**Gender Audit of Political Parties in Nigeria**



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# **Abbreviations and Acronyms**

ACHPR African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

APC All Progressives Congress

APGA All Progressives Grand Alliance

AU African Union

BOT Board of Trustees

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

CSJ Centre for Social Justice

CSOs Civil Society Organisations

CWSI Centre for Women Studies and Intervention

FES Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

FOMWAN Federation of Muslim Women’s Associations of Nigeria

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

INEC Independent National Electoral Commission

INTOSAI International Organisation of Supreme Audit Institutions

LGAs Local Government Areas

LP Labour Party

NBS National Bureau of Statistics

NEC National Executive Committee

NGP National Gender Policy

NJC National Judicial Council

NLC Nigeria Labour Congress

NWC National Working Committee

PDP Peoples Democratic Party

SDGs Sustainable Development Goals

SDP Social Democratic Party

TUC Trade Union Congress

UDHR Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN United Nations

VAPP Violence against Persons Prohibition Act

WARDC Women Advocates Research and Documentation Centre

YPP Young Progressive Party

# **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Chapter One of the Audit is the introduction. It dwells on the conceptual framework; focus, objectives and methodology as well as the rationale for the Audit. The specific objectives are to:

* Interrogate and identify those processes and practices that discriminate against women’s full access and participation in politics from their parties.
* Expose the political economy behind the gender imbalance in political parties and provide data for gender advocates to engage.
* Ascertain if political parties adhere to established policies and laws on gender mainstreaming and women empowerment.
* Encourage political parties to mainstream gender in their processes and practices to enhance women's political participation through the identification of best/fit and good practices.

The Audit focused on six political parties selected on the basis of their relevance to the Audit agenda. They are the All Progressives Congress (APC) being the ruling party; the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), being the party controlling the second highest number of states and representatives in the legislature. The third is the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) which controls Anambra State. The fourth is the Labour Party (LP) which once controlled Ondo State and is affiliated to the Nigeria Labour movement. The fifth is the Young Progressive Party (YPP) which is positioned as a party of the new generation and new ideas. Finally, the sixth is the Social Democratic Party (SDP) selected at random to represent other political interests. In terms of other target groups, the following were targeted; leadership of political parties, women and men in politics, women political aspirants/candidates between 2015 and 2019 elections, staff of political parties, female appointees and INEC officials.

Chapter Two focuses on laws, policies and standards at the international and national levels which promote and protect women’s right to participate in politics and governance.

Municipal law, as the command of the sovereign backed by sanctions or as an instrument of social engineering is the foundation of politics and governance. Even within the concept of the formal structure of the hierarchy of norms or the historical law which grows with the growth and strengthens with the strength and evolution of a nation, modern societies are run by rules which govern the resolution of social conflicts as well as allocation of resources, definition of rights, entitlements, duties, functions and powers of different classes of citizens, authorities and persons within the country. The international standards reviewed are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action; Sustainable Development Goals; African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights’ and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. The national standards reviewed are the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended), National Gender Policy and the Gender Policy of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

Chapter Three reviews the constitutions and manifestos of the political parties.to identify the extent to which they address gender inequality. It compared their constitutional provisions with the factual composition of their leadership based on their last submissions to INEC. The Audit found a lot of dissonance between the promises of the constitutions and manifestos and the actual practice of the parties.

The aims and objectives of the APC in article 7 of the APC constitution makes no reference to gender. In the National Convention, women at most will not be more than 10% of all members. In a BOT comprising of over 100 members, with the exception of one woman from each geo-political Zone of the Country nominated by the Zonal Committee for consideration, and subsequent recommendation by the National Working Committee to the National Executive Committee for approval, there is no certainty of women being members of the BOT. In the old NEC of APC, before its dissolution, there were only eight women out of sixty members. In the current National Caretaker Committee which is in place following the dissolution of NEC, out of thirteen members, there is only one woman. Again, in the National Working Committee of 21 members, only one person is certain to be a woman - National Women Leader. She is there because she holds a woman’s position which cannot be outsourced to men.

The PDP promised 35% affirmative action for women in party positions and in governance. Out of the 12 NWC members, only 1 which is the National Women Leader is certain to be a woman. The representation of women is just 8.3% of the NWC. However, the current PDP NWC is made up of 19 members, out of which only three are women. Women constitute just 15.7% of the current NWC. The NEC has a membership of 388 members. But the only certain female members are the National Women Leader, the Deputy National Women Leader and 12 women ex-officio members elected from the six geopolitical zones which brings the number to 14. Therefore, women’s participation is about 3.6% of membership of NEC. For the BOT, from a composition of about 128 members, the certain female members are two women selected from each geopolitical zone (12), 6 other women selected from the geopolitical zones, founding mothers who are nine in number and a former Speaker of the House of Representatives. This brings the total number of women in the BOT to 28 which is 22.7% of the BOT population.

APGA in its aims and objectives specifically promised to “uphold the Beijing Declaration on affirmative action for women”. From a projected membership of about 200 NEC members, only 8 persons vis, the National Women Leader, Deputy National Women Leader and 6 Assistant National Women Leaders are automatically guaranteed to be women. This is a guarantee of a minimum of 4% of the NEC membership. Information from APGA indicates that there is a total of 462 current members of NEC, out of which 361 are men while 101 are women. The female membership is 21.8% of the overall membership of NEC. The current APGA BOT is composed on 32 members with 6 women and 26 men. The female membership is just 23% of the BOT. Although there is no provision for a National Working Committee in the constitution of APGA, the party indicates that its NWC has 29 members comprising of 23 men and 6 women. The female membership of the NWC is just 20.6%.

The BOT of the Labour Party guarantees not less about 40% positions to female members. In the NEC, there are 10 seats for women out of a possible 195 members. This is about 5%. From information available at INEC, the current NEC has 73 members and 7 of the members are women. Thus, the female membership is 9.5% of the total. Although there can be more women on the NWC depending on the positions they occupy, there are 8 seats automatically guaranteed for women in the Labour Party’s NWC which represents 21% of the NWC. However, INEC’s information indicates that 3 out of 11 current members of the NWC are women. This is just 27.2% of the NWC.

For YPP, of the 19 NWC members, only one is specifically targeted to be occupied by a woman - National Women Leader. This is just 5.2% of the membership of the NWC. Out of 50 NEC positions, only 8 are reserved exclusively for women which is 16% of the NEC. However, INEC indicates that out of the current 26 members of YPP’s NEC, only 5 are women. This is just 19.2% of the overall membership of NEC. But from the names of the members, it is clear that these women are in NEC by virtue of being zonal women leaders. Out of about 80 members of the BOT, there is no requirement that women shall be represented.

For SDP, out of about 130 members, only the National Speaker, Women Parliament and Deputy National Women Speaker are the compulsory female members. However, there may be more women in the NEC if they hold elected positions. Available records indicate that the current NEC has 13 members, out of which Hajiya Mariam Batunbo, the National Women Leader is the only female member. Of the fifteen members of the NWC, only one is automatically a female. However, two women are members of the National Working Committee. The SDP’s Constitution did not provide for a Board of Trustees.

Chapter Four is on the barriers and challenges militating against women’s effective participation in politics and public life. The challenges include the law conundrum - legal provisions which lack specificity and do not create concrete and enforceable rights, patriarchy, religion and culture, finance and low levels of education. Others are political violence, the non-indigene syndrome, late meeting schedules, lack of gender disaggregated data, personnel policies that are not gender sensitive, stigmatisation, lack of mentorship and elections that are neither free, fair nor credible.

Chapter Five is on the conclusions and recommendations. The key recommendation are as detailed hereunder.

* Legislative Action for Entrenchment of Rights, Affirmative Action and Substantive Equality. This includes domestication of international and regional standards in accordance with S.12 of the Constitution; enactment of laws creating specific rights, affirmative action quotas for women, etc.
* Political parties should consider providing affirmative action provisions in their constitution and manifesto. But this should come with specific legal enforceability clauses. This should extend to holding positions of leadership in the parties as well as reserving special quotas for women to emerge as candidates on the platform of the party.
* Political parties should also reform their personnel policies to ensure that women are adequately represented in their workforce. These reforms will include clear policy frameworks outlawing sexual harassment and sex barters as well as adequate punishment for perpetrators of such acts.
* Political parties should ensure that they gather, analyse and use gender disaggregated data in their programming and policy reforms. This will ensure that they get feedbacks and sufficient information to mainstream gender issues in all their activities.
* The activities of the women’s wing of the parties should be mainstreamed into key decision-making bodies of the parties.
* Addressing patriarchy, religious and cultural barriers through legislation, capacity building, awareness raising and conscientization, etc.
* Gender based campaign finance reforms through the establishment of a budget funded mechanism to support women and incentives for individuals and the corporate sector to donate to the Fund.
* Full implementation and enforcement of the Universal Basic Education Act and equivalent state level laws.
* Enforcing extant laws on violence against women and election related violence
* INEC to consider the regulation of meetings schedules using its powers under S.153 of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended).
* Response to issues around indigeneity and stigmatisation as informal cultural norms and exclusionary practices through education, sensitisation and awareness raising as well as media campaigns.
* Organisation and mobilisation of women’s movements; mentoring programmes, legal defence mechanisms for women politicians and massive media outreach for women in public life.
* Guaranteeing free, fair and credible elections.

**Chapter One**

**INTRODUCTION**

**1.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

Politics is defined as the set of activities that are associated with [making decisions](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Decision-making) in [groups](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_group), or other forms of [power relations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Power_%28social_and_political%29) between individuals, such as the distribution of [resources](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Resource) or [status](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_status). In everyday life, the term "politics" refers to the way states, national and subnational authorities are governed, and to the way governments make rules and laws.[[1]](#footnote-1) It is from politics that the adjective “political” is coined. Generally, politics is about governance, ideas and postulations on how a society is or should be governed, administering reward and punishment as well as allocation of resources to different contending interests.

Politics governs everything because it is from political decisions that laws, policies, plans and public budgets are enacted, implemented, monitored and evaluated as well as reported upon and audited. Laws and policies cover all facets of human existence from cradle to grave. The term “political party” refers to the vehicles, organisations and associations for the legitimate contestation for power. In Nigeria, no one can contest for elected office without being sponsored by a political party.[[2]](#footnote-2) Without defining a political party, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria[[3]](#footnote-3) states that:[[4]](#footnote-4)

*“No association other than a political party, shall canvass for votes for any candidate at any election or contribute to the funds of any political party or to the election expenses of any candidate at an election”.*

The above section of the Constitution partly defined the functions of political parties in Nigeria. The Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) was largely silent on the definition of the roles and functions of political parties. As vehicles for the contestation of power and governance, the aims and objectives of political parties are expected to conform to the provisions of Chapter II of the Constitution which is on the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy.[[5]](#footnote-5) This includes the political parties enthroning a social order where every citizen (male or female) has equality of rights, obligations and opportunities before the law.[[6]](#footnote-6) The functions, nature, role and status of political parties is aptly captured in S. 1 (1) and (2) of the German Political Parties Act which states as follows[[7]](#footnote-7):

*“(1) Political parties are integral to the free democratic basic order and required under the Constitution. Through their free and continuous participation in the formation of the people’s political will, they perform a public function that is required of them and guaranteed by the Basic Law.*

*(2) Political parties shall participate in forming the people’s political will in all fields of public life, in particular by exerting an influence on the shaping of public opinion; encouraging and enhancing civic education; promoting citizens’ active participation in political life; educating citizens capable of assuming public responsibilities; participating in elections at the federal, land and local levels by nominating candidates; influencing political developments in parliaments and governments; contributing the political aims they have developed to the public decision-making and policy formation process”*

It is safe to state that the strength, character, nature and quality of political parties has a decisive effect on the operations and quality of a democracy. This is especially true in democracies like Nigeria where independent candidates are not allowed to contest elections. Essentially, political parties are expected to recruit and nominate candidates for elections, educate the electorate about policy alternatives and campaign issues, help candidates win elections and monitor and report the actions of officeholders to the electorate.[[8]](#footnote-8)

Gender is the socially constructed roles and characteristics of human beings influenced by customs, culture, religion, laws, policies, etc. The concept and establishment of gender audit is inherent in political life and public administration because the management of political parties represents a public trust. Gender audit is not an end in itself but an indispensable part of a regulatory system whose aim is to reveal deviations from accepted standards and violations of the principles of non-discrimination, human dignity, right to vote and to be voted for, equality before the law and equal protection of the law provisions of various national and international standards binding on Nigeria.[[9]](#footnote-9) These aforementioned principles have been recognised as *jus cogens,* being fundamental norms of public international law from which no derogations are permissible.[[10]](#footnote-10) The idea is to detect deviations, to make it possible to take corrective action, to make those accountable to accept responsibility, to obtain compensation, or to take steps to prevent - or at least render more difficult such breaches.[[11]](#footnote-11)

**1.2 FOCUS, OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY**

The Audit is focused on political parties and women’s participation in politics. It seeks to provide answers on whether the constitutions, manifestoes, programmes, nomination of candidates, party primaries, budgets, structure and financing of selected political parties are gender sensitive. It responds to the question on the visibility of women in political life, the practical factors militating against their participation in political life and proffers strategies to breaking the apparent glass ceilings. The overall goal of the Audit is to facilitate women’s increased participation in politics, governance and decision making. The specific objectives are to:

* Interrogate and identify those processes and practices that discriminate against women’s full access and participation in politics from their parties.
* Expose the political economy behind the gender imbalance in political parties and provide data for gender advocates to engage.
* Ascertain if political parties adhere to established policies and laws on gender mainstreaming and women empowerment.
* Encourage political parties to mainstream gender in their processes and practices to enhance women's political participation through the identification of best/fit and good practices.

To achieve these objectives, the Audit seeks to obtain accurate and up to date information on the causes, manifestations and impact of gender inequality in the parties. A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods has been used. The Audit conducted a desk study to review political parties' policies, programmes and project documents including manifestos, the National Gender Policy 2006, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Gender Policy, the 1999 Constitution (as amended) as well as the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended). The research identified the extent to which these documents address gender inequality in political participation and governance. This has established the basis for the identification of differentials between policy and practice.

The Audit designed and administered self-assessment questionnaires to understand the attitude, perceptions and practices that make for the imbalance in women's political participation. Additionally, in-depth interviews were conducted to obtain personal views and opinions of party members especially the leadership to complement the questionnaire. After collecting and collating information, the Audit analysed findings to identify emerging trends and themes and triangulated findings with different stakeholders. The Audit also reviewed national and international standards promoting women’s participation in politics and governance, the Constitution and manifesto of six political parties, a situation analysis of the practice against the background of the requisite standards. It identified challenges and ended with conclusions and recommendations and produced a draft report. A workshop was organised with different stakeholders in attendance to validate the information gathered during the Audit and the recommendations of the validation workshop were taken on board in producing the final report.

The Audit focused on six political parties selected on the basis of their relevance to the Audit agenda. They are the All Progressives Congress (APC) being the ruling party; the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), being the party controlling the second highest number of states and representatives in the legislature. The third is the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) which controls Anambra State. The fourth is the Labour Party (LP) which once controlled Ondo State and is affiliated to the Nigeria Labour movement. The fifth is the Young Progressive Party (YPP) which is positioned as a party of the new generation and new ideas. Finally, the sixth is the Social Democratic Party (SDP) selected at random to represent other political interests. In terms of other target groups, the following were targeted; leadership of political parties, women and men in politics, women political aspirants/candidates between 2015 and 2019 elections, staff of political parties, female appointees and INEC officials.

**1.3 RATIONALE FOR THE AUDIT**

Women constitute about 49% of Nigeria’s population.[[12]](#footnote-12) Shutting this percentage of the population out of substantial political participation, either at the level of the political parties or in day-to-day governance deprives Nigeria of competencies and capacities which would have facilitated its development. Understanding the factors promoting the institutionalisation of gender inequality in political parties and governance is imperative if Nigeria is to improve the economic, political and social status of women and the girl child. It is also imperative for economic and social development. This will provide the empirical basis for conscious and systematic inclusion of women in political parties, thereby bringing about increased participation of women in politics in Nigeria as well as guaranteeing that laws and policies take on board the concerns of the whole society comprising of men, women, boys and girls. This will lead to a more inclusive society where the concerns of all stakeholders are considered in governance.

The Constitution declares that sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through the Constitution derives all its powers and authority.[[13]](#footnote-13)It did not declare that sovereignty belongs to the male or female gender. Deepening and consolidating democracy and development involves empowering all citizens to become active agents who will not only vote but also can offer themselves as candidates for elections. The Audit seeks to elaborate on the concept of “*nothing about us without us”* because each category of humanity is in the best position to make informed decisions about its broad and specific interests.

Women as a class of Nigeria’s citizenry should be active participants and beneficiaries of the exercise of all categories of rights - civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights. Political power is the linchpin for the activation of the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The struggle for the protection of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of Nigerian women is the clearest demonstration of the indivisibility, interdependence, interrelatedness of all human rights and fundamental freedoms.[[14]](#footnote-14) The patriarchal obstacles on the right to political participation has resulted in laws, policies and practices that disempower women in virtually all spheres of life.[[15]](#footnote-15) Nigeria is a party to plethora of international and regional human rights standards which prescribe equality before the law, equal protection of the law and non-discrimination.[[16]](#footnote-16) The Audit seeks to establish how these standards are respected in the political and governance spheres. The findings will facilitate a determination on whether new and more actionable laws and policies are needed to respond to the challenge of women’s marginalisation and gender inequality in the political space.

**1.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE AUDIT**

The Audit reached out to political parties through their key officials to get practical information about their programming, practices and challenges in mainstreaming gender and increasing women’s participation in politics, governance and in the staff and management of the parties. Majority of the parties engaged by the audit did not provide the vital responses needed to understand their critical interventions to increase women’s participation in politics. Some of the responses were vague. Some of the parties declined requests for oral interviews to explain issues that were unclear or not properly filled out in the Gender Audit Questionnaire. Generally, the research could have benefitted more from improved responses and engagement by the audited political parties.

**Chapter Two**

**LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS ON WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS**

**2.1 LAWS AND POLICIES IN CONTEXT**

Municipal law, as the command of the sovereign backed by sanctions or as an instrument of social engineering is the foundation of politics and governance.[[17]](#footnote-17) Even within the concept of the formal structure of the hierarchy of norms or the historical law which grows with the growth and strengthens with the strength and evolution of a nation,[[18]](#footnote-18) modern societies are run by rules which govern the resolution of social conflicts as well as allocation of resources, definition of rights, entitlements, duties, functions and powers of different classes of citizens, authorities and persons within the country. This section will focus on laws, policies and standards at the international and national levels which promote and protect women’s right to participate in politics and governance.

At the level of international law, Nigeria as a member of the international community has been active in signing and ratifying human rights treaties.[[19]](#footnote-19) Being a member of the United Nations (UN) and the African Union (AU), Nigeria’s international obligations are guided by the international and regional human rights conventions, treaties and other standards, which have become common standards of achievement for all peoples and all nations. Nigeria is expected to implement its voluntarily entered obligations in good faith in accordance with the doctrine of *pacta sunt servanda*.[[20]](#footnote-20)

Implicit in this analysis of women’s participation in politics, is the concept of rights which is guaranteed by these standards for the benefit of women. Apart from the bare letters of the law which affirms a declaration of a right for a class of beneficiaries, for the right to be effective, it must create a specification of the content of the right or an account of what goods, interest or capacities the rights protect; class of duty bearers and their specific duties and social responsibilities, a means and process of validation in the event of a breach. Rights must also have a reasonable and effective means of realisation by rights holders or implementation by duty bearers.[[21]](#footnote-21) Rights must not be inchoate or incapable of enforcement and thereby simply translate into dead law that has no links with the concrete living conditions of its holders. The law and the rights created under the law, must be living realities that benefit from empirical knowledge of scientific progress and thereby change with the push back of ignorance by new frontiers of knowledge.

Emanating from prevalent human rights jurisprudence are three basic state obligations that inure for the benefit of women in the exercise of their right to participate in politics on the basis of equality with men. They are the obligations to respect, protect and fulfil the rights encapsulated in political participation.[[22]](#footnote-22) The obligation to respect requires the state to refrain from interfering with the enjoyment of the right to participate in politics by generating and putting obstacles on the path of women. These obstacles could be in the form of laws and policies or their implementation which particularly discriminate against women. The second is the obligation to protect, which requires the state not to allow third parties (political parties, individuals, artificial persons, etc.,) to violate women’s right to political participation. Finally, there is the obligation to fulfil which requires states to take appropriate legislative, administrative, budgetary, judicial and other measures towards the full realisation of the right. This implies that where there is empirical evidence to demonstrate that women do not in fact enjoy the same opportunities as men in participation in governance and politics, there is a state obligation to take action to bridge the gap between men and women.

**2.2 REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS**

The rights of women, girls and indeed all members of the human family, to participate in the public life of the state, to vote, to be eligible to be voted for and to be represented in policy and decision making is a *recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the Nigerian human family*.[[23]](#footnote-23) It imposes peremptory and continuing state obligations under international standards ratified by and applicable in Nigeria[[24]](#footnote-24). The major international law standards include but are not limited to the following standards discussed below.

* The Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
* International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;
* Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women;
* Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action;
* Sustainable Development Goals;
* African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights’
* Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.

These international and regional standards provide for the principle of non-discrimination. This means that all human beings are created equal, with equal rights and dignity to be protected and promoted equally regardless of their sex, language, religion, social and economic status, national and social origin. Therefore, gender equality which includes equal participation of women and men in all aspects of political and public life is a cornerstone principle binding on Nigeria.

**2.2.1 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)**

UDHR provides as follows in article 21: [[25]](#footnote-25)

*“(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.*

*(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.*

*(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures”.*

In article 2, the UDHR states that:

*Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status*

UDHR obligates nations to recognise the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world regardless of nationality, place of residence, gender, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status.

**2.2.2 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)**

**In article 25,** the ICCPR provides that:[[26]](#footnote-26)

“*Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:*

*(a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;*

*(b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;*

*(c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country”.*

**Article 26** of the ICCPR states that:

*“All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”.*

The right to take part in the conduct of public affairs is to be exercised on the basis of equality of the sexes and devoid of discrimination.

**2.2.3 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)**

Articles 7 and 8 of CEDAW are of particular interest and relevance to participation of women in politics.[[27]](#footnote-27)

Article 7:

*“States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:*

*(a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;*

*(b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;*

*(c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country”.*

 Article 8:

*“States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations”.[[28]](#footnote-28)*

By article 3 of CEDAW, these rights are to be enjoyed on the basis of equality of men and women. In article 4 (1), CEDAW recognises affirmative action for the benefit of women to accelerate *de facto* equality.

*“Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved”.*

Essentially,CEDAW contemplates not just formal equality and opportunities in the enjoyment of rights and freedoms necessary for participation in governance by women but it insists on equality of results and outcome.

**2.2.4 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Charter or ACHPR)**

This is a regional instrument which promotes and protects [human rights](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_rights) and fundamental freedoms in the [African Continent](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Africa). The Charter provides:

Article 13:

1*. Every citizen shall have the right to participate freely in the government of his country, either directly or through freely chosen representatives in accordance with the provisions of the law.*

*2. Every citizen shall have the right of equal access to the public service of his country.*

This right is to be enjoyed on the basis of equality of men and women.[[29]](#footnote-29)

**2.2.5 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa**

Better known as the Maputo Protocol, article 9 embodies the right to participation in the political and decision-making process and it states as follows:

*1. States Parties shall take specific positive action to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries through affirmative action, enabling national legislation and other measures to ensure that:*

*a) women participate without any discrimination in all elections;*

 *b) women are represented equally at all levels with men in all electoral processes;*

*c) women are equal partners with men at all levels of development and implementation of State policies and development programmes.*

*2. States Parties shall ensure increased and effective representation and participation of women at all levels of decision-making.*

The rights are to be enjoyed without discrimination.[[30]](#footnote-30) On elimination of discrimination against women, article 2 provides that:

*States Parties shall combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislative, institutional and other measures*.

*In this regard they shall:*

1. *include in their national constitutions and other legislative instruments, if not already done, the principle of equality between women and men and ensure its effective application;*

*c) integrate a gender perspective in their policy decisions, legislation, development plans, programmes and activities and in all other spheres of life;*

*d) take corrective and positive action in those areas where discrimination against women in law and in fact continues to exist;*

*e) support the local, national, regional and continental initiatives directed at eradicating all forms of discrimination against women.[[31]](#footnote-31)*

Thus, the Protocol takes cognizance of discrimination existing in fact as against legal provisions for equality and non-discrimination and calls for steps to be taken to eliminate actual discrimination.

**2.2.6 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action**

The Beijing Declaration reaffirmed:[[32]](#footnote-32)

*“The equal rights and inherent human dignity of women and men and other purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments, in particular the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, as well as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and the Declaration on the Right to Development”*

This is borne out of the aphorism that:[[33]](#footnote-33)

*“Women’s empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace”*

It affirmed the 30 percent quota and affirmative action principle and notes that:

*“Despite the widespread movement towards democratization in most countries, women are largely underrepresented at most levels of government, especially in ministerial and other executive bodies, and have made little progress in attaining political power in legislative bodies or in achieving the target endorsed by the Economic and Social Council of having 30 per cent women in positions at decision-making levels by 1995”.*

It therefore prescribed action points for governments to set specific targets and measures to guarantee equal representation in government including electoral system and political party reforms, data collection, evaluation, analysis and to use the findings for policy reform.[[34]](#footnote-34) For political parties, the Beijing Declaration urged them in paragraph 191:

*(a) Consider examining party structures and procedures to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women;*

*(b) Consider developing initiatives that allow women to participate fully in all internal policy-making structures and appointive and electoral nominating processes;*

*(c) Consider incorporating gender issues in their political agenda, taking measures to ensure that women can participate* *in the leadership of political parties on an equal basis with men.*

**2.2.7 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)**

Goal 5 of the SDGs sets out to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. One of targets is to ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in political, economic and public life. The indicators for this target include proportion of seats held by women in elective positions such as national parliaments and local governments.

Goal 5 also calls for adoption and strengthening of sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels. This includes policies on women’s participation in politics, governance and public life.

Goal 10 of the SDGs is to reduce inequality within and among countries. The relevant targets are to empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status as well as ensuring equal opportunity and reduce inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies and action in this regard.

Reducing inequalities of outcome is particularly relevant for women in the political process because it is not just enough to make a general constitutional or statutory provision prohibiting discrimination while the electoral and appointive outcomes are clearly skewed against women and other marginalised groups. This calls for further steps to stem the discrimination.

**2.3 REVIEW OF NATIONAL STANDARDS**

The national standards reviewed are the Constitution, the National Gender Policy Situation/Framework and Gender Policy of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

**2.3.1 The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as Amended)**

The Constitution is the fundamental law. In the Fundamental Rights Chapter, S.42 provides for the right to freedom from discrimination as follows:

*42. (1) A citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion or political opinion shall not, by reason only that he is such a person: -*

*(a) be subjected either expressly by, or in the practical application of, any law in force in Nigeria or any executive or administrative action of the government, to disabilities or restrictions to which citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religions or political opinions are not made subject; or*

*(b) be accorded either expressly by, or in the practical application of, any law in force in Nigeria or any such executive or administrative action, any privilege or advantage that is not accorded to citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religions or political opinions.*

*(2) No citizen of Nigeria shall be subjected to any disability or deprivation merely by reason of the circumstances of his birth.*

The above section can permit a number of positive steps by government for the protection of the rights of any class of persons, including women, who have been victims of historical marginalisation. In S.14 (3) of the Constitution, the federal character principle is established in the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy and this has been elevated to the status of a binding law under the Federal Character Commission Act made pursuant to item 60 of the constitutional Exclusive Legislative List.[[35]](#footnote-35) But a similar Commission focused on the gender character of the state has not been established pursuant to S.42 of the Constitution.

**2.3.2 National Gender Policy**

This National Gender Policy was formulated to address issues of gender inequality in Nigeria. In its provisions on politics and decision making, it sets out to achieve gender equity in political participation and representation, and to draw up mechanisms for the empowerment of women in politics. The objectives and implementation strategies are as follows. Objective 1: To increase the level of women’s participation in politics. The strategies for implementation include sensitisation of women to political participation; create an enabling environment for women to participate in politics; provide financial incentives and other waivers to encourage women to participate in politics; economic empowerment and adequate education of women for political participation. Others are community mobilisation through women organisations; eradicate all discriminatory policies against women’s participation in politics, review the structure and operational guidelines of political parties, and ensure that gender is mainstreamed into the guiding principles, and operations of political parties; that all political parties embrace affirmative action to progressively increase the number of women candidates for elective positions, and ensure at least 30% representation of women in the 2007 national elections, and a progression to 50% representation by the year 2011. Until gender parity is achieved, women political candidates to be supported financially by special funds set aside by the government for this purpose. Finally, projection of respectable female politicians as role models is recommended.

Objective 2 is to increase the number of women in elective positions and decision-making process. Strategies for implementation include implementation of affirmative action in politics (30% of political posts to be reserved for women; mainstream gender into party politics at all levels – federal, state, and LGAs; reform the existing traditional structures, which exclude women from participating in decision-making, and make them amenable to equality principles. Others are sensitisation of the traditional councils to the rights of women to participate in politics and conscientisation of electorates on democratic principles and practices.

**2.3.3 Independent National Electoral Commission's** **(INEC) Gender Policy**

The (INEC) Gender Policy recognises gender equality and women's empowerment through institutional practices and policies as important to free, fair and credible elections. As a state actor, the Commission is committed to addressing gender gaps within it, and also promoting a gender responsive electoral process. Also, the Commission endorsed the Framework for Implementation of at least 35% Affirmative Action; on Women's Political Advancement and Representation in Nigerian governance. The policy states that:

*“INEC has identified four policy implementation objectives based on the overall goal that reflects its institutional responsibilities and roles under its regulatory mandate with regards to the broader electoral environment:*

*a. Ensuring that INEC policies, plans, processes and operations are gender responsive;*

*b. Encouraging gender equity and balance within political parties especially in the identification of candidates in line with the provisions of their statutes.*

*c. Increasing budgetary provision and mobilising partners to effectively provide funding for gender sensitive actions within their purview.*

*d. Supporting an enabling legislative environment to achieve gender equality and bridging gaps in political representation in elective posts at all electoral levels”.*

Thus, INEC’s mandate as an umpire, by its own policy prescriptions, includes the encouragement of political parties to improve gender equity and representation.

**Chapter Three**

**CONSTITUTION AND MANIFESTOS OF SELECTED POLITICAL PARTIES AND WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION**

**3.1 THE POLITICAL PARTIES**

Political parties provide the platform for elective politics. Therefore, they are responsible for women’s political underrepresentation. However, S.224 of the Constitution provides that the programmes as well the aims and objects of a political party shall conform with the provisions of the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy. The principles in the Fundamental Objectives include equality of rights, obligations and opportunities before the law.[[36]](#footnote-36) This section will review the constitution and manifestos of six political parties namely: All Progressive Congress (APC), Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA), Labour Party (LP), Young Progressives Party (YPP) and Social Democratic Party (SDP) to identify the extent to which they address gender inequality. It will also compare their constitutional provisions with the factual composition of their leadership based on their last submissions to INEC.

**3.2 ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS (APC)**

**A. Reflecting Gender in Key Constitutional Organs:** The aims and objectives of the APC in article 7 of the APC constitution makes no reference to gender. The composition of the National Convention is as shown in Box 1.

*Box 1: Membership of APC’s National Convention*

|  |
| --- |
| i. Members of the Board of Trustees. ii. National Chairman and all Members of the National Executive Committee. iii. Serving and past Presidents and Vice Presidents of the Federal Republic of Nigeria who are members of the Party. iv. Serving and past Governors and Deputy Governors of States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria who are members of the Party. v. Serving and past members of the National Assembly who are members of the Party, serving and past Speakers, Deputy Speakers and other principal officers of the State Houses of Assembly, and all serving members of the State Houses of Assembly who are members of the Party. vi. Members of the States’ Working Committee (including that of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja) of the Party. vii. All Party Chairmen and Secretaries of the Local Government Areas/ Area Councils of the country. viii. All elected Local Government Council/Area Council Chairmen of the country who are members of the Party. ix. Three elected delegates (at least one of whom must be a woman) from each Local Government Area/Area Council of the country. |

*Source:* Article 12 of APC’s Constitution, INEC Website - https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

With the exception of members of the Board of Trustees (BOT) who are women and local government delegates, there is no certainty of women being in the National Convention. In the National Convention, women at most will not be more than 10% of all members. The composition of the Board of Trustees is as shown in Box 2.

*Box 2: Membership of APC’s Board of Trustees*

|  |
| --- |
| i. Past and serving Presidents and Vice Presidents of the Federal Republic of Nigeria who are members of the Party. ii. Past and serving Senate Presidents and Deputy Senate Presidents of the Federal Republic of Nigeria who are members of the Party. iii. Past and serving Speakers and Deputy Speakers of the House of Representatives who are members of the Party. iv. Past and serving Governors of States in the Federal Republic of Nigeria who are members of the Party. v. Past National Chairmen and Chairmen of Board of Trustees (BOT) of Political Parties that have produced a past President, Senator(s), Member(s) of House of Representatives of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Governor(s) of State(s) of the Federation or Member(s) of House(s) of Assembly of State(s) of the Federation and are members of the Party, subject to approval by the National Executive Committee (NEC). vi. Past and serving National Chairman produced by the Party. vii. Serving National Secretary of the Party. viii. Two serving Senators from each geopolitical zone of the country who are members of the Party to be nominated by the Senators from such zone. ix. One Member nominated by each State/Federal Capital Territory Executive Committee for consideration, and subsequent recommendation by the National Working Committee to the National Executive Committee for approval. x. One woman from each geo-political Zone of the Country nominated by the Zonal Committee for consideration, and subsequent recommendation by the National Working Committee to the National Executive Committee for approval. xi. Any other person(s) nominated by the National Working Committee and approved by the National Executive Committee. |

*Source:* APC’s Constitution, INEC Website- <https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/> constitutions-manifestos/

With the exception of one woman from each geo-political Zone of the Country nominated by the Zonal Committee for consideration, and subsequent recommendation by the National Working Committee to the National Executive Committee for approval, there is no certainty of women being members of the BOT.

Box 3 shows the composition of the National Executive Committee (NEC).

*Box 3: Membership of APC’s NEC*

|  |
| --- |
| i. National Chairmen ii. Deputy National Chairman (North) iii. Deputy National Chairman (South) iv. National Secretary v. Deputy National Secretary vi. Six National Vice Chairmen, one from each geo-political zone of the Country (to be also known as Zonal Chairmen) vii. National Legal Adviser viii. Deputy National Legal Adviser ix. National Treasurer x. Deputy National Treasurer xi. National Financial Secretary xii. Deputy National Financial Secretary xiii. National Organising Secretary xiv. Deputy National Organising Secretary xv. National Publicity Secretary xvi. Deputy National Publicity Secretary xvii. National Welfare Secretary xviii. Deputy National Welfare Secretary xix. National Auditor xx. Deputy National Auditor xxi. National Women Leader xxii. Deputy National Women Leader xxiii. National Youth Leader xxiv. Deputy National Youth Leader xxv. Special (Physically Challenged) Leader xxvi. Zonal Secretary xxvii. Zonal Youth Leader xxviii. Zonal Organizing Secretary xxix. Zonal Women Leader xxx. States’ Chairmen of the Party xxxi. The President and Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria who are members of the Party xxxii. President of the Senate and Deputy President of the Senate who are members of the Party xxxiii. Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives who are members of the Party xxxiv. Governors of the States of the Federation who are members of the Party xxxv. Majority or Minority Leader, Party Whip and their Deputies in the Senate and House of Representatives who are Members of the Party xxxvi. Two serving Senators from each geo-political zone of the country, who are members of the Party, to be nominated by the Senators from such zone xxxvii. Three members of the House of Representatives from each geo-political zone of the country who are members of the Party to be nominated by members from such zone xxxviii. Six Ex-Officio members, of whom, one each shall be elected by the National Convention from each of the six geo-political zones of the Country xxxix. Serving Chairman, Deputy Chairman and Secretary of the Board of Trustees (BOT) |

*Source:* APC’s Constitution, INEC Website - https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

In the National Executive Committee of about 100 members, with the exception of the National Women Leader, Deputy National Women Leader and Zonal Women Leader, there is no certainty of women being members of the NEC. But in the old NEC of APC, before its dissolution, there were only eight women out of sixty members.[[37]](#footnote-37) From the names and positions held as indicated in footnote 37, these eight women were simply on the NEC because they held women related positions which could not be occupied by men. In the current National Caretaker Committee which is in place following the dissolution of NEC, out of thirteen members, there is only one woman, Mrs. Stella Oketete. Box 4 shows the membership of APC’s National Working Committee.

*Box 4: Membership of APC’s NWC*

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| --- |
| i. National Chairman ii. Deputy National Chairman (North) iii. Deputy National Chairman (South) iv. National Secretary v. Deputy National Secretary vi. Six (6) National Vice Chairmen, one from each geo-political zones of the Country (to be also known as Zonal Chairmen) vii. National Legal Adviser viii. National Treasurer ix. National Financial Secretary x. National Organizing Secretary xi. National Welfare Secretary xii. National Publicity Secretary xiii. National Auditor xiv. National Women Leader xv. National Youth Leader xvi. Special (Physically Challenged) Leader |

*Source:* APC’s Constitution, INEC Website- https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

Again, in the National Working Committee of 21 members, only one person is certain to be a woman - National Women Leader. She is there because she holds a woman’s position which cannot be outsourced to men.

From the documentation in these key constitutional organs of the party, it is clear that women do not have a strong voice as they are hardly represented in the national level decision making process. The number of women representatives fails to meet the Beijing Platform’s 30% affirmative action demand or the National Gender Policy’s 35% demand. Furthermore, at the federal level, APC has only 2 female Senators and 9 female members in the House of Representatives. Out of the 3 female Deputy Governors nationwide, only 1 is of APC (Kaduna State). In matters of finance, articles 22 and 23 are gender neutral as it makes no special provision for women.[[38]](#footnote-38)

**B. Gender and the Manifesto:** The strategies for mainstreaming gender and youth in governance is as detailed in Box 5.

*Box 5: APC Manifesto on Women and Youth*

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| --- |
| The APCs Commonsense solutions. We will: • Improve anti-discriminatory legislation to afford women equality and equity in employment, education and housing. Institute merit-based affirmative action in employment, • Include gender as a component of federal character, and appoint a Minister for Women and Gender in the Office of the President to oversee the implementation of our gender equality and equity strategy • Legislate to protect a woman’s right to own and inherit property on an equal basis with men • Enforce legal protection for the fundamental rights of the girl-child in all areas of religious, social and economic life, protecting her right to life, to shelter, and to choice, and encourage, public enlightenment on these issues. • Provide women with greater legal protection from domestic violence and sexual harassment • Provide the police with specialist training on the handling of domestic violence issues • Strengthen coordination between women and youths’ agencies at State and Federal level, ‘both government and NGO, cutting across ethnic, religious or other sectional barriers • Improve and strengthen support for women and youths’ participation in all sectors of the economy through training and skills acquisition. • Develop innovative ways and means of encouraging women and youths’ participation in politics. • Encourage local governments to combat female adult illiteracy with education programmes in local languages and provide incentives for the private sector to support these initiatives. • Guarantee women and youths’ participation in governance |

*Source:* APC’s Manifesto, INEC Website- https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

These provisions in the APC manifesto look good on paper. However, most of them are unkept promises. For instance, the promises on developing innovative ways and means of encouraging women and youths’ participation in politics, including gender as a component of federal character and guaranteeing women and youth participation in governance have not been kept.

**3.3 PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP)**

**A. Reflecting Gender in Key Constitutional Organs:** The PDP in S. 6 of its Constitution under “Character and Ethics” provides for the resolve to support the emancipation and participation of women by encouraging their representation at all levels. It declares that in nomination for party offices, not less than 35% shall be reserved for women. The first major test of this resolve of not less than 35% of the seats to be reserved for women is the National Working Committee (NWC).[[39]](#footnote-39) It is imperative to note that the NWC is responsible for the day-to-day administration of the party and reports to the National Executive Committee (NEC); in case of emergency, it acts on behalf of NEC subject to ratification by the NEC. Thus, it is the busiest organ of the party. The composition of the NWC is as shown in Table 6.

*Box 6: Membership of the National Working Committee of the PDP*

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| --- |
| 29 (1) There shall be a National Working Committee of the Party which shall consist of (a) the National Chairman; (b) two Deputy National chairman (c) the National Secretary; (d) the Deputy National Secretary; (e) the National Treasurer; (f) the National Financial Secretary; (g) the National Organizing Secretary; (h) the National Publicity Secretary; (i) the National Auditor; (j) the National Legal Adviser; (k) the National Woman Leader; and (l) the National Youth Leader and (m) the National Vice Chairman. |

*Source:* PDP Constitution, INEC Website- https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

Out of the 12 NWC members, only 1 which is the National Women Leader is certain to be a woman. The representation of women is just 8.3% of the NWC. Although there is nothing in the constitution of PDP that states that women are barred from holding the other offices, empirical evidence shows that men have always held the overwhelming majority of these key positions. However, the current PDP NWC is made up of 19 members, out of which only three are women.[[40]](#footnote-40) Women constitute just 15.7% of the current NWC.

NEC is the main executive body of the party and its decisions are binding on all organs and members of the party. It makes rules for party discipline and implements the constitution and rules of the party. The composition of the NEC of PDP is as shown in Box 7.[[41]](#footnote-41)

*Box 7: Membership of the National Executive Committee of the PDP*

|  |
| --- |
| 31 (1) There shall be a National Executive Committee of the Party which shall consist of- (a) the National Chairman, who shall be the Chairman; (b) serving and former Presidents and Vice Presidents of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, if members of the Party; (c) the Chairman and Secretary of the Board of Trustees; (d) all other members of the Board of Trustees, as well as Statutory members (Founding members, past Presidents and Vice Presidents of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, past National Chairmen, past Deputy National Chairmen, past Deputy National Secretaries, past Presiding Officers of the National Assembly, and past Chairmen and Secretaries of the Board of Trustees) shall have voting rights; (e) Principle Officers of the Senate who are members of the Party and not more than (18) serving Senators spread across the country who are members of the Party; (f) Principal Officers of the House of Representatives spread across the country who are members of the Party; (g) all State Governors, who are members of the Party; (h) the two Deputy National Chairmen; (i) all National Vice Chairmen; (j) the National Secretary and the Deputy National Secretary; (k) the National Treasurer and the Deputy National Treasurer; (l) the National Financial Secretary and the Deputy National Financial Secretary; (m) the National Organizing Secretary and the Deputy National Organizing Secretary; (n) the National Publicity Secretary and the Deputy National Publicity Secretary; (o) the National Legal Adviser and the Deputy National Legal Adviser; (p) the National Auditor and the Deputy National Auditor; (q) the National Woman Leader and the Deputy National Woman Leader; (r) the National Youth Leader and the Deputy National Youth Leader; (s) all State Chairmen; (t) six ex-officio members, at least two of whom shall be women, and one (1) Physically Challenged Person (PCP), elected from each of the six geopolitical zones without prejudice to their right to contest other positions in the National Executive Committee; (u) all former National Working Committee members who are still members of the party but only former Chairmen, Deputy National Chairmen and National Secretaries shall have voting rights; (v) all former Principal Officers of the National Assembly produced by the Party who are still members of the Party; (w) all former State Governors produced by the Party.  |

*Source:* PDP Constitution, INEC Website- https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

The NEC has a membership of 388 members. But the only certain female members are the National Women Leader, the Deputy National Women Leader and 12 women ex-officio members elected from the six geopolitical zones which brings the number to 14. Therefore, women’s participation is about 3.6% of membership of NEC.

The Board of Trustees is another important organ whose membership is as shown in Box 8.[[42]](#footnote-42)

*Box 8: Membership of PDP’s Board of Trustees*

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| --- |
| 32(1) There shall be a Board of Trustees of the Party (BOT) which shall consist of- (a) all past and serving Presidents and Vice Presidents of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, who held or hold their respective posts as members of the Party and who are still members of the Party; (b) all Past and serving National Chairmen, Deputy National Chairmen and National Secretaries of the Party, who are still members of the Party; (c) all past and serving Presidents of the Senate and Speakers of the House of Representatives who are still members of the Party; (d) all Founding Members of the Party as defined in this Constitution; (e) two women selected from each of the six geopolitical zones; (f) three members, at least one of whom shall be a woman, from each of the six geo-political Zones; and (g) person(s) not exceeding six, who have contributed immensely to the growth of the party and found suitable by the Board, Provided that membership of the Board of Trustees shall reflect the Federal Character of Nigeria. e) the Chairman of the Serving Governors’ Forum of the Party (if any) and the Chairman of the former Governors Forum of the party (if any); (f) five (5) members, at least two of whom shall be women, from each of the six (6) geo-political Zones of Nigeria, nominated by the Zonal Caucus and sent to the Board of Trustees; (g) one (1) person from each State of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory who has contributed immensely to the growth of the party nominated by the State Caucus and sent to the Board of Trustees; and (h) all past Chairmen and Secretaries of the Board of Trustees who are members of the Party. |

*Source:* PDP Constitution, INEC Website - https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

The BOT is like the conscience of the party and its Elder’s Committee. From a composition of about 128 members, the certain female members are two women selected from each geopolitical zone (12), 6 other women selected from the geopolitical zones, founding mothers who are nine in number and a former Speaker of the House of Representatives (Hon. Patricia Etteh).[[43]](#footnote-43) This brings the total number of women in the BOT to 28 which is 22.7% of the BOT population.

**B. Gender and the Manifesto:** The manifesto provides for women as detailed in Box 9.[[44]](#footnote-44)

*Box 9: PDP’s Manifesto Provisions on Women*

|  |
| --- |
| *Policy Thrust:* PDP will pursue a policy of inclusiveness for women through programmes that will address age long barriers imposed by cultural and economic factors. Accordingly, the PDP government shall develop programmes to enhance the participation of women in national affairs. Specifically, the PDP will seek to integrate women by enhancing their capacity to participate in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the Nigerian nation. PDP shall put in place measures that will protect women against all forms of abuse and social vices. PDP will strive to secure the future of the girl child and protect her dignity. *Minimum Objectives for**States & LGAs:* Ensure equal opportunity in accessing microfinance by women cooperatives. Selectively provide affirmative action for women participation in democracy and other social areas. Protect the rights of the girl child and the vulnerable citizens. *Implementation Strategy:* Ensure equitable representation of women in all aspects of national life including party organs by using affirmative action to ensure that at least 35% of the workforce are women: Implement the provisions of the UN Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women. Mainstream women’s concerns and perspectives into all policies and programmes; Enhance access to microfinance. Support legislation for the abolition of all forms of harmful traditional practices against women. Strengthen women societies to make them more effective in the process of ensuring the empowerment of the women; and exempt women standing for electoral office from paying any fees. |

*Source:* PDP Constitution, INEC Website- https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

There is some consistency in its promises of 35% affirmative action opportunities for women in S.6 of its Constitution while its manifesto also promised 35%. On paper, the provisions for women appear good. However, PDP has not implemented the 35% affirmative action principle, neither has it mainstreamed CEDAW principles in national life in its 16 years of producing Nigeria’s president and being the dominant party in the national and state legislatures. It may have exempted women standing for electoral office from paying the huge expression of interest and purchase of nomination form fees. But this is just tokenistic as the main expenditure required in election contests goes beyond the expression of interest and purchase of nomination forms.

At the National Assembly, PDP has 6 women occupying Senate seats and 3 members in the House of Representatives. It has 2 female deputy governors and some members in States House of Assembly. Being a former ruling party and a leading opposition party, it needs to strongly uphold its policies as it relates to women to better address issues of gender inequality.

**3.4 ALL PROGRESSIVE GRAND ALLIANCE (APGA)**

**A. Reflecting Gender in Key Constitutional Organs:** The APGA in its aims and objectives specifically promised to “uphold the Beijing Declaration on affirmative action for women”.[[45]](#footnote-45) Box 10 shows the composition of the National Executive Committee.

*Box 10: Composition of APGA’s NEC*

|  |
| --- |
| (i) National Chairman (ii) Deputy National Chairman South (iii) Deputy National Chairman North (iv) 6 Vice National Chairmen (Representing the Zones) (v) National Secretary (vi) Deputy National Secretary (vii) 6 Assistant National Secretaries (viii) National Treasurer (ix) Deputy National Treasurer (x) 6 Assistant National Treasurers (xi) Deputy National Financial Secretary (xii) 6 Assistant National Financial Secretaries (xiii) National Publicity Secretary (xiv) Deputy National Publicity Secretary (xv) 6 Assistant National Publicity Secretaries (xvi) National Legal Adviser (xvii) Deputy National Legal Adviser (xviii) 6 Assistant National Legal Advisers (xix) National Welfare Secretary (xx) Deputy National Welfare Secretary (xxi) 6 Assistant National Welfare Secretaries (xxii) National Organising Secretary (xxiii) Deputy National Organising Secretary (xxiv) 6 Assistant National Organising Secretaries (xxv) 6 Ex-Officio members (one from each Zone) (xxvi) The National Auditor (xxvii) Deputy National Auditor (xxviii) 6 Assistant National Auditors (xxix) National Women Leader (xxx) Deputy National Women Leader (xxxi) 6 Assistant National Women Leader (xxxii) National Youth Leader (xxxiii) Deputy National Youth Leader (xxxiv) 6 Assistant National Youth Leaders (xxxv) State Chairmen of the Party (xxxvi) The President and the Vice President of the Country if produced by the Party. (xxxvii) President and Deputy President of the Senate, the Speaker and Deputy Speaker produced by the Party in the Senate and House of Representatives. (xxxviii) State Governors, Deputy Governors if produced by the Party (xxxix) Majority or Minority Leader, Party Whip and their Deputies produced by the Party in the National Assembly. |

*Source:* APGA Constitution, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

The first major test for upholding the Beijing Declaration is the NEC whose composition is as detailed in Box 10 above.[[46]](#footnote-46) NEC is responsible for the administration of APGA and putting into effect the decisions of the National Convention.

From a projected membership of about 200 members, only 8 persons vis, the National Women Leader, Deputy National Women Leader and 6 Assistant National Women Leaders are automatically guaranteed to be women. This is a guarantee of a minimum of 4% of the NEC membership. Information from APGA indicates that there is a total of 462 current members of NEC, out of which 361 are men while 101 are women. The female membership is 21.8% of the overall membership of NEC.

The second major test for upholding the Beijing Declaration is the Board of Trustees whose composition is as detailed in Box 11.[[47]](#footnote-47) All the movable and immovable properties of the party are vested in the BOT.[[48]](#footnote-48)

*Box 11: Composition of APGA’s BOT*

|  |
| --- |
| There shall be a Board of Trustees consisting of at least 24 members of unquestionable integrity drawn from the six geo-political zones of the country: a. All former National Chairmen and National Secretaries of the Party, b. All former Presidents and Vice Presidents of the Republic, produced by the. Party c. All former Presidents of the Nigerian Senate and Speakers of the House of Representatives, produced by the Party. d. Any such other members of the Party as may from time to time be nominated by the National Executive Committee and ratified by the Party’s National Convention. |

*Source:* APGA Constitution, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

Although APGA has not produced these high-ranking state officers detailed in its constitution, there is nothing in this provision indicative of a recognition of the need for women to be a part of the BOT. While the constitution of the APC and PDP made token provisions for women, the APGA constitution is silent on this. However, the current APGA BOT is composed on 32 members with 6 women and 26 men.[[49]](#footnote-49) The female membership is just 23% of the BOT. Although there is no provision for a National Working Committee in the constitution of APGA, the party indicates that its NWC has 29 members comprising of 23 men and 6 women. The female membership of the NWC is just 20.6%.

**B. Gender and the Manifesto:** Chapter 16 of the Manifesto makes provision for a Policy on Women. It states inter alia as shown in Box 12.[[50]](#footnote-50)

*Box 12: APGA’s Manifesto Provisions on Gender*

|  |
| --- |
| In the spirit of post-Beijing reconstruction or the achievement of gender party and a more inclusive democracy the All Progressives Grand Alliance will take the following measures for the empowerment of the fair sex who according to the 1991 National Census constitute half (49.6%) of the Nigerian electorate.1. APGA will sponsor public enlightenment programmes to fight gender inequality and gender insensitivities in every aspect of our national life.
2. APGA will promote affirmative action by employers to place women in positions of authority.
3. APGA will use the media and other means of persuasion to promote the education of the girl child on a basis of equality with the boy child and as a we proceed into an era of compulsory education it will be a breach of the law to withdraw girls from the school system for any reason whatsoever until they attain the age of sixteen years.
4. APGA will review credit guidelines in the relevant sections of the banking industry to make it easier for women (who are active in agriculture and the informal sector) to have access to credit.
5. APGA will sponsor legislation forbidding marriage before the age of 18 which is the recognized age for adulthood. In addition, a deliberate programme of re-orientation would be embarked upon to protect the dignity of the girl child by discouraging harmful customary practices and imposition of marriage partners upon young girls.
6. APGA will support though scholarships and special grants, girls and women who show exceptional skills in their academic pursuits,
7. APGA will review all labour laws which are insensitive to the special position of women as mothers and home builders.
8. APGA will ensure that every facility is made available for women athletes to excel in their special discipline in athletics and sports.
9. APGA will encourage women to seek elective office in local governments, the states and at the federal level.
10. APGA will give women senior political appointments in the spirit of Beijing Declaration.”
 |

*Source:* APGA Manifesto, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

The provisions of the manifesto appear good on paper. In Anambra State, which is the only state governed by APGA, there is no evidence that most of these programmes in the manifesto have been implemented. In terms of elected officials, APGA has a female member in the House of Representatives and 7 male members; their only governor and his deputy are male; 1 female member and 26 male members of the State House of Assembly.

**3.5 LABOUR PARTY (LP)**

**A. Reflecting Gender in Key Constitutional Organs:** The Labour Party asserts that it is a social democratic party. Part of its aims and objectives is to ensure gender balance in governance. One of its key organs is the Board of Trustees which is charged inter alia with ensuring the highest standards of morality in all the activities of the party; powers to call to order any officers of the party whose conduct falls below the norms; harmonise, co-ordinate, review and advise on politics, programmes and activities of the party on national level and be vested with the assets of the party and shall serve as custodians of such assets. It is also to co-ordinate the sourcing of party funds and mediate in disputes between the executive and legislative arms of government. The composition of the Board of Trustees is shown in Box 13.

*Box 13: Composition of Labour Party’s BOT*

|  |
| --- |
| All past and serving Presidents and Vice Presidents of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, who held or hold the respective posts as members of the Party and who are still members of the Party. • All past and serving National Chairmen, Deputy National Chairmen and National Secretaries of the Party who are still members of the Party. • All past serving Presidents of the Senate and Speakers of the House of Representatives who are still members of the Party. • Two women selected from each of the six geo political zones; three members; at least one of who shall be a woman from each of the six geo political zones. • Person(s) not exceeding six, who have in one way or the other contributed immensely to the growth of the Party found suitable by the Board. • Current Presidents of NLC and TUC respectively. |

*Source:* Constitution of Labour Party, INEC Website- https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

The extant composition of the BOT has a membership of about 44 which includes the current and previous national chairmen, deputy national chairmen and secretaries who are still members of the party, 18 women selected from the geopolitical zones, 18 other members and current presidents of NLC and TUC respectively gives women not less than 40% of the BOT membership. This is an improvement compared to the other earlier reviewed political parties.

The composition of the National Executive Council (NEC) of the Labour Party is stated in Box 14.[[51]](#footnote-51)

*Box 14: Composition of National Executive Council (NEC) of Labour Party*

|  |
| --- |
|  i. National Chairman ii. Four (4) National Deputy Chairmen at least two of whom must be female representative of the platform i.e., NLC Women Commission Chairperson. iii. The President, Vice President, the President of the Senate and the Deputy, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives; if produced by the Party and all the Governors and Deputy Governors produced by the Party. iv. Chairmen and Secretaries of State Executive Councils of the Party. v. Six (6) National Vice Chairmen each representing the six geopolitical zones of the country. vi. National Secretary vii. Three (3) National Deputy Secretaries viii. National Treasurer ix. Financial Secretary x. National Publicity Secretary xi. National Organizing Secretary xii. National Legal Adviser xiii. National Auditor xiv. National Women leader xv. Six (6) Deputy National Women leaders each representing each of the six geo political zones of the country. xvi. National Youth leader xvii. Six (6) Assistant National Youth Leaders, each representing each of the six geo political zones of the country. xviii. Presidents and General Secretaries of the two Central Labour Organizations, that is, Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) & Trade Union Congress (TUC) representing the Platforms. xix. Ex-officio members to be appointed by the National Executive Council xx. Chairperson of the N.L.C Women Commission. xxi. Deputy Treasurer xxii. Assistant Financial Secretary xxiii. Assistant National Organizing Secretary. xxiv. Six National Deputy Youth Leaders, one from each geo political zone. |

*Source:* Constitution of Labour Party, INEC Website - https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

The automatic women representation in NEC are ten including 2 seats (out of 4) for National Deputy Chairmen; National Women leader and 6 Deputy National Women leaders each representing each of the six geo-political zones of the country, chairperson of the NLC Women Commission. 10 seats for women out of a possible 195 members is about 5%. From information available at INEC, the current NEC has 73 members and 7 of the members are women.[[52]](#footnote-52) Thus, the female membership is 9.5% of the total.

Furthermore, the National Working Committee of Labour Party is composed as shown in Box 15.[[53]](#footnote-53)

*Box 15: Membership of the National Working Committee of Labour Party*

|  |
| --- |
|  i. The National Chairman ii. Three (3) Deputy National Chairmen at least one of whom must be a female and the other are representative of the platform. iii. Six (6) National Vice Chairmen each representing each of the six geopolitical zone of the country iv. National Secretary v. Three (3) Deputy National Secretaries vi. The NLC and TUC Presidents vii. General Secretaries of NLC and TUC viii. National Treasurer ix. National Financial Secretary x. National Publicity Secretary xi. National Organizing Secretary xii. National Legal Adviser xiii. National Auditor xiv. National Women Leader xv. Six (6) Deputy National Women leaders each representing the six geo-political zones of the country. xvi. National Youth Leader xvii. Six (6) Assistant National Youth Leaders each representing each of the six geo-political zones of the country |

*Source:* Labour Party Constitution, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

Although there can be more women on the NWC depending on the positions they occupy, there are 8 seats automatically guaranteed for women in the Labour Party’s NWC which represents 21% of the NWC. However, INEC’s information indicates that 3 out of 11 current members of the NWC are women.[[54]](#footnote-54) This is just 27.2% of the NWC.

**B. Gender and the Manifesto:** The Policy thrust of the Party on women is a shown in Box 16.

*Box 16: Labour Party’s Manifesto Provision on Gender*

|  |
| --- |
| * A critical mass of women politicians must be reached through affirmative action policies/quotas. A 30 percent minimum quota in all appointive and elective positions shall be considered, and mechanisms for demanding and monitoring the implementation of such quotas should be developed. An Equal Opportunities Commission could be a viable organ to support this process.
* Provision of adequate information and statistics on the situation and character of poverty in, Nigeria with regional variables.
* The party shall strive to seek to engender fundamental alternations in power relations between the sexes, in the distribution of social resources and in cultural mores. It shall seek to empower women in order to enhance their status.
* Transform the economic, social, psychological political and legal circumstances of women through a comprehensive review of existing laws in the country to update them and remove discrimination against our women folk, especially in the area of empowerment, marriage, credit, home-ownership, inheritance and widowhood.
* Expansion of women’s access to educational opportunities, facilities for skills acquisition and positions of authority.
* Sensitize women on their role as advocates for changes in the society, the Party shall take active, practical and concrete steps to empower and raise the consciousness of Nigerian women and shall facilitates access by them to the various organs of the Party, and to the agencies of government.
* The Party accepts the equality of men and women and shall effect this in its full acceptance and strong representation of Nigerian women in the political process. Especially, the Party shall ensure that the women are encouraged to contest elective party and public/political offices/posts at all levels of the Party organization and at all levels of government.
* Making available micro-economic loans to women in the informal sector and the permission of promotion of adults’ literacy/vocational class, especially for women in the rural and also urban areas
 |

*Source:* Manifesto of Labour Party, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

At the federal level, Labour Party does not have any female legislator. It is not proven that the party adhered to these lofty goals when it was in control of Ondo State during the Olusegun Mimiko administration.

**3.6 YOUNG PROGRESSIVE PARTY (YPP)**

**A. Reflecting Gender in Key Constitutional Organs:** The party in its aims and objectives states that it shall encourage and sustain gender equality by creating avenues for fair participation and representations of both genders.[[55]](#footnote-55) It states that it is committed to the principles of social justice and the equality of opportunities for all citizens and to build an egalitarian society for the success of generations to come. The composition of the National Working Committee is as shown in Box 17.

*Box 17: Composition of YPP’s NWC*

|  |
| --- |
| (a) National Chairman (b) Deputy National Chairman (c) National Secretary (d) Deputy National Secretary (e) National Legal Adviser (f) National Treasurer (g) National Publicity Secretary (h) National Financial Secretary (I) National Auditor (j) National Women Leader (k) National Youth Leader (l) National Organizing Secretary (m) National Government Liaison Adviser (n) National Corporate Adviser (o) National Technical Adviser (p) National Welfare Adviser (q) Chief Security Officer (r) The Deputy National Director for Persons with Disabilities (s) National Sports Adviser |

*Source:* YPP’s Constitution, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

Of the 19 members, only one is specifically targeted to be occupied by a woman - National Women Leader. This is just 5.2% of the membership of the NWC. However, women may occupy more positions if they are elected into the afore-listed positions. Table 18 shows the National Executive Council.

*Box 18: Membership of YPP’s National Executive Committee*

|  |
| --- |
| (a) The National Chairman, who shall be the chairman; (b) The Deputy National Chairman; (c) The National Secretary and the Deputy National Secretary; (d) The Zonal Chairmen of the 6 geo-political zones; (e) The National Government Liaison Adviser and the Deputy National Government Liaison Adviser (f) The National Corporate Adviser and the Deputy National Corporate Adviser (g) The National Technical Adviser and the Deputy National Technical Adviser (h) The National Treasurer and Deputy National Treasurer; (i) The National Financial Secretary and the Deputy National Financial Secretary; (j) The National Organizing Secretary and Deputy National Organizing Secretary; (k) The National Publicity Secretary and the Deputy National Publicity Secretary; (l) The National Legal Adviser, the Deputy National Legal Adviser (m) The National Auditor and the Deputy National Auditor (n) The National Women Leader, Deputy National Women Leader and six Zonal Women Leaders; (o) The National Youth Leader and Deputy National Youth Leader (p) The National Welfare Adviser and the Deputy National Welfare Adviser (q) The Chief Security Officer (s)The National Liaison Adviser for Persons with Disabilities (t) The Deputy National Adviser for Persons with Disabilities (u) National Sports Adviser (v) Deputy National Sports Adviser (w) All elected public office holders of the Party at the Federal Level (x) All State Governors elected under the Party’s platform (y) Chairman of the Board of Trustees (z) Secretary of the Board of Trustees. |

Source: YPP Constitution, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

Out of 50 positions, only 8 are reserved exclusively for women which is 16% of the NEC. This falls short of the 30% Beijing Declaration or 35% requirement of the National Gender Policy. However, INEC indicates that out of the current 26 members of YPP’s NEC, only 5 are women.[[56]](#footnote-56) This is just 19.2% of the overall membership of NEC. But from the names in footnote 54, it is clear that these women are in NEC by virtue of being zonal women leaders. The current female membership of NEC is tokenistic. Furthermore, the Board of Trustees of the YPP is as shown in Box 19.

*Box 19: Composition of the BOT of YPP*

|  |
| --- |
| (a) The BOT Chairman and Secretary, National Chairman and National Secretary, two credible party loyalists from each state and Abuja who shall be elected at the National Convention. (b) The Pioneer BOT Chairman and Secretary, Pioneer National Chairman and National Secretary who are live members of the BOT provided that they remain members of the Party (c) Person(s) who have contributed immensely to the growth of the party and found suitable by the Board (d) The Board shall not exceed 72 persons provided that every State in Nigeria shall have a minimum of one person in the Board of Trustees (BOT) (e) The board shall not exceed 100 persons at any time (f) The National Working Committee shall appoint 12 persons, 2 from each geo-political zone. And shall also be responsible for the appointment of the Chairman and Secretary of the BOT.  |

*Source:* YPP Constitution, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

Out of about 80 members of the BOT, there is no requirement that women shall be represented. Despite being a party for young progressives, the constitution of YPP does not seem to have mainstreamed gender in its key organs.

**B. Gender and the Manifesto:** The Policy thrust of the YPP on women is a shown in Box 20.

*Box 20: YPP’s Manifesto Provision on Gender*

|  |
| --- |
| **Objectives:** Women are an important group of Nigerians whose participation in national politics has been minimal due largely to cultural inhibition and barriers. The relevance of women, their numerical strength and their multiplier effects in the mass mobilization of the Nigerian people for the attainment of educational, health, and socioeconomic objectives are recognized by the party. Accordingly, the party government shall pursue policies enshrined in the Beijing Declaration. **Strategy:** Our government shall: a. Ensure gender equality in employment and socio-economic advancement, and promote greater women involvement and effective participation in politics; b. Embark on an aggressive crusade of greater political awareness and mass mobilization of Nigerian women for participation in a sustainable national development; c. Ensure adequate women representation in all the organs and institutions of the party and of its government through enhanced participation of women in electoral contests and through political appointments; and d. (d) Ensure that all levels of governance, women occupy a minimum of 35% of both elective and appointive positions; and (e) Strengthen women societies to enable them become more effective in engineering the process of economic and political empowerment of Nigerian women. |

*Source:* YPP Manifesto, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

On paper, this provision looks good but the earlier interrogation of the details of actual membership of the organs shows that the party may not have followed the principles behind this provision.

**3.7 SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

**A. Reflecting Gender in Key Constitutional Organs:** The Social Democratic Party of [Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigeria) (SDP) was established as a center-left political organisation. It is inter alia committed to creating opportunities for and encouraging full development of the political, social, cultural and economic potentials of the women and vulnerable people of Nigeria.[[57]](#footnote-57) The NEC is composed as shown in Box 21.

*Box 21: Composition of NEC of SDP*

|  |
| --- |
| National Chairman (ii) Deputy National Chairman (iii) 6 Vice National Chairman (Representing the Zones) (iv) National Secretary (v) Deputy National Secretary (vi) 6 Assistant National Secretary (One per Zone) (vii) National Treasurer (viii) Deputy National Treasurer (ix) National Financial Secretary (x) Deputy National Financial Secretary (xi) National Publicity Secretary (xii) Deputy National Publicity Secretary (xiii) National Legal Adviser (xiv) Deputy National Legal Adviser (xv) National Welfare Officer (xvi) Deputy National Welfare Officer (xvii) State Chairmen of the Party (xviii) The President and Vice-President produced by the Party. (xix) State-Governors produced by the Party (xx) 6 Ex-Officio (one from each zone) (xxi) The Chairman of the party in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (xxii) President and Deputy President of the Senate the Speaker and Deputy Speaker produced by the party in the House of Representatives. (xxiii) Majority or Minority Leader, Party Whip and their Deputies produced by the party in the National Assembly (xxiv) The National Auditor. (xxv) Assistant National Auditor (xxvi) National Organising Secretary (xxvii) Deputy National Organising Secretary (xxviii) 6 Assistant National Organising Secretary (one per zone) (xxix) National Women Leader (xxx) National Youth Leader (xxxi) Two (2) members representing special platforms |

*Source:* SDP Constitution, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

Out of about 130 members, only the National Speaker, Women Parliament and Deputy National Women Speaker are the compulsory female members. However, there may be more women in the NEC if they hold elected positions. Available records indicate that the current NEC has 13 members, out of which Hajiya Mariam Batunbo, the National Women Leader is the only female member.

Box 22 shows the composition of the NWC.

*Box 22: Composition of SDP’s NWC*

|  |
| --- |
| i. National Chairman ii. Deputy National Chairman South; iii. Deputy National Chairman North; iv. National Secretary v. National Treasurer; vi. National Organising Secretary vii. National Publicity Secretary; viii. National Legal Adviser; ix. National Welfare Officer; x. National Financial Secretary; xi. National Auditor; xii. National Speaker (Women Parliament); xiii. National Speaker (Youth Parliament); xiv. National Labour and Civil Society Secretary xv. National Leader Persons with Disabilities. |

*Source:* SDP Constitution, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

Of the fifteen members of the NWC, one is automatically a female. However, two women are members of the National Working Committee. The SDP’s Constitution did not provide for a Board of Trustees.

**B. Gender and the Manifesto:** The Policy thrust of the SDP on women is a shown in Box 23.

*Box 23: SDP’s Manifesto Provision on Gender*

|  |
| --- |
| **Mainstreaming Women Participation in Governance and Nation Building****Background:** Women are considered as the backbone of the family and the bedrock of a nation. They are the managers of their homes and share a core value of caring for others. Even though recently women have become actively involved in the country’s politics unlike before, nevertheless, they are still faced with some challenges that limit their chances of participation. However, the role of women in Nigeria can be re-energised by according them the desired and deserved attention like it is in other parts of the world. **Current issues and challenges in the sector:** Looking at most sectors across the facet of leadership today, women are still faced with issues such as getting elected to party offices and general election to exalted offices. It is also difficult for women to even access any support services, e.g.* Finance and investment opportunities to sustain their businesses.
* Access to inheritance;
* Quality education;
* Leadership roles at places of work;
* Housing and health facilities; justice in times of conflicts and many more.

**The vision of an SDP Government on the Sector:** Make it easy for women’s active participation in politics to make democracy stronger; train women to attain leadership and other influential positions. **What the SDP intends to do to solve the challenges in the sector:** SDP government will strongly ensure the full integration of women into the mainstream of development to improve their capacities for better economic growth, political and social status as a means of developing the country’s human capital for national and economic growth. SDP shall encourage, pursue/ensure that the principles and provision of a policy on women’s integration in mainstream of development and polity as will be/contained in the Nigerian Constitution are effectively implemented. Ensures implement of more than 30% affirmative action of women representation in all tiers of government.  |

Source: SDP Manifesto, INEC Website https://www.inecnigeria.org/political-parties/constitutions-manifestos/

It is imperative to point out that this is not the content of the manifesto available on the website of INEC. However, this draft was presented to the Audit when the zero draft was sent to the party. Box 23 above proposes affirmative action and capacity building for women. Furthermore, women and youth are joined as one category. It is recommended that for better inclusion and equal opportunities, parties like SDP should separate its objectives for women and youths and state them separately.

**3.8: THE WORDS OF THE CONSTITUTIONS AND MANIFESTOS**

The words used in drafting the constitutions and manifestos of he audited political parties are not gender sensitive. They are written in the old patriarchal interpretative fixation of “he”, including “she”. These basic documents could benefit from a gender sensitive reconstruction and remodeling.

**Chapter Four**

**CHALLENGES TO WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS**

**4.1 WOMEN AND ELECTIVE OFFICE 1999-2019**

Despite being the biggest democracy in Africa, Nigeria has the lowest women representation in political office. Globally, the International Parliamentary Union (2019) ranked Nigeria as the 180th out of 193 countries that have low women representation in the world.[[58]](#footnote-58) Notably, Nigeria has the lowest women representation in both elective and appointed political positions in Africa.

The political landscape in Nigeria is largely dominated by men. Though the country recognises the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), in this case, Goals 5 and 10, 30% Beijing Declaration affirmative action of 1995, and 35% minimum representation recommended by its National Gender Policy, it has made little progress in women’s political participation. The 2019 general election was another affirmation of this ugly trend as women constituted a paltry 4.17% of the elected officials despite having 11.36% of nominated candidates. According to Premium times, there were about 2,970 women on the ballot in 2019.[[59]](#footnote-59) Sadly, before 2019 elections, 5.65% women occupied political offices in Nigeria. This indicates a sharp decline in women inclusion in political office.

Statistics also reveal that 253 women contested for the senate seats in 2019 election, only 9 women were elected, which accounted for 8.2% of the total elected senators.[[60]](#footnote-60) In the House of Representatives, 533 women contested but only 13 were elected which accounts for 3.6% of the lower chamber. At the state level, no woman was elected a governor, while only 3 women were elected as deputy governors, out of 275 women that participated in the race. It is imperative to note that in the same 2019 election, out of 84million registered voters, women constitute 40million, which is about 47.14% of the total registered voters.[[61]](#footnote-61) While there are conscious efforts all over the world to promote inclusive political participation, Nigerian women’s participation is dwindling, and little progress has been made to bridge this gender gap. Table 1 tells the story of women’s representation in elective offices 1990-2019.

**Table 1: Women and Elective Positions (1999-2019)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **1999** |  | **2003** |  | **2007** |  | **2011** |  | **2015** |  | **2019** |  |
| **Office** | **Seat****Available** | **Women** | **Seat****Available** | **Women** | **Seat****Available** | **Women** | **Seat****Available** | **Women** | **Seat****Available** | **Women** | **Seat****Available** | **Women** |
| President | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Vice President | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Senate | 109 | 3 | 109 | 3 | 109 | 9 | 109 | 7 | 109 | 8 | 109 | 9 |
| House of Reps | 360 | 12 | 360 | 21 | 360 | 25 | 360 | 24 | 360 | 23 | 360 | 13 |
| Governor | 36 | 0 | 36 | 0 | 36 | 0 | 36 | 0 | 36 | 0 | 36 | 0 |
| Deputy Governor | 36 | 0 | 36 | 3 | 36 | 4 | 36 | 8 | 36 | 6 | 36 | 3 |
| State House of Assembly | 990 | 22 | 990 | 30 | 990 | 43 | 990 | 58 | 990 | 37 | 991 | 51 |

*Source:* National Bureau of Statistics - Statistical Report on Women and Men in Nigeria 2018 and Author’s Calculation from Different Sources

The National Assembly comprises of 469 legislators of which 109 are Senators and 360 are members of the House of Representatives. In the 9th National Assembly that emerged after the 2019 elections, 9 women were elected in the Senate.[[62]](#footnote-62) However Senator Rose Okoji Oko died in 2020 and only 8 are remaining. 8 women in Senate chamber of 109 members is 7.3% of the Senate. 13 women were elected in the House of Representatives.[[63]](#footnote-63)

At the State level, records show that there are 3 female deputy governors and Nigeria is yet to produce a female governor.[[64]](#footnote-64) In States House of Assembly, women constitute 5.1% of the elected lawmakers (51 women out of 991).[[65]](#footnote-65) The national average of female representation in elective and appointive positions is 4.17% and this is far below the global average of 22.5%, the Africa regional average of 23.4% and the West African Sub Regional average of 15%.[[66]](#footnote-66) Clearly, this is indicative of an environment that stifles almost 50% of its population and disregards the 30/35% Affirmative Action.

**4.2 BARRIERS TO WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION AND SUCCESS IN ELECTIONS**

**4.2.1 Background**

Historically, Nigerian women have struggled with inequality and gender discrimination right from the era of colonialism which was accompanied with marginalisation and obstacles to women’s active participation in the political process. Colonial rule made men dominant in politics by appointing them as chiefs to the exclusion of women.[[67]](#footnote-67) From the First Republic after independence in 1960 to the return to civil rule in 1999, the proportion of women at all levels of government have remained low.

There are number of constraints, barriers and challenges to women’s full and equal participation with men in Nigeria’s politics, governance and public life. Some of these challenges have to do with paucity of actionable laws and policies while some emanate from wrong interpretation of culture, religion and custom. These challenges are most times concentric, systemic and self-reinforcing. This section will review these barriers and challenges.

**4.2.2 The Law Conundrum**

It has been asserted that the Nigerian Government has been reluctant to implement laws to improve gender equality in politics, despite a formal support for it.[[68]](#footnote-68) There are no formal barriers on women taking political office as the Constitution guarantees equal political rights. The National Gender Policy (2006) recommended a benchmark of 35% of seats in parliament to be filled by women. The country is also a signatory to international agreements including CEDAW, actively participated in the process leading up to the Beijing Declaration as well as being a signatory to the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.

However, despite these lofty national and international standards, none of them creates a positive set of concrete rights for women in political and public life.[[69]](#footnote-69) The international standards, despite the international law doctrine of *pacta sunt servanda* (treaty agreements are sacred and sacrosanct and to be implemented in good faith) and the *jus cogens* that a country cannot plead its domestic law and jurisprudence to defeat its international obligations, cannot be the basis of enforcing rights before Nigerian courts. At best, these standards may be deployed as an aid in interpretation of statutes creating rights in Nigeria. These standards have not been domesticated and enacted as law by the National Assembly while the constitutional non-discrimination provision did not create quotas or entitlements for female politicians. At best, the constitutional provision in S.42 created a negative obligation under which the state can decide to do nothing in as much as it is not taking positive action to violate the non-discrimination clause. Therefore, *stricto sensu,* political parties that indirectly frustrate women politicians may not have violated any legal provisions. What is afforded to Nigerian women is formal equality before the law without provisions for substantial or concrete equal protection of the law.

Following the lead of legal provisions, none of the parties has enforceable affirmative action policies that reserve special candidate quotas for women. Candidacy is usually a free for all that goes to the strongest and the aspirants with the biggest financial muscle. The earlier review of party constitutions and manifestoes affirms this position.

**4.2.3** **Patriarchy**

This simply means a system of society or government in which men hold a disproportionate share of power, largely excluding and subordinating women. The patriarchal nature of Nigerian society is a to great extent founded on its diverse culture, customs and religious beliefs. Patriarchy is concentric and once it is upheld, it affects all aspects of economic, social and political life of the society. Patriarchy drives a mindset which reinforces its perpetuation.[[70]](#footnote-70) According to Ene Ede, patriarchy is linked to finance which is a critical consideration in elections.[[71]](#footnote-71) However, some of these customs and religious beliefs are subversions of the original prescriptions and merely misinterpreted by the predominant male members of society for their own benefit. The SDP National Women Leader stated that men see politics as their affair while women belong to the kitchen.[[72]](#footnote-72) Also, the chairman of Inter Party Advisory Council (IPAC), Leonard Nzenwa views patriarchy in politics as emanating from the upbringing that men are the head and women should be subservient as well as the fact that men are trained early to earn money. Nigerian politics being cost intensive, only persons with huge resources can afford to effectively compete.[[73]](#footnote-73) In response to the reason informing more men occupying positions of authority than women, a respondent states that it is normal because women are more of voters.[[74]](#footnote-74)

Nigerian patriarchy’s strong root was demonstrated at the highest level of governance when President Muhammadu Buhari during a meeting with former German President, Angela Merkel was reported to have described the place of women as belonging to the kitchen and the other room.[[75]](#footnote-75) Patriarchy has led to disempowerment of women and violations of women’s human rights and fundamental freedoms. It is even most pronounced in the economic sphere where women have little or no economic power while elections cost a lot of money and other resources. The courts have struck down some of these customary norms as being repugnant to natural justice, equity and good conscience or as being unconstitutional in the field of inheritance and property rights.[[76]](#footnote-76)

Abiola Afolabi, of Women Advocates Research and Documentation Centre (WARDC) states that patriarchy is historical in Nigeria and it drives the politics of money bereft of ideas.[[77]](#footnote-77) Women like Fumilayo Ransom-Kuti, Esan and others fought these vices. Women in Southern Nigeria acquired voting rights in 1954, but women in Northern Nigeria did not start voting until 1979. Adaora Onyechere, an aspirant under the umbrella of Action Alliance is of the view that the Nigerian media space is patriarchal and little or no visibility is given to female candidates during campaigns and elections.[[78]](#footnote-78) Emanating from the patriarchal upbringing, women are not overtly disposed to voting for female candidates as they tend to believe that male candidates will represent the constituency better considering that governance and politics are seen as structured violent contestations.[[79]](#footnote-79) In Muslim societies, especially in rural areas of the North East and North West, where women need the permission of their husbands to leave the home or even to work to earn a livelihood, the idea of participating in politics will also be subject to such permission and when sought, may not be granted.

**4.2.4 Religious and Cultural Barriers**

Christianity and Islam are the predominant religions in Nigeria. The two religions do not accord women significant roles in public life. The leaders and key officials of these religions are men and women are not generally portrayed as leaders but as support members. According to the chairman of IPAC, these religions do not permit women to occupy key positions and do not generally permit women to lead.[[80]](#footnote-80) Also, Nigerian cultural religions are laced with a lot of taboos and do not place women on the same pedestal as men. Traditionally, women are portrayed as homemakers while the modern pop culture portrays women as ornaments and sex toys which is a negation of leadership qualities. On the other hand, men are portrayed as serious minded and always discussing and analysing policies and elevated issues.

It was not until 1976 that most women from the northern part of Nigeria gained voting rights.[[81]](#footnote-81) Sr. Rosemary Ukata of the Centre for Women’s Studies and Intervention, during an interview conducted for this Audit recounted an incident during an election period in Zamfara State, which had a female gubernatorial candidate. She was disqualified during the screening for the mere fact that the religion and culture will not permit the Imam to approach her to seek for permission to travel as demanded by protocol.[[82]](#footnote-82) Patriarchy played a key role here because it would have been different for a man. The APGA National Women Leader indicates that in Anambra State, it will be difficult for a woman to be governor as kolanut, which is the Igbo symbol of hospitality, cannot be presented to a female governor by men.[[83]](#footnote-83)

**4.2.5 Campaign Finance**

The enormous benefits associated with political power have made it very attractive for different people to venture into politics. Politicians see politics as an investment that yields quick returns more than any other venture. Right from the return to democracy in Nigeria in 1999 to the present time, the cost of governance has been incredibly high and the reason for this can be traced to the process through which political leaders emerge into public offices. Aspirants deploy huge resources to emerge as candidates whilst candidates deploy huge resources to be able to emerge as winners in the elections.[[84]](#footnote-84) Huge resources are required for printing of posters, billboards, print and electronic media coverage and appearances, rent and furnishing of offices, payment of campaign staff, transportation and other logistics, security, hire of venue for campaigns, etc.

Even though the Electoral Act 2010 contains limitations on election expenses of candidates, those limitations are never obeyed as candidates spend above the ceiling.[[85]](#footnote-85) Those who are already in political positions employ all manners of techniques including the abuse of state administrative resources to retain their seats. Godfathers sponsor candidates and expect returns when the candidate wins the seat. Political sponsors are unlikely to back female candidates due to the dominance of men in governance because there is a societal presumption that she does not stand a good chance to win the election. To complicate the challenge, women constitute the bulk of the poor in Nigeria and have very limited resources. According to Mufuliat Fijabi, chief executive officer of Nigerian Women Trust Fund, the implication of this is that women contest for elections without financial resources against men who have all the financial backing including access to loans.[[86]](#footnote-86)

Table 2 shows the cost of Expression of Interest and Forms for the two leading political parties (APC and PDP) in 2019 and 2015.

**Table 2: Cost of Forms and Expression of Interest for 2019 and 2015 Elections for PDP and APC**

|  |
| --- |
| *2019 ELECTIONS* |
| S/N | FORM | PDP | APC  |
| 1 | NOMINATION (PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS) | ₦10 MILLION | ₦40 MILLION |
| 2 | EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS)  | ₦2 MILLION | ₦5 MILLION  |
| 3 | NOMINATION (GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS)  | ₦5 MILLION | ₦20 MILLION |
| 4 | EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS  | ₦1 MILLION | ₦2.5 MILLION |
| 5 | NOMINATION (SENATORIAL ELECTIONS)  | ₦ 3.5 MILLION | ₦6 MILLION |
| 6 | EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (SENATORIAL ELECTIONS  | ₦ 500,000  | ₦1 MILLION  |
| 7 | NOMINATION (HOUSE OF REPS ELECTIONS)  | ₦ 1 MILLION  | ₦3.5 MILLION  |
| 8 | EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (HOUSE OF REPS ELECTIONS)  | ₦ 500,000  | ₦350,000 |
| 9 | NOMINATION (HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY)  | ₦500,000  | ₦750,000 |
| 10 | EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY)  | ₦100,000  | ₦100,000  |

 *2015 ELECTIONS*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S/N | FORM | PDP | APC  |
| 1 | NOMINATION (PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS) | ₦ 20 MILLION  | ₦ 25 MILLION  |
| 2 | EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS)  | ₦ 2 MILLION  | ₦ 2.5 MILLION  |
| 3 | NOMINATION (GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS)  | ₦ 10 MILLION  | ₦ 5 MILLION  |
| 4 | EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS  | ₦ 1 MILLION  | ₦ 500,000 |
| 5 | NOMINATION (SENATORAL ELECTIONS)  | ₦ 4 MILLION  | ₦ 3 MILLION  |
| 6 | EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (SENATORAL ELECTIONS)  | ₦ 500,000 | ₦ 300,000 |
| 7 | NOMINATION (HOUSE OF REPS ELECTIONS)  | ₦ 2 MILLION  | ₦ 2 MILLION  |
| 8 | EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (HOUSE OF REPS ELECTIONS)  | ₦ 400,000 | ₦ 200,000 |

*Source:* PDP and APC’s websites: <https://peoplesdemocraticparty.com.ng/>; <https://www.allprogressivescongress.org/> and www.apc.com.ng

These figures for expression of interest and purchase of forms in Table 2 are evidently on the high side in a country with a minimum wage of N30,000. Many women cannot afford them. Sometimes, political parties waive fees for expression of interest to contest and for purchase of forms for women.[[87]](#footnote-87) While others reduce the fees to 50% of what the men pay.[[88]](#footnote-88) However, this is just tokenistic as the cost of transforming from an aspirant to a candidate is so prohibitive especially in the major political parties.[[89]](#footnote-89) Even when the cost of forms and EOI are waived, many party officials go the extra mile to ensure that beneficiaries of such waiver never emerge as candidates because party leaders believe that beneficiaries of such waiver are not financially ready to contest the election and as such, allowing them to get the ticket is equivalent to conceding the seat to the opposition party.[[90]](#footnote-90)

**4.2.6 Low Levels of Education**

Modern leadership requires an educated and enlightened mind that understands economic, social and political issues and ready to struggle in the defence of rights. The indivisibility, interdependence and inseparability of all human rights and fundamental freedoms is best demonstrated by the right to education. Education creates the skills, competencies, knowledge and confidence to productively engage the political and economic system, to originate and disseminate policy ideas, to earn income either as an employer of labour or as a skilled employee. It facilitates the promotion of the rights to health, adequate food and housing as well as the capacity to stand for leadership. Education is a human right and an indispensable means of realising other human rights.[[91]](#footnote-91)

It is acknowledged that educational requirements for contesting elections in Nigeria are not too demanding.[[92]](#footnote-92) A good percentage of Nigerian women did not receive formal education and the literacy rate is higher among men.[[93]](#footnote-93) Many women were denied education by the patriarchal culture that prefers sons and subjugates women. To compound matters, the majority (about 60%) of the 13.5 million out of school children in Nigeria are women.[[94]](#footnote-94) Early girl child marriage and early child-bearing deny women the opportunity to go to school and acquire needed education. Low education levels negatively affect women’s participation in elective and appointive positions.

There are mixed reactions from the parties and respondents on education and women in politics. The APGA National Women’s Leader believes it is a challenge as many women get married early in life while the chairman of IPAC believes that this is no longer a challenge, but it could have been a challenge in the past.[[95]](#footnote-95)

**4.2.7 Political Violence**

Nigerian electoral processes are sometimes marred by violence. The violent activities range from thuggery, ballot snatching, intimidation of voters to outright assassination. Politicians dedicate sizable resources to security of their person and protection of their votes from being hijacked. Sometimes, election day security deployment look like the country is in a state of emergency arising from violent disruptions. However, the Electoral Act prohibits the use of force or violence during electioneering and political campaigns. It is provided that:[[96]](#footnote-96)

*No candidate, person or group of persons shall directly or indirectly threaten any person with the use of force or violence during any political campaign in order to compel the person or any other person to support or refrain from supporting a political party or candidate*

Furthermore, political parties and their members are barred from training, retaining, organizing or equipping any person or group of persons for the purpose of enabling them to be employed for the use or display of physical force or coercion in promoting any political objective or interest.[[97]](#footnote-97) The Electoral Act makes provisions for sanctions for violations of the prohibition on the use of force or violence or its display. However, these provisions are obeyed in the breach.[[98]](#footnote-98)

According to a 2019 report by Peace Direct:[[99]](#footnote-99)

*“Invariably, Nigerian women are targeted in both the private and public spheres to prevent them from participating in rallies, voting and/or running as candidates. Despite decreasing incidents of violence and improved transparency measures during elections, violence against women continues to be a significant threat to Nigerian democracy”.*

In the run-up to the 2015 election, the National Democratic Institute surveyed hate speech against women across Nigeria. They used 900 observers across Nigeria’s 774 local government areas. They found higher levels of gender-based hate speech in the North East and South East. They also conducted informal surveys showing that:[[100]](#footnote-100)

*Gender-based hate speech was sometimes accompanied by other acts of gender-based violence, including threats of divorce, sexual violence, blackmail or destruction of property.’*

Violence may also be in the form of cyber bullying, emotional and psychological abuse which puts undue pressure on female aspirants and candidates.[[101]](#footnote-101) Female aspirants are vulnerable to political violence and this reduces women’s participation in politics. Violence may be the product of internal crisis and lack of internal democracy. The Labour Party states that this may deter women from participating in politics because women desire a peaceful environment while crisis breeds fear and apathy.[[102]](#footnote-102)

**4.2.8 Non-Indigene Syndrome**

Married women suffer double jeopardy in seeking to contest elections in Nigeria. They cannot go back to their parent’s community or constituency to contest, considering that they no longer reside in that state of community. In their husband’s constituency, they are treated as strangers even after so many years of marriage and residence in the constituency. The fact of even being a taxpayer and so many contributions to the community is not even considered by the non-indigene proponents.

Essentially, the challenge of indigeneity is a serious obstacle to women participation in politics. A woman married from another state or ethnic group is regarded as not qualified to contest for public office or even appointive office to represent her husband’s state.[[103]](#footnote-103)

*On 3rd March 2020, the Cross River State House of Assembly refused to honor the National Judicial Council’s nomination of Justice Akon Ikpeme as the State’s Chief Judge. The lawmakers stated that, despite her marriage to an indigene of the State, she was actually from the neighboring state of Akwa Ibom and thus constitutes a security risk to Cross River State. Ironically, Mrs. Ikpeme was born in Calabar, Cross River State, when Akwa Ibom was a part of Cross River. Akwa Ibom was created out of Cross River on September 23, 1987, by the military regime of Ibrahim Babangida. It is also important to point out that Mrs. Ikpeme’s mother is also from Cross Rivers State. The NJC re-nominated Mrs. Ikpeme, emphasising her status as the most senior judge in the state and the rightful next Chief Judge. Despite this, the House rejected the nomination stating it would not reverse itself.*

However, the House eventually approved her nomination after being denied the position for a period of more than one year.

The law frowns against this kind of discrimination. But if a practice is so engrained and the issue is about the private voting power or opinion of citizens, there is not so much the law can do to stop this kind of discrimination. The emphasis may be more on education, sensitisation and re-orientation.

**4.2.9 Meeting Schedules**

The time schedule for serious political meetings where key decisions are taken and strategies and plans mapped out are the odd hours of the night and early morning - between 12 midnight to 4am in the morning. These are not conducive hours for married women. However, YPP indicated that: “*We do not hold late meetings like the old political parties. We consider married women and nursing mothers and meetings are scheduled in the daytime and close mostly at 5pm”.[[104]](#footnote-104)* SDP also stated that they do not schedule night meetings especially at the level of National Working Committee.[[105]](#footnote-105)

The National President of Federation of Muslim Women (FOMWAN) opined that younger women who juggle politics and raising a family cannot be part of such schedules.[[106]](#footnote-106) These schedules, at unholy hours ensure that women are not active participants in the political process. Ene Ede, deputy governorship candidate in 2019 elections in Benue State and the VAPP Co-coordinator said that scheduling late meetings serves no good purpose. To buttress her point, she notes United Nations meetings are not held at night and that no meeting is held inside the National Assembly at night.[[107]](#footnote-107) She views the timing of the meetings as deliberate obstacles placed on the path of women. However, the chairman of IPAC claims that there is issue with late night meetings. But he will not permit his wife to attend such meetings.[[108]](#footnote-108)

**4.2.10 Lack of Gender Disaggregated Data**

Responses from the political parties to the question of collection and use of gender disaggregated data shows that the parties did not collect such data. Ideally, gender disaggregated data would inform policy and programme reviews to ensure that all persons have been given equal opportunity to participate in the party’s activities.[[109]](#footnote-109) The Gender Audit Questionnaire includes a question on whether research, advocacy and publicity materials include information from a gender perspective and if the answer is in the affirmative, details were required. None of the parties provided any information that addressed this issue.

**4.2.11 Gender, Personnel Policy and the Women’s Wing**

The Labour Party indicates that there are no special provisions for women in the personnel policy of the party as most of them are volunteers. APGA’s claim that four out of every ten staff are women could not be verified. SDP’s claim that out of its 59 staff, 37 are men while 22 women could not be verified.[[110]](#footnote-110) SDP indicated that the women’s wing of the party meets regularly and at least thrice a year to discuss women’s issues, challenges and solutions. The party also stated that it has a women’s parliament in 36 states and the FCT. Essentially, there are no clear-cut policy and programmatic roles for the women’s wing of the political parties studied in the Audit.

The issue of sexual harassment, sex for forms and sexual barters was raised[[111]](#footnote-111) and it was noted that the parties do not have detailed provisions on sexual harassment and taking advantage of women in their constitutions and policy guides.

**4.2.12 Stigmatisation**

According to Mufuliat Fijabi of Nigerian Women Trust Fund, women in politics face stigmatisation in the quest to aspire for leadership positions. Speaking on the experience from Delta State, Precious Uwubiti, the Gender Officer of Centre for Women Studies and Intervention (CWSI) said that most of the women in politics are considered promiscuous as a basis of gaining a level of political support. Such reputation discourages other women from participating in politics. Sr. Rosemary Utaka, also an officer in CWSI is of the view that men use stigmatisation as a weapon.[[112]](#footnote-112) Stigmatisation seeks to lower the estimation of women politicians, as women of easy virtue, in the eyes of right-thinking members of society.[[113]](#footnote-113) It aims to portray the victims as unworthy of public trust and as such, unfit to be elected as a representative of the people.[[114]](#footnote-114)

**4.2.13 Lack of Mentorship Programmes for Women**

Mentorship is about receiving guidance, training and knowledge from experienced individuals and institutions. Mentorship goes beyond political theories but how to address the practical issues and challenges that women face in the field of politics.[[115]](#footnote-115) Unlike men, there are few long serving and successful women politicians who can serve as mentors and role models for young women to learn from and look up to. CWSI mentioned that this is a huge challenge in programming for women’s participation in politics. They recalled establishing a platform for women executives, aspirants and stakeholders to come together and mentor young women aspirants in politics. It did not work for lack of resources for sustainability but it exposed the level of support and mentorship men are willing to give their kind.[[116]](#footnote-116) However, there are success stories such as the Nigerian Women’s Trust Fund Young Women Leadership Project and Women in Politics Forum.[[117]](#footnote-117) These could be improved upon and replicated across the federation by deploying increased resources.

**4.2.14 Elections that are Neither Free, Fair nor Credible**

Nigeria has challenges with its electoral process as candidates and parties do not play by the rules. They would rather manipulate the process and be announced as winners while they dare the other candidates to go to the tribunal in full knowledge of its technicalities, and financial demands. Manipulations, rigging and the abuses that leads to elections being neither free, fair nor credible are always in the hands of the more dominant members of society. This discourages female participation in politics.

**Chapter Five**

**CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

**5.1 CONCLUSIONS**

The international standards regulating women’s participation in politics include the UDHR, ICCPR, CEDAW, Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, SDGs, ACHPR and the Protocol to the ACHPR on the Rights of Women in Africa. The national laws of relevance to women’s participation in politics include the Constitution, National Gender Policy and INEC’s Gender Policy.

From the documentation and actual practice of APC in its key constitutional organs, it is clear that women do not have a strong voice as they are hardly represented in the national level decision making process. The number of women representatives fails to meet the Beijing Platform’s 30% affirmative action demand or the National Gender Policy’s 35% demand. For the PDP, it has not implemented the 30% or 35% affirmative action principle as demanded in its party documents, neither has it mainstreamed CEDAW principles in national life in its 16 years of producing Nigeria’s president and being the dominant party in the national and state legislatures. APGA pledged in its aims and objectives and specifically promised to uphold the Beijing Declaration on affirmative action for women but falls short of this in the compositions of its key organs in the BOT and NEC. The composition of the NEC and NWC of Labour Party falls short of the provisions of the National Gender Policy while its BOT has 40% female membership. Also, the key organs of YDP and SDP are not gender sensitive.

Challenges for women’s participation in politics include the legal conundrum, patriarchy, religious and cultural barriers, low levels of education, finance, political violence, and indigeneity. Others are meeting schedules, stigmatisation, lack of mentorship and elections that are neither free, fair nor credible, etc.

The legal conundrum is that Nigeria has ratified a number of international standards which have not been domesticated and as such, cannot be used as the basis of claiming enforceable rights. Also, the policy positions prescribing affirmative action do not have the force of law. There are no direct legal provisions creating enforceable quotas for women in politics and governance. Patriarchy leaves a disproportionate amount of power in the hands of men and almost excludes women from decision making in public life. This is reinforced by religious and cultural barriers which subjugate women and prescribes second class status for them.

The enormous benefits associated with political power have made it very attractive for different people to venture into politics. Politicians see politics as an investment that yields quick returns more than any other venture. Right from the return to democracy in Nigeria in 1999 to the present time, the cost of governance has been incredibly high and the reason for this can be traced to the process through which political leaders emerge into public offices. Huge sums of money are required for elections and the patriarchal system is concentric as it prevents women from acquiring huge resources needed for electoral contests. Low levels of education and political violence also encumber women’s participation in politics. Apart from physical violence, violence may also be in the form of cyber bullying, emotional and psychological abuse which puts undue pressure on female aspirants and candidates.

The time schedule for serious political meetings where key decisions are taken and strategies and plans mapped out are the odd hours of the night and early morning - between 12 midnight to 4am in the morning. These are not conducive hours for women and this hinders their full participation in politics. Also, the personnel policies of the audited parties do not guarantee that adequate number of women and girls are hired as employees and there are no clear-cut policy and programmatic roles for the women’s wing of the political parties studied in the Audit.

Women in politics are stigmatised and portrayed as wayward and promiscuous. Stigmatisation seeks to lower the estimation of women politicians as women of easy virtue, in the eyes of right-thinking members of society. It aims to portray the victims as unworthy of public trust and as such, unfit to be elected as a representative of the people. Responses from the political parties to the question of collection and use of gender disaggregated data shows that the parties did not collect such data. As such, gender disaggregated data did not inform their policy and programmatic reviews. It was also found that mentorship programmes for female politics were rare while elections were generally not credible, free and fair.

**5.2 INTERVENTIONS FOR CHANGE**

**5.2.1** **Legislative Action for Entrenchment of Rights, Affirmative Action and Substantive Equality**

Signing and ratifying treaties and other international and regional standards is the first step in the process of creating rights and entitlements, protecting women and girls as well as creating duties for duty bearers. Treaties are not self-executing in Nigeria and should be domesticated through steps taken under S.12 of the Constitution. In this direction, it is recommended that CEDAW, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, relevant components of the Beijing Declaration, etc., should be domesticated through enactment as federal and state level laws. The proposed Acts can follow the precedents of the Child Rights Act and the Violence against Persons Prohibition Act which domesticated international standards on the subject matter.

The second step is an understanding that policies are the first steps towards changing economic, social and political practices and situations. Policies can guide executive and legislative action. But they are *stricto sensu*, not legal documents to be cited in court as basis and foundation for the claim of rights. The next step is that relevant sections of the National Gender Policy should be enacted into law. For instance, the 35% benchmark for elective and appointive positions can become part of an Act of the National Assembly. This can happen as a separate piece of legislation under the Gender and Equal Opportunity Commission Act. Alternatively, these changes can be incorporated into a constitutional amendment so as to give it a very high pedestal in the hierarchy of Nigerian laws.[[118]](#footnote-118) The application of the 35% benchmark will also extend to the elective and appointive positions in political parties.

Comparative example from the Constitution of Rwanda which guarantees a minimum of 30% for women is detailed below:

*Article 76:*

*The Chamber of Deputies shall be composed of 80 members including 24 women with two from each Province and the City of Kigali. These shall be elected by a joint assembly composed of members of the respective District, Municipality, Town or Kigali City Councils and members of the Executive Committees of women’s organizations at the Province, Kigali City, District, Municipalities, Towns and Sector levels;*

*Article 82:*

*The Senate shall be composed of 26 members serving for a term of 8 and at least 30 percent of whom are women*

The third approach is to look at the relevant provisions of the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy in Chapter II of the Constitution, for instance S.17 (2) (a) that: *every citizen shall have equality of rights, obligations and opportunities before the law* as a basis for enacting specific laws that will create concrete opportunities for women to enjoy quotas into elective and appointive positions. This is possible if the legislature operates under item 60 of the Second Schedule of the Exclusive Legislative List to give effect to the provisions of Chapter II as it did in enacting the Fiscal Responsibility Act and Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act.[[119]](#footnote-119) The admonition of Uwaifo J.S.C. *in Attorney General Ondo State v Attorney General of the Federation* is instructive:[[120]](#footnote-120)

*The Constitution itself has placed the entire Chapter 11 under the Exclusive Legislative List. By this, it simply means that all Directive Principles need not remain mere or pious declarations. It is for the Executive and the National Assembly, working together, to give expression to anyone of them through appropriate enactment as occasion may demand.*

**5.2.2 Political Party Reforms**

Political parties should consider providing affirmative action provisions in their constitution and manifesto. But this should come with specific legal enforceability clauses. This should extend to holding positions of leadership in the parties as well as reserving special quotas for women to emerge as candidates on the platform of the party. The examples below may be adopted and modified by the political parties.[[121]](#footnote-121)

*United Kingdom, permissive legislation allows political parties to take measures to increase women’s participation. Party measures such as the UK Labour Party’s All-Women-Shortlists, under which only women candidates are fielded in particular electoral districts, would otherwise be illegal under gender discrimination laws. In Australia, the Labor Party’s affirmative action policy requires that women are pre-selected for at least 40 percent of the ‘winnable’ seats at an election. South Africa’s African National Congress has an internal party quota requiring that women constitute at least 50 percent of all candidate lists. In addition, male and female candidates must be alternated throughout the list, ensuring that both genders have equal chances of being elected to parliament.*

Furthermore, for party positions, the Australian Labour Party’s model is recommended:[[122]](#footnote-122)

*“All elections, other than public office pre-selections conducted by national and State level Party units for three or more positions, shall comply with the affirmative action model. Not less than 40% of such positions shall be held by women, and not less than 40% by men, provided that sufficient candidates of the relevant gender nominate (“the basic entitlement”). If the calculation to determine the basic entitlement results in a fraction of one half or more then the basic entitlement shall be the next higher whole number, and where it results in a fraction of less than one half it shall be the next lower number”.*

Political parties should also reform their personnel policies to ensure that women are adequately represented in their workforce. These reforms will include clear policy frameworks outlawing sexual harassment and sex barters as well as adequate punishment for perpetrators of such acts.

Political parties should ensure that they gather, analyse and use gender disaggregated data in their programming and policy reforms. This will ensure that they get feedbacks and sufficient information to mainstream gender issues in all their activities.

The activities of the women’s wing of the parties should be mainstreamed into key decision-making bodies of the parties. The continued idea of women as uniformed dancers for welcoming top politicians should be discarded as it perpetuates the subordinate status of women in politics.

**5.2.3** **Addressing** **Patriarchy, Religious and Cultural Barriers**

The political parties can start the process by making their constitutions and manifesto more gender sensitive through affirmative action policies and reaffirming their fundamental belief in the equality of all human beings. Secondly, they can review these basic documents and ensure that the language of their presentation is gender sensitive.

Engaging and progressively eradicating patriarchy will involve a number of interventions. The legislative steps recommended above will be a starting point. There will also be need for sensitisation, awareness raising and conscientisation using the media, religious and traditional institutions who have propagated the practice in the first place. The media will play a huge role through giving visibility to women and the proper reportage of the activities of female politicians and womanhood, stopping undue sensationalism and sexism. Agencies such as the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), Broadcasting Organization of Nigeria (BON), Nigerian Union of Journalists and the Nigerian Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) should play prominent roles in giving visibility to women politicians as well as addressing patriarchy, stigmatisation, cultural and religious barriers against women’s participation in politics.

Capacity building for the custodians of culture and tradition to bring them into the new age is imperative. It should be recalled that the National Gender Policy had recommended the sensitisation of the traditional councils to the rights of women to participate in politics and conscientisation of electorates on democratic principles and practices.

Judicial activism and gender responsiveness is also imperative to guarantee that laws and policies which dwell on prejudice and the supposed inferiority or superiority of the sexes will be struct down at the earliest opportunity. The role of educational institutions cannot be downplayed and learning curricula should play a strong role in eradicating patriarchy.

**5.2.4 Gender Based Campaign Finance Reform**

The idea of establishing a special fund to support women politicians should be taken seriously and canvassed by political parties and at the highest levels of governance. The funding should come from budgetary appropriation and should be available to qualified women through a transparent and accountable mechanism. Corporate organisations should also be encouraged to donate resources and support the fund. This should be a fund beyond the Nigerian Women’s Trust Fund to Strengthen Women’s Political Participation which was funded by donors. It should be recalled that the National Gender Policy states that until gender parity is achieved in politics, women political candidates are to be supported financially by special funds set aside by the government for this purpose.

Campaign finance reforms which liberalises popular participation in contributions to candidates and political parties using incentives, such as making a part of the contribution tax deductible will facilitate women’s participation in politics. Special provisions on contributions to female politicians could be enacted as a policy response. The model in S.11 (8) of the Finance Act 2020 which makes donations by corporate bodies to funds set up by government for pandemics, emergencies and exigencies partially tax deductible should be replicated in the fund for women’s political participation.[[123]](#footnote-123)

Political parties should be encouraged to continue waiver of expression of interest and purchase of forms for female aspirants. However, the parties should also take steps to reduce the monetisation of politics through reducing the outrageously high fees for forms and expression of interest.

**5.2.5 Enforce the UBE Act**

The Universal Basic Education Act is about compulsory, free universal basic education. But Nigeria’s 13.5million out of school children and high levels of illiteracy shows the Act and state level laws are not working. The full enforcement of the law is a precondition for improving women’s educational attainments and literacy levels. Linked to this will be the full enforcement of the Child Rights Act and state level laws to ensure that the girl child attends full basic education, is not forced to leave school to become an underaged bride as well as start early child bearing. States that are yet to adopt this legislation should be encouraged by the federal government to do so through a carrot and stick approach that sets up a challenge fund from which compliant states will benefit while encouraging others to come on board. Political parties and CSOs should step up campaigns for the full enforcement of the Act. Furthermore, political parties should include a commitment to compulsory, universal and free basic education as part of their manifesto.

**5.2.6 Enforce Extant Laws Prohibiting Violence and Enact VAPP Across the States**

Political parties should have explicit statements in their constitutions and manifestos in support of prohibiting violence against persons and implementation of VAPP policies. IPAC should consider monitoring election related violence and issue reports thereafter with policy recommendations. The Criminal and Penal Codes as well as the Electoral Act have provisions prohibiting violence including election related violence. Law enforcement and security agencies should be mandated, equipped and mobilised to perform their fundamental duty of securing law and order, lives and property. Furthermore, new legislation such as the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Law should be enacted in all the states of the Federation. VAPP contains more detailed provisions on violence against persons and a new jurisprudence on rape and other sexual offences.

Beyond the law enforcement agents, CSOs should coalesce to set up a Legal Defence Fund and team where lawyers and activists will press civil and criminal charges in support of any woman who suffers violence during campaigns and elections.

**5.2.7 Regulate Meeting Schedules**

Even though Nigerians including politicians have a right to fix and attend meetings at any time of the day or night, it has become imperative to regulate the timing of meetings by political parties and their caucuses. The recommendation is that the meetings should hold during normal working hours of the day, at the same time that legislative bodies meet and normal government work is conducted. This will facilitate greater female participation in the meetings. INEC can use its powers under S.153 of the Electoral Act to enact the regulations.[[124]](#footnote-124)

**5.2.8 Responses to Indigeneity and Stigmatisation**

Issues around indigeneity and stigmatisation are informal cultural norms and exclusionary practices. They need responses centred around proper education and sensitisation on the ills associated with the practices. The challenges they pose cannot be adequately regulated by law because no one can be forced to vote for a person he or she is not convinced about his ability to represent the constituency or state. If it was a legal issue, S.42 of the Constitution which prohibits discrimination on a number of grounds including sex would have been the silver bullet. The sensitisation against sexism should start early in the education curriculum while the media owes society the duty to campaign against such ills and portray women in their proper context as full and equal members of the Nigerian human family.

**5.2.9 Organise and Mobilise Women’s Movements**

Women’s wing of political parties, successful women politicians, civil society organisations and the Ministry of Women Affairs at the federal and state levels should engage in massive sensitisation of Nigerian women to understand that their role in politics is not about being given food items, wrappers, etc. or to dance for candidates during campaign periods. The mobilisation should focus on understanding politics and policy dynamics that touch on their lives and livelihoods so that they can become critical and discerning voters during elections and to make informed choices that will change the political future of Nigeria. Federal and state level agencies such as the National Orientation Agency should play a key role in reaching out to women especially at the grassroots level. Network radio programmes in local languages explaining the links between elections, governance and livelihoods will be imperative in the sensitisation.

The mass movement will include men who genuinely support women’s rights. It will have dedicated sections and chapters working on themes including legal defence, education, health, media, etc. This is to ensure that women’s political issues can be raised and addressed at different platforms and fora.

A part of these large movements will focus on mentoring and imparting political knowledge to the younger generation by experienced female politicians. Learning could be done online, in summer schools and through internships.

**4.2.10 Greater Impact of International Organisations**

It is recommended that international organisations in Nigeria should increase their support for gender mainstreaming in political parties as this will encourage the parties improve their performance in fielding female candidates and devising appropriate gender sensitive policies. [[125]](#footnote-125)

**5.2.11 Conduct Free and Fair Election**

INEC should take urgent steps to improve the credibility of the electoral process to ensure that the votes of the electorate reflect in the results that are announced. This will encourage more women politicians to contest for public office.

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**GENDER AUDIT QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POLITICAL PARTIES**

****

****Please provide answers to these questions. Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) are reviewing the mainstreaming of gender in the processes and practices of political parties in Nigeria with a view to enhancing women’s political participation through the identification of best/fit and good practices. This questionnaire is designed to collect information on the policies, processes and practices of political parties on gender mainstreaming.

1. CONSTITUTION, POLICIES AND MANIFESTOS (Tick the appropriate box and provide relevant information; use extra paper if the space provided here in insufficient)

1.1 Does the constitution, policies or manifesto of the party make any provisions on gender? Yes No

**1.2** If the answer is Yes, cite the relevant section and provisions of the constitution, policy or manifesto

**1.3** Is there any affirmative action provisions in the constitution of the party? Yes No

**1.4** If the answer is Yes, cite the relevant section and provisions of the constitution, policy or manifesto

**1.5** Is there specific provisions in the constitution, policy and manifesto of the party on gender equality? Yes No

**1.6** If the answer is Yes, cite the relevant sections and provisions of the constitution, policy or manifesto

**1.7** Has the party adopted any international standard on gender equality in its constitution, policies or manifesto? Yes No

**1.8** If yes, please provide details

2. PROGRAMMES (Tick the appropriate box and provide relevant information; use extra paper for explanations if the space provided here in insufficient)

**2.1** Is there any specific policy or activities to promote gender equality in the party? Yes No

**2.2** If the answer is Yes, please describe the programme or activity

**2.3** Is there a mechanism in place to address gender-based discrimination, harassment and violence? Yes No

**2.4** If yes, please describe the mechanism

**2.5** Does the party engage in research or activities that collect data Yes No

**2.6** If the answer is yes, do you collect gender disaggregated data? Provide instances and detailed information

**2.7** Has there been any specific party activity to review gender mainstreaming or engagement with gender issues in the last three years? Yes No

**2.8** If yes, provide specific details

**2.9** Is gender taken into consideration in the time and schedule of meetings? Yes No

**2.10** If the answer is yes, provide an explanation

**2.11** Is there any special gender consideration in planning party congresses? Yes No

**2.12** If the answer is yes, please provide details

3.STRUCTURE (Tick the appropriate box and provide relevant information; use extra paper for explanations if the space provided here in insufficient)

**3.1** Kindly describe the participation/representation of men and women in party leadership and national elected decision-making positions i.e. Board of Trustees, National Working Committees, National Executive Council, National Caucus, Employees of the party, etc?

**a)** Board of Trustees: Overall number Number of men Number of women

**b)**National Working Committee: Overall number Number of men Number of women

 **c)**National Executive Council: Overall number Number of men Number of women

 **d)**National Caucus: Overall number Number of men Number of women

 **e)**Employees: Overall number Number of men Number of women

**3.2** Describe the processes of candidate selection for the above offices?

**3.3** If the number of men exceeds the women, what in your opinion is responsible for this?

**3.4** Is there a women’s wing in the party? Yes No

**3.5** If the answer is yes, what is the role assigned to the women’s wing by the party

**3.6** How often is the women’s wing consulted in decision making?

 Occasionally Not at all In every major policy decision

**3.7** Are there special provisions for women in the personnel policy of the party? Please provide details

**3.8** How many are the elected representatives from the party (Councilors, Local Government Chairmen, State House of Assembly, Governor and Deputy Governor, House of Representatives, Senators, President and Vice President)

1. Councilors: Men Women
2. Local Government Chairmen: Men Women
3. State House of Assembly: Men Women
4. Governor and Deputy Governor: Men Women
5. House of Representatives: Men Women
6. Senators: Men Women
7. President: Man Woman
8. Vice President: Man Woman

**3.9** How have international organisations and others impacted on women's political participation in Nigeria.

**3.10** Why do you think some women have succeeded in maintaining their political positions?

4. VISIBILITY (Tick the appropriate box and provide relevant information; use extra paper for explanations if the space provided here in insufficient)

**4.1** Is there a party website? Yes No

**4.2** If the answer is yes, how is gender represented on the website?

**4.3** What is the logo of the party?

**4.4** Describe how the logo reflects on gender equality

**4.5** Do research, advocacy and publicity materials used by the party include information from a gender perspective? Yes No

**4.6** If the answer is yes, provide an explanation

5. POLITICAL FINANCE (Tick the appropriate box and provide relevant information; use extra paper for explanations if the space provided here in insufficient)

**5.1** What are the rules governing campaign finance and resources in the party as it relates to women?

**5.2** Please provide information on nomination fees and other charges in relation to intention to contest and nominations

**5.3** Would you consider the party’s campaign finance policies gender sensitive?

**5.4** How has access to finance hindered or facilitated women’s ability to stand as candidates in elections?

**5.5** How do political parties’ source, distribute and allocate funds and other resources for elections?

**6. GENERAL**

**6.1** How does internal crisis or lack of internal democracy affect women’s opportunities and participation in politics?

**6.2** What inhibits equal opportunities for both men and women to aspire for the highest political office?

**6.3** Are there advocacy groups to promote women’s political participation in political parties? What has been their experience?

**6.4** Are there successes that could trigger competition among political parties to mainstream gender?

**7. RECOMMENDATIONS**

**7.1** How can women and girls be encouraged to participate in politics?

**GENDER AUDIT QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INDIVIDUALS**

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Please provide answers to these questions. Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) are reviewing gender mainstreaming in the policies, processes and practices of selected political parties in Nigeria with a view to enhancing women’s political participation through the identification of best/fit and good practices. This questionnaire is designed to collect information on the policies, process and practices of political parties on gender mainstreaming.

**What are the main challenges to women’s participation in politics in Nigeria?**

**Patriarchy:**………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………….

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**Political Violence:** ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

**Stigmatization:** ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

**Low Level Education:**

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**Religious and Cultural Barriers:**

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**Meeting Schedules:**

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**Recommendations for improving women’s participation in politics in Nigeria?**

**To the Legislature** ………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………….

**To Political Parties**

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**To INEC**

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**To Religious and Cultural Bodies**

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**To Women’s Groups**

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**To Civil Society Organisations**

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**To the Media**

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1. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics#cite_note-17>; https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. See sections 65 of the 1999 Constitution on qualification for election as a federal legislator (Senate and House of Representatives), S.65 (2) (b) provides that the person must be a member of a political party and is sponsored by that party. Same provision is made in sections 106 (d) for the State House of Assembly and 131 (c) for the President of the Federation while S.177 (c) makes similar provisions for governorship. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Hereinafter called the “Constitution” unless the context otherwise indicates. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. See section 221 of the Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. S.224 of the Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. S.17 (2) (a) in Chapter II of the Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. See the version published on 31 January 1994 (Federal Law Gazette I 1994, p. 149), last amended by the Ninth Act amending the Political Parties Act, of 22 December 2004 (Federal Law Gazette I 2004, p. 3673). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives by Norm Kelly and Sefakor Ashiagbor; National Democratic Institute, 2011 at page 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Adapted but modified from the Lima Declaration of Guidelines on Auditing Precepts (adopted at the IX Congress of the International Organisation of Supreme Audit Institutions-INTOSAI) [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. The 1969 Vienna Convention on the law of Treaties [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Lima Declaration, supra [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Source: NBS, “2019 Poverty and Inequality in Nigeria: Executive Summary”; [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. S.14 (2) (b) of the 1999 Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. See the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (paragraph 5) affirming preambular paragraph 3 of the treaty components of the International Bill of Rights on indivisibility, interrelatedness and inseparability of human rights. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. “Gender, Political Parties and the Reproduction of Patriarchy in Nigeria; A Reflection of the Democratisation Process” 1999-2011 by Irene Pogoson in the Journal of African Elections Volume 11, No.1 [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. They include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women, African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, etc. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. John Austin, “The Province of Jurisprudence Determined” (ed Hart, 1954) p.126; Dean Roscoe Pound, “Philosophy of Law” (1954) p.47. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Geoffrey Sawyer, Law in Society (O.U.P) Pl. Kelsen H. Society and Nature, A Sociological Enquiry, London Routledge and Kegan Paul, Pure Theory of Law 50 LQR, 51 (1954; Von Savigny, On the Vocation of our Age for Legislation and Jurisprudence (1831). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Edwin Egede, Bring Human Rights Home: An Examination of the Domestication of Human Rights Treaties in Nigeria. Journal of African Law (2007) 249-284. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Article 26 of the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties- Every treaty in force is binding on the parties to it and must be performed by them in good faith. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. M.E. Winston, International institute of Human Rights Strasbourg, Collection of Lectures, 2002. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. See the Maastricht Guidelines on Violations of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Adopted on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Limburg Principles on the Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (hereinafter 'the Limburg Principles'), a group of more than thirty experts met in Maastricht from 22-26 January 1997 at the invitation of the International Commission of Jurists (Geneva, Switzerland), the Urban Morgan Institute on Human Rights (Cincinnati, Ohio, USA) and the Centre for Human Rights of the Faculty of Law of Maastricht University (the Netherlands). [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. The italicized is adapted from preambular paragraph 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 (UDHR). Article 2 (2) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and article 2 (1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights guarantee the enjoyment of the rights contained in the standards without distinction or discrimination on a plethora of grounds including sex. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Nigeria has reporting obligations under international and regional standards including the ICCPR, CEDAW, ACHPR, etc. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. General Assembly Resolution 217 A (111) of 10 December 1948. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) on 16 December 1966, and entered into force from 23 March 1976 in accordance with Article 49 of the Covenant. Nigeria ratified the Covenant on 29 July 1993 and enforced same on the 29 October 1993. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly Resolution 34/189 of 18 December 1979, and entered into force on 3 September 1981 in accordance with Article 27 (1) of the Convention. Nigeria ratified the Covenant on 29 July 1993 and enforced same on the 29 October 1993. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. CEDAW defines discrimination against women to mean “*any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field*.” [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Article 2 of the Charter states that*:* ***“****Every individual shall be entitled to the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed in the present Charter without distinction of any kind such as race, ethnic group, color, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status”.* [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. In Article 1(f), the Protocol defined discrimination: *"Discrimination against women" means any distinction, exclusion or restriction or any differential treatment based on sex and whose objectives or effects compromise or destroy the recognition, enjoyment or the exercise by women, regardless of their marital status, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all spheres of life*”. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Article 2 of the Protocol. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Paragraph 8 of the Beijing Declaration. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Paragraph 13 of the Beijing Declaration. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Paragraph 190 of the Beijing Declaration. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. The establishment and regulation of authorities for Federation or any part thereof for the promotion and enforcement of the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. S.17 (2) (a) of the Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. They were Hajiya Salamatu Baiwa Umar-Elima – National Women Leader; Hon. Ihuoma Onyebuchukwu – Deputy National Women Leader; Hajia Hanatu Buba – Zonal Women Leader (NW); Hajia Hasana Abdullahi – Zonal Women Leader (NC); Mrs. Olukemi Nelson – Zonal Women Leader (SW); Mrs Rachael Akpabio – Zonal Women Leader (SS); Hajia Amina Manga – Zonal Women Leader (NE) and Mrs. Blessing Onuoha – Zonal Women Leader (SE). [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. The Party shall derive funds from: i). Subscription, fees, and levies on Members. ii). Proceeds from investments. iii). Subventions, donations, and fund raising iv). Gifts and grants by Governments, individuals or groups of individuals as allowed by Law. v). Borrowing as approved by the National Executive Committee. vi). Any other lawful means – see article 22 of the APC Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Section 29 of the PDP Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. It is possible the PDP constitution has been amended to accommodate more NWC members. But the constitution available to INEC, the electoral umpire dictates the earlier stated membership. The three women are Hajiya Mariya Waziri, Miss Divine Amina Arong – Deputy National Auditor and Hajiya Hadiza Adiza – Deputy Women Leader. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. S.31 of the PDP Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. S.32 of the PDP Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. https://peoplesdemocraticparty.com.ng/?page\_id=755 [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. At page 23 of the PDP Manifesto. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Article 6 of the APGA Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Article 10 (10) of the APGA Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Article 10 (10) of the APGA Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Article 10 (10), supra. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. The women are Dame Virgy Etiaba, Dr. (Mrs) Ifeyinwa Obegolu, Hajiya Hauwa Ibrahim Funtua, Dr. Uju Okeke, Iyom Bianca Ojukwu and Mrs. Pat Offiah. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. This is found in Chapter 16 of the APGA Manifesto [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Established in article 14 (2) of the LP Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. They are: Esther Gulume (Taraba) – Chairman; Blessing Johnson (Lagos) – Secretary; Alhaja Quidirat Hakeem Apama (Oyo) – Secretary. The elected officers are Deputy National Chairman - Comrade Maria Lebeke; National Treasurer – Mrs. Oluchukwu Oparah; National Women Leader – Mrs Dupe Seyaolu and; National Auditor – Comrade Lami Ahmed. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Established in article 14 (3) of the LP Constitution [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Mrs. Oluchi Oparah – National Treasurer; Mrs. Maria Lebeke – National Auditor and Com. Lami Ahmed – Deputy National Women Leader (North East). [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Article 8.2 (d) of the Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. They are Appolonia Obiageri Ezeadili – South East Women Leader; Jennifer Gbishe-Igoh – North Central Women Leader; Binta Suleiman – North West Women Leader; Posam Blessing – South South Zonal Women Leader and; Hadiza Yahaya – North East Zonal Women Leader. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Article 7 (19) of the SDP Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. See Inter Parliamentary Union’s ranking at https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=1&year=2021. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Ebuka Onyeji (in Premium Times Online Newspaper of April 20 2019) in *Updated: 2019 Elections Worst for Nigerian Women in nearly Two Decades, Analysis Shows.* [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. See Inter Parliamentary Unions ranking at https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=1&year=2021 [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Independent National Electoral Commission: Report of the 2019 General Election (Page 79)  https:// www. inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/REPORT-OF-THE-2019-GENERAL-ELECTION.pdf  [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. The eight female senators are Aishatu Dahiru Binani Ahmed, Eyakenyi Akon Etim, Stella Oduah, Uche Lilian Ekwunife, Oluremi Tinubu, Rose Okoji Oko, Betty Apiafi, Abiodun Christine Olujinmi and Norah Dadu’ut. See Inter parliamentary Unions ranking at https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=1&year=2021. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. They are Nkiruka Onyejeocha, Lynda Chuba Ikpeazu, Onuh Onyeche Blessing, Zainab Gimba, Ogunlola Omuwumi Olubunmi, Aishatu Jibril Dukku, Onanuga Adewumi Oriyomi, Taiwo Olukemi Oluga, Tolulope Tiwalola Akande-Sadipe, Beni Butmak Lar, Boma Goodhead, Khadija Bukar Ibrahim and Princess Miriam Onuoha. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. They are Cecilia Ezeilo for Enugu State, Hadiza Sabuwa Balarabe for Kaduna State, Ipalibo Banigo for Rivers State. However, Dame Virgy Etiaba acted as governor for some months when Peter Obi was impeached as governor in Anambra State - from November 2006 to February 2007. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Women in Politics Dialogue (2020), “Get off the Sidelines; 2023 and Beyond”; www.proshareng.com [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Monitoring Participation of Women in Politics in Nigeria; Paper presented by Mrs.Oloyede Oluyemi of the National Bureau of Statistics. However, the author changed the national average in her paper from 6.7% to the new and updated 4.17%. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Daniel Eseme Gberevbie and Faith Osasumwen Oviasogie - Women in Governance and Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria, 1999-2012, published by Economics and Sociology, Volume 6, No.1 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Luke Kelly (24 May 2019) Barriers and Enablers for Women’s Participation in Governance in Nigeria. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. See S.12 of the 1999 Constitution requiring the National Assembly to domesticate treaties into law before it acquires the force of law. Besides the National Assembly’s approval, treaties need ratification by a majority of State Houses of Assembly before being presented for presidential assent. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Mufuliat Fijabi, CEO, Nigerian Women Trust Fund responding to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Ene Ede was a deputy governorship candidate in Peoples Trust Party in the 2019 gubernatorial elections in Benue State. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Response to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Response to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Response of the Labour Party to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. On a visit to Germany, he said: "I don't know which party my wife belongs to, but she belongs to my kitchen and my living room and the other room."- https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-37659863 [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. . See *Uke v Iro* (2001) 11 NWLR (Pt. 723) 196); *Mojekwu v Ekjikeme* (200) 5 NWLR (Pt. 657) 402. The court held in Uke v Iro that the rights of all sexes are protected by the Constitution and that any custom that makes women second class citizens is a custom fit for the garbage. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Dr Abiola Afolabi, Executive Director, Women’s Advocates, Research and Documentation Centre in her response to the Gender Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Response to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Adaora Onyechere, supra. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Leonard Nzenwa in his repose to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Iloh, E.C. & Ikenna, M.A. (2009), Electoral Process and Gender Discrimination in Nigeria: A Case Study of 2003 and 2007 General Elections, Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa, Vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 113-128 [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Response to the Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Response by the APGA Women Leader in the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. See Edo State Gubernatorial Election Campaign Finance Report 2016 - Centre for Social Justice. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. S.91 of the Electoral Act places limitations of N1billion, N200million, N40million, N20million, N10million and N1million for candidates contesting election to the office of the president, governor, senator, member House of Representatives, State House of Assembly and councilor respectively. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Response to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. PDP, LP and YPP waive the cost of these forms and EOIs for female candidates. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. APGA charged women aspirants 50% of what their male aspirants pay. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. See PDP Presidential Primaries and Campaign Finance 2018, (CSJ with the support of FES) - where it was reported that front running candidates spent billions of naira to woo the delegates who voted at the primaries. CSJ monitored the primaries. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Conclusions from the validation meeting of the Audit held on November 26, 2020 in Abuja. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. General Comment No. 13 on the Right to Education, (Paragraph 1) adopted at the thirty first session of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1999. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Generally, it is about having been educated up to at least school certificate level or its equivalent. See S65 (2) (b) of the Constitution for qualifications for the Senate and House of Representatives; S.106 (c) for State House of Assembly, etc. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. NDHS (2018) atpage 18 - *"Overall, 36% of females and 27% of males in Nigeria have no education (Table 2.13.1 and Table 2.13.2).* On literacy rate, male 82%; female 68%; Total 75%. See https://data. unicef.org/topic/education/overview/. See also [https://data.worldbank.org/ indicator/ SE.ADT.LITR. FE.ZS? locations=NG](https://data.worldbank.org/%20indicator/%20SE.ADT.LITR.%20FE.ZS?%20locations=NG). [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. NDHS 2018 states at page 102: *"In Nigeria, 19% of women age 15-19 have begun childbearing; 14% have given birth, and 4% are pregnant with their first child (Table 5.11)."* [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Responses to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. S.96 (1) of the Electoral Act. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. S.95 (5) and (6) of the Electoral Act. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. S.96 (2) and S. 95 (7) and (8). [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. February 2019, Civil Society and Inclusive Peace, Key Insights and Lessons from a Global Consultation Convened on Peace Insight. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Luke Kelly (24 May 2019) Barriers and Enablers for Women’s Participation in Governance in Nigeria referenced an NDI report published in May 6, 2015- NDI Launches Global Campaign to Address Violence against Women in Elections. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Response of Adaora Onyechere, Action Alliance aspirant in the 2019 elections. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Response by Oluchi Opara, National Treasurer of the Labour Party [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Stateless in Nigeria - A Woman’s Dilemma published in the Guardian Newspaper of August 29, 2020 by Nima Arigbabu and Onyinkan Akintola-Bello. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Response in the Gender Audit Questionnaire by YPP through Vidiyeno Bamaiyi the National Secretary. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Response to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Response to the Gender Audit Questionnaire for individuals. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Response to the Gender Audit Questionnaire for individuals. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Response to the Gender Audit Questionnaire for individuals. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Response by APGA, APC, PDP, YPP and SDP in the Gender Audit Questionnaire: “Does the party engage in research or activities that collect data? If the answer is in the affirmative, do you collect gender disaggregated data, please provide instances and detailed information”. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Responses in the Gender Audit Questionnaire by Labour Party, APGA and SDP. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Ene Ede in her response to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. See *No Party to Violence: Analyzing Violence Against Women in Political Parties: Preliminary Findings from Pilots In Côte D’ivoire, Honduras, Tanzania, And Tunisia* - National Democratic Institute, 2018 at page 3 - “For women, unlike the vast majority of men, the predominant currency of these demands is sex or sexual favors, a practice labelled ‘sextortion’ which clearly falls into the category of violence against women”. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Response to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Response by the SDP Women Leader in the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Response to the Gender Audit Questionnaire by Ene Ede. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Ene Ede, supra. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Response of CSWI to the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Response of SDP in the Gender Audit Questionnaire. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Mr. Leonard Nzenwa, National Chairman of Inter-Party Advisory Council Nigeria advised that political parties should zone positions to women at the ratio of 4 out of every 10 positions to deliberately encourage women’s participation. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Item 60 demands legislative action for the establishment and regulation of authorities for the Federation or any part thereof to promote and enforce the observance of the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of the Constitution. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. (2002) 9 NWLR (Pt.772) 222 at 391. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives by Norm Kelly and Sefakor Ashiagbor; National Democratic Institute, 2011 at page 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives, supra, at page 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. *“(8) Donations made by companies in cash or kind to any fund set up by the Federal Government or any State Government, or to any agency designated by the Federal Government or to any similar Fund or purpose in consultation with any Ministry, Department or Agency of the Federal Government, in respect of any pandemic, natural disaster or other exigency shall be allowed as deductions as follows:*

*(a) the cost of in-kind donations made to the Government and any designated agency shall be allowed as deductions; or*

*(b) where companies have either procured or manufactured items for contribution, the cost of purchase, manufacture or supply of such in-kind contributions shall be allowed as deductions*

 *Provided that requisite documentation evidencing the donation and the cost thereof are provided to the relevant tax authority and demonstrated to be wholly, reasonably, exclusively and necessarily incurred in relation to the procurement, manufacture or supply of the in-kind contributions.*

*(9) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsections (2) and (3), amounts allowable for deduction, in respect of subsection (8), in any year of assessment shall be limited to 10% of assessable profits after deduction of other allowable donations made by the company.”* [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. S.153 of the Electoral Act provides that: “*The Commission may subject to the provisions of this Act, issue regulations, guidelines, or manuals for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this act and for its administration thereof”.* [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Two parties vis, APGA and the Labour Party indicated the International Republican Institute (IRI) and National Democratic Institute (NDI) have been collaborating with them in area of women participation in politics. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)