



women in the electoral process

An
Organising
Manual

Strengthening Citizens' Engagement In Electoral Process - SCEEP



Strengthening Citizens' Engagement In Electoral Process

SCEEP

Women
in the
Electoral Process:

An Organising Manual

**Women in the Political Process:
An Organising Manual**

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Foreward

This Manual is a guide to Nigerian female politicians, aspirants, candidates and other stakeholders interested in vying into politics as a career to understand the whole electoral process in Nigeria.

The development of the Manual was inspired by the outcome of the State level Women in Politics Fora held in the six **SCEEP** project focal States of **Imo, Akwa Ibom, Kaduna, Lagos, Kano and Plateau in Nigeria**. The findings from these fora gave an insight into crucial factors that affect women's participation in the whole electoral process in Nigeria. Thus, this Manual is a direct response to the gaps in the electoral system that keep women and other vulnerable groups out of the process as identified during the consultations.

It is intended to inspire and help female aspirants, candidates and others to understand the challenges they are likely to face, the opportunities available to them and the tools they need at all levels of the electoral process to change the narrative, if they want to be active players in the Nigerian political terrain. In addition, the manual serves as a guide to women in communities in enjoying their civic rights and responsibilities.

Researchers in search for strategies to increase the participation of women in politics in Nigeria, as well as those nursing a political ambition, will find this manual useful.

Ene Obi
Country Director
ActionAid Nigeria

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Nkechi Ilochi-Omekedo

Manager, Women's Rights and Governance Programme
ActionAid Nigeria

Introduction

Historically, participation of women in politics and even in electoral process in Nigeria has been poor. No woman in Nigeria has ever occupied the position of President or Vice President neither has any been elected Governor of any of the thirty-six states. In over fifty five years, Nigeria has had only seven female Deputy Governors. The highest representation women have had in the Federal Executive Council is 20% in the 2007- 2011 Cabinet. In the National Assembly and particularly the Senate, the highest number women have attained is nine out of the one hundred and nine members representing 8.3%. Worse still, in the House of Representatives, of the three hundred and sixty members, there are only twenty seven women, constituting a paltry 7.5%. At the Political party level, of the sixty three political parties in 2010, only one- the United National Party for Development (UNPD) - had a female Chairperson. The only area where there is relative increase in women's participation is majorly as voters, with very few actively engaging beyond this level compared to the number of women in the country.

Women constitute about 50% of the current population projection of over 182 million (INEC, 2017). Despite this, men have continued to dominate in all areas of governance and electoral processes- they most often formulate the rules and sometimes determine the outcome. While the Nigeria National Gender Policy (NGP) recommends 35% affirmative action seeking for a more inclusive representation of women in elective and appointive positions, this is far from being met and the reason for this is not far-fetched. Oloyede Oluyemi (2015) noted that the under representation of women in political participation gained root in Nigeria due to the patriarchal practice inherent in our society. The majority of women in politics face disproportionate discrimination at all levels, they are less likely to get support from family members, less likely to have resources and connections, less likely to have adequate knowledge and capacity to navigate the political landscape in the country. Under international standards, men and women have equal right to participate fully in all aspects of the political process, in practice however, it is often harder for women to exercise this right.

Equal participation of women and men in politics is however essential in ensuring that the rights, concerns and issues of all persons are addressed within the framework of governance; more so, the country would not be losing the 50% of ideas and contributions from women in fostering good governance and sustainable development. A significant increase in the representation of women in politics and governance would therefore provide the avenue through which women could change discriminatory laws, policies, programmes and practices that affect them. Women's participation in the electoral process should be understood as a prerequisite for political development. In fact, without the active participation of women, and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.

This manual therefore is a response to the gaps identified and lessons from implementing the SCEEP project in the six states- Akwa Ibom, Imo, kano, Kaduna, Lagos and Plateau. The manual is designed as a resource for women to organise either as individuals or in collectives. It content responds to the different realities that women are facing - the real risks and dangers, the benefits, and how women can collectively work together in interrogating and changing the narrative of women's participation in electoral process and governance. It focuses mostly on capacity development, women mobilisation and trust building, and more importantly, prompting women as positive leaders. It emphasises equal rights – human, political and civil - between men and women and the benefits of promoting women's participation in the electoral process.

The manual is structured into two broad sections in a very reader friendly language so that all categories of women as well as other readers can easily relate with it. The first section provides some basic information about Nigeria, its electoral system, process, Acts, elections, governance structure and its constitution. This section

also discusses Gender and Women's Participation in the electoral process and Governance: global, regional and national perspectives with emphasis on women's marginalisation in electoral process and governance in Nigeria.

The second section begins with the discussion on: the barriers (structural and personal) that limit women's participation in the electoral process and governance as well as existing strategies and best practices for breaking the barriers. It also provides details on the how to mobilise and organise women and women groups for increased participation in the electoral process and governance. It explains how to encourage women to run for political offices and strategies for engaging political parties. Finally, the manual made provision for additional resources for readers

Key Terms

Ballot – action or system of secret voting

Candidate - A person who seeks or is nominated for a political office

Citizen - connotes membership in a political society to which a duty of permanent allegiance is implied.

Civil Rights - the participation of citizens in societal and community activities. It entails ensuring people's physical and mental integrity as they live day-to-day in their societies and communities. Conversations and issues pertaining to civil rights centre on racism, gender, disability, age, religion, ethnicity, among other issues. Civil rights impact politics directly because governments are formed to administer civil rights issues amongst other issues.

Constitution- a set of rules and procedures for the smooth running of a country. Usually, it defines the powers of the three arms of government i.e. Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. It also defines their tenure. A Constitution cannot be changed by anybody except by the procedure that is written into the Constitution itself. This is a condition for all written Constitutions that make them rigid. On the other hand unwritten Constitutions, like that of Great Britain, are flexible because the same simple process through which the laws are made can be used to amend them.

Constituency – a body of individuals entitled to elect a representative to a legislative or other representative body

Democracy – a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation

Disenfranchise – to take away the power or opportunity to vote

Election – a systematic process by which voters cast ballots for candidates or positions on issues

Electorate- all the people in a country or area who are entitled to vote in an election

Emerging Democracy: nations with emerging democratic systems have governments that have come to power through a more legitimate democratic process than those with a restricted system. However, factors such as a dominant political party, free but unfair elections, and a weak rule of law prevent such countries from being fully democratic states.

Manifesto- a public declaration of policy and aims, especially on issues and concerns of the people before election by a political party or aspirants. It is a policy statement, declaration, proclamation, pronouncement, announcement and publication of policies and intended direction of strategies of leadership and governance (If eventually elected into office).

Media Education- the process through which individuals become media literate – able to critically understand the nature, techniques and impacts of media messages and productions.

Political Rights- the rights that involve participation in the establishment or administration of a government. Political rights are about ensuring people's ability to participate in the political life of the State. They entitle people with rights to elect public officials or themselves to hold public office. They allow people to take part in political activities or to refrain from taking part if they choose not to. The provision of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999, as amended, Chapter IV stipulates this.

Proportional Representation – an electoral system in which political parties are represented according to the number of people who voted for them

Vote- a vote is a choice made by a particular person or group in a meeting or an election.

chapter one



About
Nigeria



1.0: About Nigeria

1.1 Evolution of Nigeria

Nigeria originated from British colonial rule beginning in the 19th century. It took its present territorial shape with the merging of the Southern Nigeria Protectorate and Northern Nigeria Protectorate in 1914. The name Nigeria which was coined by Ms. Flora Shaw derived from the River Niger after the 1914 amalgamation. The British set up administrative and legal structures whilst practising indirect rule through traditional chiefdoms. Nigeria became a formally independent federation in 1960. It experienced a civil war from 1967 to 1970. Thereafter alternated between democratically elected civilian governments and military dictatorships until it achieved a stable democracy in 1999.¹

1.2 Overview of Nigeria

The Federal Republic of Nigeria has a projected population of 182 million people (NPC, 2017) of which women constitute about 50% of the entire population (NBS, 2015). Nigeria is the most populous country in sub-Saharan Africa covering an area of 923,768 km sq. Its neighbours are Benin Republic to the West, Niger Republic to the North, Chad and Cameroon to the East, and the Gulf of Guinea to the South.

Nigeria is made up of 36 States with Abuja as the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), and 774 Local Government Areas with over 250 ethnic groups speaking over 500 languages, English is the official language. The three major languages in the country are Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba. Some of the other tribes include Edo, Ijaw, Ibibio, Fulani, Kanuri and Nupe. Christianity and Islam constitute the major religions, with indigenous beliefs extensively dispersed throughout the country.

Nigeria is a member of the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and other regional and international bodies. This makes it obligatory for it to act within the ambit of the guiding principles of these international bodies.



1.3 National Identity

Nigeria's forms of Identity includes: its name, Flag and Coat of Arms, National Anthem, and The Constitution. A citizen of Nigeria is identified as a Nigerian.

The National Flag: The Nigerian flag was flown for the first time on 1st October, 1960. It was designed by Taiwo Michael Akinkunmi. The green on the flag represents Nigeria's vast agricultural resources, while the white colour stands for peace and unity.



The National Coat of Arms: This was adopted at the time of independence. The Coat of Arms combines many objects brought together to show the diversity and unity of the different people who make up Nigeria.



¹ Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/>

The black shield at the middle represents Nigeria's fertile soil for agriculture. The silver through the shield symbolises the two important rivers (Rivers Niger and Benue). The two white horses represent the dignity of the nation, while the red eagle stands for national strength and pride. The wreath on which the eagle perches is in the national colours of green and white. The ground (flora) on which the shield stands is the "coctus spectabilis". This is a wild flower commonly found in Nigeria. The motto of Nigeria is "Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress".

The National Anthem: This is a song used to express the feelings of patriotism to the country. It tells of the history, the nature of the people, their hopes, aspirations and potential. It serves as a morale booster to citizens. The second stanza of the national anthem is now also used as the National Prayer.

National Anthem

Arise, O compatriots, Nigeria's call obey
To serve our fathers' land
With love and strength and faith
The labour of our heroes past
Shall never be in vain
To serve with heart and might
One nation bound in freedom, peace and unity.

Oh God of creation, direct our noble cause
Guide our leaders right
Help our youth the truth to know
In love and honesty to grow
And living just and true
Great lofty heights attain.
To build a nation, where peace and justice shall reign

The National Pledge: This is usually recited immediately after the national anthem. It is a recommitment of the citizens to the country.

National Pledge

I pledge to Nigeria my country
To be faithful, loyal and honest
To serve Nigeria with all my strength
To defend her Unity
And uphold Her Honour and Glory
So Help me God

1.4 The Nigerian Constitution

A Constitution is a collection of principles and a set of rules aimed at binding the government and the citizens of a country together. It is the set of written rules which facilitate the administration of the country. It not only touches on every area of the country, but also spells out how the country should relate with other countries. In matters of discord, the Constitution supersedes any decision taken.

The amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 resulted in the first Constitution by the Nigerian Council. The present Constitution in operation in Nigeria is the 1999 Constitution as amended. Previous Constitutions in Nigeria include the:

- i. Clifford Constitution of 1922. The first electoral system in Nigeria was introduced by this constitution but there was no women representation.
- ii. The Richards Constitution of 1946. Sir Arthur Richards the then governor provided a new proposal for constitutional amendment by the end of 1944. Within this period, Nigerian women were disfranchised.
- iii. The Macpherson Constitution of 1951. This provided for a federal legislature called the House of Representatives. It had 136 elected representatives, 6 ex-officio members and 6 nominated by the governor, 68 members were from the North, 34 from the West and 34 from the East. It also provided for regional legislatures that could make laws for their regions. The legislatures in the West and North were bi-cameral, each having a house of chiefs alongside the regional legislature. In the East, it was a unicameral legislature. It was also from the regional legislatures that members were nominated to the legislative council. Women at this point were still not allowed to vote.
- iv. The Lyttleton Constitution of 1954 introduced a federal system, with North, East, West and Southern Cameroons, while the Federal capital territory was in Lagos. The Eastern and Western regions became self-governing in 1957 while the North became self-governing in 1959; Women in the South and west were granted their franchise during this period.
- v. The Independence Constitution of 1960: Nigeria became independent on 1st October 1960; this meant that Nigeria was a sovereign state independent of colonial influences. Although Nigeria was purported to have gained independence from the British, there were still some vestiges of imperialism in the Independence Constitution. One of them was that the Queen was retained as the head of state of a sovereign Nigeria. Also, the highest court of appeal was the judicial committee of the Privy Council in the House of Lords instead of the Nigerian Supreme court. The Northern women were still disenfranchised at this point. It is important to note that the Southern Cameroon through a referendum in 1961 opted out of Nigeria in 1963.
- vi. The Republican Constitution of 1963 was passed into law by the Federal House of Representatives on September 19, 1963, and came into force on 1st October 1963. One of the main features was that the Queen of England ceased to be the Head of State. Due to political crises in the country, the Republican Constitution did not last. In January 15 1966, there was a coup d'etat which removed the politicians. This brought about military rule until 1979.
- vii. The 1979 Nigerian Constitution replaced the parliamentary system of government with a presidential system. This constitution gave franchise to Northern women.
- viii. The 1999 constitution (as amended) came into effect after 16 years (1983-1998) of military rule, Nigeria returned to civilian rule and provided an opportunity for Nigerian women participation in electoral process in Nigeria.

Table 1.0 : Democratisation of Suffrage in Nigeria

CONSTITUTION	YEAR	SUFFRAGE
Amalgamation	1914	None
Clifford	1922	Adult Males with annual income of N100
Richards	1946	Adult Males with annual income of N50
Macpherson	1951	Adult Males who paid their taxes
Lyttleton	1954	Adult Males+ Females in East & West
Independence	1960	Adult Males+ Females in East & West
Republican	1963	Adult Males+ Females in East & West
Presidential	1979	Adult Males & Females (East, West, North)

1.5 Governance Structure and Function

The Head of Government of Nigeria is the President and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

The Government is structured into three arms:

- **The Executive:** The Executive comprises of the President and the Cabinet at the national level; the governors and the commissioners at the state level; and the Chairperson at the Local Government level. They formulate and execute policies and programmes and also implement laws.
- **The Legislative.** They comprise of Federal, State and Local Government Lawmakers. The National Assembly is divided into two: Senate made up of 109 members and House of Representatives made up of 360 members. The lawmakers are responsible for law making
- **Judiciary:** The Chief Justice of the Federation is the head. The judiciary is responsible for the interpretation of laws. The judiciary operates at the three (3) tiers of Government

chapter two



Photo Credit: chikaoduahblog.com

Electoral
System,
Process,
Acts &
Elections
in Nigeria

2.0: Electoral System, Process, Acts and Elections in Nigeria



2.1 Electoral System

An electoral system is defined as the laws and policies that govern how votes are translated into seats in any given country (Akamere, 2001). It involves registration of political parties, review of voters' register, delineation of constituencies, resolution of electoral disputes, return of elected representatives and swearing in of elected representatives. The body mandated to manage the electoral system is the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC).

2.2 Electoral Process

Electoral process refers to all the activities and procedures involved in an election. In other words, it refers to all the pre, during and post-election activities. The 2010 Electoral Act as amended and INEC Rules and Regulations constitute the legal framework which regulates our electoral process. Provisions of these Acts and policies deal with the right to associate, vote, form political parties etc. Others include registration of voters, Election Day procedures, dispute resolution, etc. (INEC, 2018)

Phases of Electoral Process

The electoral process can be divided into three main phases:

- i. Pre-election phase: Includes activities such as delineation of electoral constituencies, voter registration, registration of political parties, notice of elections schedule, nomination process of candidates, campaign process, civic and voter education.
- ii. Election phase: Election Day activities including election monitoring/ observation, distribution of election materials, accreditation of voters, voting, counting and collation of votes and announcing of results.
- iii. Post-election phase: This is the period election disputes are resolved through the election tribunal and higher courts.

2.3 The Electoral Act, 2010 as amended

The Act was passed by the National Assembly on 29 July 2010 and signed into law by the President on 20 August 2010. Currently, there are three amendments to the 2010 Electoral Act. The first amendment, the Electoral (Amendment) Act 2010, provides for adequate time for the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to issue notices, receive nomination of candidates from political parties and ensure the proper conduct of political parties. The second amendment, Electoral (Amendment) Act (No.2), 2011, contains only one amendment aimed at abridging the time within which INEC shall stop the registration of voters before any general election under the Act from 60 days to 30 day. The most recent amendment of the Electoral Act took place in 2017. The law provides the basic legal framework for regulating the conduct of Federal, State and Area Council Elections in Nigeria. (PLAC, 2015)

ELECTORAL SYSTEM:

laws and policies that govern how votes are translated into seats in any given country

2.4 Elections in Nigeria

Election in Nigeria holds at two levels, the Federal and the State. INEC was established by the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended to among other things organise; presidential (President/Vice President;), governorship (Governor/Deputy Governor), legislative (National Assembly -Senate, House of Representatives, State Houses of Assembly), Chairmen/Vice-Chairmen of Area Councils (FCT); and Councillors of Area Councils Legislature (FCT) elections.

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria also assigns the function of organising, supervising and undertaking all elections into local government councils to the state government. Thus Constitutionally, SIEC has the responsibility of conducting election into 774 local government councils.

Types of Elections

There are two types of elections: Federal and Local Government elections

- a) A primary election: It is a process of electing a party candidate within a political party. The presence of INEC officials is mandatory.
- b) A general election: An election held to choose among candidates nominated in a primary (or by convention, caucus or petition) for federal, state and/or local office. The purpose of a general election is to make a final choice among the various candidates who have been nominated by parties.

Understanding the Election Cycle

Nigeria conducts Federal and Local Government Elections after the candidates had emerged through internal political party primaries. The electorate vote for their desired candidate during the elections at designated polling units. Election results are counted and winners emerge in various political positions to administer the affairs of governance. Aggrieved persons seek redress from the election tribunal and higher courts.

Phases Of Election :

a) Pre-election phase

This is the step to step guide to a voter on voter's registration and Election Day conduct. According to the rules of INEC, the steps are as follows:

Steps for Participating in the Electoral Process:

Step 1: A Nigerian citizen, who is eligible to vote (18 years and above), goes to the INEC office or website to locate his/her Polling Unit.

Step 2: The citizen goes to the chosen Polling Unit to register

Step 3: The citizen would have his/her picture taken and his/her details captured.

Step 4: The citizen would be given a Voter ID card which makes him/her eligible to vote on Election Day.

b) Election day

Steps of conducting and activities on the election day

Stage 1: Accreditation

Step 1: Go to the polling unit where you were registered with your voter's card and join the queue

Step 2: Present your voter's card to the INEC official who will use the card reader for verification. In an event that the card reader fails, there will be a manual verification.

Step 3: Your thumb would be marked with ink to show that you have been accredited.

Stage 2: Voting

Step 1: Join the queue to cast your vote

Step 2: When it gets to your turn, ensure your name is ticked in the voters' register

Step 3: You would be given a ballot paper listing out the political parties and their logos

Step 4: Enter the polling booth, select and thumb print for your preferred candidate

Step 5: Drop your ballot paper inside the ballot box

Understanding Valid Votes and Voters

The Independent National Electoral Commission (**INEC**) has a step to step guide to producing valid votes as follows;

- The voter shall present himself/herself to the Polling official (PO).
- The PO shall stamp and sign the back of ballot paper.
- The PO issues the signed, stamped ballot paper to the voter.
- The voter moves to the voting cubicle.
- Marks the ballot paper in the space provided beside the party logo of the voters' choice
- Folds the ballot paper vertically with the printed side inwards.
- Deposits the marked ballot paper into the ballot box.
- Marking of ballot paper by voter must be done in secret.
- Depositing the ballot paper in the ballot box in open view of all persons present.
- Only one voter at a time to the voting cubicle.

Election and Political Party Agents

- Political parties' agents may through Polling Officer (PO) challenge and/or identify the identity of a voter.
- To witness the making of ballot papers for incapacitated voters.
- Political parties agents may through the PO challenge the rejection or acceptance of a cast ballot paper

NOTE: Non-attendance or the absence of party agents will not delay or invalidate the proceeding at the registration, polling and counting venues.

As a female aspirant, make sure you have organised an active agent that should work with you on the Election Day to make sure that your interest is monitored, guided and protected for the end result.

- **NOTE:** Make sure your agent maintains contact with the female electorate, making sure they receive appropriate registration and relevant information on the Election Day and the processes of election.

C) Post Elections

Election Petitions:

- Election tribunals are established immediately after announcement of election results.
- The outcome of an election can only be challenged through an election petition.
- Aggrieved contestant or political party can challenge the outcome of an election.
- An election petition shall be filed not later than twenty one (21) days after the date of the declaration of the result of the election.
- Appeals from the presidential election end at supreme courts while the rest are terminated at the court of appeal

Note: For more information on the stakeholders in an election, please check additional resources

chapter three



Photo Credit: ScanNews Nigeria

Gender & Women's Participation in Electoral Process & Governance

3.0: Gender and Women's Participation in Electoral Process and Governance



3.1 Understanding Gender Concepts:

a) What is gender?

- Socially constructed set of roles and responsibilities associated with being male or female
- Defined through a processes of social - cultural and political socialization
- Although deeply rooted, gender roles can be changed over time, since social values and norms are not static since it differs between and within cultures

Example: the societal expectation of men as leaders and providers, and women as followers and care givers. This can however change as women are able to perform traditional male tasks and are excelling too. Men are also performing roles hitherto perceived as female roles. This proves that gender roles are socially assigned/ascribed and are not based on sex.

b) What is Sex?

Biological characteristics (including genetics, anatomy and physiology) that generally define humans as female or male.

c) Understanding Gender Equality:

The state or condition that affords women and men equal enjoyment of human rights, socially valued goods, opportunities and resources, allowing both sexes the same opportunities and potential to contribute to, and benefit from, all spheres of society (economic, political, social, and cultural).

Example: In a family with male and female children, the boys and girls should have equal access to family resources and opportunities.

Gender equality is one of the fundamental components of inclusive democracies. When electoral and political process is gender inclusive, it has multiple benefits to society because it has a direct effect in strengthening democracies.

d) Understanding Gender Equity

Gender equity implies the fairness of developmental processes to both men and women, boys and girls. In essence it entails justice and fairness in the treatment of women and men in order to eventually achieve gender equality. It may sometimes require differential treatment of women and men (or specific measures) in order to compensate for the historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men from sharing a level playing field.

Example: Provision of leadership training for women or establishing quotas/special measures for women in decision-making positions in order to achieve the state of gender equality.

3.2 Gender and Women's Participation in the Electoral Process and Governance:

Despite women comprising nearly half of the world's population, there are many obstacles on their way to political participation and governance leading to gross underrepresentation in political leadership positions around the world. Most women have little or no access to decision-making spaces where policies that impact on their lives are made. Evidence shows that women's rights in politics and decision-making are an area in which slow progress has occurred and limited gains made. Progress has not been substantial in legislations at national and local levels.

I) Global Perspective on Women Participation in the Electoral Process

According to the World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report (2016), only 23 percent of the 144 countries covered in its report have closed the gender gap in politics. Gender inequality in politics is a violation of human right which results in under development. The figure below is the detail of the current women leaders in their various countries.

Gender Equity

Equity means taking differential actions to address historical inequality among men and women and achieve gender equality. In order words Equity leads to equality.

Women in the highest position of state

Women heads of state¹ (11/152=7.2%) and women heads of government (11/193=5.7%)



Bangladesh (HG), Chile (HS/HG), Croatia (HS), Estonia (HS), Germany (HG), Liberia (HS/HG), Lithuania (HS), Malta (HS), Marshall Islands (HS/HG), Mauritius (HS), Namibia (HG), Nepal (HS), Norway (HG), Poland (HG), Republic of Korea (HS/HG), Switzerland (HS/HG), United Kingdom (HG)

Women Speakers of parliament² (53/278=19.1%)



Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Austria (2 chambers), Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize,* Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Bulgaria, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Germany, Iceland,** India, Italy, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands (2 chambers), Peru, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Serbia, Singapore, South Africa (2 chambers), Spain, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago (2 chambers), Turkmenistan, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe

Women deputy speakers of parliament (158/595=26.6%)

Of the 230 chambers in 172 countries for which information is available, 102 have at least one woman deputy speaker.

Note: (HS/HG) = The head of state is also the head of government.

¹ Only elected heads of state have been taken into account.

² Out of a total of 271 parliamentary chambers, two have 2 additional speakers and three have 1 additional speaker, for a total of 278 speakers.

* Formally elected on 13 January 2017 to replace the former Speaker, whose mandate ended on 1 January 2017.

** Elected Speaker as result of the October 2016 general elections. Her formal election was held on 24 January 2017, when the Althingi reconvened after the Christmas break.

Adapted from PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Women and regional Averages Of Women In Parliament

	Single house or lower house	Upper house or Senate	Both houses combined
World average	23.4%	22.9%	23.3%
Regional averages			
Regions are classified by descending order of the percentage of women in unicameral parliaments or the lower house of parliament. The regional groupings used herein are those of the IPU.			
Nordic countries	41.7%	—	—
Americas	28.3%	27.5%	28.1%
Europe (Nordic countries included)	26.4%	26.0%	26.3%
Europe (Nordic countries not included)	25.0%	26.0%	25.2%
Sub-Saharan Africa	23.8%	22.1%	23.6%
Asia	19.6%	16.3%	19.3%
Arab States	18.9%	12.6%	18.0%
Pacific	15.0%	37.1%	17.4%

Eight current women leaders are their country's first

Current female heads of state or government (March 2017)

✓ country's first female leader

Head of state or government	Country	Years in office
PM Sheikh Hasina	Bangladesh	13
✓ Pres. Michelle Bachelet	Chile	6
Pres. Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović	Croatia	2
✓ Pres. Kersti Kaljulaid	Estonia	<1
✓ Chancellor Angela Merkel	Germany	11
✓ Pres. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	Liberia	11
✓ Pres. Dalia Grybauskaitė	Lithuania	7
Pres. Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca	Malta	2
✓ Pres. Hilda Heine	Marshall Islands	1
✓ Pres. Ameenah Gurib-Fakim	Mauritius	1
✓ Pres. Bidhya Devi Bhandari	Nepal	1
PM Erna Solberg	Norway	3
PM Beata Maria Szydło	Poland	1
Pres. of Swiss Confederation Doris Leuthard	Switzerland	1
PM Theresa May	United Kingdom	<1

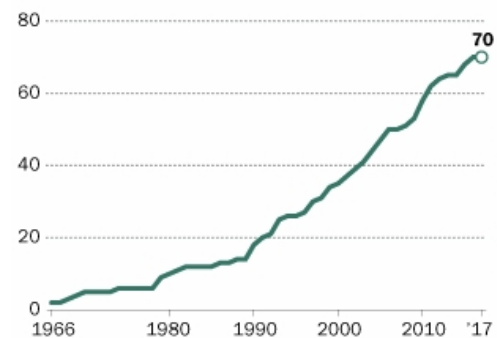
Note: Figures are through March 8, 2017. President of the Swiss Confederation Doris Leuthard is a member of the Swiss Federal Council, which serves collectively as head of state and head of government.

Source: Britannica, BBC, World Economic Forum, Pew Research Center analysis.

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70 nations have had a female leader

Number of countries that have ever had a female head of state or government



Note: Figures are through March 8, 2017. The data are limited to heads of state and heads of government, excluding figurehead leaders and monarchs, and are based on the 146 countries included in the World Economic Forum's 2014 and 2016 Global Gender Gap reports and the Marshall Islands. Source: World Economic Forum calculations, Pew Research Center analysis.

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ii) Women's Participation in the Electoral Process and Governance: African Regional Perspective

At the African region, numerous achievements have been recorded in the advancement of gender equality. In the political realm, however, African women have made notable strides, with the representation of women increasing from 9.8% in 1995 to 23.6% in 2016, which is in-line with the world average according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (2017). The emerging trend in women's political participation in Africa has been exhibited by the increase in the number in parliament. Regionally, Rwanda is the only country to have surpassed the 50% mark with 61.3% women in its current Parliament. South Africa follows closely behind at 43.2% as at 2017. Thus Rwanda has been marked first globally with women in its elected public offices. Rwanda experience has proven to be a referenced landmark. Other African countries such as Senegal, Mozambique, Uganda and Angola have also been highly ranked for their level of women's representation as shown below

Table 3.0: Percentage Of Women Parliamentarians In Africa

S/N	COUNTRY	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE PARLIAMENTARIANS
1	Rwanda	(61.3%)
2	Senegal	(42.7%)
3	South Africa	(42.1%)
4	Namibia	(41.3%)
5	Mozambique	(39.6%)
6	Ethiopia	(38.8%)
7	Angola	(38.2%)
8	Nigeria	(5.9%)

Source: Women in Politics: 2017. Report. Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017

In addition, Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, and Zimbabwe have attained the 30% female political representation level advised by the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA). Only Mauritania, the Seychelles, Rwanda, South Africa, Uganda, and Zambia currently meet the BPA threshold of 30% for women in ministerial positions. (Women in Politics: 2017. Report. Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017)

iii) Women's participation in the electoral process and Governance : Nigeria Experience

The inequality between men and women in the electoral process and governance is highly visible in every sphere of governance in Nigeria. Men have dominated the electoral process and governance in the elective and appointive positions. While the global average representation of women in Parliament is 19.2% - the same for Sub-Saharan Africa, in Nigeria, it is still at an all-time low of 5.9% (2015) at the national level and 5.5% at the state level. This figure is far below the regional value and the benchmark set by some international Declaration on Gender and Development.

3.3 Marginalisation of Women in Electoral Process and Governance in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective

Historically, Nigerian women are poorly represented in the electoral process and governance. No woman in Nigeria has ever attained the position of President, Vice President or governor in Nigeria. The highest elected political position women have ever attained in Nigeria is the deputy governor, and just a paltry 7 out of the 36 states. In terms of appointive positions and in the Federal Executive Council in the 2007- 2011 Cabinet, only 20% of them were women. The highest number women have attained in the Senate is nine (9) out of the one hundred and nine (109) members i.e. 8.3%. While in the House of Representatives of three hundred and sixty members, there are only twenty seven women, representing 7.5%. Out of sixty three political parties, in 2010 only one, the United National Party for Development (UNPD) had a female Chairperson.

Prior to the First Republic between 1960-1963, three women won election into the Eastern House of Assembly; with one woman appointed into ceremonial seat of the Senate. It is important to note that women in the North were still disenfranchised. During the first republic (1963-1966), no woman was elected into office. However, in 1964, a woman, Mrs. Wuraola Esan, was appointed to a ceremonial seat of the Senate. Thus the 36-member post-independence Senate had only one woman,

The Constitutional drafting committee that produced the 1979 constitution had 50 men and no woman as member. The second Republic of 1979-1983 out of the 56 Senate seats, only one female Senator Franca Afegbua, was elected into the Senate in 1983. She however, served for only three months before that Republic collapsed. Also out of the 442 House of Representative members only three were women. In 1992 (aborted 3rd Republic) during the transition programme out of the 300 gubernatorial aspirants only 8 were women, representing a paltry 2.6%. Only one woman out of 90 senatorial seats was elected to the Senate and 14 female out of 575 members of the House of Representative. This era witnessed the appointment of women to head tertiary institutions and other institutions. In the fourth Republic, (1999-2003) out of 774 chairpersons of Local Government, 8 women were elected, representing 1%. Out of the 978 seats in the House of Assemblies across the 36 states, 12 women were elected representing 1.2%. Out of 360 seats in the House of Representatives, women won 13 seats representing 2.8% and 3 women won elections to 109 member Senate representing 3%.

Table 3.1: History of women in appointive positions

S/N	POSITION	No of Available Seats	No of Women in 1999	No of Women in 2003	No of Women in 2007	No of Women in 2011	No of women in 2015
1	Presidency	2	0	0	0	0	0
2	Senate	109	3	4	8	8	7
3	House of Reps	360	12	23	26	26	19
4	Governorship	36	0	0	0	0	0
5	Deputy Governorship	36	1	2	6	3	4
6	36 States Houses of Assembly	990	12	38	54	62	NA
Total		1533	28	67	94	99	

Source: Kolawale, Adeigbe, Adebayo & Abubakar (2013)

For more information on Women as Political Leaders, please check Additional Resources

chapter four



Photo Credit: Hope For Nigeria

**Barriers &
Strategies For
Increasing Women's
Participation
In Electoral
Process &
Governance**

4.0: Barriers And Strategies For Increasing Women's Participation In Electoral Process And Governance



Women face several barriers to their participation in politics resulting to gender inequality in participation in the electoral process. This chapter summaries the barriers (Structural and Personal) as identified during the political fora held in the six SCEEP states. It also provides strategies for breaking the structural and personal barriers in line with international and local best practices.

4.1 Barriers to the Inclusion of Women in Electoral Processes and Governance

4.1.1 Structural Barriers

a) Cultural and Institutional Issues:

Patriarchy is manifest in all spheres of life and can be seen, for instance, in women's under representation in decision making and their economic inequality. Patriarchy is a system of power which influences every aspect of women's life. Within this universal system, men dominate women - physically, politically, socially and economically. Patriarchy plays out in the governance, economy and society. Indeed, it is apparent in every sphere of life, giving rise to accepted discriminatory behaviours, attitudes and practices towards women (patriarchal norms). Today, patriarchy manifests itself in most governance mechanism, system and structure. It has profound impacts on women and girls' rights and the way in which they are implemented (or not), respected (or not) and the way in which they are subverted or undermined by individuals and institutions. Therefore, women who are actively participating in politics are sexually objectified and perceived as wayward and culturally non-conforming. This stereotype limits the number of women who would have participated in electoral process and governance. While it is true that this is changing, however, Nigeria has not achieved gender parity in politics and governance as seen in Chapter 3.

b) Political Party Processes

Political Party system does not favour women's active participation in politics. The political parties on the one hand claim that they have instituted internal party laws/democracy to ensure equal rights and opportunities for women and men; on the other hand, they contribute to the low participation of women through their unrestricted influence of the party leaderships, and "God Fathers" who are mostly men on the nomination of candidates for elections. The party leaders deliberately fix the timing of political meetings to be outside working hours (mostly late in the night) which automatically exclude mostly married women from active participation in politics. More worrisome is the fact that, women are not likely to be voted into key positions in the political party hierarchy which plays a critical role on who actually gets nominated to vie for elective positions. The highest position held by women in a number of the dominant political parties include most insignificant posts of ex-officio members and women leaders whose importance is for mobilizing womenfolk to vote for men and offering entertainment during political campaign.

In Kano State, the participants lamented the role party delegates' play in reducing the number of women nominated to represent the parties as a result few women are in the contesting position. Similarly, they strongly complained about religious limitation and the role of traditional gate keepers in hindering women from participating fully in politics.

e) Religious Limitation

Religion is a powerful tool that limits women's participation in the electoral processes. For instance, the religious belief of submission and docility are used as tools of limiting women from playing active role in electoral process and governance. This is a clear example of the interconnection between religion and culture that finds expression in the subjugation of women. For instance, some religions believe that women can never lead men as "men are superior" to women. This belief transcends to public spaces.

f) Insecurity in the Electoral Process:

Insecurity/ Election-related violence is a key challenge to women's participation in the electoral process and Governance. The unsafe political environment presents a peculiar challenge for women and limits their participation. The political terrain in Nigeria is almost a "do-or-die" affair fraught with violence - maiming, assassinations, threats, blackmail, intimidation, humiliation. These are often used as tools by some men to scare women away from politics.



**The interconnect
between religion &
culture is evident &
this limits women's
political
participation**

4.1.2 Personal Barriers:

a) Poverty and Financial Issues

Politics in Nigeria, especially seeking elective position is an expensive venture requiring huge financial investment. In Nigeria, women are less likely to have access to credit facilities, more likely to be disinherited and even more likely not to have control over their income and resources (especially for married women). All these contribute to and is one of the reasons for limited participation of women in politics.

b) Family Roles and Expectation:

Women's disproportionate share of unpaid care work undermines their right to participate in politics. The time and energy spent on care work may not leave enough time for them to engage in electoral process, politics and governance and even other social spheres such as access to decent work. Politics and governance are even perceived as traditionally male rights, therefore locking women out of these spaces. It is important to state at this point that the problem with women in politics may not necessarily lie in the presumption that women are burdened with the traditional gender roles and family responsibilities, but rather in the cultural idea that reinforces their roles as quintessential housewives (caregivers) and the tendency of women to assume those roles. This therefore tends to aggravate the complexity in choices faced by women in politics.

c) Lack of Adequate Knowledge about Politics:

Many women are not knowledgeable on issues of politics. Most often, they go into politics without adequate preparation and experience resulting in failure especially in elective positions.

d) Apathy and Lack of Support from Fellow Women:

There is obvious political apathy especially on the part of women. This apathy results in passivity in political participation and electoral process by women. In addition, the deeply entrenched notion of women as non-leaders results in limited support from women to women as some women would rather vote/support men than women. Thus in spite of women's numerical strength which would have worked in women's favour, works against them.

4.2 Strategies for Breaking Structural Barriers to Women's Participation

Increasing women's participation in the electoral process and governance entails the implementation of measures of actions that could mitigate the effect of the structural barriers. Addressing these barriers sometimes require specific strategies and programmes only for women. Overall, these measures tend to create more opportunities for women to participate in the electoral process and governance.

I) International Legal Framework:

International legal frameworks are treaties, conventions and other international documents relevant to international human rights law and the protection of human rights in general. Women's entitlement to full participation in electoral processes is recognized in United Nations and international framework. Nigerian government has signed many conventions and treaties which mandate it to uphold the principle of gender equity and non-discrimination. Therefore, it remains the State's duty to honour, fulfil and implement all these commitments to women's political rights. The principle of equal rights between men and women is also affirmed in the charter of the United Nations, as well as in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

A number of UN instruments, conventions, and decisions reinforce that commitment, including:

- a) The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) upholds women's right to participate in public life. CEDAW, stresses the equality of men and women across human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil, or any other field. On political and public life, it notes that State Parties should take measures to ensure that women, on equal terms with men, have the right to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government. Countries that have ratified the convention are legally bound by its provisions and must regularly report on the measures they take.
- b) The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted by governments at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, also affirms gender equality as a human right and commits governments to enhancing women's rights. The adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action at the United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 resulted in a real push for quotas in the 1990s.
- c) The UN Millennium Declaration of 2000 promotes equal rights and opportunities for women and men. Millennium Development Goal Three set specific targets for gender equality.
- d) The 2003 UN General Assembly resolution on Women's political participation
- e) In 2010, the UN created UN Women, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.
- f) The 2011 UN General Assembly resolution on women's political Participation (A/RES66/130)
- g) UN Economic and Social Council Resolution 1990/15

ii) Understanding Electoral Quota

The most common mechanism for increasing women's participation in politics is an electoral quota, which is defined as a mandatory percentage of women candidates for public elections. Quotas can be effective. Evidence from around the world provides examples of where quotas have had immediate and direct effect on women's participation.

In Argentina, women's participation increased from 5 to 25 and then to 30 percent in the space of two elections. The increase in women's representation in Rwanda is in part due to the adoption of quotas.

iii) Understanding Special measures:

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW) guarantees specific rights to women, establishes obligations for States or responsibilities attached to these rights and creates mechanisms to monitor the compliance of States actions with their obligations, namely the Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee). a) According to article 4, paragraph 1, of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, “adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination. Such measures have been applied in a number of electoral systems and have proved to be the most effective short-term means of increasing the number of women elected to office.

iv) The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the rights of Women in Africa

Adopted in Mozambique on July 11, 2003, the charter went into effect in November 2005 after 15 of the 54 African Union Member States ratified it. It is indeed a positive step towards combating discrimination and violence against women and significant in the efforts to promote and ensure respect for the rights of African Women. The protocol among others requires African States to eliminate all forms of discrimination and violence against women in Africa, and to promote equality between men and women. Member States are obliged to integrate a gender perspective in their policy decisions and legislation.

v) Domestic Legal Frameworks:

They include but not limited to the following:

a) 1999 Constitution (as Amended)

Women's Political Rights in Nigeria are contained under

- Chapter 4(40) states that every person shall be entitled to assemble freely and associate with other persons, and in particular he may form or belong to any political party, trade union or any other association for the protection of his interests: Provided that the provisions of this section shall not derogate from the powers conferred by this Constitution on the Independent National Electoral Commission with respect to political parties to which that Commission does not accord recognition.
- Section 42(2) states: No citizen of Nigeria shall be subjected to any disability or deprivation merely by reason of the circumstances of his birth.
- Section 42(1) (a) A citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion or political opinion shall not, by reason only that he is such a person:- be subjected either expressly by, or in the practical application of, any law in force in Nigeria or any executive or administrative action of the government, to disabilities or restrictions to which citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religious or political opinions are not made subject;
- Chapter 4 of the Constitution. Women are entitled to certain Rights as entrenched in the following provision of the Constitution and clearly relates to her political Rights
 1. Section 40 (1): Freedom of Association: “Every person shall be entitled to assemble freely and associate with other persons, and in particular he may form or belong to any political party, trade union or any other association for the protection of his interests:
 - 2 Section 77 (2) Every citizen of Nigeria, who has attained the age of eighteen years residing in Nigeria at the time of the registration of voters for purposes of election to a legislative house, shall be entitled to be registered as a voter for that election

b) Electoral Act No. 6 2010 (as Amended 2017)

The Act is a legal framework for the determination of electoral processes in Nigeria. It aims at ensuring a free, fair and credible election as well as to safeguard the integrity of the election. The law provides the basic legal framework for regulating the conduct of Federal, State and Area Council Elections in Nigeria. Some sections of the Electoral Act provisions relate to women political empowerment in political parties and during elections. The provisions are as follows:

1. Sections 9-23, (Part III) of the Electoral Act: Voter registration. This provision ensures that all eligible voters vote at elections. Political participation through the right to vote is a fundamental right guaranteed in democratic governments. This means that eligible citizens (male/female) have access to the political process through the exercise of the right to vote.
 2. Section 87 Nomination of Candidates by Parties: Prohibits Political Parties from imposing nomination qualifications or disqualification criteria, conditions or measures on any Nigerian for the purpose of nomination for elective offices outside of those provided in the Constitution. This provision tends to invalidate the influence of “God Fatherism” who usually employs dubious and undemocratic principle of choosing so-called “consensus” candidates and zoning mechanism. Thus female candidates can no longer formally step down for consensus candidate not elected through a party primary
 3. Section 87: New provisions prohibit political parties from imposing arbitrary fees on political aspirants and prescribes limits for each elective office as follows:
 - a. N150,000 for a Ward Councillorship aspirant in the FCT;
 - b. N250,000 for an Area Council Chairmanship aspirant in the FCT;
 - c. N500,000 for a House of Assembly aspirant;
- Section 42(1) (a) A citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion or political opinion shall not, by reason only that he is such a person:- be subjected either expressly by, or in the practical application of, any law in force in Nigeria or any executive or administrative action of the government, to disabilities or restrictions to which citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religious or political opinions are not made subject;
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 - b. N250,000 for an Area Council Chairmanship aspirant in the FCT;
 - c. N500,000 for a House of Assembly aspirant;
 - d. N1,000,000 for a House of Representatives aspirant;
 - e. N2,000,000 for a Senatorial aspirant;
 - f. N5,000,000 for a Governorship aspirant; and
 - g. N10,000,000 for a Presidential aspirant.

This provision tends to harmonises the fees for elective positions which hitherto had discriminated against women who are generally poorer.

Section 87: The provision also seeks to invalidate any requirement or criteria set outside of the foregoing and outside of those in the Constitution i.e. age, citizenship and school certificate qualification requirements. Others include conviction for fraud, dishonesty, certified lunatic, bankruptcy, etc.

Subsections (5) - (26) detail extensively, a new procedure for political party primaries

For direct primaries: Mandates all political parties to ensure that all aspirants are given equal opportunity to be voted for in direct primaries. Details procedure on how aspirants are nominated in Presidential, Governorship, Senatorial, House of Representatives, State House of Assembly, Chairmanship and Area Council elections for political parties who adopt direct primaries
For indirect primaries: Political parties must have both Statutory and Ad-hoc Delegates for the nomination of its candidates.

Statutory Delegates: elected officials of the party and elected government functionaries e.g. serving members of party's board of trustees, elected serving national and zonal executive committees, serving and past Presidents, Vice Presidents, Governors, Deputy Governors, Senators, Members of House of Reps, Principal Officers of State Houses of Assembly, LG Council Chairmen, Women Leaders, Youth Leaders, etc.

Adhoc Delegates: Registered members of the party elected by an intra-party election (mode of election detailed in the provision) Political appointees who do not fall under statutory or adhoc delegates are not eligible to serve as delegates.

The experiences of women being skimmed out through party delegates could be monitored by the above amendment to the Electoral Acts that mandates political parties to ensure that all aspirants are given equal opportunity to be voted for in direct primaries.



The Electoral Act

is a legal framework for the determination of electoral processes in Nigeria

c) National Gender Policy 2007:

Achieve minimum threshold of representation for women in order to promote equal opportunity in all areas of political, social, economic life of the country for women, as well as for men.

Targets

- a) Adopt special measures, quotas and mechanisms for achieving minimum critical threshold of women in political offices, party organs and public life by pursuing 35% affirmative action in favour of women to bridge gender gaps in political representation in both elective and appointive posts at all levels by 2015. (NGP 2007)

4.2.1 Strategies for Breaking Structural Barriers in Nigeria using Legal Framework

a) Demanding the Domestication and Implementation of International Instrument in Nigeria

CEDAW is a treaty dealing with the rights of women, it falls within the category of treaties, which must attract "ratification by a majority of all the Houses of Assembly in the Federation" if it must become applicable throughout Nigeria. Nigeria has been a signatory to this treaty since 1985. 33 years after the ratification of CEDAW by Nigeria, its provisions still remains a paper tiger and cannot be enforced in any court in Nigeria because the process of domestication must be undergone according to article 12 of the Nigeria Constitution, before it can become part of the nation's local law. The binding nature of CEDAW gives women's movements the right to demand its implementation and legitimises their proposals.

Benefit of domestication of CEDAW

- a) CEDAW is a landmark Convention and the most important normative instrument that aims to achieve equal rights for women everywhere in the world.
- b) Domestication of CEDAW will lead to the full implementation of all its provision especially quota systems
- c) CEDAW as one perfect instrument which provides for the minimum standard rights any human being should have.

b). Demanding Constitutional Reform:

There is need for a constitutional reform to incorporate the 35% quota system into the Constitution. The reform will make it clear that each party must adopt the quota system and the issue of reserving seats for women. The 35% quota should be used for candidate selection as well. In Tanzania, for example 37 of the 42 appointed Parliamentary seats are reserved for women. A legislative quota such as in Tanzania provides greater guarantee for increasing women's representation in political structures and can effectively facilitate women's entry into Parliament. Rwanda has a constitutional quota which reserves 24 out of 80 seats for women. Other short to medium term strategies such as statutory quotas and reserved seats should be applied across the board i.e. from the candidate list to parliament.

There are several reasons why to date we have failed to meet both the 35% national and 50% international targets. An assessment of the current legal and policy framework for women's representation in politics in Nigeria has shown that the relevant laws and policies are not gender sensitive. While there appears to be no legal barriers to women's representation in the Nigerian Constitution, in practice, the legal framework is not promoting women participation in the electoral process. Both the Constitution of Nigeria 1999 and the Electoral Act 2010 seemingly promote women's political rights, but make no specific provisions for strategies such as quotas or reserved seats to increase women's representation in politics. Further, there is no provision in the current Constitution of Nigeria that allows for International and Regional conventions that, once ratified by the Government of Nigeria should become part of national laws without the need for domestication.

c. Demanding Electoral System Reform

There is need for a hybrid electoral system backed by specific legal provisions e.g. South Africa uses the Proportional Representation and the First Past the Post (FPTP) electoral systems as well as quotas

d. Non- legal Strategies for Breaking Structural Barriers

- **Sensitization:** Attempt to make oneself or others aware of and responsive to certain ideas, events, situations, or phenomenon. Sensitization ensures political environments are free from discrimination, stereotypes and violence. Women will have greater incentive to engage in political campaigns if the political climate is free of violence, threats, and negative attitudes (UN Women. 2015). Addressing masculine stereotypes of power, discriminatory party practices, and threats and acts of violence against women in electoral contexts is an important step towards building this kind of environment (ParlAmericas. 2014). The heads of religions and traditional institutions as well as community member could be sensitized on the importance of women's participation in the politics and governance.
- **Advocacy:** defined as any action that speaks in favour of, recommends, argues for a cause, supports or defends, or pleads on behalf of others. Advocacy in all its forms seeks to ensure that people, particularly those who are most vulnerable in society, are able to: Have their voice heard on issues that are important to them. Defend and safeguard their rights. Have their views and wishes genuinely considered when decisions are being made about their lives. Advocacy could be led to all relevant stakeholders in the electoral process such as INEC, SIEC, Traditional and Religions Leaders, political party office to advocate for increased women participation in the electoral process.
- **Lobbying:** any attempt by individuals or private interest groups to influence the decisions of government; in its original meaning it referred to efforts to influence the votes of legislators, generally in the lobby outside the legislative chamber. Lobbying in some form is inevitable in any political system. This strategy could be influence laws and policies in favour of women by lobbying the legislators.
- **Build strategic partnership/ alliances** with media and other relevant organisation.

For more information on building strategic partnership/alliances see additional resources

e. Engaging with the Political Party:

Recruiting and nominating candidates is probably the most important process for increasing women participation in politics. These activities do take place at the political party's levels. Enhancing women's political participation requires commitment and proactive engagement of political parties to integrate women's perspectives into party platforms, ensure that women have equal and safe access to voting, and that women candidates and their advancement in party structures are supported.

4.2.2 Case Studies of the use of Legal Frameworks to Break Structural Barriers

Rwanda

Rwanda in adherence to the International Legal Frameworks adopted special measures to advance women's representation which demonstrates how electoral systems can greatly enhance women's political participation. First at the Local level, each voter in Rwanda receives three ballots, one of which includes only women candidates. Secondly, indirect elections to the next higher levels are designed to ensure at least 20 percent quota for women. Thirdly, 24 of the 80 seats in the house of parliament are reserved for women. This resulted to Rwanda becoming a world leader with its national assembly made up of over 60 percent women.

Source: Juliana Kantegwa, "women's participation in electoral processes in post-conflict countries: the case of Rwanda" (<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi.meetings>)

Senegal

Doubling the Proportion of Women Parliamentarians in Senegal in 2010, Senegal adopted legislation calling for women to be guaranteed seats in all elective bodies at every level of government. In preparation for the 2012 elections, the government, along with civil society and UN Women, launched an awareness campaign and a training program on the electoral process to educate and encourage female candidates. The outcome of the 2012 elections resulted in a near balance between men and women in the National Assembly – a tangible shift toward gender parity and democracy

Source: Juliana Kantegwa, “women’s participation in electoral processes in post-conflict countries: the case of Rwanda” (<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi.meetings>)

Strategies of Engagement with Political Parties:

- Conduct a mapping of all political parties including leadership structures, trend of power sharing mechanism
- Conduct a gender review of Party constitutions and manifestos
- Develop engagement strategy and plan
- Engage in constructive advocacy
- Review advocacy outcome
- Map-out follow –up strategy

4.3 Strategies for Breaking Personal Barriers to Women Participation

Breaking personal barriers to women's participation in politics entails the use of methodologies such as: sensitization on the importance of women's participation in the electoral process and governance with emphasis on the equal rights between men and women, capacity building (voter education, civic education, political skills, development, life skills training, portraying women as positive and successful leaders, mentoring , encouraging women to run for political offices and the institution of resource mobilisation mechanism to provide financial support for women in politics.

i) Building Rights Consciousness Through Sensitization:

Sensitization is an important strategy to ensure that women overcome the low self-esteem and lack of knowledge on the importance of women participating in the electoral process and governance. Women should be sensitized on their rights especially their equal rights between men and women. It is important to emphasise at this point that it does not mean that women and men are the same or that they should be doing the same things. However they are both entitled to the same rights.

For more information on Human Rights see Human Rights Section additional resources

ii) Providing Civic and Voter Education

There is need for training and ongoing capacity building for women especially in both rural and urban areas which should target grassroots women to help build the critical masses of women who can be fielded for political positions. The women capacity should be built on civic and voter education. Communities also need to be educated on the importance of women's representation in politics and decision-making so as to change peoples' perceptions. This can be done by ensuring appropriate linkages with institutions such as INEC, SIEC and other relevant organisations that are involved in this exercise.

Difference between Voter education and Civic education:

Voter education is generally used to describe the dissemination of information, materials and programmes designed to inform voters about the specifics and mechanics of the voting process for a particular election. Voter education involves providing information on who is eligible to vote; where and how to register; how electors can check the voter lists to ensure they have been duly included; what type of elections are being held; where, when and how to vote; who the

candidates are; and how to file complaints.(Source: UNDP, Essentials, No. 14 (December 2003)

Civic education—a broader concept—is aimed at conveying knowledge of a country's political system and context. Civic education might include information on the system of government; the nature and powers of the offices to be filled in an election; the principal economic, social and political issues facing the nation; the value of democracy; the equal rights of women and men; and the importance of peace and national reconciliation (Source: UNDP, Essentials, No. 14 (December 2003).

iii) Encouraging Women to Run for Political Offices

Encouraging women to run for political offices is one strategy for increasing the number of women candidates by cultivating women's interest in running for office. This a very important strategy for breaking some of the personal barriers to women's participation in the electoral process and governance.

Despite cultural evolution and society's changing attitudes toward women in politics, running for public office remains a much less attractive and feasible endeavour for women than men. They are less likely than men to think they are qualified to run for office for the following reasons:

- Women put families and careers first, entering politics would be a "third job;"
- Women believe they are not qualified;
- Women are not usually recruited to be candidates by their political parties
- Although young women are interested in pursuing social change, they are less likely than young men to see electoral politics as the way to achieve change. (Citizen Political Ambition Panel Study; 2001, 2008)

Evidence shows that asking women to consider public office, connecting them to the appropriate people and helping to build their confidence are the best ways to encourage women to run (Citizen Political Ambition Panel Study; 2001, 2008). Thus women could be encouraged to run through the following methods:

- a. Recruiting women to run for political offices
- b. Mentoring for female Party Members
- c. Providing Capacity Building for female political aspirants and candidates

a) Recruiting women to run for political offices

This means to find new women who have not considered running for political office as well as those who have been thinking about it and need encouragement to declare and join politics.

Suggested Steps to Recruiting Women to Run for Political offices

The following steps are suggested to encourage women to run for political offices.

1. Mobilise and encourage women to register as political party members
2. Maintain a network of women who have previously contested for elections irrespective of the outcome
3. Encourage them to contest for leadership position especially at the EXCO level
4. Encourage and motivate women's to effectively participate in elections at all levels.
5. Organise all-women congresses in addition to recruiting new female members.



**Men and
Women
have equal
rights**

6. Galvanise other support to ensure that women run for their desired positions
7. Engage in proactive outreach to build alliance and network as well as profiling of Women candidates.
8. Provide training and other types of support for women candidates,
9. Provide equitable access to campaign funds and fundraising support.
10. Identify women willing to run for office.
11. Lobby to ensure issues of special concern to women are addressed in party platforms.
12. Lobby for legislative changes to advance women's empowerment.
13. Develop cross-party networks of women.
14. Develop and disseminate gender-sensitive messages for voter and civic education.
15. Advocate improved media coverage of women's issues and women candidates.
16. Persuade donors to support projects aimed at advancing women's political participation.
17. Take measures to ensure their personal safety and mitigate violence against women in politics.

b) Mentoring for Female Party Members

Mentorship is an important – and often cost-effective – strategy for strengthening women's political skills. Mentorship can be defined as a personal, on-going developmental relationship of learning and dialogue between mentor and mentee. Mentoring programmes can be aimed at preparing female party members as candidates for elective office, or in developing their capacities to become campaign managers, election observers, party activists and/or party leaders and delegates. Mentoring programmes are one of the most cost-efficient tools a political party leader can introduce to promote women's participation and advancement within a party. Mentoring can strengthen partnership and communication between male and female party members, and increase support by men of women's participation in internal party structures and leadership positions. Moreover, this strategy can also help gender-sensitize both male and female party members to the gender-based inequalities and discrimination that pervade political life.

Tested Ways of Mentoring Women

- Pair women with more political experience with up-coming ones for effective exchange and support.
- Pair men with women so that women can benefit from their political strategies and experiences.

c) Providing Political Capacity-Building Training:

Providing political capacity-building training to women can have overall outcome of encouraging more women to enter into politics and political leadership positions. This strategy is aimed at stimulating women's interest in politics, providing them with critical political skills and knowledge and empowering them to apply these skills in their political careers. Many women possess the experience and qualifications needed to hold political office, but, possibly due to direct or indirect gender-based discrimination, do not always have access to the same information or opportunities as men in terms of learning how to launch a political career. Thus, women in politics require further support and training on how to overcome gender-based barriers and obstacles in order to assume political leadership positions and promote their political agenda. In this context, mobilizing and maximizing the knowledge and skills of women within political parties can be a driving force for nurturing a new generation of female leaders. For this reason, programmes focussed on developing this knowledge form a crucial part of any effort by political parties or group to enhance women's political representation.

Many capacity-development initiatives seek to provide training to women who are currently running – or in the future may decide to run – for political office. These initiatives can focus on:

- Developing a campaign plan and/or campaign message,
- Identifying effective electoral campaigning techniques,
- Fund-raising,

- Working with the media and/or building voter contact
- Establishing outreach programmes.

4.3.1 Providing Life skills training:

Life skills' training entails the development of psychosocial abilities for adaptive and positive behaviour that enable individuals to deal effectively with the demands and challenges of everyday life.

Important Personal and Professional Skills for Women:

- **Leadership Skills:** Leadership skills are the tools, behaviour and capabilities that a person needs in order to be successful at motivating and directing others. Leadership skills can be learned.
- **Negotiation Skill:** The Process of conferring to arrive at an agreement between different parties, each with own interest and preference. Negotiation is about getting the best possible deal in the best possible way. Negotiation takes place when two or more people, with differing views, come together to attempt to reach agreement on an issue.
- **Team building Skill:** The action or process of causing a group of people to work together effectively as a team, especially by means of activities and events designed to increase motivation and promote cooperation.
- **Public Speaking Skill:** The act or process of making speeches in public. It is the art of effective oral communication with an audience.
- **Time Management Skill:** Time management is the process of planning and exercising conscious control over the amount of time spent on specific activities, especially to increase effectiveness, efficiency or productivity.
- **Advocacy skills:** public support for or recommendation of a particular cause or policy

4.3.2 Providing Financial Support

Women require financial and material resource support for the elections – a specific recommendation is to set up a special fund for female politicians. There should also be legislation on political party funding which is sensitive to the needs of female politicians. There should be conscious resource allocation to female candidates within political parties. There is also need to find innovative ways to increase resources for women to campaign in elections.

4.3.3 Portraying Women as Positive and Successful leaders;

Historically, women have always been positive and successful leaders at the global, regional and in Nigeria. Portraying women as positive leaders is critical to building self-confidence of women to the fact that they can be true and positive leaders. The following are examples of women political leaders who have successfully contributed to the advancement of their country.

Women political heads of states at Global level:

There are 15 female world leaders that are heads of government currently in office, eight of whom are their country's first women in power (World Economic Forum, 2016) and other sources. While the number of current female leaders – excluding monarchs and figurehead leaders – has more than doubled since 2000, these women still represent fewer than 10% of 193 UN member states. The figure below is the detail of the current women leaders in their various countries.

Examples of Women in Political Leadership



Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

Liberia Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected president of Liberia in 2006, and holds the post to this day. She is the first elected female head of state in Africa.

Theresa Mary May

Theresa Mary May has been Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Leader of the Conservative Party since 2016. She was first elected Member of Parliament for Maidenhead in 1997..



Angela Merkel

German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Angela Merkel has been the Chancellor of Germany since 2005, the first woman to hold the post. In 2007 Merkel was President of the European Council and chaired the G8. she made the empowerment of women and girls a focal point of the G7 Summit that took place in Germany.



Totally Badass Female Muslim Politicians You Should Know



Benazir Bhutto

Bhutto was the 11th Prime Minister of Pakistan. She was the first female to hold such a powerful and prominent office in Pakistan she serving two non-consecutive terms as head of government in 1988–90 and then in 1993–96

Khaleda Zia

: She was the Prime Minister of Bangladesh from 1991 to 1996 and again from 2001 to 2006. She was the first woman in Bangladesh's history and second in the Muslim world (after Benazir Bhutto) to head a democratic government. Born in 1945, She was the First Lady of Bangladesh during the presidency of her husband Ziaur Rahman, and is currently the chairperson and leader of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. Her more than decade-long tenure makes her the longest serving Prime Minister of Bangladesh.

..



Aminata Touré

Prime Minister of Senegal Following Boye, Aminata Touré was yet another female to occupy the Prime Minister's seat of Senegal from 2013 to 2014.



See more examples and names of female Heads of Government under additional resources

4.4 Nigerian Women in Political Leadership : Historical Perspective

Historically, Nigerian women have always participated as political leaders and have contributed greatly to national development through their good governance and struggle for gender equality. However, the findings of our research reveal that majority of Nigerian women due to cultural and religious bias tend to believe that they are not good leaders. Others believe that it is absolutely wrong for women to lead men. Unfortunately for these categories of women, they do not understand the impact of gender and its related issues on their low perception of themselves as leaders. It is therefore important to correct this perception by emphasising that men and women have fundamental equal right- human, civil and political - to become leaders. More importantly, evidence reveals that equal participation of men and women at the leadership position is a catalyst for development. This is therefore a clarion call for more women to participate in politics to facilitate the development of Nigeria. Thus this session presents a historical account of Nigerian women who as positive leaders have contributed immensely to the national development.

In the pre-colonial era, women served as female chiefs in some self- governing Kingdoms and communities with dual political systems that allowed women to participate in governance. For instance, some notable women of valour who helped in directing the course of history of their traditional societies in the pre-colonial era included Queen Amina of Zaria, Queen Kambasa of Ijaw and Queen Owari of Ilesa. Queen Amina was a formidable female ruler who led military expeditions and expanded her territory as far as River Niger, the Kwararafa Empire and Kano in the north. There were also women leaders whose role was to mobilize for their families" welfare and articulate the views of women. Among these were the Iyalode, Lobun, and Arise of the Yoruba, the Omu of Onitsha and Western Igbo.



Queen Amina Of Ancient Zaria

The table below shows the statistics of women traditional rulers in the Pre-colonial days in Nigeria.

Table 4.0: Statistics of Women Traditional Rulers in Pre-colonial days

S/N	NAME	Town/Village	LGA	State	Type of Rule	Date
1	Luwo Gbadiya	Ife	Ife Central LG	Osun	Ooni of Ife	Pre-colonial Days
2	Iyayun	Oyo	Oyo LG	Oyo	Alaafin	Pre-colonial Days
3	Orompoto	Oyo	Oyo LG	Oyo	Alaafin	Pre-colonial Days
4	Jomijomi	Oyo	Oyo LG	Oyo	Alaafin	Pre-colonial Days
5	Jepojepo	Oyo	Oyo LG	Oyo	Alaafin	Pre-colonial Days
6	Queen Amina	Zauzau	Zaria	Kaduna	Emir	Pre-colonial Days
7	Daura	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial Days
8	Kofono	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial Days
9	Eye-Moi	Akure	Ondo	Regent-Monarch	Emir Queen	Pre-colonial days 1705-1735 AD
10	Ayo-Ero	Akure	Ondo	Regent-Monarch	Emir Queen	Pre-colonial days 1850-51 AD
11	Gulfano	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial Days
12	Yawano	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial Days
13	Yakania	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial Days
14	Walsam	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial Days
15	Cadar	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial Days
16	Agagri	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial Days
17	Queen Kanbasa	Bony	Bony LG			Pre-colonial Days

Source: Kolawale, Adeigbe, Adebayo & Abubakar (2013)

In the colonial era, Nigerian women exhibited a high level of resilience and political leadership even though the colonial government ignored them in the eventual redistribution of positions and power. The women at some point mobilised against their oppression. For instance, the 1929 Aba Women's War also known as the Aba Riots, was a protest against the colonial authorities' planned taxation programme and the population census being conducted by the British authorities. Similar protests led by Mrs. Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, took place in Western Nigeria in 1946. The Abeokuta Women's Union protested against the taxation policy of the colonial authority and the withdrawal of the powers of women to control the markets. Between 1927 and 1941, the Lagos market women organised several protests to stop the colonial masters from taxing women (Oby, Nwankwo, 2011). This led to the suspension of the policies and brought a big relief to women. Another notable political development during the colonial era was the emergence of a Women's Party in 1944. Reacting to the marginalisation and exclusion of women in the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), the only political party existing in Nigeria at the time, the women, led by Mrs. Oyinkan Abayomi, formed a political party that was exclusively for women. However, the Women's Party was never organised as an active political party seeking to obtain representation in government (Oby, Nwankwo, 2011).



Mrs Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti

In the post- colonial period, women have continued to serve at different levels of governance and political leadership. Mrs.

Wuraola Esan, was nominated by the Western Region into the post-independence Senate . In the 1961 general elections, two women, Mrs. Margaret Ekpo and Mrs. Janet Mokelu won seats into the Eastern House of Assembly. A third woman, Mrs. Ekpo Young also won through a bye-election into the Eastern House in 1963. Many women were appointed or elected into the local councils. Another woman, Mrs. Benice Kerry was nominated by the newly created Mid-Western Region into the Senate to join Mrs. Esan in 1964. Five women were appointed to the 250-member Constituent Assembly that subsequently reviewed the draft constitution. In 1979, three women were elected into the Federal House of Representatives with five seats in the State Houses of Assembly. There were three female Federal Ministers in the civilian government of 1979 - 1983 while most states had at least one female commissioner.

The 1983 elections produced the first elected female member of the Senate in the person of Ms. Franca Afegbua. During the Military era (1983) Chief (Mrs.) Titilayo Ajanaku, emerged as Chairperson of Abeokuta Local Government Council in Ogun State.

Otunba Bola Kuforiji-Olubi was appointed in the Interim government in 1993. Mrs. Mobolaji Osomo and Mrs. Ada Adogu - were appointed into the Federal Executive as Minister and Junior Minister of Establishment and Agriculture respectively. Senator Kofo Bucknor-Akerele became a deputy Governor in Lagos State. Mrs. Grace Icheen of Benue State became the speaker of Benue state House of Assembly. Between 1999 and 2003 women occupied several political and governance positions. They were Dr. (Mrs.) KemaChikwe (Minister of Transport), Mrs. Dupe Adelaja (Minister of State Defence), Dr.(Mrs.) Bekky Ketebuigwe (Minister of State, Ministry of Solid Minerals), Dr. (Mrs.) Amina Ndalolo (Minister of State, Federal Ministry of Health), Mrs. Pauline Tallen (Minister of State, Federal Ministry of Science and Technology), Hajia Aishatu Ismaila (Minister of Women Affairs), and Chief (Mrs.) Titilayo Ajanaku as the Special Adviser to the



Otunba Bola Kuforiji-Olubi

Women Affairs. Mrs. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and Mrs. Esther Nenadi Usman were in charge of the Finance Ministry as Minister and Minister of State respectively. A woman, Mrs. Mobolaji Osomo, was appointed the Minister of Housing. At the advisory level, two women Mrs. Oby Ezekwesili and Mrs. Remi Oyo headed the budget and media sectors, respectively. Oby Ezekwesili was to later become the Minister of Solid Minerals. There were also two female speakers of the State Houses of Assembly in Ogun and Anambra States - Hon. Titi Sodunke-Oseni and Hon. Eucharia Azodo respectively (although that of Anambra State was soon to be impeached). In 2007 Dame Virgy Etiaba who was the deputy governor, was sworn in as Governor of Anambra by default. From the above, it is obvious that Nigerian women are great leaders and have been participating actively in the electoral process and governance of Nigeria.



Mrs. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala



Mrs Dame Virgy Etiaba

See additional resources for more Nigeria Women in political leadership

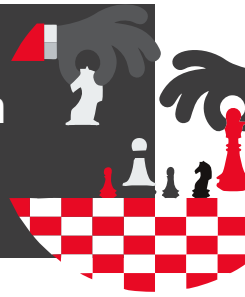
chapter five



Photo Credit: theundefeated.com

Strategy for
Organising/
Mobilising
Women for the
Electoral
Process &
Governance

5.0: Strategy for Organising/ Mobilising Women for the Electoral Process and Governance



5.1 Background:

In a society with strongly traditional and religious values, women from all political parties and groups irrespective of the sociocultural and religion background should unite in political Forums to achieve a common goal. Another area where key alliances take place is among women leaders from different parties. It is important that the platform should provide an opportunity to discuss issues facing women and the nation as a whole, to formulate policy priorities, and to amplify women's voices in a newly shared agenda. The forum should design an innovative mechanism and drawing on established best practices, to ensure a constitutional reform that guarantees equal participation of women in governance and leadership. They should ensure the passage of affirmative action bills and other related bills that would enforce the adoption of special measures, quotas and mechanisms for achieving minimum critical threshold of women in political offices, party organs and public life by pursuing 35% affirmative action in favour of women to bridge gender gaps in political representation in both elective and appointive posts at all levels by 2015.

Equally important to the success of the forum will be the support of male champions. Acknowledging that no campaign for increasing women's participation in the electoral process could succeed without men's support, the members of this forum should consider ways to bring them on board. In a clear act of goodwill and partnership, the parliamentary members of the forum should be invited as cosponsors male parliamentarians, whose support reassured other men still wary of the bill's ground breaking provisions.

Historically, women groups have presented two structures:

- a. Traditionally formal structure consisting of local chapters, national governing bodies
- b. Decentralized, segmented network of autonomous groups.

5.2 Benefits of Women Mobilising:

Providing forums for discussion and lobbying and developing strategies to put pressure on policy makers and male party leaders is critical to

- a. Creating spaces where they can come together to share experiences, learn together, and seek solutions to common problems; results of discussions in these spaces usually translate in internal practices or policies.” (Serrano, G. Expert Opinion. 2009)
- b. Developing mutual trust and support by women for women
- c. Ensuring that women's voices are heard both within their parties and with the electorate.
- d. Creating networks with other women leaders and their supporters, and provide women politicians with an opportunity to learn from their colleagues.
- e. Practical experiences and research data show that providing women a forum for discussion and the exchange of ideas may be critical in putting women's issues on political agendas and creating intra-party alliances to advance women in politics.

5.3 Understanding Women Political Groups:

Generally, women's political groups are associated with specific bases for action. But within the bounds of our definition of politics, there are two major dimensions along which women's political groups can be situated:

a) Forms of Political groups:

Through these groups, women could form groups and/or networks for collective actions

- Social movement or other types of pressure groups that are involved in action for change in the distribution of power and resources for example, Women in Politics Group, Women's Wing of Political Parties, Women Parliamentarian and Others.
- “Proto-political” activities, which include direct collective appeals and organisations that work outside the formal political arena for example National and International Organisation in Support of Women in Politics and Governance,

b) . Operational Guidelines for Women Political Groups

- Having a shared vision of the group: Aspiring members must understand and agree with the shared vision of the group and work toward achieving it.
- Having a defined goal and agenda: Every member shall understand and agree the goal and Agenda and individual goal must be subsumed under the group goal and Agenda.
- Upholding the core values of the group: Every member shall understand, agree and live the core values of the group
- The group shall have a constitution and bye laws to guide the operations of their group.
- The group shall identify and build strategic partnership, alliances with relevant individuals, organisations and institutions such as (Male gender champions, media, Political Parties and any other)

c) Examples of Suggested Activities Post- election support for aggrieved women :

Women political groups should support aggrieved women contestants through Psycho-social, financial and legal In order to achieve this vision and mission, women political groups could work around the following:

- capacity-building
- Resource mobilisation
- Research and analysis
- Networking, partnerships and solidarity
- Campaigns and advocacy
- Sensitisation
- Media engagement
- Policy Lobbying and Advocacy-
- Civic and Voter Education
- Encouraging women to run
- Post-election support for aggrieved women and survivors of Election violence.
- Mobilising Women through the Social media and Traditional media mechanisms

Post- election support for aggrieved women:

Women political groups should support aggrieved women contestants through Psycho-social, financial and legal

Media education is the process through which individuals become media literate – able to critically understand the nature, techniques and impacts of media messages and productions.

- *Set –up a media engagement committee*
- *Develop a strategic plan for media engagement*
- *Train the committee members on how to engage the media*
- *The use of medium that is most understandable by the people.*

Resource Mobilisation mechanisms
Steps:

- *Set –up a resource mobilisation committee*
- *Develop a resource mobilisation strategic plan*
- *Train the committee members on how to mobilize funds*

Sources

- *Annual and monthly dues*
- *Donations/Grants*
- *Fund Raising event*

For more information on building partnerships alliances and network and use of social media go to additional resource

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Additional Resources



1) What is Human Rights?

Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status. We are all equally entitled to our human rights without discrimination.

a) Types of Human Rights:

i.) Social Rights:

These are rights that help to protect the quality of lives of people in a community

These Include:

- Right to education
- Right to dignity of human person
- Right to freedom of movement
- Right to shelter
- Right to life
- Right to health care

ii) Economic Rights Include:

- Right to gainful employment
- Right to pursue legitimate means of living
- Right to own property
- Right to move from one occupation to another
- Right to transact legitimate business anywhere

iii) Political/Civic Rights Include:

- Right to participate in the political process of the nation
- Right to vote
- Right to be voted for

2. Meaning of Citizenship:

The word citizenship means belonging to a community, country or state. A citizen is a recognized member of a particular community. For instance, a member of a country, native or naturalized, having rights and responsibilities.

a) Types of Citizenship

There are two principal types of citizenship. These are citizenship by birth and citizenship by naturalization.

i) Citizenship by Birth

In Nigeria, a person is a citizen by birth if he is born in Nigeria by Nigerian parents or Nigerian citizens. If a person is born outside Nigeria by Nigerian parents or citizens, the person is also a Nigerian citizen by birth.

ii) Citizenship by Naturalization

A non-Nigerian may be registered as a Nigerian citizen only if he applies and is able to prove that he will live in Nigeria and then takes the oath of allegiance. After this, he will be given a certificate of naturalization. Such a person shall no longer be a Nigerian citizen if he acquires or retains the citizenship or nationality of another country.

Duties and obligations of a Citizen

Citizens have responsibilities to their country. These responsibilities are:

1. Obedience to the law.
2. Payment of taxes, rates and dues.
3. Helping in community development efforts.
4. Loyalty to the country.
5. Helping to prevent crime.
6. Fighting against a foreign country in defending their own country (if need be).
7. Serving the government wholeheartedly.

Types of citizens

There are three types of citizens. These are the bad, the passive and the active or good citizen.

- The bad citizen does not perform his duties or obligations as required. He has no regard for the law and works against order, peace and good government. He is a dishonest, irresponsible and untrustworthy citizen.
- The passive citizen does not contribute towards the progress of the society by his own personal decision. He does not start anything profitable to the community. He only performs his duty when he is induced to do so by somebody else.
- The good or active citizen, on the other hand, keeps the laws of the state, and works for progress, peace, order and good government. He performs his duties or obligations and also tries to make others do the same.
- Differences between Citizens and non-citizens.

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4. Loyalty to the country.
5. Helping to prevent crime.
6. Fighting against a foreign country in defending their own country (if need be).
7. Serving the government wholeheartedly.

Differences between Citizens and non-citizens

Differences exist between citizens and non-citizens or aliens. These are;

1. A citizen reserves the right to exercise his civic responsibility of voting and being voted for during the period of election, while a foreigner cannot claim any such entitlement.
2. A citizen can be elected, nominated or appointed to any public office while a non-citizen is

not qualified to aspire to any official position in the land.

3. The fundamental rights of a citizen are well stated in the country's constitution, while the rights of an alien can only be got from international laws/conventions, generosity of the country he stays in and immigration laws.
4. Except as a consultant, an alien is not to be recruited into the military while a citizen can be drafted into his country's army to defend her against external attack.
5. Every citizen has complete legal rights, while the legal rights of non-citizen remains substantially restricted.
6. A non-citizen can be deported by the government if he can no longer be tolerated by the people. A citizen cannot be deported.
7. There may be restriction to the rights of assembly and association of a foreigner but a citizen has no such restriction.
8. A citizen is free to take up any job, undertake any duty or be engaged in any legitimate business in the country, while an alien is not allowed to engage in certain economic activities due to reasons that concern the country's interest or security.

3) The stakeholders in election are:

- Voters;
- INEC Officials on election duty;
- Security Agents;
- Candidates and accredited party agents;
- Accredited Journalists;
- Accredited Domestic and International Observers

4. Some Nigerian Women in Political Leadership

Hajiya Gambo Sawaba -The Fearless Politician Who Fought For the Freedom Of Northern Women In Spite Of Several Imprisonments.

Margaret Ekpo was one of the three women appointed to the House of Chiefs, in the 1950s. She had earlier represented her constituency in the pre-independence constitutional conferences. She was a delegate to several constitutional conferences. In addition, she was the Women's Interest Representative to the Eastern House of Chiefs, Nigeria between 1954 and 1958 and Member of the Eastern House of Chiefs, from 1948 to 1966.

FEMALE SENATORS

Nkechi J. Nwaogu
Abia State

Chris Anyanwu
Imo State

Aisha Jummai Alhassan
Taraba State

Helen U. Esuene
Akwa Ibom State

Nenadi Usman
Kaduna State

Zaynab Kure
Niger State

Magret Okadigbo
Anambra State

Oluremi Tinubu
Lagos State

FEMALE MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Abike Dabiri
Halima Hassan Tukur
Nkeiruka Onyejeochi
Nnenna Ukeaje
Ijeoma
Binta Bello Maigari
Apiafi Betty Okagua
Peace Uzoamaka
Nnaji
Stella Ngwu
Ojakavo Evelyn

Nkoyo Toyo
Rose Okoji Oko
Azodo Eucharua
Aisha Dahiru Ahmed
Khadija Bukar Ibrahim
Christiana Alaaga
Beni Lar
Blessing Ibiba
Nsiegbe
Olajumoke Okoya-
Thomas

Uche Lilian Ekwunifa
Stella Dorgu
Kaamuna Ibrahim
Khadi
Rafeeqat Arinola
Anamairo
Ayo Omidiran
Abiola Adebukola-
Adeola

5. Building partnerships Alliances and Network :

Working with Civil Societies Organisation (Non-Governmental Organisation)

Civic organisations or NGO can play an important role in your election campaign. While with the NGO or civic organizations population might be relatively low, yet their involvement has span active and positive political participation in the electoral process.

It is very important for a female aspirant to know and seek support or coalition with the NGOs, Civil societies or the informal groups such as religious groups, work places or the schools around the area.

Cultivation of civic organisations should be done in the early stages of the campaign, when the candidate has time to meet with their leadership to ask for support. You must allow time for your relationships to grow for the civic support to be effective.

Registered Civic organisation groups as well as the informal groups can help your campaign in a number of ways, such as:

- **ENDORSEMENT:** Simply by announcing that an organization supports your candidate can often be a boost to your campaign. You may be able to use the organization's name on your posters or literature. This support is particularly effective if the organization is well known and respected.
- **MOBILIZE MEMBERSHIP:** Once the endorsement is made, ask the group to contact their membership either by phone or through a mailing or newsletter to announce their support and recruit supporters for concrete campaign tasks such as signature collection, door to door canvassing.
- **PRESS EVENTS:** There are a number of press activities civic organizations can provide your campaign. For example, they can organize a press conference announcing their support of you, and at this time they can speak out in opposition to your opponents. It is often more credible if a group or someone other than the campaign delivers a negative message about the opponent. Civic organizations can send out press releases repeating their support as issues of specific concern to them arise during the campaign.
- **RESEARCH:** A civic organization can provide information in their area of expertise and help research the impact of legislation on the community. In addition, they can draft position papers, provide "talking points" to a candidate, or even help prepare speeches on issues they are concerned about. Civic organizations can also help with opposition research by identifying when your opponents have made statements or voted against their interests.

- **OUTREACH:** Civic group leaders can often help introduce you to other groups and opinion leaders. Use their contacts to persuade other groups to support or endorse your campaign.

6. Rules for working with Civic Organizations

In your work with civic organisations, bear in mind the following rules:

- Ask for concrete, quantifiable contributions to your campaign. One thousand petition signatures will help you a lot more than the vague promise of support.
- Verify that the civic group is really doing what it said it would do. You do not want to fail to register your candidacy because you relied on the promise of 100,000 signatures that result in only 50,000 signatures.
- Remember that your relationship with civic groups is a two-way street. If you do not go out of your way to help your supporters, they may not be there the next time you need their help. A good rule to follow with civic organisations is "under promise and over deliver."

7. Working with Women Groups and Your Party

- Make a list of all the women groups and other organisations that should be supportive of your campaign. List the contact person with each organisation, the phone number and any other information that would be helpful in making contact with the group.
- Reviewing your list of voter contact and other campaign activities, decide how these organisations and your party could best be of assistance to your campaign. Keep in mind that coalition building is a two-way street, what will each of your partners expect from you in return for their assistance?

8. Social Media

Today, a candidate can bypass broadcast and print media to reach his potential voters through social media. A Facebook page show he/she has 20,000 fans, that allows him/her to offer news conference and most importantly, allow him/her have a totally unfiltered way to speak.

A female political aspirant/candidate should realize that social media is a tool, but it has yet to replace the value of getting his/her face on the front page of the Newspaper or on the 8:00 p.m. newscast. While the candidates may tout their "grassroots campaign" it is important to also use social media to get in touch directly with voters that they know are vital to them to win campaign.

Topic 1: The use of social media in politics

The use of social media in politics including Twitter, Facebook and YouTube has dramatically changed the way campaigns are run and how Nigerians interact with their elected officials.

The prevalence of social media in politics has made elected officials and candidates for public office more accountable and accessible to voters. And the ability to publish content and broadcast it to millions of people instantaneously allows campaigns to carefully manage their candidates' images based on rich sets of analytics in real time and at almost no cost.

Topic 2: Media as a Punching Bag

Politicians who are pleased with a particular news story will sometimes praise the reporter for fairness and objectivity. When the story is not so positive, claims of media bias will usually pour out from the campaign.

come out in an interview. A media outlet is faced with a decision on whether to show candidates when they're not at their best.

Topic 3: Case Study of American Politics and the Use of Social Media

Here are 10 ways Twitter, Facebook and YouTube have changed American politics. (How social Media has changed politics by Tom Murse www.thoughtco.com/how-social-media-has-changed-politics-3367534 accessed on 12/12/2017)

- **Direct Contact With Voters**

Social media tools including Facebook, Twitter and Youtube allow politicians to speak directly to voters without spending a dime. Using those social media allows politicians to avoid the traditional method of reaching voters through paid advertising or earned media.

- **Advertising Without Paying For Advertising**

It has become fairly common for political campaigns to produce commercials and publish them for free on YouTube instead of, or in addition to, paying for time on television or the radio. Often times, journalists covering campaigns will write about those YouTube ads, essentially broadcasting their message to a wider audience at no cost to the politicians.

- **How Campaigns Go Viral**

Twitter and Facebook have become instrumental in organizing campaigns. They allow like-minded voters and activists to easily share news and information such as campaign events with each other. That's what the "Share" function on Facebook and "retweet" feature of Twitter are for.

- **Tailoring the Message to the Audience**

Political campaigns can tap into a wealth of information or analytics about the people who are following them on social media, and customize their messages based on selected demographics. In other words, a campaign may find one message appropriate for voters under 30 years old will not be as effective with over 60 years old.

- **Fundraising**

Some campaigns have used so-called "money bombs" to raise large amounts of cash in short period of time. Money bombs are typically 24-hour periods in which candidates press their supporters to donate money. They use social media such as Twitter and Facebook to get the word out, and often tie these money bombs to specific controversies that emerge during campaigns.

Controversy

Direct access to voters also has its down sides. Handlers and public-relations professionals often manage a candidate's image, and for good reason: Allowing a politician to send out unfiltered tweets or Facebook posts has landed many a candidate in hot water or in embarrassing situations.

- **Feedback**

Asking for feedback from voters can be a good thing or it can be a very bad thing, depending on how politicians respond. Many campaigns hire staff to monitor their social media channels for negative response and scrub

A good reporter should present the facts without fear or favour and not seek out praise or shy away from criticism; candidates are human - tired, stressed and worried about failing. Sometimes those normal frailties anything unflattering. But such a bunker-like mentality can make a campaign appear defensive and closed off from the public. Well run modern day campaigns will engage the public regardless of whether their feedback is negative or positive.

- **Weighing Public Opinion**

The value of social media is in its closeness. Politicians and campaign do absolutely nothing without first knowing how their policy statements or moves will play among the electorate, and Twitter and Facebook both allow them to instantaneously gauge how the public is responding to an issue or controversy. Politicians can then adjust their campaigns accordingly, in real time, without the use of high-priced consultants or expensive polling.

- **It's Hip**

One reason social media is effective is that it engages younger voters. Typically, older Nigerians tend to make up the largest portion of voters who actually go to the polls. But Twitter and Facebook have energized younger voters, which has had a profound impact on elections in recent history of Nigerian election (2015 election).

- **The Power of Many**

Social media tools have allowed Nigeria politicians to easily link together to petition the government and their elected officials, leveraging their numbers against the influence of powerful lobbyists and special interests. Make no mistake, lobbyists and special interest still have the upper hand, but the day will come when the power of social media allows like-minded citizens to join together in ways that will be just as powerful.

Women are a critical part of development that must be cherished and appreciated. However, the onus is on them to do everything humanly and legally possible to firm up their political vitality in order to be relevant in the development process and become visible targets of media coverage. The world can hardly wait.

9. Voter Education:

Voter education can be a critical factor in enhancing women's active role in electoral process, particularly in countries like Nigeria in which women have not traditionally played an in the electoral process. In the broadest sense, voter education includes: the dissemination of basic information on: voting rights, the political system, candidates and issues, specific information on where and how to vote.

a) Importance of Voter Education:

- To make information available and accessible to all constituents. Voter education campaigns should seek to achieve universal coverage of the electorate. To do this effectively requires reaching out to disadvantaged groups as well as mainstream voters. For example, voter education should take into account factors such as high rates of illiteracy or the use of different languages in a country, even if there is only one official language. Minority groups, internally displaced persons and other marginalized segments of society should be specially targeted.
- Young adults eligible to vote for the first time may need special messages explaining how to register and cast a ballot.
- Voter education should publicity encouraging people to vote.
- Voter education should specifically target women as well as men.
- It should make clear that suffrage is universal and should help create a culture in which women are encouraged to participate and are welcomed into the electoral process.

b) Basic features of Voter education for Women Electorates

Carefully targeted voter education can help alleviate double discrimination against women. Women Electorates should understand clearly that:

- Each ballot must be marked secretly and privately.
- Situations in which one family member casts ballots for the entire family, or in which a husband and wife enter a voting booth together, are contrary to international standards, diminish individual independence, and negatively influence women voters.

c) Developing Gender-sensitive Voter Education Messages

- Messages should publicly encourage people to vote, with campaigns targeted specifically at women as well as at men and women together.
- Special factors must address high rates of illiteracy and the types and number of languages spoken in a particular locale.
- Emphasis should be placed on the right of women to be elected.
- Promoting a positive image of women as leaders and politicians in order to encourage women's participation in the political process and challenge the traditional view of a society dominated by male leaders

10. Voter Registration:

The Register of Voters is the basis for determining who is eligible to vote and who is not on Election Day. Important to the success of future elections in Nigeria is a Register of Voters that contains essential information on every eligible citizen such as name, age, gender, address, photograph and thumbprints. Thus voters must be registered and appear on voter lists to be eligible to participate in elections. The accuracy and inclusiveness of the lists are central elements in ensuring women's full participation. The lists should be compiled in a manner that is clear and transparent, and voters should have an easy way to check for mistakes and correct inaccuracies. Since women tend to make up the large majority of displaced persons in most circumstances, they will be disproportionately disadvantaged if this problem is not addressed.

Voter Registration is the process of identifying citizens eligible to vote in an election and compiling their personal details in a list called Register of Voters. Methods used for voter registration vary from one country to another, but it is generally agreed that voter registration serves the following purposes, it:

- Brings eligible people into the electoral process;
- Prohibits unqualified persons from voting by ensuring that only qualified voters are registered;
- Provides an opportunity for making claims and objections about eligibility;
- Guarantees and enables all those legally qualified to vote to do so; Ensures equality of vote;
- Prevents voters from voting more than once at any election and thus ensures equality of the vote;
- Provides information about how many people are eligible to vote in an election and how they are distributed around the country.

Basic Elements of voter registration

a) **Voter registers.** This is a consolidated, official list of all persons eligible to vote. The term voter list, in contrast, is often used to refer to a list of persons registered to vote in a particular constituency for a particular election. Voter registers and voter lists may be assembled and maintained in a variety of ways by a range of State and local authorities.

b) Types of Voter Registration :

There are three main types of voter registration. These are:

- i. **Periodic Voter Registration:** For the periodic voter registration, a new Register of Voters is prepared every time there is an election and is used only for purposes of that election. Generally, the Register of Voters is prepared and produced in the period immediately preceding an election.
- ii. **Civil Registry Voter Registration Process:** This approach to voter registration integrates information about citizens from the civil register that is maintained by the government. Under this approach voters are automatically registered to vote and changes in residence are usually reflected in the registration status without necessary action by the voter.
- iii. **Continuous Voter Registration:** The continuous voter registration process is based on an initial Register of Voters that is constantly maintained and updated by electoral officers. It evolves over time and is used for successive elections. Under the process the initial Register of Voters is continuously updated by adding names of eligible voters as well as deleting the names of those who are no longer alive or have been declared legally incompetent. In addition, the registration officials may, upon request, update information about voters who have relocated or who have married and changed surnames.

What Does the Continuous Voter Registration Process Entail?

The continuous voter registration process involves:

a) Adding New Voters: Adding to the Register of Voters new registrants, who meet the requirements to be registered as voters (e.g. people who have reached voting age, become citizens, or become newly eligible to vote). Applicants wishing to be registered as voters must present themselves before the Electoral Officer (EO).

b) Transfer of Registered Voters: Registered voters who have moved from one Constituency to another before an election and who wish to vote in the new constituency, may transfer the registration from the old constituency to the new one by applying to the EO in the constituency. The EO processing the transfer must notify the EO of the area where the applicant is transferring from.

c) Changing Registration Details: This applies to registered voters, whose claims against misspelt names and/or wrong details and of omission have been successful. It also applies to registered voters whose marital status has changed and may wish to have their registration details changed.

d) Deleting Registration Details: This is applicable to objections to the inclusion of names of persons that should not be included in the Register of Voters (e.g. people who are underage, are not citizens or do not meet the residency requirements). In addition, it includes the removal of names of people who are of Register of Voters but have since died or ceased to meet the eligibility requirements.

In such circumstances, the EO must be satisfied by the evidence adduced to this effect.

e) Replacing Damaged or Lost Voters' Cards: A voter whose card is lost, destroyed, defaced, torn or otherwise damaged may apply to the EO to have his/her voter's card replaced. The EO may require proof from the applicant stating the circumstances of the loss or damage of the voter's card. However, it should be noted that the deadline for the replacement of damaged or lost voters' card is 30 days before the election date.

f) Inclusion of the Supplementary List to the Register of Voters After the expiry period for claims and objections, the supplementary List shall be included in the revised Register of Voters not later than 60 days before a general election (INEC, Continuous Voter Registration Guide)

11. Political Landscape

A political landscape actually refers to the current state of things as well as how they are looking in the future. It encompasses the institutions, group of people, electoral systems and laws and the relationship to each other. It is also the pattern of interaction within the political systems, regulations, laws, the norms present at the political arena, the election cycle, political process and the entire political entity.

The decision to contest for a political office must be because you have the interest, knowledge and skills needed for the particular office and the over-all need to bridge a gap identified in that position. But that alone is not enough, you need to know and understand what the other party nominated candidates are offering to the public and compare so as to update your profile to be the best among the entire nominated candidate contesting for the said position.

For example, if you are contesting for the governorship position, you should know the existing problems, needs and gaps in each local government of the state, and there is need to go beyond the local government level to the communities, know the important issues, concerns and problems of the communities to address them one by one during the campaign. This in turn will link you with the community because you have identified with them and their problems, placing you at an advantage above the other contesting candidate that generalised their problem.

Preparing a manifesto:

- A Manifesto is a statement where you can share your;
- Intention (What you need to do)
- Opinion (What you believe, your stance on a particular topic)
- Vision (The type of world you dream of, linking it to the position you are contesting for. How you view the office after you step down), the time frame for the vision implementation

The primary goal of a manifesto is to make your audience (readers or listeners) feel something, for example hope, excitement, amusement or curiosity; whatever feeling you want to convey and evoke in your audience.

A good manifesto should have compelling statements such as;

- I believe...
- I am committed to...
- Join me to...

Make sure at the end you concluded by an invitation, a calling and an urge to do something; never conclude by leaving your audience hanging without taking a standard.

12: Campaigning and Election Preparation

A campaign should be focussed on the interest of the party and the candidate and it should be one that has a clear message, a clear idea of its voters and a step to step plan of getting to the Election Day (it is very important as a female aspirant to have a very powerful campaign and campaign team as the political landscape in Nigeria does not support female aspirant, you need to be outstanding and a 100% better than your opponent or other contestants).

A campaign plan is like the plan for building a house; it defines the overall political landscape, the strategy and resources required to get to Election Day. The campaign often takes time to target voters, develop a persuasive message and follow through on a reasonable plan to contact those voters directly aiming for successful election. Although every campaign is unique and different, there are some basic steps and principles to any campaign and they are as follows:

- Have a campaign plan
- It must be simply and focused campaign (with a clear idea of the voters to persuade and focused on), short, truthful and credible
- The message must be communicated in a persuasive message to the people who will vote (target voters) and must speak to the heart of the audience
- Must follow the golden rules of politics-find the right message-target that message to the right group of voters
- Repeat the message again and again till it becomes a mantra for your campaign
- Set the strategy for campaigning-implementation-campaign team-timetable-venue-target audience
- Know the methods of contacting voters

According to the electoral guide lines by INEC, campaign starts 90 days (3 months) to Election Day and ends 24 hours (a day) to election. www.inec.org (accessed on the 12th December 2017)

It is important for a female aspirant to have a strong and capable agent for the Election Day to always check with the women voters especially at the grassroots level to make sure that the women electorate cast valid votes.

13. Media Engagement :

The media can exercise the utmost influence on how society perceives men and women and their respective roles within it. In everything from advertising, television programming, newspapers and magazines, radio, to comic books, popular music, films and video games, women are more likely to be shown in the home, performing domestic chores such as laundry or cooking; as sex objects; or as victims who cannot protect themselves.

The narrative has to change for the female aspirant because the media plays an important role in politics and as such are referred to as the driver of political campaign. Lots of reach has been carried out on how the misrepresentation and stereotypical portrayal of women in the media contributes to the low representation of women in politics and governance .As a female political aspirant you need to take advantage of the media to play the politicking as it should be played.

Political candidates receive more press coverage during election period than when they are elected into office, therefore the female aspirant need to take advantage of the opportunity to reach the target voters because in this new era, the media (press) has become a source of information even after the election period are over as a result voters trust the media to pass credible information. It is a known fact that politicians use the media to win elections, by getting the exposure they need to reach voters. Reporters have no choice but to cover the people chosen to lead the government. A Female aspirant needs to be in good relationship with the reporters in order for them to have a compelling reason to tell your story as well as making clear, speaking to the target audience or readers.

On Election Day, make sure you have a winning speech ready or a consented defeat speech so that you are ready for whatever outcome of the election as the case might be.

Television Commercials and Print Ads

Any candidate with enough money will spend some of it on television and print advertisements. Like other adverts, the aim is to sell a product, not necessarily to tell the entire truth about the candidate or his campaign. The aspirant should take note that media outlets have very little control over what is said in a political advertisement therefore care needs to be taken to curtail damages.



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act:onaid



Plot 477,41 Crescent
Off Sa'adu Zungur Avenue
Gwarinpa Abuja, Nigeria



:+234 (0) 812 888825-7



info.nigeria@actionaid.org



www.actionaid.org/nigeria



ActioAidNigeria



@ActionAidNG