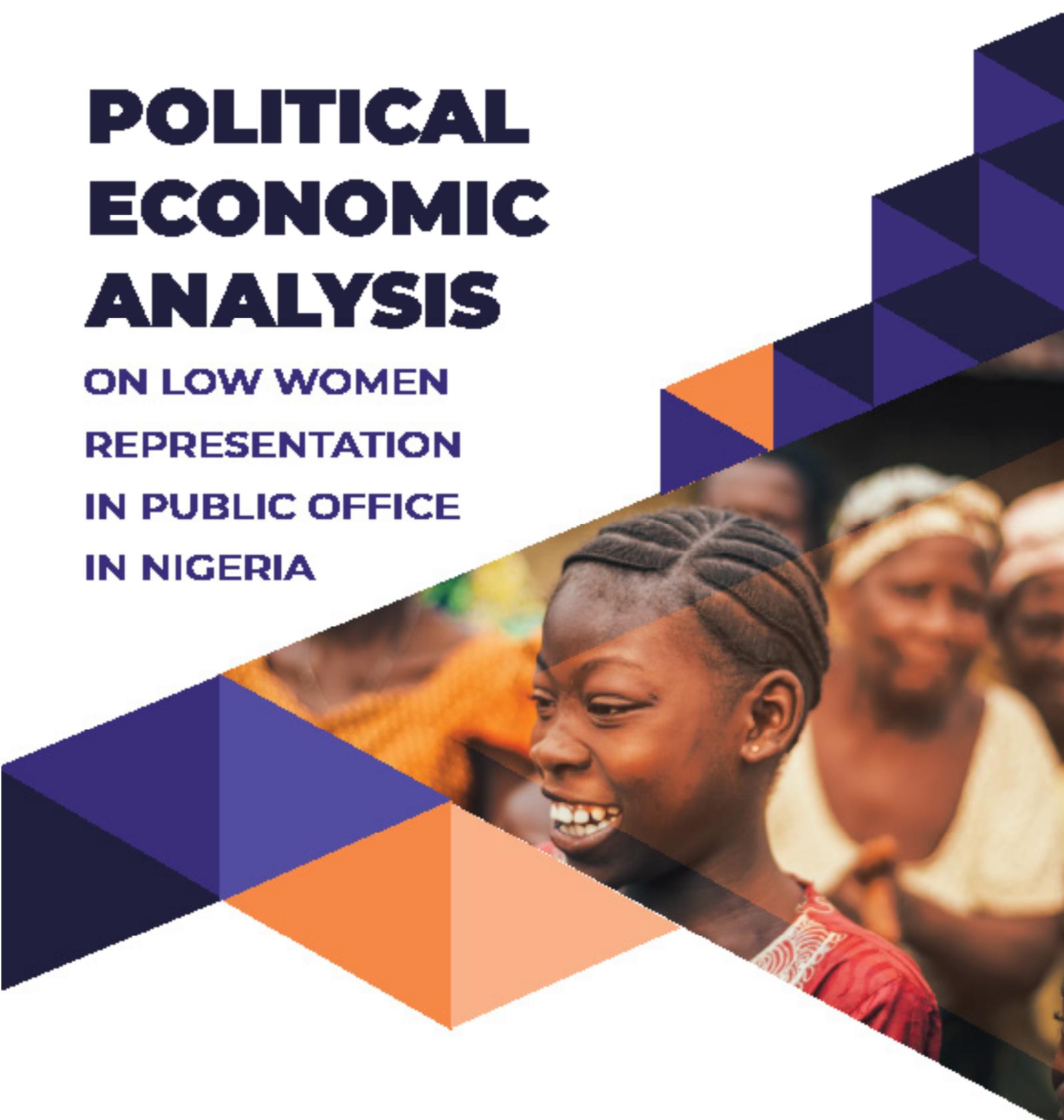




**IMPACT
DEVELOPMENT
INITIATIVE**

POLITICAL ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

**ON LOW WOMEN
REPRESENTATION
IN PUBLIC OFFICE
IN NIGERIA**



...creating spaces for fair play

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ABOUT KDI

Kimpact Development Initiative (KDI) is a youth-focused not-for-profit, non-partisan, non-governmental organization that advances good governance, democratic rights, public policy, public engagement, and a sustainable economy. KDI works to inspire citizen-led democratic and economic development that is anchored on the principles of participation, data-driven advocacy, strong democratic institutions, and public policies. Since 2014, KDI has worked hand-in-hand with both local and international bodies to promote peaceful election, active citizen engagement in democratic processes, reforms and sustainable economy.

KDI hinges its advocacy, reforms, policy advancement and democratic supports on the principle of social cohesion and has struc-

tures and partners across the 36 States of Nigeria.

Supporting Advancement of Gender Equity.

ABOUT SAGE

(SAGE) is a program supported by the National Democratic Institute (NDI), which seeks to remove barriers to women's political participation by advocating for reforms of Nigerian laws and institutions. The goal of SAGE is to increase women representation in public office through advocacy for policy and law reform. The intervention project is implemented by a coalition of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) with Kimpact Development Initiative (KDI) as its Secretariat.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A Political Economy Analysis (PEA) is needed to understand the various political scopes of any situation and using the information to feed into policy and programming. The Nigerian political space has been dominated by the men for 60 years, since Nigeria's independence on October 1, 1960, and this trend seems to have become a norm that is not about to change without a strategic intervention. A change would, however become possible if measures are deliberately taken by crucial stakeholders to open the political leadership space to accommodate more women.

The approach adopted for this level of PEA is an issue-specific analysis, which uses problem-driven methodology to break down stakeholders and actors who have influences over women's participation in Nigeria's political space. The methodology employed for the entire process is a mixed-method research which inculcated desk research, online perception survey, and virtual stakeholder focus-group discussion. This report covers the scope, methodology, context analysis, stakeholder analysis, legal (legislative) analysis, comparative analysis, and theory of change.

The context analysis explores the current situation in Nigeria's political space in relation to women's representation and participation. The stakeholder analysis considers the classification of stakeholders that were consulted through an online perception survey, which extracted data on the perception and attitudes of citizens/society towards women political participation in Nigeria. The legal analysis explores the various electoral laws and relevant statutory provisions that affect gender equality or equity in Nigeria, and studies how they affect women aspiring to enter the political leadership space. The comparative analysis would look at other countries both in Africa and beyond that have opened the political leadership space to women and how they have fared versus how Nigeria is faring with low women participation. The PEA ends with a theory of change which encapsulates the relevant actors, actions, and possible outcomes if recommendations from the perception survey and focus-group discussion are adopted.



BACKGROUND

Kimpact Development Initiative (KDI) is a youth-focused not-for-profit NGO with collaborations locally and internationally. One of such collaborations is with National Democratic Institute (NDI) on Supporting Advancement of Gender Equality (SAGE) program, which seeks to remove barriers to women's political participation by advocating for legal and institutional reforms.

The overall purpose of the SAGE program is to increase women's representation in public office through advocacy. This advocacy is led by a coalition of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) with KDI as the secretariat.

To achieve its overall purpose of increasing women's representation in public offices, the coalition intends to:

- Advocate for Constitutional review, electoral reforms (to Electoral Act) and the passage of the Gender and Equal Opportunities (GEO) Bill, and work with key political leaders to build more significant support for women's meaningful participation in politics.
- Develop strategies to help political leaders to address gender gaps in political parties' constitutions, regulations, procedures and practices by adopting gender equality guidelines that will increase women representation in elective positions in the parties and public offices.



27

Countries
has less than
10%
of their women as
parliamentarians.

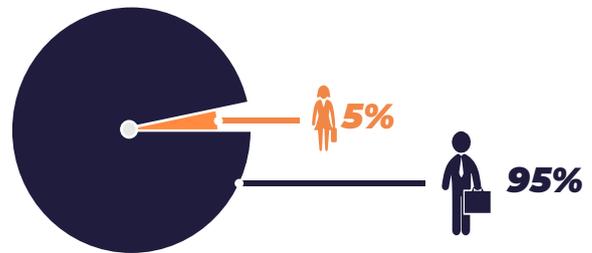
According to the UN-Women, there are only 27 countries with less than 10% of parliamentarians as women as of February 2019.

Globally, women perform two-thirds of available jobs, but for only 10% of the income and 1% of the available assets – the reason why women constitute 70% of the world’s poor. As unfair as these statistics appear, a policy shift, which would require equitable representation in decision-mak-



2019 ELECTIONS

PERCENTAGE OF SEATS WON BY GENDER



In 2019, of all contested seats in the general elections, women won a measly 5%. The situation with appointive positions further highlighted this obvious fact as only 7 out of 44 ministers appointed by President Muhammadu Buhari in 2019, are women.



=  **7%**
SENATE

In Nigeria, women constitute about 7% and 4% of the Senate and House of Representatives respectively, clearly showing the gender disparity in the legislature.



4%
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

With this alarming gender divide in Nigeria’s political leadership space, it has become pertinent to interrogate the underlying factors hindering women from taking a significant number of seats in the political space, enough to at least reflect the ratio of female to male population in the

OBJECTIVES

The objective of this PEA is to highlight and analyse the political and economic effect of the low women representation in the Nigerian political space. In determining the effect, the study will: -

- Identify the critical actors or agents, structures, and institutions that sabotage efforts towards increasing women's political representation and participation. This includes analysing the visible and invisible relationships and interests between crucial actors and institutions that exercise significant control over the law-making process, attitudes, perceptions, and practices.
- Identify obstacles that prevent active and increased participation of women in politics and the electoral process.
- Identify relevant stakeholders and undertake a power analysis to identify success factors, allies, competitors, government structures and systems that are major players in achieving the objective of SAGE.
- Develop strategies to help political leaders to understand better how gender inequality limits the ability of individuals, political institutions, and

communities from reaching their full socio-political and economic potential

- Examine specific interventions needed to support and strengthen key stakeholders towards achieving the SAGE objective
- Provide recommendations on both immediate and long-term approaches/strategies to engage each stakeholder to ensure transformative steps to increased women political representation.

In Nigeria, women constitute about 7% and 4% of the Senate and House of Representatives respectively, clearly showing the gender disparity in the legislature.

SCOPE

The PEA encompasses of data extracted from an online survey which sought to gauge or evaluate the perception of citizens (electorates, politicians, etc.) to increased women representation and political participation. Additionally, stakeholders' views that were expressed at the virtual verification meeting/focus group discussion on the findings/report of the public perception survey formed a substantial part of this report.

Data was sourced from secondary sources – Laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (LFN), published reports of notable organisations like the World Bank, NDI, UN, etc. In addition, data from articles by research scholars, journals on women's political rights and gender equity as well as findings, and theoretical concepts from books were incorporated into the report. Success stories of women leaders in other climes formed part of the comparative analysis that fed into the recommendations of the report as well.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed was a Mixed-Method Research (MMR) consisting of qualitative and quantitative data analyses. Data was obtained from primary and secondary sources to buttress the

benefits of opening the political leadership space for more women to thrive. The primary sources employed were stakeholders' views expressed through the online survey and the virtual focus group discussion for the verification of the findings from the survey. The secondary sources were local and international laws, reports from notable institutions, scholarly research work and journals containing facts on local and global state actors promoting women political participation. The problem-solving approach necessitated the interrogation of the challenges caused by low women political participation in Nigeria and recommended strategies to foster gender inclusion in Nigeria's political space.

LIMITATION

Certain limitations affected the process of data gathering for the PEA: -

- **Dearth of Data:** Access to information on women's economic and political contribution in Nigeria was difficult there is not enough research or scholarship in that area. There is a dearth of verifiable data to clearly prove the alleged discrimination of women in the political space and its effect on the economy.
- **Time factor:** The time frame for this PEA was short and so the online perception survey was conducted in just two weeks.

- **Global Pandemic:** As a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, movement and personal contacts were limited. Consequently, there was no face-to-face interviews with respondents to the perception survey. However, the survey was designed and disseminated to respondents through social platforms – LinkedIn, Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp and emails. The verification meeting/

focus group discussion was organised virtually as a result.

- **Poor data access:** Only persons who could afford to pay for data, accessed the online perception survey and completed it. Citizens who could not access the internet, especially persons living in the rural areas, unfortunately did not participate in the perception survey. As a result, the views of this group of

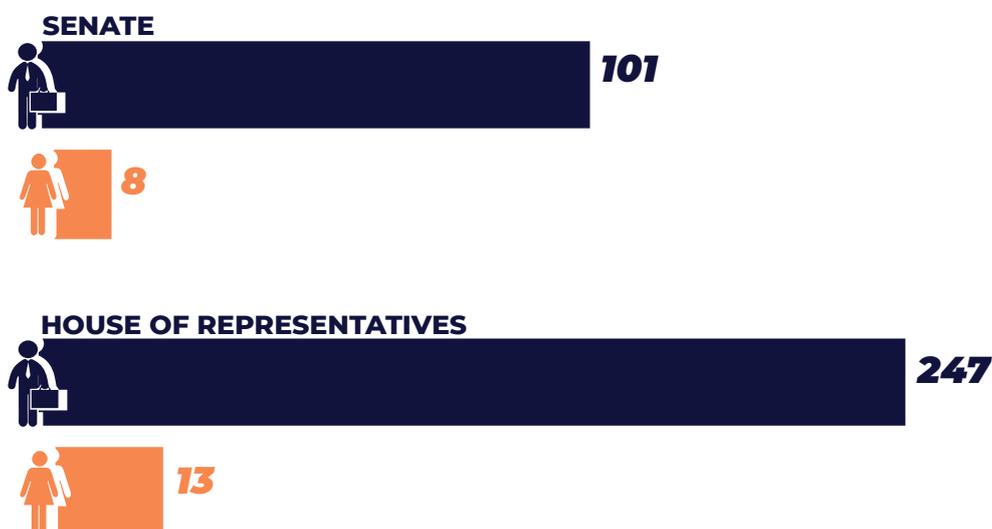
PHASES

CONTEXT ANALYSIS

Nigeria got its independence in 1960 and became a republic in 1963. Since the country's independence, there has never been a female President, Vice President or State Governor. There are currently 36 States across the country, however, only 4 States

have female deputy governors – Rivers, Enugu, Kaduna, and Ogun States (INEC; 2019). At the National Assembly, there are 8 female Senators out of 109, which constitutes about 7% and 13 female House of Representatives members, which consists of about 4%.

ANALYSIS OF MEN/WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN THE 9TH NASS



STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

A stakeholder is an independent party with an interest or concern in something. In this Political Economy Analysis (PEA), the stakeholders would be the Nigerian citizens as they constitute both the politicians and elec-

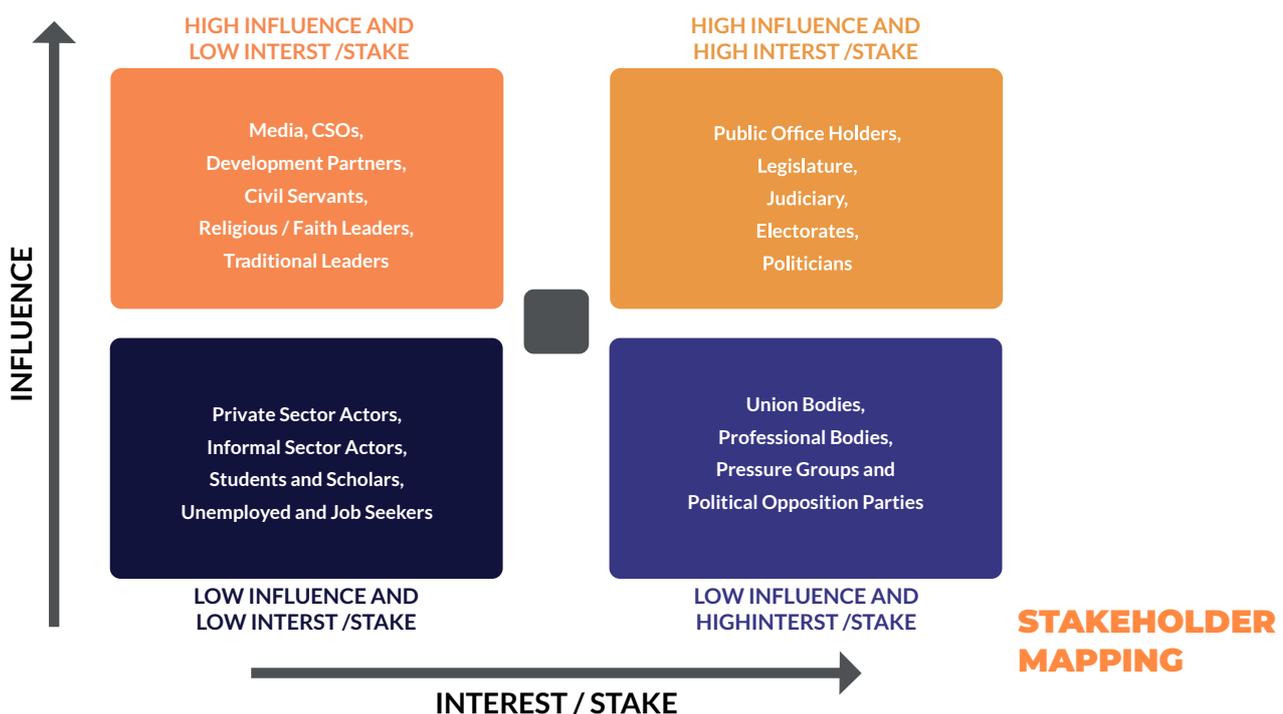
torates. The stakeholders would be grouped and classified according to their order of priority, determined by their ability to use public offices or political leadership to effect change.

CLASSIFICATION OF STAKEHOLDERS

- 1. High Influence and High Stake:** This is a group of actors with a big/high influence in the issue at stake and have the power and resources to seriously influence, hinder or block proposed reforms.
- 2. High Influence and Low Stake:** This group comprises of actors who have strong legitimacy but low/small resources and power to effect any change in policy.
- 3. Low Influence and High Interest/Stake:** Actor with low influence or legitimacy on the policy issue at stake but have high pro-

pensity to access resources to influence the issue at stake. This group could easily access persons of power and influence who can effect changes in policy.

- 4. Low Influence and Low Interest/Stake:** The actors in this group do not hold any influential position with strong legitimacy and cannot influence the key policy issue at stake. However, they are still relevant stakeholders because their perspectives will be useful to the PEA.



LEGAL ANALYSIS

Women constitute about half of the Nigeria's population, yet the percentage of women in political leadership positions does not equitably reflect this population size. The Laws of the Federation of Nigeria (LFN) that protect the rights of citizens, protect the rights of all citizens irrespective of their gender; however, the low participation of women in leadership in Nigeria suggests the existence of systemic discrimination.

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN) 1999 (as altered), which is the supreme law of the country guarantees the fundamental rights of all citizens, male or female including the right to freedom

from discrimination. Section 42(2) of the CFRN provides:

"No Citizen of Nigeria shall be subjected to any disability or deprivation merely by reason of the circumstances of his birth"

The underlined word, "Citizen" does not denote any gender as a citizen can either be male or female. In effect, discrimination of a man or a woman is prohibited in Nigeria. With a provision of the Constitution prohibiting discrimination, it is pertinent to understand what prohibits women from venturing into public office in Nigeria. Other statutory provisions considered in the PEA include:

LAW - STATUTORY PROVISION

1999 Constitution (as altered) – Section 42(3)

"Nothing in subsection (1) of this section shall invalidate any law by reason only that the law imposes restrictions with respect to the appointment of any person to any office under the State or as a member of the armed forces of the Federation or a member of the Nigeria Police Force or to an office in the service of a body corporate established directly by any law in force in Nigeria"

1999 Constitution (as altered) – Section 14(4)

"The composition of the Government of a State, a local government council, or any of the agencies of such Government or council... shall be carried out in such manner as to recognise the diversity of the people within its area of authority..."

1999 Constitution (as altered) – Section 17(2)

"Every citizen shall have equality of rights, obligations and opportunity before the law"

IMPLICATION

This provision precludes any law from being invalidated even if it conflicts with the provision of the Constitution guaranteeing freedom from discrimination, to the extent that it restricts the appointment of any person to any office established directly by any law in force in Nigeria. Therefore, by this provision, if any law in Nigeria imposes restrictions with respect to the appointment of any person to any office established directly by any law, it shall not be void.

The Constitution recognises and encourages diversity in the composition of the government, which can be interpreted to include gender diversity, but does not specify equity in the spread of diverse groups.

The term "every citizen" does not specify male or female, so it can be said to refer to both. In effect, the Constitution guarantees equality in rights and opportunities.

Electoral Act, 2010 (as amended) – Section 51

“The presiding Officer shall separate the queue between men and women if in that area of the country, the culture is such that it does not permit the mingling of men and women in the same queue.”

This provision simply guarantees men and women the right to stand on different queues while voting, where the culture of the place does not allow mingling of both genders. No other provision in the Evidence Act mentions women’s rights in elections.

Table 3 – Statutory Provisions and Implications

From the analysis in Table 3, it is clear that the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as altered), being the supreme law of the country recognises and provides for equality of rights and opportunities of citizens (male and female). However, it provides a loophole for deliberate exclusion of any group by its provision under Section 42(3).

In a country where women are poorly represented, the electoral law does not contain

any provision relating to equal representation or participation of both genders. The only provision in the Electoral Act, 2010 (as amended) on the right of women is the provision under Section 51, which allows women to stand on a separate queue from men during election. In effect, the electoral laws do not encourage equitable representation or participation of both genders in Nigeria’s political leadership space.

COMPARISON WITH GLOBAL ACTORS

While the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) rates Rwanda as number 1 in the world, Nigeria is rated as 180 on the World Classification table of Women in National Parliaments (situation as of February 1, 2019). African countries like Senegal, South Africa and Ethiopia have taken deliberate steps to improve on women inclusion in political leadership in their countries. In 2010, Senegal adopted a gender parity law, signed by the former President Abdoulaye Wade, to

require all political parties to introduce absolute equity in electoral lists at both national and local levels.

Consequently, in 2012, the national election saw an increase of women representatives from 22.7% to 42.7% in the National Assembly and from 16% to 47% in local legislatures in the 2014 local election.

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In South Africa, upon the re-election of President Cyril Ramaphosa, he appointed women to take up 50% of ministerial positions in his cabinet. The appointment was described by the ruling party – African National Congress (ANC) as reflecting “a good balance of youth, gender, geographical spread and experience”. The first country recorded to boast of a gender-balanced cabinet was Sweden in 2014, followed by Canada the following year and then France in 2017. Spain decided to flip the coin when a cabinet of 17 women and just 5 men were sworn in. Other countries reported to have formed gender-balanced cabinets include Seychelles, Costa Rica and Nicaragua.

According to the UN-Women, Ethiopia suffers from some of the lowest gender equality performance indicators in sub-Saharan Africa, however, some remarkable progress

has been made in recent times. In Ethiopia, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed filled 50% of his cabinet with female ministers in an integral part of his transformative agenda. In announcing the line-up of his new cabinet, PM Abiy stated that, “Our women ministers will disprove the old aphorism that women can’t lead.” He further asserted that women can help fight corruption, reduce inefficiency and bring accountability and fairness to government.

Around the world, women leaders are making remarkable strides, especially in protecting their countries. The New York Times reported that New Zealand, Germany, Finland, Sweden and Taiwan have managed to contain the current global pandemic – COVID 19, better than other countries globally. The report compared the death rate from the pandemic to other countries like France, Spain, Italy and even the United States (all led by men), and concluded that women’s success may offer valuable lessons about what can help countries weather crisis today and in the future.

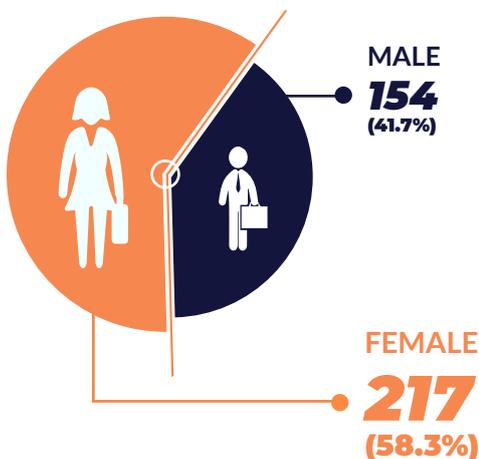
“ Our women ministers will disprove
the old aphorism that women can’t lead “

***P M Abiy, Ethiopian
Prime Minister***

PERCEPTION SURVEY ON CHALLENGES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

An online perception survey was launched on September 19, 2020 and shared on various social media platforms – Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn. and WhatsApp. The survey closed on Friday October 2, 2020 with 372 respondents – 154 men and 217 women.

DEMOGRAPHICS



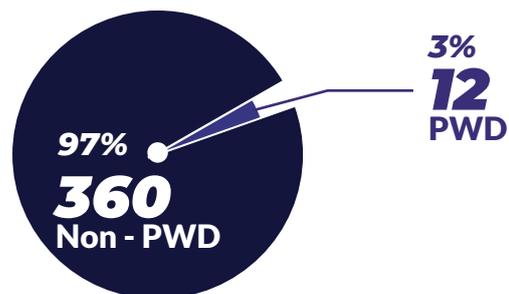
Note: 1 respondent preferred not to disclose gender

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS



Note: 1 respondent preferred not to disclose age

NUMBER OF PWDs and Non - PWDs



RESPONDENTS GROUPS

NGO/CSO	116 (31%)
SELF - EMPLOYED	96 (25.9%)
PUBLIC SECTOR	84 (22.6%)
PRIVATE SECTOR	65 (17.5%)
POLITICIANS	11 (3%)

GENDER EQUITY

On the issue of gender equity, most respondents (81.7%) believe that Nigeria as a country does not embody gender equity. Perhaps this belief stems from their opinion that the Constitution does not encourage or promote gender equity (see annex 1 for the complete

data). In the same vein, most respondents feel that the Gender and Equal Opportunities (GEO) Bill 2019 will encourage and promote equal opportunities to men and women politicians in Nigeria.

“ A Democracy not Engendered is a Democracy Endangered “

WOMEN PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS

On the perception of women's participation in politics in Nigeria, 94.9% of the respondents believed that the number of women compared the men is inadequate and are not satisfied with the inadequacy in the current composition of the political leadership space (See annex 1). In their opinion, 85.8% of the respondents believe that legislation can ensure an increase in the number of women in appointive positions. According to the respondents, the top three problems/challenges faced by women in politics in Nigeria are: -

- Political parties less likely to nominate women

- Cultural hinderances
- Lack of financial resources

The top 3 perceived barriers identified by the respondents as highly affecting women's representation in public office in Nigeria are: -

1. Socio-Cultural Barriers

- Cultural norms and stereotypes about women in the society
- Discriminatory or sexist working culture in government/parliament
- Religious beliefs/rules imposed on women

2. Institutional Barriers

- Unwillingness of political parties to promote women in their ranks
- Absence of gender equality policies/ legal regulatory framework promoting women's participation
- Gender insensitive appointments and processes.

3. Barriers related to Tools, Capacities and Resources

- Lack of financial resources and skills among women
- Lack of solidarity among women
- Lack of reliable information/research on gender equality issues.



“No Citizen of Nigeria shall be subjected to any disability or deprivation merely by reason of the circumstances of his birth”

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE PERCEPTION SURVEY (TOP 3 UNDER EACH CATEGORY)

1. NATIONAL HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

- Pass a legislation to fix a minimum number of women candidates that political parties must sponsor during elections (affirmative action/quota)
- Constitution alteration to reserve a minimum number of seats for women in legislative houses
- Stringent consequences to be contained in legislations to combat all forms of harassment of women in politics and government

2. EXECUTIVE/LEGISLATIVE ARM OF GOVERNMENT

- Establish and ensure the effective functioning of gender equality mechanisms (Committees on gender equality, research bodies, etc.)
- Ensure a gender-sensitive working environment and work towards gender-sensitive institutions/policies
- Take initiatives to promote a better understanding of gender equality issues in society (discrimination, domestic violence, socio-cultural attitudes)

3. WOMEN GROUPS/INSTITUTIONS

- Collectively support women's political careers and through political party ranks
- Engage with the Executive and Legislative powers to support the institutionalization of gender equality in structural and policy frameworks.
- Recruit and sponsor women who are interested in politics.

4. OTHER KEY ACTORS/ STAKEHOLDERS

- Conduct public awareness campaigns on the benefits of women's representation and meaningful political participation.
- Adopt policies to promote work-life balance to address women's multiple roles.
- Design and implement national accountability mechanisms for women's participation.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION ON THE PERCEPTION SURVEY ON THE CHALLENGES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was held virtually on the Zoom platform on Saturday October 3, 2020, with 20 relevant stakeholders to validate the data collected from the perception survey on the attitudes and challenges towards women's political participation in Nigeria. The overall purpose of the activity was to understand from crucial stakeholders, the issues and challenges as well as point out the essential areas for advocacy and possible reforms.

The meeting had in attendance, participants from the Civil Society, political parties, women's rights advocates/women groups, private sector, PWD rights groups and development partners (see annex 2). Stakeholders from these groups discussed extensively, the results of the perception survey and made suggestions on the issues posing challenges to women's political participation and inclusion in Nigeria. The following comments on the perception survey bor-

dered on these broad issues: -

DEMOGRAPHICS

- The low participation by PWDs shows lack of interest, probably because they do not feel included or as part of the political system in Nigeria
- The fact that more women participated in the survey showed that fewer men are interested in having women political leaders. Men need to get involved more in order to boost women's chances of having more presence in Nigeria's political leadership.
- Perhaps if allotted more time, the survey could have had more respondents.
- Young people in Nigeria show less interest in political development in Nigeria that is why they make up only 45.8%. More people in the middle-aged bracket participated in the survey because that is the group that is mostly involved in politics in Nigeria. Youth inclusion in pol-

politics in Nigeria. Youth inclusion in politics might increase the interest of young people in the development of politics in Nigeria.

GENDER EQUITY

- The stark ignorance of the law by some respondents mirrors the current state of Nigeria today. A lot of citizens do not know the law and as such do not know their rights. Not knowing one's rights encourages breach of rights by authorities or leaders. The reason why women do not participate in politics as much as the men is because they have resigned to the belief that they do not have the right to lead side by side with the men.
- The GEO Bill is supposed to help women in Nigeria have access to more opportunities but so many people are unaware of its provisions and objectives.
- It would be interesting to interrogate the reason why respondents feel that the GEO Bill will not promote gender equity. Perhaps the provisions do not seem effective enough or that implementation after it is passed into law would be stalled.
- The Electoral Act does not have provisions that promote gender equity, so it is shocking that respondents believe that it does. This is evidence that these respondents do not know the provisions of the Act.

WOMEN PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS

- Enacting laws on improving women participation is not the final solution but committed implementation of such laws should be the main priority for stakeholders.
- Aside from passing such laws, the implementation of the laws must be followed strictly, and all institutions should be made to comply with them.
- Not everyone realizes the importance of legislations/laws in improving women participation in politics, hence it can be seen that about 11% of the respondents indicated that there is no need for new laws to improve the present situation. Therefore, people must be educated or enlightened on the advantages of having legislation that would affirm women's participation in politics.
- Section 42 of the 1999 Constitution remains a major problem towards the adoption or domestication of key international instruments such as CEDAW, ICESCR etc. in Nigeria that would have been favourable towards gender equity in Nigeria.

- If there is no affirmative action legislation, nothing much can be done on improving the chances of women in the political space in Nigeria.
- It is not enough simply to obtain a minimum number of seats for women. There will be a need to further inspire women to come out and take up the seats allocated. Certain parties, in particular the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), have clauses in their constitutions that stipulate that women must hold a third of the party's leadership position, but the challenge was to get women with the right capacity to fill that position.
- Stakeholders should focus more on capacity building of women and not pursuing affirmative legislative actions.
- The survey may have missed out the important perspective of lower-income Nigerians since the survey was conducted online. As a result, some of the issues or bias from the public may have been missed. While more people using social media may be more enlightened and educated than the people in the grass-root or villages, the uneducated rural dwellers make up a huge part of the electorate. Therefore, it may be difficult to gauge sufficiently, the mind-set of the

RECOMMENDATIONS

Participants of the FGD proffered solutions to the challenges and barriers that women in Nigeria face in the political leadership space.

The recommendations include: -

- Messaging and advocacy should always take cognizance of the people in the grassroots and that programmes or projects should be more encompassing and inclusive to involve every person irrespective of their social status.
- Engagements on the issue of women participation in politics should not only involve women-oriented groups but should be more robust to include the men and other groups to understand their views or perspective on the issue.
- Every reform proposal must have the support of not just the educated stakeholders but the grassroots people who will have to understand the importance of such a proposal.
- Without sufficient resources, women cannot campaign effectively as men. Women need sponsorship and more support from the wealthy class and the public in general.

- More women should be encouraged to form or join political parties – this is because, without being in a political party or having a party structure backing the woman, there would be little improvement in increasing women participation in politics
- Women should be encouraged not be silent to the systematic harassment or sabotage of women's growth in the political party. When more women speak up about the challenges, there may be opportunities for reviewing the issues.
- There should be a policy that would make it easy for women to access finance to fund their campaigns. Women politicians cannot win in the Nigerian money-politics system.
- There should be strategic negotiations between women politician and their male counterparts on the issue of women participation. This is crucial because women need the men to win elections.
- There are more women than men in politics today than in the past – this is an improvement and should be celebrated. There are parts of the country where women do not come out due to cultural and religious beliefs and so a behavioural change campaign can be employed to help change their mindset.
- Bauchi State governor has done a landmark achievement by appointing 3 women into his cabinet. This should be celebrated.
- The language used in the Constitution is discriminatory towards women and do not provide equal opportunities for both genders in political participation. The Constitution needs to be amended.
- The patriarchal nature of the political system and party system is the basis for the limited number of women in positions in the party structure and appointive positions and not the lack of capacity of women. The political party system in Nigeria needs to be reformed.
- Mentorship is a very vital ingredient in women participation in politics. Thus, women with knowledge and in political positions should actively pick young women that they can mentor to become more effective politicians in the future.
- Legislation is important to removing institutional and cultural barriers that have limited the participation of women in politics. Therefore, stakeholders must pursue this type of reform.
- The attitudinal barriers that make women not to see themselves as deserving of contesting for those political offices is a cardinal issue. Re-educational initiatives to re-educate our women on their ability and capacities in the political space should be used to address this issue.

- The strategies adopted by women for pushing more women in elective positions did not work in the past and so new strategies must be adopted.
- One of the challenges facing women in politics is the lack of preparedness towards contesting elective positions, which affect all facets of their campaigns. This is the reason why women in political offices need to mentor aspiring women.
- There is need for empowered and engaged women electorate. If women do not know the applicable laws or policies affecting them, they would not be able to counter or engage the issues.
- Women are competent and capable, but political parties avoid appointing qualified women since they are afraid that such qualified women may question the patriarchal nature of the leadership structure of the parties. Hence, they seek out women who are conformists to those positions and this is disadvantageous to women's aspirations.
- Women should take their financial empowerment in politics seriously. Women should create funds or resources basket to fund and support more women who are contesting elections because elections are expensive. Public fund-raising should be encouraged.
- Education is vital in improving attitudes and removing the Cultural and religious obstacles to women participation in politics.
- The current crop of legislators in the National Assembly will not pass any gender empowerment or equity laws. The GEO Bill will not be passed in the 9th Assembly as a result.
- Most men view "gender equity" as a contest for power and this view has resulted in the objections of frontline male politicians against gender equity legislation or bills. This narrative and perception need to be changed so that more men would view gender equity more positive and be more supportive of it.
- Gender equality laws or quota system (affirmative action) is derogatory to women and should not be encouraged. Women should compete on equal footing with the men. Power should be taken and not handed over.

RELEVANT ACTORS FOR ADVOCACY

The survey and focus group discussion identified crucial stakeholders for advocacy in order to improve women political participation in Nigeria.

The groups are as follows: -

- 1. The Legislature** – The survey and FGD highlighted engaging the lawmakers to institutionalise gender equity in their practices so that it becomes a norm.
- 2. The Executive** – The survey and FGD highlighted engagement with the Executive arm to facilitate capacity development of aspiring women politicians, and to set up funding access for women politicians seeking funds for their campaigns.
- 3. Civil Society Organisations** – This includes pressure groups, human rights groups, professional bodies, traditional institutions and other interest groups that are not exclusively women issues-oriented. The FGD identified that other groups need to have a buy-in on the idea of having more women leaders. This is needed in order to change the perception that women do not belong to the political space.
- 4. Women Groups** – Respondents to the survey identified women and women groups as part of the unsupportive

groups. The raised issues of lack of mentorship and preparedness to run for office as critical barriers that women seeking political offices have. Participants at the FGD highlighted the need for women to crowd-fund aspiring women as well as mentor young women.

- 5. Politicians and Public Office Holders** – Respondents to the survey agreed that political office holders need to engage in mentorship programmes for aspiring female politicians as well as young women. The FGD introduced the need to have gender equity discussions at schools where politician and public office holders can provide instructions to students.
- 6. Electorate** – The electorate is the voter. The electorate holds the power to elect leaders into office and unless they have a behavioural change, they will continue to be influenced by the societal norms, traditional and cultural beliefs. The respondents majorly highlighted culture a barrier to women political participation in Nigeria. The discussants mentioned partnerships with the men (he-for-she) and strategic alliances with male politicians or influencers. This is because women cannot win elections with the men.

7. Media – Dealing with media biases against women and spreading positive messages about women achievers and

change-makers were identified by the respondents to the survey as well as discussants at the FGD.



“Most men view “gender equity” as a contest for power and this view has resulted in the objections of frontline male politicians against gender equity legislation or bills. This narrative and perception need to be changed so that more men would view gender equity more positive and be more supportive of it”

THEORY OF CHANGE

According to the findings of the perception survey and FGD, a comprehensive illustration of how a desired change is expected to

happen in Nigeria's political space so that more women can venture into public office is as follows: -

THE CHALLENGE



INTERVENTION

Constitution alteration to include affirmative action/quota for Women

Electoral law amendment to compel parties to nominate more Women

Political Parties' nomination of Women candidates

OUTCOMES

More Women across the ranks in Political Parties

More Women appointed into the Executive cabinet

More Women Legislators in the National Assembly and States House of Assembly

CONCLUSION

The findings from the survey show that there exists a gaping knowledge deficiency of issues, rights and relevant laws affecting all citizens, and especially, affecting women in politics in Nigeria. The FGD featured persons from different parts of Nigeria and from different age groups and they validated the data collected from the survey and shed light on some of the biases that occur across the country. The most common perspectives centred on amending laws and implementing them. In addition, the quota system or affirmative action rules seem to be popular among respondents. The major barriers as identified by the respondents centre on culture/traditional beliefs, finance/money, violence/intimidation, and political party structure.

A common recommendation among respondents is mentorship. Respondents believe that persons in power can help prepare aspiring women for political leadership

by mentoring them. Another popular recommendation was sponsorship or ease of access to campaign financing as elections in Nigeria are expensive. Education and capacity building were identified as strategies for preparing women for leadership and engagement of the current leadership to deliberately promote gender inclusion can be a starting point.

For Nigeria to experience an increase in the participation of women in politics, the African countries that have adopted an equitable representation system can be models to emulate. Senegal experienced an increase in women's participation after the passage of the Gender parity law in 2010, while Ethiopia and South Africa experienced deliberate political inclusion. Though Nigerian electoral laws are not overtly discriminatory, they require amendments for there to be increased women representation in public office in Nigeria.

ANNEX 1

Perception Survey

Gender Equity

Do you feel that we live in a country that embodies gender equity?

- Yes 52 respondents (14%)
- No 304 respondents (81.7%)
- Don't Know 16 respondents (4.3%)
-

Are you aware of any law, legislation or legal instrument which enshrines of the principle of equality between men and women in Nigeria, whether Federal or State?

- Yes 147 respondents (39.5%)
- No 171 respondents (46%)
- Don't Know 54 respondents (14.5%)

In your opinion, do you feel that the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as altered) encourages and promotes gender equity in Nigeria?

- Yes 92 respondents (24.7%)
- No 213 respondents (57.3%)
- Don't Know 67 respondents (18%)

In your opinion, do you feel that the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) encourages and promotes equality between male and female politicians in Nigeria?

- Yes 101 respondents (27.1%)
- No 184 respondents (49.5%)
- Don't Know 87 respondents (23.4%)

In your opinion, do you feel that the recent Gender and Equal Opportunity Bill 2019 will encourage and promote equal opportunities to men and women politicians in Nigeria?

- Yes 205 respondents (55.1%)
- No 67 respondents (18%)
- Don't Know 100 respondents (26.9%)

Overall, how knowledgeable are you about the Gender and Equal Opportunities (GEO) Bill currently before the National Assembly?

- Not at all knowledgeable 81 respondents (21.8%)
- Not too knowledgeable 102 respondents (27.4%)
- Fairly knowledgeable 140 respondents (37.6%)
- Completely knowledgeable 34 respondents (9.2%)
- Don't Know 15 respondents (4%)

Has the performance of women in government so far (State or Federal), in your opinion, brought about a positive change in the way the public sees women in politics?

- Substantial change 24 respondents (6.4%)
- Noticeable change 70 respondents (18.8%)
- Small change 171 respondents (46%)
- No noticeable change 100 respondents (26.9%)
- Don't know 7 respondents (1.9%)

• Women Participation and Representation in Politics

Do you believe that the current number of women in politics compared to men in Nigeria is adequate?

- Yes 12 respondents (3.2%)
- No 353 respondents (94.9%)
- Don't know 7 respondents (1.9%)

In your opinion, do you feel that the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Electoral Act 2010 encourage and promote women participation and representation in Nigeria?

- Yes 102 respondents (27.4%)
- No 202 respondents (54.3%)
- Don't Know 68 respondents (18.3%)

Are you satisfied with the number of women in government or political leadership today?

- Yes 12 respondents (3.2%)
- No 353 respondents (94.9%)
- Don't Know 7 respondents (1.9%)

Should there be any law or legislation to ensure increased number of women in appointive positions (Ministers/Commissioners/Special Advisers etc.)?

- Yes 319 respondents (85.8%)
- No 42 respondents (11.2%)
- Don't know 11 respondents (3%)

Should there be any law on for adopting a minimum number of women (Affirmative action Rules) in legislative houses (National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly) in Nigeria?

- Yes 293 respondents (78.8%)
- No 67 respondents (18%)
- Don't Know 12 respondents (3.2%)

What are the problems faced by women who are getting into politics? (You may pick up to 3)

- Religious Reasons 43.8%
- Cultural Hindrances 68.8%
- Family Duties/Responsibilities 47.8%
- Sexual Harassment 43.8%
- Lack of Financial Resources 59.1%
- Political Parties are less likely to nominate women 70.4%

In your opinion how do the following challenges or obstacles affect women's representation and participation in Nigeria?

PERCEIVED BARRIERS	HIGH	MODERATE	SMALL	NONE
Social-Cultural Barriers				
Cultural norms and stereotypes about women in society	308	54	7	3
Religious beliefs/interpretation of women in society	242	102	22	6
Discriminatory or sexist working culture in Government/Parliament/Sub-national legislature	245	101	23	3
Women's perception of other women in the political sphere.	191	132	40	9
Physical violence or harassment or intimidation	237	102	29	4
Institutional Barriers				
Absence of gender equality policies/legal regulatory framework (constitution/election law) promoting women's participation	255	88	23	6
Legal discrimination of women (discriminatory provisions of certain laws)	198	120	36	18
Lack of an enabling environment for civil society (government, political parties) and processes (agencies, judicial appointments)	195	125	44	8
The unwillingness of political parties to promote women in their ranks	242	102	24	4
288	68	12	4	
BARRIERS RELATED TO TOOLS, CAPACITIES AND RESOURCES				
Lack of solidarity among women	228	113	24	7
Lack of financial resources and skills among women	277	75	18	0
Lack of education and literacy among women	110	190	61	11
Lack of information and tools (manuals and guidelines) on gender equality and women's political participation	184	150	31	7
Lack of reliable information/research on gender equality issues	189	139	39	6

In your opinion, what should the National Assembly or State Houses of Assembly do to increase women's participation and representation in politics in Nigeria?

OPTIONS	NO OF RESPONDENTS
Constitution Alteration to reserve a minimum number of seats for women in legislative houses	228
Legislation to fix a minimum number of women candidates that political parties must sponsor during elections (quota system/affirmative action)	229
Stringent legislation to combat all forms of Harassment of women in politics and government	204
Legislation to create special funding basket to support female political aspirants/candidates	121

In your opinion which strategies should the Executive and/or Legislature apply to effectively promote increased women's political participation and representation in Nigeria? (Please tick the three strategies that you feel are most useful)

OPTIONS	NO OF RESPONDENTS
Develop and adopt temporary special measures to increase women participation and representation	156
Establish and ensure the effective functioning of gender equality mechanisms (Committees on Gender Equality, Research bodies, Gender Equality data collection tools)	220
Ensure a gender-sensitive working environment and work towards Gender-sensitive institutions/policies	218
Work to develop and implement gender equality in elections processes	160
Take initiatives to promote a better understanding of gender equality issues in society (discrimination, domestic violence, socio-cultural attitudes)	184
Take initiatives to combat gender stereotypes.	111
Ensure gender-equal access to resources and infrastructure	149

In your opinion, what should women leaders, groups or institutions do to effectively promote meaningful political participation of women and increase representation in Nigeria? (Please tick the three strategies that you feel are most useful)

OPTIONS	NO OF RESPONDENTS
Collectively support women's political and through political party ranks	264
Build partnerships/alliances with other political groups to act collectively on women issues	180
Engage men as partners and gender advocates to act collectively on issues of concern	183
Recruit and sponsor women who are interested in politics	197
Learn to identify gender-based political manipulation	103
Engage with executive and legislative powers to support the institutionalization of gender equality in structural and policy frameworks	236

In your opinion which strategies should be implemented by key actors to combat barriers to meaningful political participation of women and increase women representation in Nigeria? (Please tick the three strategies that you feel are most useful)

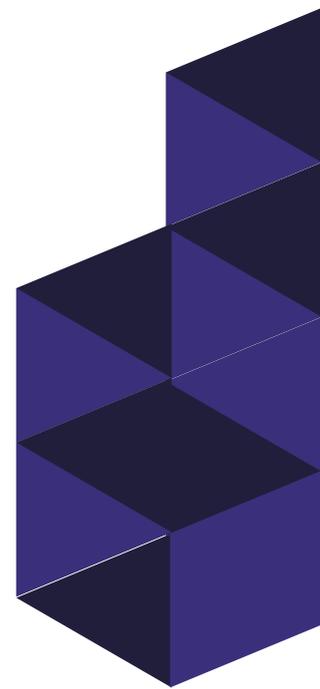
OPTIONS	NO OF RESPONDENTS
Adopt policies to promote work-life balance to address women's multiple roles	240
Reform education curricula to include gender-sensitive elements	159
Conduct public awareness campaigns on the benefits of women's representation and meaningful political participation	241
Work with media to combat gender-based stereotypes	174
Create dialogue platforms focused on a religious discourse on women's rights	126
Design and implement national accountability mechanisms for women's participation	202

What are your views on the following statements regarding the use of gender quotas or affirmative action to increase women's participation in legislative houses such as the National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agrees nor Disagrees	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Affirmative action or Quotas are a necessary measure to reduce the under-representation of women	198	114	43	10	7
Quota system or affirmative action should only be temporary	61	115	110	55	31
Quota system voluntarily adopted by political parties are preferable to quotas or affirmative action passed into law	97	113	85	41	36
Quota system or affirmative action that is passed into law must include enforcement provisions	197	121	39	8	7
Quota system or affirmative action is useful but not sufficient and must be followed by other measures such as sensitization programmes	195	136	27	8	6
Quota system or affirmative action is not useful and lead to tokenism for women	65	87	98	64	58
Quota system or affirmative action is not necessary Women should contest against the men to be elected	83	88	98	47	56
Quota system or affirmative action is discriminatory	77	70	108	58	59

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