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POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS

OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN KADUNA,
KANO AND THE NATIONAL LEVEL



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List of Abbreviations

ADC	African Democratic Congress
APC	All Progressive Congress
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
DFID	Department for International Development
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IPU	Inter Parliamentary Union
KII	Key Informant Interviews
LGA	Local Government Areas
NEPU	Northern Elements Progress Union
NASS	National Assembly
JIBWIS	Jama'atu Izalatil Bid'ah Wa Iqamatus Sunnah
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PEA	Political Economy Analysis
PRP	Peoples Redemption Party
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
YPP	Young Progressives Party

INTRODUCTION

Youth and women exclusion in the political processes is one of the principal paradoxes of the Nigerian democracy. The Nigerian population is quite youthful with a large population of female against male representation in leadership. All the successive elections since 1999 have served to exclude young people and women. Even when the youth succeeded in removing some of the exclusionary provisions in the 1999 Constitution through the “Not Too Young to Run” movement, the impact on youth representation since 2019 elections have been unimpressively minimal. Different reasons bothering on economic, political, and social constraints have been provided to explain this historical but unacceptable exclusion of youth and women in Nigeria's electoral process.

Youth constitute over a third of Nigeria's population. To be sure, 51.11% of registered voters for the 2019 general elections falls within the ages of 18 – 35. Of the over 84 Nigerians registered for the 2019 general elections, 44 million (52.86%) were women. Despite this numerical superiority, the level of youth representation in decision making is abysmally low. Democracy is about citizens' participations and elections are the only instrument of democratic consent and choices of political representation. Therefore, the rights to vote and participate in elections are part of the basic human rights. Participation and ultimately democracy is undermined when the majority of the citizens are not represented in the decision-making processes.

As Nigeria prepares for the next general elections in 2023, ActionAid Nigeria commissioned this study to understand the dynamics of youth participation especially in political parties and opportunities and challenges for better electoral performance in the 2023 general elections, through a Political Economy Analysis (PEA) of political parties in two states and at the national level. This is part of ActionAid Nigeria's Campaign for Inclusion of Women and Young People in Political and Governance Processes (We-YOU Pro). The campaign seeks to contribute to an inclusive and responsive democratic process and outcomes through citizens led actions towards 2023 general elections in Nigeria.

The PEA is design to understand the political context of youth and women's participation in the Kano, Kaduna states and at the National level, to generate relevant programming tools. It is specifically designed to:

- 1** To generate requisite data on the social political contexts of the states and the national level.
- 2** To map out the key actors, influencers, and the power dynamic structures within the selected political parties at the states and the national level.
- 3** To understand the leadership structures, membership, and funding structures of the selected political parties in both states and at the national level.
- 4** To develop an engagement strategy targeted at engendering an inclusive decision-making political process that reflects the priorities of the vulnerable groups, especially the young people and women.

Although the original design was restricted, the analysis to the three selected political parties; the study examined four political parties (APC, ADC, PDP and PRP) within the larger context of the political structure and dynamics of the two states and the national level. This is because, the political parties, whether, ruling or opposition are not independent of the institutional and structural framework of the country or the states. This report is an analysis of the three political parties based on the criteria of the structure, institutions and the actors or stakeholders in the two states and the national level. The initial list of parties included YPP but had to be dropped because it does not have any significant structure in the two states captured in this report .

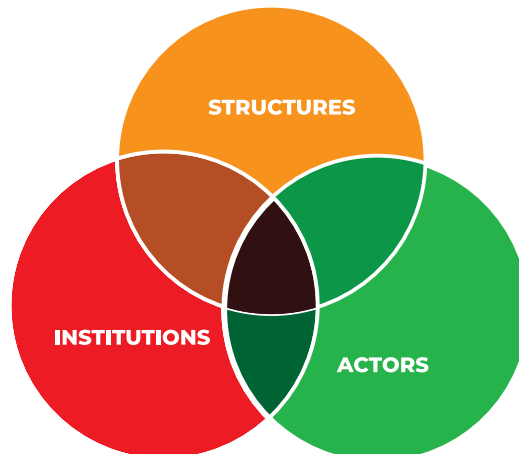
METHODOLOGY OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

This is a qualitative study. The PEA relied mainly on two sources of data – documentary sources and Key Informant Interview (KII). The documentary sources include documents and publications generated by political parties, CSO, INEC, government institutions and international development organisations on youth and women's participation in politics.

In carrying out the Key Informant Interviews, respondents were drawn from the stakeholders on elections and citizens' participation, including programme implementing partners of ActionAid Nigeria, programme communities, key government officials, and officials of selected political parties, youth activists and politicians. The interview guides were designed to ensure the key evaluation questions are adequately answered. The objectives of the Key Informant Interview include:

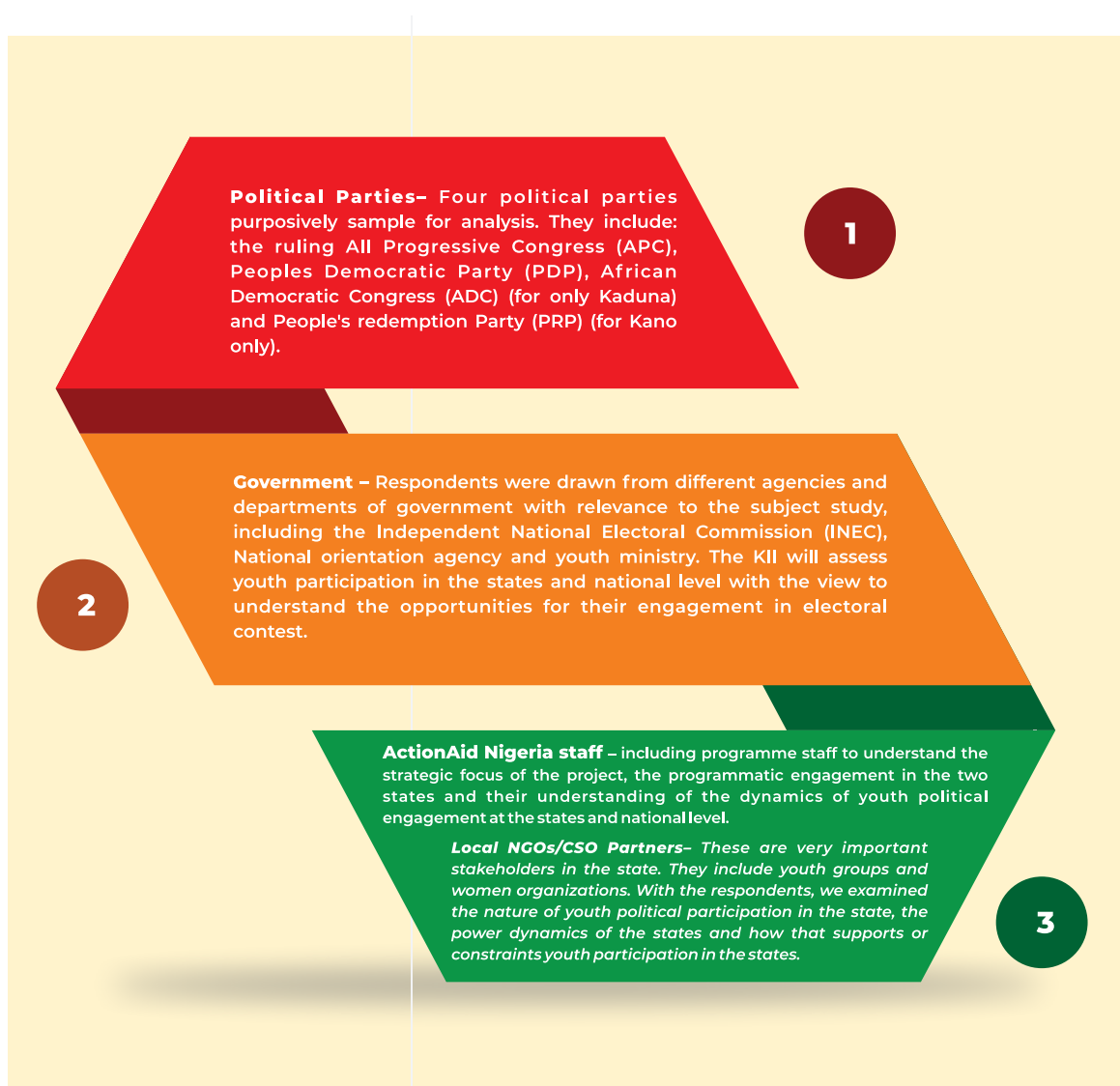


The PEA analysis covered the interaction between the structure, institutions and individual actors and stakeholders. The PEA tried to understand interest within the large framework of existing social structure and institutional framework.



1. **Structures:** These are the more enduring specifics of the context that change slowly, such as demographic shifts, historical legacies, social-cultural and religious factors, and technological progress.
2. **Institutions:** The 'rules of the game', the local laws, conventions, practices, and traditions that shape political behavior. In this context, Informal institutions are just as important as formal institutions.
3. **Actors or Stakeholders:** These are individuals, organizations, or coalitions from the public, private or civil society sectors. This report specifically focused on the three political parties, considering interests, motivations, networks, and influence shift over time.

Respondents were selected based on their association and relevance to the electoral process in Nigeria, particularly in Kano, Kaduna and at the national level. They were broadly clustered into 4 categories.



The KII was as specific and possible. The interview guide was tailored to suite each of the stakeholders and individual respondents. The essence is to assess the dynamics and interaction between structures, institutions, and actors, to understand interests and how decisions are made and whether this enhances or constraint youth participation in the electoral process in the states and at national level.

The evaluation was conducted with strong sensitivity to the COVID-19 pandemic and commitment to its prevention protocol. Unless it becomes extremely necessary, physical/in-person meetings were avoided. The use of information and communication technology including – telephone interviews, skype, Zoom and Team calls were mostly utilized for gathering content for this report. Where physical meetings were required, necessary prevention protocols was strictly adhered to – including social distancing, use of face masks and necessary hygiene protocol.

Considering that analysis is meant to support programme development and implementation, findings were presented in a simple descriptive analysis, juxtaposing documents reviewed and findings from the KII and presented in table, simple graphics, and boxes.

VALIDATION WORKSHOP

Recognising the risk of error, bias, and misinterpretation, the evaluation report was subjected to stakeholder validation. The draft report was presented at the workshop organized by ActionAid Nigeria for its partners in Kaduna on the 26th of January 2021. Participants engaged the report and made necessary comments and inputs to enrich the report.

The validation workshop provided an opportunity for participants to make further clarification, raise questions, provided additional information, and own the content of the report. This report was finalized based on the comments received at the validation workshop.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

While the concept of women is very clear as a socio-biological category, the conception of youth has been generally contentious. There is no universally acceptable definition of youth. The classification of youth is relative and dependent on the socio-economic and cultural context of a particular society. According to UNESCO, youth is best understood as a period of transition from dependence of childhood to adulthood independence. Based on this definition, youth can be regarded as a transient fluid social category than a fixed age classification. The United Nations entities define youth as young women and men between 15 and 24 years of age. The African Youth Charter defines youth as every person between the ages of 15 and 35 years.

Currently, there is no legal instrument that defines the age of youth in Nigeria. Amidst this gap is the conflicting conception of youth across different national programmes and policies. The 2019 National Youth Policy defined youth as

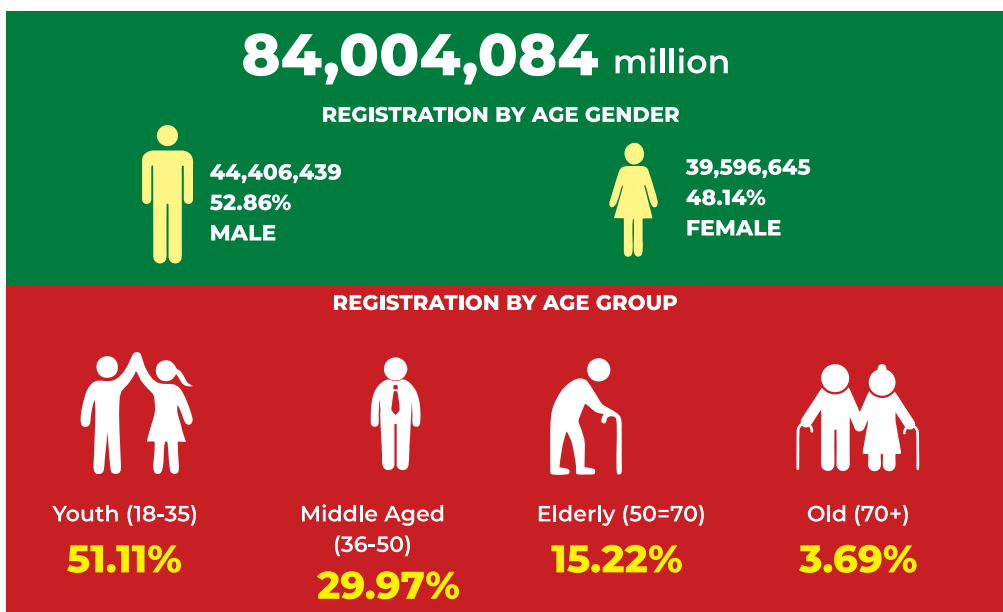
people between the ages of 15 to 29. This is a significant reduction from previously versions of the policy, which was 15 to 35. For this analysis, we adopted the DFID's (now FCDO) "lifecycle approach" and INEC disaggregated data which categorized young people for the purpose of elections as between age of 18 and 35.

IMPERATIVE OF YOUTH AND WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS IN NIGERIA

Nigerians' recent electoral history has tellingly excluded or at best marginalized women and youth. One of the major challenges faced by both women and youth is the unfriendly electoral legal framework. To address this, the Not Too Young to Run bill was passed into law to reduce the age of those who can aspire to contest election into public office. The law reduced the age for running for the President from 40 to 35 years, House of Representatives 30 to 25 years and State House of Assembly 30 to 25 years. The liberalization of political party registration process and the reduction in age limit for electoral contest through the "Not Too Young to Run" significantly increased the number of youths that contested election in 2019, even if most of them never got elected due other challenges associated with electioneering in Nigeria, youth candidacy increased from 21% in 2015 to 34.2% in the 2019 general elections. Despite this increased contest, only 6.6% of elected seats are occupied by youths across the country.

According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) 'Youth Participation Parliament Report 2020', only 2.6% of the world's Members of Parliament/ legislators are under 30 years, while 17.5% are under 40 years. In Nigeria, 2.55% of legislators in the National Assembly are under 35 years while 8.74% are under 40 years at the national level. In the State Houses of Assembly, 8.98% of legislators are under 35 years while 21.6% are under 40 years of age. Similarly, women representation in government remains poor with the Inter-Parliamentary Union putting the global average percentage in all chambers of national parliaments at 25.7%. The reality is worse in Nigeria, with women representation at 4.47% in the National Parliament and 4.54% in the State Parliament.

The under-representation of young people and women in government and democratic processes remains a threat to democratic sustainability.



Women and youth are disproportionately affected by some of the major development challenges in Nigeria, including unemployment, poverty, environmental degradation, violent conflict, insecurity, poor physical, social, and emotional health, insufficient access to education, and displacement. Women are often further disadvantaged in many of these areas due to discriminatory socio-cultural norms that do not afford them the same rights as men and prevent their full participation in public space.

Different youth have varying development opportunities and challenges based on individual characteristics, including disability, gender identity, ethnicity, religion, and other identities and circumstances that affect their lived experiences.

In addition to strong national legal imperative, including the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended), which encourages citizens' participation in the electoral process and the 2010 Electoral Act (as amended), this policy is stirred by other national and international commitments including the National Youth Policy 2019, the African youth charter, the African Union protocol among others.

Youth and women political participation and development are important cross-cutting issues in the 2030 sustainable development goals. The 2030 Agenda specifically recognised young people as “critical agents of change” and presents them as a priority across the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, SDG. More than 60 out of the 169 SDG targets made direct or indirect reference to young people and women, with the commitment to enhancing their empowerment, participation, and well-being. The international recognition of youth as “critical agents of change” is intended to translate into actions by governments and other stakeholders to implement and monitor the progress made on the SDGs. SDG 16 particularly specifies commitment to promote peaceful and inclusive societies, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels.

Other UN Frameworks and Security Council resolution 2250 (2015) and 24/9 (2018) recognised that young people can play significant roles in the realisation of the sustainable development, crisis prevention and peace-building. Article 11 of the African Youth Charter provides that “every young person shall have the right to participate in all spheres of society”. It particularly mandated state parties to take measures to promote youth participation and guarantee; a) the participation of youth in parliament and other decision-making bodies in accordance with the prescribed laws; b) facilitate the creation or strengthening of platforms for youth participation in decision-making at local, national, regional, and continental levels of governance; c) ensure equal access to young men and young women to participate in decision-making and in fulfilling civic duties among others.

¹ 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, para 51.

² UNDP and others; 'Critical agents of change' in the 2030 Agenda: Youth Inclusive Governance Indicators for National Level Monitoring', <http://restlessdevelopment.org/file/critical-agents-of-change-youth-inclusive-governance-indicators-for-national-level-sdgmonitoring-pdf>.

³ African Youth Charter

⁴ Africa Agenda 2063

It mandates that states encourage youth activism and ensure gender equity in political representation and participation. The African Union (AU) Assembly declared 2009-2018 the “African Youth Decade” and released an action plan to promote youth empowerment and development throughout the continent, including by raising young citizens' representation and participation in political processes (African Union, 2011). It is in furtherance of this that the African Union Agenda 2063 aspired for an Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth. It particularly provided that all the citizens of Africa will be actively involved in decision making in all aspects.

In Nigeria, youth and women represent a critical mass; their increased political participation could galvanize the required social and political action that can strengthen Nigeria's development. It can add distinctive ambition, energy, and ideas to develop more stable, democratic, and prosperous Nigeria. Around the world, young people are driving social, political, and economic transformations in their communities and countries, Nigeria should not be different. If the Nigerian youth and women are supported, encouraged, and provided the necessary political space, they can be important demographic resource that accelerates development across all sectors. Failure to recognize this gender and age category stands the disaffection and apathy, which could negatively impact on the progress and development of the country.

DATA ANALYSIS

As indicated in the methodology, the report analyzed youth and women political participation in the generally political, economic, and social context, looking at interactions between structures, institutions, and actors. The challenges of women and youth political participation and the opportunities based on the interaction of the three variables were examined. The context dynamics, institutional frameworks and interests of the different actors are presented in simple tables with different columns for the two states and national level. Where the issues are the same across states, the columns were merged for that purpose.

Obstacles to Youth and Women's Participation

OBSTACLES	KADUNA STATE	KANO STATE	NATIONAL LEVEL
STRUCTURAL	Age requirements to vote or run for office. This has been significantly addressed with the “not too young to run” law. However, the principle of pegging age is still considered disenfranchising, whether minimum or maximum age. The first barrier for youth participation is the minimum.		Age requirement for youths in all national elective positions is still above 18 years which is supposed to be the age of franchise.
	Increased costs of electioneering: the cost of nomination and campaign is very prohibitive. For most young people and women lack of protective election finance regulations make it even more difficult for them.		

	<p>Social and Cultural Norms- Respondents consider Nigerian politics not only masculine, (male-dominated) but also gerontocratic. The system trusts older people and men more. There are negative perception of women and youth leadership in Kaduna, Kano, and national level. While young men are tolerated in the two states, religion and cultural practices have been used to exclude women's participation. This is even more challenging in Kano, where Muslim leaders and scholars are active in politics.</p>		
	<p>Challenges of national and local diversity issues – the intersectionality of national identity issues with youth and gender, has further compounded exclusion. As political issue and representation are discussed with national and community division/identities than on secular and popular issues – politics of managing diversity including power sharing and rotations, which often count against young people and women.</p>		
	<p>The challenges of violence especially in Kaduna- There are two dimensions of this. First is the historical contention between the ethno-religious identity groups in the state. Second is the ragging banditry and criminality that is having a significant political toll on the state. This has strong implication for elections and the participation of women and youth. Violence increases the perpetration of masculine and elderly rule.</p>		
ACTORS	<p>Distrust in political institutions and leaders - Most young people for historical and other reasons have no trust in political institutions, processes, and leaders. Many prefer to disengage or engage from outside through protest and sometime crime.</p>		
	<p>Social and Economic Exclusion - Increasing youth unemployment is fast deepening poverty and reducing their access to resources that could support their political participation and electoral contest. This has a double-edged impact; it is increasing youth engagement in politics for survival at the same time, pushing other youth to look for other livelihood away from what they consider political distractions.</p>	<p>It is even more expensive to engage at the national level. Access is more difficult</p>	

	<p>Lack of confidence and trust in INEC- The challenges of corruption have even escalated the distrust in INEC. Some women and young people believe elections are rigged in favour of the powerful, rich, and influential people who are often male and the elderly. Powerful politicians at all levels are believed to influence election results.</p>	
	<p>Poor access and knowledge about political processes - Increasing poverty, unemployment, etc. have continued to undermine young people and women knowledge of the complexities of Nigerian political process. The social media is ironically believed to compound this ignorance due to challenges of fake news, oversimplification of issues and hate.</p>	
	<p>Lack of consistency of young people – waiting till the election gets closer. Young people and women are generally not consistent; they often come out late and not able to compete against the old forces – “there is no dry season in politics”. Some of them engage with “high sense of entitlement, they just want to be given power on a platter.”</p>	<p>While young people are very active, they are often kept in periphery of the mainstream. “They are over worked with minimal result”</p>
	<p>Poor internal party democracy and influence of “god father” and money bags. The mainstream parties (PDP and APC) are perceived to have been hijacked by older male politicians and have continued to undermine internal democracy.</p>	
	<p>Political party membership is poorly structured, especially at the grassroots' level. There are no clear and comprehensive membership register in most cases. It is even worse for the smaller parties. Membership appears to be associated with prominent members. It is even more challenging that the parties do not have age and gender disaggregated membership statistic. It is therefore almost impossible based on the patch registers to determine how many of the members are male, female or youth. This makes internal democratic processes, including political inclusion, congresses, and primary elections difficult.</p>	

	<p>Dominance of older people and men in party leadership. Young and women are not properly represented in the political parties.</p>	<p>Factionalization of the major parties, PDP, and APC even PRP (a third force), could impact on the prospect for electing women and young people.</p>	<p>The major parties – APC and PDP have limited representation of youth and women in the National leadership.</p>
	<p>Exclusion of women and young people in the election management- INEC/SIEC. Although INEC has a gender policy, it is still to enact youth policy. The entire structure, from the commission to the REC etc. is dominated by older people and men.</p>		
	<p>State Independent Electoral Commission are relatively and not independent of the dominant parties in the state.</p>	<p>Inadequate or lack of clear policy commitment of INEC on youth does not (didn't) allow for systematic support and institutional commitment to youth issues. Limited institutional data on youth political participation constrained a better understanding of the challenges and complexities of youth political exclusion and the needs or mechanism for youth engagement all through the electoral circle.</p>	
	<p>Constitutional Challenge: despite the amendment that made it possible for more young people to participate, the constitution and other election related framework are not deliberate about women and young people's participation, they even make it more difficult for them.</p> <p>Complex voter registration and election procedures– some young people believe that the complexities of the processes discourage them from participation.</p>		

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

1. The challenges faced by women and young people have not made a significant shift, despite all the efforts. Across the two states, respondents believe age, cost of elections, lack of internal party democracy and cultural norms have served to exclude women and youth from politics. Moreover, the attitude of young people and women is not helping the situation. The lack of consistency, high sense of entitlement and negative attitude to politics are believed to be major factors that continue to weaken youth and women's participation in politics.
2. Politics and elections are generally perceived to be competition which has no regard for age. "It depends on how best you can mobilize". Although there is deep cultural discrimination against women, it is yet believed that "once a woman has the resources, and the right connection, she can win election". This perception of politics and election entrenches the exclusion of women and young people in the political processes.
3. The mode of organization of the parties, its membership character and register does not convene the nuances of age and gender relations. This makes internal democratic processes, including political inclusion, congresses, and primary elections difficult.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH AND WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

This section examines the opportunities available for youth and women within the larger context of the structures, institutions, and actors in the two states and at federal level.

	KADUNA	KANO	NATIONAL LEVEL
Structural	"Not too young to run" Constitutional Amendment and building on the progress made in 2019. There was an increase in youth representation, less than a year into the amendment. It is expected that young people can build on that in the 2023 general elections		
	Some religious and traditional leaders are sympathetic to youth and women participation in politics.	Some religious and traditional leaders are sympathetic to youth and women participation in politics.	
	The Kaduna State government has significantly invested in appointing youth and women into strategic	Growing anger against older politicians and youth political movement in Kano. WIN-WIN (Muazu Magaji),	Increasing demand for youth participation and palpable anger of young people –

	<p>state government positions. This has projected women and youth and could be an important pillar to build on – Kashim Ibrahim Fellowship.</p> <p>Liberalization of convectional media and the influence of social media</p>	<p>Kano Sabuwa movement etc. and other youth platforms in Kano.</p>	<p>#EndSARS protest in 2020.</p>
Individual	<p>More young people and women appointed into different strategic roles at the state level.</p>	<p>The exploit of young people at national level has continued to encourage more young people – Bashir Ahmed, Shaaban Ibrahim Sharada and Ismaeel Buba Ahmed at the national level. There are also other young people occupying different roles in the state government.</p> <p>Growing mobilization of women – Kano LGA councillors and the role of the First Lady, Association of Women aspirants in Kano, APC women stakeholders conference and commitments received. Women becoming more confident and vocal in the states.</p>	<p>Liberalization of convectional media and the influence of social media</p>
Institutional	<p>Increasing agitation of young people and women within the parties and the demand, the space is creating room for more youth engagement at the party level</p>		<p>Although young people and women still occupy limited leadership positions within the national level</p>

	<p>Increasing agitation of young people and women within the parties and the demand, the space is creating room for more youth engagement at the party level</p>	<p>political parties, there is an increasing appetite in genuine youth leadership – the first time an under thirty is elected in PDP as a youth leader.</p>	
	<p>The multi-party character of the country allows for young people and women to find alternative political platforms when they find it difficult to access the big ones becomes difficult. This informed young engagement with ADP as an alternative.</p>		
	<p>Recent congresses and the representation of women in PDP 3/1 structure. Ensuring that women have at least 1 out of every three delegates.</p>		
<p>INEC Gender policy. In November 2014, INEC launched a gender policy. The policy has four core objectives: 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 mobilizing partners to effectively provide funding for gender sensitive actions within their purview and; d) Supporting an enabling legislative environment to achieve gender equality and bridging gaps in political representation in elective posts at all electoral levels</p>			

⁵ Special Advisor to the President on New Media. He was 24 years when he was appointed in 2016, barely three years after graduating from university. He has been an inspiration for young people in Kano, for good or for bad.

⁶ Although now 40 years, he was elected a member of Federal House Representatives in 2019. He was previously a Personal Assistant to President Muhammad Buhari. He has been a principal character in the factional politics of APC in Kano and one of the inspirations for young people in Kano, for good or for bad.

⁷ One of the youngest politicians to be elected in Kano in 2011 under CPC. He currently serves as a Senior Special Assistant on National Social Investment Program to Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari represents youths in APC Caretaker National Working Group.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS 2

1. Despite the challenges earlier identified, respondents believe there are increasing opportunities for enhanced women and youth participation in politics. The amendment of the constitution occasioned by the not too young to run movement, the increasing conversation and agitation for youth and women engagement is beginning to make impact amongst political parties and mainstream politicians.
2. There is an increasing appetite for women and youth leadership in the parties. More women and young people are being elected to party leadership at the ward, local government, and state levels. The political parties and politicians are reaching out to young people, for both altruistic and opportunistic reasons.
3. The level of awareness amongst young people and women is growing; different platforms and congresses are being held to respond to the needs and yearning of these constituencies. The burning anger and hunger of youth is building a movement across the two states and national level for increased youths and women participation in politics. This could be strong opportunities that could be built on.

Analysis of Political Parties

		KADUNA	KANO	NATIONAL
APC	Power Structure	It is the ruling party in the state. Has been in power since 2015. Has significant hold of the State House of Assembly and controls all the LGAs in the state. Have strong control over other institutions including the traditional institutions and to a limited extent religious groups. It has significant access to state security agencies and human and financial resources.	It is the ruling party in the state has been in power since 2014. Has the majority in the State of Assembly and control almost all but two local governments') areas in the state. It has strong control over other institutions including the traditional institution and to limited extent religious groups. It controls the security agencies and have significant access to state human and financial resources	The ruling party at the national level with significant control of the National Assembly, access to all major state institutions and financial resources.

		<p>It has been a relatively coherent body, with the state governor being the leader of the party. The party is integrated into the governing structure of the state.</p>	<p>Leadership crisis, resulting from the split associated with the last state convention. Two factions have emerged – led by the state Governor, Umar Ganduje and the other by a former Governor and now Senator Ibrahim Shekarau. Each of the factions have produced elected leadership from the ward level to the state.</p>	<p>Still under a Caretaker/Extra-Ordinary Convention Planning Committee (CECPC). A National Convention to elect new national leadership is scheduled for March 2022. The caretaker committee is led by the Governor of Yobe State, a significant indication of the power and influence of APC elected state governors.</p>
		<p>Major power blocks include the state Governor, State Working Group of the Party, Ward Leaders, LGA Executives of the party, the leadership of the state Assembly, nonpartisan, but influential groups – traditional rulers and religious leaders. Others include friends of the Governor, who may or may not be from the state.</p>	<p>Party under factional control. However, majority of the elected representatives and state government officials are on the Governor Ganduje's side. Most influential clusters include the factional executives from ward to the state level.</p>	<p>Major power blocks include APC State Governors, National Leader of the party, National Assembly Caucuses and informal interested party members and business groups and individuals</p>

		<p>Although significant amount of youths and women have been elected at the ward level and local government level of the party, the party leadership is largely male and older people dominated.</p>	<p>Factional politics is not allowing for clarity of leadership, although one of the factional leaders, Hon. Shaaban Sharada is one of the young politicians in the state.</p>	<p>Youth and women leadership has been very poor in the party and the government that the party controls. However, female members of the party are pushing on. This could be seen as from the Conference of APC women held on the 16 -17 January 2022. The Progressive Women Conference was a Conference of women from across the 36 states in Nigeria and the Federal Capital Territory to discuss the role of women in matters of national importance, party progress and economic growth organized by Stella Erhuvwu Okotete, a women representative in the Caretaker/Extra-Ordinary Convention Planning Committee (CECPC).</p>
<p>Deliberate efforts been made to support youth and women leadership in the party and the government of the state. Kaduna State probably has the best institutional structure for this. From enhanced appointment of women and youth into strategic government offices to a structure youth leadership and Fellowship programme – Kashim Ibrahim Fellows.</p>	<p>Although young people and women have become increasingly assertive in the party, factional politics and reconciliation could exclude them.</p> <p>The nature of factional politics is largely projecting men and older people – most of the people involved in the reconciliation process are all men and elderly. This means even after the reconciliation the space for young people will be limited.</p>			

	Individual agency	Youth and women are becoming more active in APC. The state government support has been an important driving factor. There are concerns that youth engagements in partisan activities have been “seasonal” and sometimes based on “sense of entitlement”.	The two different actions are relatively inactive as “none can move without the other”. “One has the government and the financial power, the other has the party”. The leaders and their executives are the most influential stakeholders in this regard.	Women increasingly engaging the party. Key actors include the woman leader of the party. The respective women leaders at the state level.
ADC	Structure	Still a small party struggling to find its footing in the state. Has been growing to be a third force in Kaduna. The have more interest for young people and women. It does not have any seat in State House of Assembly and has no representation in the state government.	Little or no presence in Kano	Appears active as the 2023 general elections draws closer. It ranked first in presentation on youth candidates in the 2019 elections. Out of the 63 parties that presented candidates, it presented 524 candidates across all the elections, but none was elected.
		Although attracting members, particularly youths and women, respondents believe the potential for electoral victory is still in doubt. Due to challenges of		There are no significant activities at the national. The national leadership is relatively dormant.

		funding elections and limited of presence of politically influential people.		
	Institutional Framework	The party is deliberately focusing on women and young people. More young people in the state party leadership and positioning itself to be a third force in the state.		
	Actors	Major stakeholders are the state executive. It appears the initiative from the state is not fully connected with the national leadership. There are concerns that the party will need to cultivate more influential people in the state.		
PDP	Structure	PDP is currently the major opposition party in the state. It was previously the ruling party in the state for 16 years – 1999 – 2015. It still has significant political structure, financing power and elected	Currently the major opposition party in the state, with one of the most formidable structures under the leadership of a Former Governor of the state, Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso. It was intermittently a	The leading opposition party at the national level. Controls 13 out of the 36 states of Federation. It controlled the government at the centre for 16 years and has a strong formidable

		representative at the State House of Assembly and the national assembly.	ruling party in the state – 1999 – 2013 and 2011 – 2014. It has elected representatives at the state and national level	political structure. It suffers intermittent factionalisation, but the last congresses have significantly mend fences across the state. This is not minding that the former Chairman and his group are still in court.
		It has significant presence in the state. “The southern parts of the state remain the most formidable base of the party”. “PDP has always won elections in this area”. It has strong structure and sympathizers amongst the public service	Kwankwaso leadership of the party is not total, as the party still suffers occasional internal dissent and factionalization. The fissures of the party within in the northwest – between Kwankwaso and Tabuwal of Sokoto could be a significant threat to its electoral prospect.	Has significant international and local goodwill from the private sector. It has significant base and still controls about 13 states, whose structure and resources will be important in any electoral contest.
		It has three politically active former governors – Makarfi, Namadi Sambo (former Vice President) and Ramalan Yero. They still command significant influence in the state		The only party that could stand the ruling party in election financing. Major sources of funding include – state governments, individual politicians, and sympathetic business class.

	Institutional	<p>Increasing women and youth representation in party leadership structure. Although largely male and older people dominated at the National Executive and BOT level. Young people are believed to be occupying the Ward and LGA leadership</p>	<p>The PDP has a mass youth followership, but largely missing in the leadership of the party. With almost 8 years of being out of power in the state, the older guards are believed to remain probably in charge, unless if more deliberate efforts are made.</p>	<p>Although significant progress has been made by electing an under 30 into the national leadership of the party as a youth leader, respondents believe there is no significant shift in deliberately enhancing the leadership of young people and women, beyond their traditional roles.</p>
		<p>Deliberate efforts being made to enhance youth and women participation in the congresses. More women and youth have been elected to the ward, LGA and state executive level.</p>		<p>The diversity management and power sharing arrangement remain a major contention that could affect the party. How that is managed will determine how far the party will go.</p>
	Actors	<p>Most influential people include the three former governors, members of the state executive committee. Others are ward and local government leaders. Considering the hierarchical nature of the party, the national leadership can play an influential role in the state</p>	<p>Most influential Ex-Governor Kwankwaso and the leadership of the “Kwankwasiyya” movement</p>	<p>Most influential people include the 12 state governors, members of the national leaders, former leaders of the party and presidential aspirants.</p>

<p>Women and young people are demanding space. Actively engaging. All the major aspirants are mobilizing women and young people. This new engagement is believed to be either altruistic or opportunistic.</p>				
PRP	Structure	<p>It is a small party in the state, (even) though the founder of this second generation PRP was from Kaduna state. The old PRP formed the government state during the second republic. This reestablished PRP has no strong footing in the state</p>	<p>PRP in Kano appears to have an ideology, unlike most political parties in Nigeria, it is an ideology that permeates even the larger parties. In PDP and APC, you still find elements that associate themselves with the founding ideology of PRP in the state. PRP was Malam Aminu Kano's party during the second public. The ideology of the party was derived from the anti-colonial and radical Northern Element progressive Union (NEPU)</p>	<p>There was an attempt to give the party a level of traction last year. It has no major national presence beyond its national leadership, which is still embroiled in factional politics.</p>
	Institution		<p>PRP stands as a third force in the state. Its historical ideology resonates in the state, but its structures for electoral victory is suspect according to some respondents. However, most people seeking for alternative in the state, believe PRP is the most formidable platform</p>	<p>PRP has been embroiled in an internal crisis, which has seen the party being led by two factions. Attempts to reconcile the Falalu Bello and Sule Bello factions have failed, as both sides have laid claim to overseeing the party's affairs.</p>

			The party's October 2021 congresses were marred in crisis, producing four factional leaders, four parallel congresses were held, producing Sammani Sharu, Abdulmajid Tarauni, Muntari Zango, and Abba Sule Na Matazu.	
	Actors		There is no evidence that party is making any deliberate effort to promote youth and young people's participation. Most influential actors are the factional leaders.	

⁸ Balarabe Musa, for Governor of Kaduna state, elected under the platform of PRP in the second republic. He led the reestablishment of the party during the fourth and supported the effort to sustain the party.

⁹ Sule Bello died last year, it is not clear if that has addressed the factional issues.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS 3

1. The demand for political access and participation for youths and women has increased significantly in all the political parties in the two states and at the national level. The parties are beginning to embrace this reality and recognized the need to have more youth and women in power. The challenge is that the attitude of the old guards on women and youth representation is still tokenistic. In addition, cultural norms, factional politics, and infighting are major concern for youth and women. In Kano, almost all the parties are embroiled in factional politics, making youth engagement difficult.
2. Although the ADP and PRP have continued to project themselves as the alternative to major parties, it appears the confidence in this smaller parties is not strong enough to create the necessary believe and traction for electoral victory. The smaller parties do not have the influential and rich people who could fund the elections. The perception is that only the major parties can guarantee youth and women electoral victory. While it is important to continue to engage the smaller parties to broaden citizens' choices, their capacity to guarantee electoral victory in the immediate is low.

Mapping of Major Stakeholders and Influencers

KANO STATE	KADUNA STATE	NATIONAL LEVEL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political parties – national leadership, state executive, including the different factions of the parties – APC, PDP and PRP. Powerful individual politicians and leaders of political parties – Kano State governor, Kwankwaso for PDP, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Party structure – national leadership for policy direction. This applies to all parties. State leadership. Kaduna State governor and his Deputy, particularly for APC. Religious leaders – JIBWIS, Izala, CAN, various denominations of churches and their youth and women platforms. Former governors of the state, especially for PDP – Makarfi, Namadi Sambo and Ramalan Yero 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The President and the Vice President Party leadership – national working group, national executive, and Board of Trustees of the party. Party caucuses in the NASS Social media influencers Convectional media – national Newspaper, radio, and television

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shekarau/Danzako/Shaaban, politically active women, Azumi Bebeji, Naja'tu, Aisha' Mai jama'a, Hajiya Rabi etc. • Media – radio houses – over 20 radio stations and their political commentators and programme anchors. • Kannywood celebrity community – Firm and music industry • Clerical community – Muslim scholars particularly the political active ones • Business class – • Sojojin Baka – radio and online propagandists • Civil Society Organisations • Youth organizations and movements - partisan and nonpartisan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional rulers – Emir of Zazzau, relatively young and supportive of young people. Others include Chief of Kagoro, Marwan, Kataf, Birnin Gwari etc. • Women politicians and their platforms like Florence Aya Currently mentoring women politicians, Aisha Ahmad, etc. • Interparty women working group, Jamiyar Matan Arewa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Major presidential aspirants of the parties • Strategic women leaders • Civil society organizations • Independent National Electoral Commission
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¹⁰ These are partisan propagandists; care need to be taken in engaging them. To one is not being pitched against the other on issues concerning youths and women's participation in the politics. Their politics is not necessarily based on principles but on emotion and who pays the bills.

Election Financing –Sources of Funding

An election is generally expensive in Nigeria. As indicated earlier, the cost of electioneering has remained a consistent concern for young and women politicians. It has been a major source of exclusion as only those with the financial capacity are able to effectively run for election. The sources of financing of political parties have been major determinant of whether a party or candidate is able to canvass for an office. Although there are elaborate

policies on election financing, including INEC guidelines, keeping track of this funding, and ensuring compliance have been a major challenge in Nigeria's electoral process.

The following have been identified as major sources of funding for political parties and politicians.

- **Government Sources:** This is the largest source of funding for political parties. It is only available for parties in power in the state or national level. This is what made APC and PDP the major contenders at all levels. These resources may have been accessed through corrupt means. Politicians used their positions to allocate funds for electoral purposes.
- **Private sector and business class donations:** This is second major source of funding for political parties. Like the first one, only parties in power can access patronage by these powerful private sector players. This is because only the government can guarantee policy level patronage, tax wavers and making policies in favour of businesses. In some cases, the fear of government's unfriendly action against certain businesses and private interests makes some of them patronize politicians and political parties.
- **Individual contribution – influential and rich members:** Membership dues are not common among the sampled political parties. Respondents averred it is only influential politicians that sustain political parties at all levels. This is even more so for smaller parties that are not in power and could therefore not access state funds or private sector donors. Even in bigger parties, individual funding is often critical. This is what gives the political leverage and coffers certain privileges. In most cases, some of the individual contributions are sourced through corrupt means from the government – public servants – serving or retired, elected politicians and those on political appointments.
- **Special contributions by political appointees:** in some cases, elected officials and appointees are made to make special contributions to their parties based on their earnings or access to resources.
- **Out of pocket:** This is another source that involves day to day spending of politicians in their respective constituencies. It does not involve contribution to the party, but what is given to groups and individual constituents by aspirants and candidates. This “keeps lubricating the electoral machines, it never ends unless if a politician is not interested in running for elections”.

- Donations and contributions by friends and family members: This is normally for aspirant/candidate. In most cases it is relatively small, unless if the candidate is from a rich family. Family members and friends make solidarity contribution to support a candidate. This fund hardly gets to the party, it is only for the use of the candidate. The contributions could be in kind or cash.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations for Engagement Transforming the situation in favour of women and young people will require both broad and specific engagement with major stakeholders. Including:

1. **Political Parties:** All the political parties have elaborate leadership structure from the ward to the national level. While each of these layers of leadership is important for every politician, the nature of engagement with the political parties needs to be both broad based and specific. Broadly, they can be engaged through lager public conversation and specifically engaged at the strategic level. The National Executives, state executives and working groups are the key platforms for policy making and operations of the parties. Engaging at that level on women and youth specific concerns may help prepare effective grounds for further engagement at the local government and ward levels. Other key structures to engage at the party level include:
 - a. Youth leaders and women leaders – they will be necessary for access to other leaders.
 - b. Strategic financiers of the political parties
 - c. Elected representatives
2. **State Governors:** Governors are the ascribed leaders of their respective parties in the state. Within the context of failures of the internal democracy of the parties, governors are the sole determinants of the direction of the ruling parties. They could act in favour of women and youth and could work against them. The governors' dispositions to these issues within the current context will determine what progress can be made. Accessing them will be very important for this effort. They can be accessed through:
 - a. Their first ladies. The first lady of Kano State is very influential in the politics of the state. Her singular effort was what led to the appointment/election of women councilors in all the LGAs in Kano State. She can be an important ally.
 - b. Through the speakers of the state House of Assembly – in the two states, there is a good working relationship between the governors and the Speakers of the state Houses of Assembly.
 - c. Influential party members – each of the parties have influential people that the governors and party leadership respect. They should be identified and engaged for access.
 - d. In Kaduna State, the role of the Deputy Governor will need to be explored. Although she is quite new in partisan politics, she could be an asset.

- **3. Former Governors:** the role of former governors can be important – in Kaduna State for instance, there are three former governors. Rabi Kwankwaso and his kwankasiyya movement is arguably the sole factor in PDP in Kano State.
- 4. **Inter-party Platform for all young and women aspirants and use the platform for advocacy.** These platforms are already emerging in the two major parties. Kaduna State has an interparty platform for women. The project needs to encourage these forms of platform for advocacy. These structures should be developed at all levels – from LGA to the national level.
- 5. Support for Internal Party Democracy:** Ultimately, it is internal party democracies that will sustainably support or project youth and women. The party leadership including state governors are afraid of this democratic process, which is what is responsible for the infighting and factionalization in the major parties. Programming should be directed at supporting and monitoring party processes – including congresses and primary elections.
- 6. Public Engagement:** This is to transform negative cultural norms that impede women and youth participation, the public needs to be engaged. Provide necessary political education and public enlightenment through the following:
 - a. **Radio programme:** especially in Kano State. The State (Kano) has 20 very active and n Some of the programmes that are most listened to could be identified and sponsored to convene women and youth political issues. This may include carefully using the sojojin baka – partisan political propagandists.
 - b. **Music and film:** Kannywood is a politically influential industry, particularly in Kano State. Using film and music may be an important way of engaging the public.
- 7. Traditional and Religious Leaders:** It is not clear what role traditional leaders can play on women and youth political issues. In Kano State, their role has been adjudged to be minimal, except in the rural areas. However, religious leaders are believed to be important. Religious leaders could help downplay and eliminate negative perception or injunctions on women leadership, and at best support women and youth candidates.
- 8. Develop medium and long term approach to youth and women issues in politics:** It is important to have long term approach to youth and women political issues. Developing programmes only for election season will always have minimal impact.

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