 23 communities (Ichi, Ezinifite, Akwaihedi, Amichi, Ihembosi, Mgbakwu, Urum, Amanuke, Ogwu-Ikpele, Mbosi, Omor, Nando, Ukwulu, Isseke, Enuguotu, etc) made new demands in education ranging from physical infrastructure – buildings, perimeter fencing, teachers' quarters, students' desks, tables and chairs while Oraukwu requested the establishment of adult education centre to improve literacy. There were about 52 responses to cater for sub-units of the education sector in the same year alone. Also, the number of communities that made new health demands ranging from development of health centres, building of staff quarters, supply of medical equipment, laboratory equipment and refrigerators were 29 and government responded in providing 77 items of such demands including the upgrade of different Primary Health Centres (PHCs) and Referral Health Centres (RHCs).

29 requests were made on roads, water and sanitation with government responding to 33 in different sub-sections of water/sanitation, roads and erosion control. Government liaised with the Community Based Monitors (CBMs) to see that these facilities were provided to improve service delivery.

With more improvement in participatory budgeting and governance, the 2016 budget was tagged “A Budget of Efficiency, Maximization and Productivity” with more funds for Agriculture, Education, Health and Trade facilitation due to the demand from series of communities. The 2016 budget was smaller than the 2015 budget and according to the State Governor, Anambra was expected to “do more with less” because of the interest coming from the citizens. In 2016 alone, about 60% of the communities had CCD submitted on issues ranging from education, health, agriculture, general infrastructure (rural electrification, roads, bridges, drainages and culverts) and public utilities (water and sanitation). The Governor speech said that “the 2016 budget would focus more to unlock the economic potentials of the state through items already identified by the people as stimulants to their development”. In his words, the state development strategy shall continue to focus on provision of access to quality education to children and deployment of teachers to rural areas while also focusing on expanding power generation solutions in the state to increase power supply to critical sectors of the economy. This further increased overall sectoral allocation to the social sector from 21% in 2015 to 22.88%, as well as high improvement in law and justice. See figure 2 below for details in the shift in the two-year period.

Figure 2: Anambra State Expenditure pattern for the period 2015 –2016 by the four Major Sectors



Source: Anambra State Accountant General's Reports and Financial Statements for the period 2015 and 2016.

## END NOTES

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- 12 Fox, J. (2016). Scaling accountability through vertically integrated civil society policy monitoring and advocacy.
- 13 Fox, J. and Akeron, J. (2016). Doing accountability differently A proposal for the vertical integration of civil society monitoring and advocacy; U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Issue August 2016 No 4 <http://voicetothepoole.org/voice-to-the-people-in-anambra-state-status-report/>
- 14 <http://voicetothepoole.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/V2P-PCR-final-DFID-3.5.16.pdf>
- 15 The term "doing accountability differently" is taken from recent work by Jonathan Fox (2016)
- 16 Consent was sought from respondents after explanation of the purpose of the study, as well as assurances of confidentiality. Agreement by respondents to participate in the study was indicated on the respective study instruments. For FGDs and KIIs, consent to record the interviews was also sought and confirmed. Names of respondents were not sought for the study questionnaire and FGDs, while permission to mention names and designations of respondents to the KIIs was sought and secured. In addition, to prevent the need for parental consent, no respondent below the age of 18 was interviewed.
- 17 Amakom, U. (2013). "Public Policies, Budgeting and Spending in Anambra State: Analysis of Performances in a Decade (2003-2013)" Voice to the Poor (V2P) and Centre LSD Abuja Book Series No. 6 (September 2013).
- 18 COTAGG was formed with funding support from the UNDP.
- 19 Here the people were represented by local NGOs with the underlying assumption that they work across the communities and understand the need of the communities more than public officials.
- 20 This point made in Booth and Chambers (2014) was also emphasised during field research.
- 21 Booth and Chambers (2014) discuss the programmes failure in these terms
- 22 GTF=Governance and Transparency Fund, DFID multi-agency, multi-country programme. Christian Aid's programme was Power to the People or P2P
- 23 <https://www.christianaid.org.uk/resources/about-us/partnership-power-and-adaptive-programming-learning-christian-aids-governance>
- 24 <http://voicetothepoole.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/GTF-Project-Completion-Report.pdf>
- 25 Cathy Shutt, "Power Analysis: What Difference does it make?" March 2014 Christian Aid <http://programme.christianaid.org.uk/programme-policy-practice>
- 26 ibid
- 27 <http://voicetothepoole.org/tag/charter-of-demand/> - detailed process in the online guide
- 28 Development in Practice (DIP) is V2P partner but also a national gender organisation that piloted and facilitated the GEADOR activities in the State.
- 29 The African Centre for Leadership, Strategy & Development (Centre LSD) is a leading national NGO committed to building strategic leadership for sustainable development in Africa.
- 30 <http://voicetothepoole.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Innovative-Fund-Eol.pdf>
- 31 <http://savi-nigeria.org/>
- 32 <http://www.sparc-nigeria.com/anambra.php>
- 33 Endline evaluation see above footnote 24
- 34 Communities that made requests on agricultural improvement include: Ichi; Ezinifite; Akwaihedi; Amichi; Oraifite; Isseke; Omor; Ihembosi; Osumenyi; Utuh; Ekwulmili; Ozubullu; Okija; and others.
- 35 Ichi, Ezinifite, Akwaihedi, Amichi, Ihembosi, Mgbakwu, Urum, Amanuke, Ogwu-lkpele, Mbosi, Omor, Nando, Ukwulu, Isseke, Enuguotu, etc)
- 36 Voice to the People (V2P) Endline evaluation (2013-2016) findings
- 37 Amakom, U. (2016). Anambra State 2016 Budget: Are there Prospects for Efficiency and Productivity Maximization? African Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development Policy Brief
- 38 The Red Cap Chiefs
- 39 December 30, 2016
- 40 See <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/jhds/article/view/68161> for more detail on significance of August meeting and women's agency
- 41 This data comes from SAVI's monitoring system and a reflection by V2P partners.
- 42 SAVI results documentation
- 43 Centre LSD was designed to be the State-level link for vertical accountability in V2P programme
- 44 [http://savi-nigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/SAVI\\_AP\\_Intropaper2016\\_FINAL.pdf](http://savi-nigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/SAVI_AP_Intropaper2016_FINAL.pdf)
- 45 See V2P Endline Evaluation 2016 for detail on links - ibid
- 46 Fox and Akeron 2016 U4Issue-2016-04 Doing Development Differently
- 47 This case draws on materials from interviews as well as SAVI's results monitoring system.
- 48 DFID PRC
- 49 E.g. Sheely, R. (2015). Mobilization, participatory planning institutions, and elite capture: Evidence from a field experiment in rural Kenya. World Development, 67, 251-266 and Kuruppu, C., Adhikari, P., Gunarathna, V., Ambalangodage, D., Perera, P., & Karunaratna, C. (2016). Participatory budgeting in a Sri Lankan urban council: A practice of power and domination. Critical Perspectives on Accounting, 41, 1-17.
- 50 <https://oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/why-faith-based-organizations-are-particularly-well-suited-to-doing-development-differently/>
- 51 Extract from Amakom, U. (2015). Anambra State 2015 Approved Budget: Are there Real Positive Changes? African Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development Policy Brief & Amakom, U. (2016). Anambra State 2016 Budget: Are there Prospects for Efficiency and Productivity Maximization? African Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development Policy Brief
- 52 Communities that made requests on agricultural improvement include: Ichi; Ezinifite; Akwaihedi; Amichi; Oraifite; Isseke; Omor; Ihembosi; Osumenyi; Utuh; Ekwulmili; Ozubullu; Okija; and others.



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