PERL's Approach to Mainstreaming Social Inclusion

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In Summary

Working with its partners, PERL (FCDO's Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn in Nigeria) has succeeded in putting the theoretical quartet – of Politically-Smart, Locally-led, Adaptive and Inclusive programming – into practical actions that have led to tangible Social Inclusion results. PERL evolved a broader, expanded, more inclusive definition of excluded groups to advance 'Open Societies and Human Rights'. The programme chose to focus more on Social Inclusion in these terms (as opposed to those of 'Gender Equality & Social Inclusion') in all its interventions. This is mainly based on experience working with partners on applying the concepts. Gender tended to dominate the space, overshadowing Social Inclusion. Broader Social Inclusion takes into consideration Gender and Disability issues but also other factors of exclusion. PERL partners were more willing to listen to arguments around inclusion of different constituencies and groups. Over its eight-year lifespan, PERL was able to compile a total of 26 case studies where most significant changes in particular reform areas had taken place. Of this number, 24 made progress in equitable Social Inclusion. This indicates the level at which Social Inclusion had been mainstreamed into PERL-supported interventions.

Social Inclusion has been an essential part of PERL's operations. It is mainstreamed into all aspects of PERL, albeit with different levels of success. All the tools, templates and frameworks that PERL helped their local partners to develop and utilise are inclusion-sensitive, taking into consideration a wide range of exclusion factors and situations. All Concept Notes and Terms of Reference are reviewed for Inclusion, Gender and Conflict Sensitivity. All analyses, especially those on Political Economy, have considerations for Social Inclusion. PERL used the development of these tools as a means of mainstreaming Social Inclusion. PERL and its partners deployed these tools to translate Inclusion concepts for application to everyday governance processes. PERL has been able to provide the required support for partners to embed Social Inclusion into their own organisations' management systems. This has been achieved more with citizens groups; and less so with government partners. PERL has also shared related aspects of its approach (including co-creation and multi-stakeholder platforms) with other programmes (including Lafiya and PLANE).

PERL mainstreamed Social Inclusion by implementing the programme as designed, adapting over time with changes as required. Having a capable team was a critical factor. So also, building on the success, learning and trust already established by predecessor programmes. With these, PERL has helped to deliver Social Inclusion dividends, particularly in FCDO partner states. Governance reforms in Education and Health had high levels of inclusivity. Budget reforms are probably where PERL partners achieved the most inclusion, as governments at Federal and State levels institutionalized citizens participation and voice, particularly in annual cycles of planning, budget and policy making/agenda setting.

Against this backdrop, PERL encountered some limitations in implementation – some due to its design, others due to external factors. Working with diverse stakeholders, collective decision-making across the PERL pillars and taking forward joint-pillar actions all slowed down progress on Social Inclusion. Managing partner expectations on Social Inclusion was also a challenge. Change of duty for reform focal points and poor resource allocation for Social Inclusion within governments also limited progress in some reform areas.

Other programmes' uptake of aspects of PERL's approach attest to its applicability and effectiveness. These programmes would help spread the approach further within government establishments and citizen groups. Future programmes could be designed to replicate aspects of PERL's approach, adapted to suit their contexts. Programmes seeking to adapt the PERL approach need to understand that it is a long haul, not a 'quick win'. Extensive engagement with carefully selected partners, good understanding of the contextual realities of partners and issues, customised development of tools and templates to guide implementation and mentoring by a team with the requisite experience and commitment are the basic requirements for the journey. Mainstreaming Social Inclusion entails making provisions for additional programming resources. Of particular importance for FCDO programmes is the need for Senior Responsible Owners to provide the required support and motivation to the team to change internal perceptions and behaviours.

Introduction

The Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn (PERL) is a public-sector accountability and governance programme funded by the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO). It works to achieve improvements in governance and service delivery in selected states in Nigeria. PERL was built on nearly two decades of learning and experience from the UK Government's continued support of governance reform in Nigeria, since 1997. The programme was initially designed to run from 2016 to 2021. It was extended to September 2024, mainly to consolidate the reforms achieved as newly elected administrations get to work at the Federal and State levels. PERL had three pillars: Accountable, Responsive and Capable Government (ARC) which partners with governments; Engaged Citizens (ECP) which works with citizens representatives, parliaments and the media; and the Learning, Evidencing and Advocacy Partnership (LEAP), a pillar that worked on complementary research, evidence and learning. During the extension period, PERL has focused on consolidating and sustaining reforms achieved in Core Governance, Basic Healthcare and Education services through ARC and ECP, integrating the work of LEAP into the two main pillars after LEAP closed.

As the whole programme now comes to an end, PERL has developed a number of learning materials to share with the wider development community. The purpose is to enlighten internal and external audiences on how the programme and its partners have successfully engaged governance processes. This particular learning piece on *PERL's Approach to Mainstreaming Social Inclusion* in the context of governance reforms in Nigeria also contributes to a suite of programme completion materials. It is presented in two forms – this narrative and a powerpoint presentation.

This narrative is divided into five sections. The first section is this introduction, which gives a general background. The second section highlights key definitions and context. The third section narrates the achievements in Social Inclusion and how that was assessed. The longest part of the narrative is section four where the details of how PERL made progress in Social Inclusion is discussed. In the fifth and final section, the narrative concludes with recommendations for replicating/scaling-up this learning, and consideration in the design of future programmes.

Definitions & Context

Definitions: For PERL, Social Inclusion is a *philosophy*. A philosophy for ensuring that excluded groups benefit from the interventions the programme facilitates. It is also a *standard* that PERL applied to all interventions. PERL also has a broader, expanded and **more inclusive** definition of excluded groups. This is to reflect the need to advance 'Open Societies and Human Rights'. PERL therefore expanded its definition to include all in society who needed to be involved – the poor, the rich, women, men, urban and rural, persons with disability and those with none, the youth, the elderly, ethnic, religious and other social minorities, depending on the context and intervention – taking what is referred to as a 'whole of society' approach.

Mainstreaming: PERL mainstreamed 'social inclusion' with 'conflict' and 'gender' through advisers, champions, and communities of practice. Mainstreaming was also done in the various analyses including political economy. All concept notes, strategy documents, terms of reference and other such documents are always reviewed to ensure Social Inclusion, Gender and Conflict considerations are incorporated. Social Inclusion is mainstreamed in all templates and tools developed, including those for collecting data and reporting results. The budget process could be where the mainstreaming made the most impact, with citizens involved in every step. PERL also undertook little as well as big steps to ensure Social Inclusion was factored in the implementing of all interventions. From tweaking attendance sheets to capture gender and disability status to engaging organisations of persons with disability; from partnering with women's grassroots organisations to designing interventions for women in public office; likewise with youth; PERL deliberately mainstreamed Social Inclusion across all that it did.

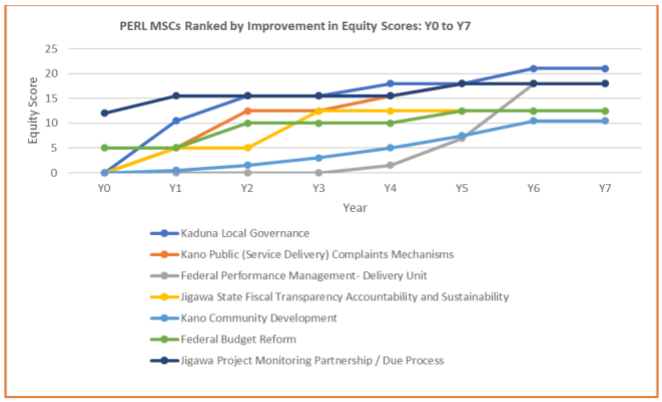
Context: PERL worked in a context with both facilitating and constraining factors. According to the 2021 ODI Flagship Report (on Twenty Years of UK Governance Programmes in Nigeria), voice and accountability have improved since 2004, *"a trend connected to an increasingly vibrant media and civil society, and fairer and more competitive elections".* However, the same report asserts that more restrictive civil society, media and elections have constrained improvements in voice and accountability since 2015. The report further cited the Ibrahim Index of African Governance, which reported a *"declining trend in participation and rights since 2015, including civil society space, media freedom, and elections".* The 2015

Business Case for PERL stated that many Nigerian States demonstrated progress towards internal reforms and awareness of the gains to be made by delivering better services to the public. It reported that *"sources of external pressure for improved government performance are weak; accountability institutions have been hollowed out; civil society is weak and fragmented and a 'social compact' between citizens and state barely exists".* (DFID, Nigeria Public Sector Accountability and Governance Programme).

Design: The same report categorised generations of governance programmes in Nigeria as follows: The first generation: State and Local Government Programme (SLGP) between 2001–2008; then the State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability (SPARC) and State Accountability and Voice Initiative (SAVI), both between 2008–2016, as second generation; and the Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn (PERL) from 2016–2024 as the third generation. Being a third-generation governance programme, PERL already had Empowerment & Accountability as part of its core governance support focus. This included supporting citizens to influence government decision-making and hold authorities to account (ODI 2021). The PERL Business Case is clear regarding what was required (at the time), concerning Social Inclusion. It states that *"…the programme has been designed to promote citizen's empowerment and accountable governance … to work to transform power structures … towards meeting the needs of citizens broadly, particularly the marginalised groups such as women and girls".* The Business Case further stated that the programme *"will place particular emphasis on empowering disadvantaged groups and projecting their views into policy-making processes".* PERL therefore had Social Inclusion built into its programming strategy from the onset.

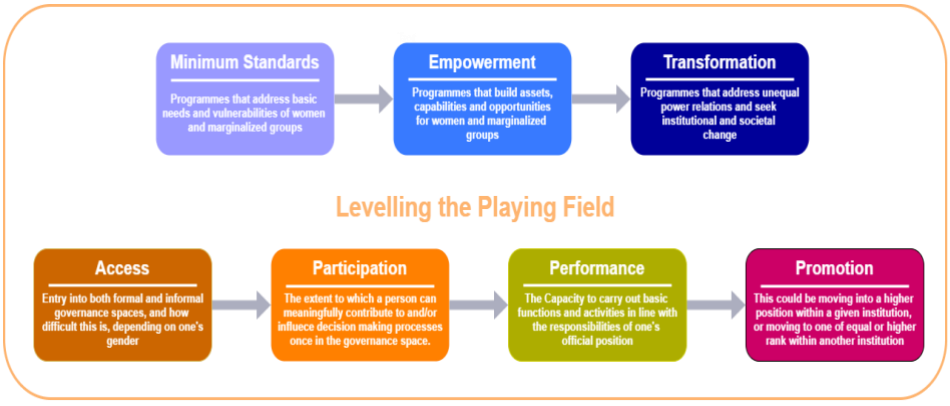
Achieving Social Inclusion

Working with its partners on various interventions, over the life of the programme, PERL has achieved tangible Social Inclusion results. PERL Most Significant Change (MSC) case studies document these achievements. With a section dedicated to assessing the Equity aspects of the reform interventions, PERL established the areas with the most progress in Social Inclusion, across all the case studies. Of the 26 case studies, 24 recorded various levels of progress. These included those that made slow, gradual but continuous progress over time (such as the Kano Community Development KN-3; Jigawa Fiscal Transparency JG-7), those that made huge progress in a short space of time (Kaduna Local Governance KD-3), those that stalled at a certain level for a long time (Federal Budget Reform FED-1; Jigawa Project Monitoring Partnership JG-5) and those that made most progress from a baseline of zero (Kano Public Complaints Mechanism KN-4; Federal Performance Management FED-8).



As part of process of selecting the case studies it first developed and now annually updates, PERL assessed the Equity levels of the reforms it facilitated. The PERL Diversity, Gender, Social Inclusion and Conflict Sensitivity Framework was used to assess Equity levels of governance reforms, as documented in the Most Significant Change case study methodology. All the 26 listed case studies were selected using a range of significance criteria, including Equity, based on a scale taken from the framework, in which scores are given against levels of Compliance/Minimum Standard, Empowerment and Transformation. The case studies listed had made various levels of progress along the Equity scale.

PERL's Diversity, Gender, Social Inclusion and Conflict Sensitivity Framework



According to the 2021 ODI Flagship Report (20-Year Study), governance programmes in Nigeria have fallen short on gender and inclusion. This is mainly because they focused on systems and processes and did not consider different service users from the outset. However, the second and third generations of UK governance programmes were explicitly designed to ensure collaboration between supply-side and demand-side interventions, and PERL is one such programme.

PERL's MSC case studies help to describe what the programme's approach has achieved. Each reform area that PERL and its partners worked on has been, as much as possible, Socially Inclusive.

The following case studies are at the top end of the 26 reform areas that made the most progress on Social Inclusion in terms of Equity.

The Top Five

Significant Improvements in Social Inclusion	Reform Area	Location
• Community Development Charter (CDC) influenced Local Government budgets over the years • CDC now institutionalised by State Government • Partner developed website to help the transmission of the CDC from ward to local government levels	Local Governance	Kaduna
Evidence generated by citizens directly informed policy: • New Education Policy • Teacher Recruitment and Deployment Policy • Public Financial Management reforms in the Education sector	Education	Kaduna
• Citizens' groups are involved in all stages of the budget preparation and tracking of implementation • Budget now more participatory, inclusive, and responsive to citizens' needs	Budget	Kano
• Improvements made in the channels for public complaints • New channels created	Public Complaints	Kano
• Re-launch (and re-naming) of Citizens Delivery Tracker • Ministerial Performance Bonds – Quarterly reviews with citizens • Quarterly reviews with MDAs	Performance Management	Federal

The top five reform areas that made remarkable progress on Equity are highlighted here:

The **Kaduna Local Governance** reform was able to have the Community Development Charter (CDC) institutionalised. This made provisions for ensuring citizens' input into local government budgets. In seven years (2018-2024) citizens' input increased from 35% to 44%. Within the period, the Kaduna State Executive Council approved a memo institutionalising the CDC as a framework for incorporating citizens' inputs in planning and budgeting processes at the State and Local Government Levels. The execution rate of CDC projects in the Local Government Budgets increased to 44% in 2023 from 20.57% in 2019.

> *"It is imperative for the Governor to ensure adequate and timely cash-backed budget releases as well as also increase in allocation. More so, it is important that the Governor visits the centres to assess things for himself. Let's engage, ask the right questions and hold the government accountable."*
>
> (Write up on tracking Budget Implementation by **PERL Kaduna partners with disability**, posted on *Facebook*.)

The **Kaduna Education** case study highlighted the use of scorecards by the Kaduna Basic Education Accountability Mechanism (KADBEAM) to monitor school performance, and then feed the evidence into state-level policy dialogue on education reform. One example is the state government's upscaling of the girls' education scorecard from 34 schools in 2021 to 60 schools in 2022.

The **Kano Budget** intervention was able to build the capacity of the civil society-led Kano Budget

Working Group and facilitated the use of the relevant tools for budget analysis, tracking and post-mortem. Legislation and improved budget tools that ensured transparency and inclusion in the budget formulation process influenced the progress of budget reforms in the state.

The **Kano Public Complaints** intervention established channels for citizens' complaints to influence policy, governance processes and improvements in service delivery. The Citizens-SERVICOM partnership is now well established. The partnership has metamorphosed over time. It started as the *SERVICOM-Citizens Partnership on Education* and went on to become the *Government-Citizens Partnership on Girls Education* (Girls Education Partnership). PLANE is currently working closely with this partnership.

The **Federal Performance Management** intervention with the Central Delivery Co-ordination Unit helped establish a Permanent Dialogue Mechanism between government and citizens through the Open Governance Partnership. The *Presidential Delivery Tracker* has been renamed the *Citizens Delivery Tracker* to emphasise inclusivity. Quarterly review meetings on service delivery are now called by the relevant Federal Ministries without prompting from citizens groups.

Among the 26 case studies, there were also reform areas that made the least progress on Social Inclusion in terms of Equity. These were all at the Federal level. They are the following:

- National Community of Practice for Heads of Budget and Planning Agencies
- National Operationalisation of Houses of Assembly Autonomy
- Federal Audit Reporting and Scrutiny of Public Accounts

These Federal level reform areas tend not to be predisposed to specific Equity considerations. These reforms were not particularly directed at excluded groups, but more broadly to all citizens through policy changes, internal government systems and public accountability mechanisms. There was also less interest and slower response from Federal partners on Equity issues, compared with partners in the focal states.

How PERL Did It

The programme design emphasised a move away from offering best practice technical solutions to perceived governance problems, towards a more locally-led approach to resolving local problems.

(ARC Inception Report 2016)

The core approach used by Engaged Citizens involves supporting locally-led processes of change, enhancing the role of local actors, brokering constructive multi-stakeholder partnerships, strengthening institutions for collective action, promoting attention to the mitigation of conflict, and facilitating gender and social inclusion.

(ECP Inception Report 2016)

All pillars worked closely together to mainstream analysis and sensitivity to GESI and conflict dynamics within our work, with a particular focus on the issue selection and engagement process. Further work is needed to build this sensitivity within PERL's core governance and strategic communications work-streams and build the capability of facilitation teams to work in more conflict and GESI sensitive ways.

(ECP Inception Report 2016)

Strengths in Design: The progress made in Social Inclusion can be attributed to several factors. These include the original design of the PERL programme, FCDO procurement processes, and the learning during inception. The principles of Politically-Smart, Locally-Led, Adaptive and Inclusive programming have been applied as much as possible in each of PERL's interventions. The fact that PERL had capable hands on the team meant that bringing the design to life was fairly straightforward. Learning from predecessor programmes, adapting to meet new challenges, evolving and changing engagement strategies over time, all helped achieve the Social Inclusion results in the interventions that PERL supported. The following specific aspects constitute some of the strengths of the PERL design:

- Social Inclusion as a principle for ensuring excluded groups benefit from PERL interventions
- Social Exclusion analysis conducted for each intervention

- Inclusive stakeholder identification, analysis and consultation

- Citizen's empowerment at the heart of intervention design such that citizens become increasingly more effective at influencing governance reform and delivery

- Interventions designed to help transform power structures towards meeting the needs of citizens more broadly

- Emphasis on empowering disadvantaged groups and projecting their views into policy-making processes.

Despite the strengths in the design, there were limitations. On the part of PERL, these included:

- Working with a diverse range of stakeholders has implications for resources and processes, stretching their limits

- Limited human resources for Social Inclusion meant some Specialists were left with the sole responsibility for mainstreaming work. This slowed down mainstreaming efforts with partners until internal momentum was built

- Slow integration of Social Inclusion between pillars – developing common understanding and reaching agreements took a lot of time

- Delays in taking forward decisions/actions on joint work of the pillars – through separate financial management and operational processes of each pillar

- Limit regarding the length of time the programme can continue to be iterative.

Building on the Legacy of Predecessor Programmes: PERL worked with partners of earlier programmes, SAVI and SPARC, which paid attention to issues of gender and social inclusion. Many of the PERL team members were from the previous programmes and were familiar with mainstreaming Social Inclusion into intervention planning and results analysis. The trust already built, the working relationship and institutional memory of these partners and team members all helped PERL move faster with its interventions. Many of the reform areas that PERL pursued from inception were a continuation of work that SAVI and SPARC started. PERL built on the established relations, capacity and understanding with partners, on the issues generated earlier and the learning on what approaches worked, and why. PERL leant from failure as well as from success.

Delivery Mechanisms: As stated above, in applying the PERL design in practice, team members used the development of tools and frameworks as a means of ensuring Social Inclusion was mainstreamed. Political Economy, Conflict, Gender, Stakeholder and other analyses, all had inclusion components. Public Financial Management processes such as Sector Performance Reviews, Budget preparations, reporting and tracking, Citizens Budgets, and Citizens Accountability Reports, all ensured inclusion is mainstreamed. Government partners' use of some of the citizen engagement tools has helped improve transparency and accountability. States now simplify their budget documents and publish budget reports, including a Citizens Budget and Citizens Accountability Report, that are now all available to the public. State partners have institutionalised participatory budgeting, mainstreaming inclusion of citizens, particularly women and persons with disabilities, throughout the budget preparation process, ensuring their needs are accommodated in annual Budgets.

The PERL team's ability to translate the programme design into implementable actions is key to achieving the results documented. The following factors also helped deliver Social Inclusion:

- PERL acted as a facilitator, not a leader or a driving force, so the programme mainly provided technical assistance

- Political Economy Analysis, Gender, Conflict, Stakeholder and other analyses informed the design of interventions

- PERL team members working with partners turned the various analyses into practical modalities for Social Inclusion

- Local partners and PERL teams ensured interventions fitted their contexts

- A wide and diverse range of stakeholders (both government and citizens) were engaged at various levels

- From the onset, civil society partners led in the planning, implementation, monitoring, tracking and reflection of PERL-supported actions

- User-friendly tools and templates were developed for various aspects of inclusive governance, making implementation easier.

> *"Actually, we interpreted the mantra – Politically-Smart, Locally-Led, Adaptive and Inclusive – so well. Basically, all our PEAs are inclusive, in fact all our analyses are. All templates have Gender, Social Inclusion and Conflict sensitivity. We engaged (stakeholders/partners) extensively. …To be honest, it (mainstreaming social inclusion) takes time, and it is expensive."*
>
> (PERL Team Member)

Changes over the Life of the Programme: PERL being an iterative and adaptive programme, made some changes to help enhance its strengths and address setbacks. The programme went on to engage even more stakeholders – men and women, rich and poor, urban and rural, youth, elderly, ethnic and religious minorities, persons with disability and other marginalised groups – across the whole of society on constituency basis, facilitating geo-political social inclusion, as well as socially demographic. Partnering with national labour unions and media outlets has significantly increased PERL's reach on issues that affect all Nigerian citizens, not just those in partner states and at Federal level. A deliberate effort was made to work on partners' attitudes and behaviours – applying more closely the Political Economy and Stakeholder analyses. Initial engagement with Mobilising For Development (M4D) and Action Against Hunger (AAH) on Social Inclusion issues in the early days of the programme paid off. PERL then went on to do more with other programmes. Having prioritised Health, Girls' Education and Open Societies, during the extension, PERL engaged Lafiya and PLANE more closely.

Sharing with others: Social Inclusion is so embedded in PERL interventions that it is difficult to pick out particular elements as those shared with others. 'Co-creation' of workable solutions between government and citizens was pointed out by team members as one aspect of enhancing Social Inclusion that PERL partners and other programmes have taken on board. Engaging a wide range of stakeholders on a 'constituency' basis; facilitating 'multi-stakeholder' platforms; joint planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and reflective learning, have all been listed as aspects that PERL shared with other programmes. What PERL teams see as the more tangible Social Inclusion aspects of the work they have shared with others are the PERL-supported tools, frameworks and guidance documents. The list of tools and documents shared by PERL include the following:

- Equitable Budgeting Toolkit and Documentary
- Citizens Accountability Report
- Citizens Budget tool
- Community Development Charter
- Guide for Mainstreaming Gender in Policy Making
- Girls Education Coordination Framework
- Gender Budgeting tool
- Emerging Barriers to Girls' Education survey and documentary
- Disability Law and accompanying Implementation framework

Some programmes have confirmed that they have incorporated some of the tools shared by PERL into their everyday work. For example, SCALE has used the PERL Political Economy analysis and stakeholder mapping tools, and State2State has replicated the use of budget codes for girls' education in six states.

Conclusion & Recommendations

In partnership with governments and citizens, PERL has been able to mainstream Social Inclusion into state systems, helping to improve service delivery that responds to the needs of a wider group of citizens. However, this achievement is due more to demand side activities of citizens than the supply side of government partners. PERL has also been able to share with other programmes, aspects of its approach to Social Inclusion. This means that these programmes are using tried and tested approaches as opposed to creating new ones. Since these programmes are working with the same governments and citizens who have been part of the PERL journey, it is envisaged that replication and adaptation will be much easier. Nevertheless, the programmes would have to do more with government partners to get to transformation level, institutionalising inclusion aspects into wider governance issues. The chances of PERL's approach being further spread are very good, as many aspects of social

inclusion have been fully institutionalised around citizens' involvement in the budget process.

To further consolidate the Social Inclusion gains made by partners with support from PERL, a few recommendations are hereby put forward:

- Most of the mainstreaming of Social Inclusion started with and from the frameworks, tools and templates that PERL developed internally. The programme has taken responsibility and shared these as well as other relevant documents. Other programmes, learning from PERL, could adapt, replicate or take up to scale those aspects of the shared approach applicable to their own context. There are templates for reference and for providing guidance for a lot of what programmes could do to mainstream Social Inclusion, externally too with partners. For example, the work around Budget reform has been particularly successful, and PERL has many relevant templates (including the Citizens Budget Tool, Gender Budgeting Tool, Equitable Budgeting Toolkit), that would ease the process. The experience with the Budget tools could be used to reach out to other aspects of governance and sectors other than Education and Health.

- Based on the PERL experience, other programmes could learn to do more on getting more buy-in from government partners as well as ensuring more speedy response to citizens' demands. The groundbreaking work has been done, but there is still more to do regarding government partners consolidating the Social Inclusion gains and building on what PERL has helped partners to achieve.

- The extensive engagement of a wide range of stakeholders aided the practical application of PERL's mainstreaming effort. PERL has partnered with governments and with citizens and worked with them on developing and using the relevant tools and templates. The partners on the two sides now engage each other without prompting from PERL. The Federal Performance Management Unit for example, now invites citizens to the quarterly review meetings on service delivery. Other programmes could help establish within the systems of their partner MDAs those Social Inclusion aspects that have been successfully tried and tested by PERL partners. Government partners can also help spread the approach to additional MDAs, as well as deepen it within their own citizens engagement efforts.

- PERL's design was informed by the experience of various predecessor programmes working on governance issues, most particularly SAVI and SPARC. This provided many advantages for the programme. FCDO has a good opportunity to use PERL's approach to mainstreaming Social Inclusion to inform and influence the development of future programmes (the way PERL benefitted from SAVI and SPARC). FCDO could also encourage programmes that it currently funds, to adapt relevant aspects of PERL's approach or scale it up. This would lead to a lot of savings on time and other resources required, particularly for a new programme to create its own learning experience.

- FCDO, on its part, will have to do more it terms of investing further in helping to achieve greater Social Inclusion within its programmes. The resources required to achieve Social Inclusion in governance reforms seem to be underestimated. Capacity, partnerships, time and additional financing would greatly help entrench Social Inclusion further in the most important aspects of governance reforms in Nigeria. Senior Responsible Owners will have to provide the required support, encouragement and motivation. FCDO is in a good position, not only to do this in its programmes, but also to influence others in the wider development community to do likewise, in striving to advance a more Open Society.

PERL is indeed leaving behind a legacy of Social Inclusion approaches to be adapted and applied for a more inclusive governance and improved service delivery for the citizens of Nigeria. These need to be put to good use to help consolidate the social inclusion gains recorded so far.

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UKaid from the British people

The opinions expressed above are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the UK's Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO)

PERL is the FCDO's flagship Public Sector Accountability & Governance programme in Nigeria since May 2016

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