



A CAPACITY ASSESSMENT OF NIGERIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

**DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT
(DGD) PROGRAMME, UNDP, NIGERIA**

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FOREWORD

Deepening democracy requires going beyond elections to building strong institutional foundations including the rule of law, constitutionalism, strong media and civil society, and, perhaps most importantly, political parties. *Prima facie*, political parties provide a vital channel by which citizens can aggregate their interests, make policies, and hold government accountable. Although many observers frequently and justly criticise political parties for their many failings, it is difficult to imagine a robust democracy without functional political parties. As the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) writes in its *Handbook on Working with Political Parties*, parties “provide a structure for political participation; serve as a training ground for future political leaders and seek to win elections in order to enter government...[political parties] exist to transform aggregated social interests into public policy. In the legislature, political parties play an important role in shaping the relationship between the executive and the legislature and in prioritising the legislative agenda.” For all these reasons, political parties constitute an essential pillar of a vibrant, well-established and resilient democracy.

Although political parties are undoubtedly a key ingredient of building a robust democracy, the character of the parties and their *modus operandi* have a significant impact on democracy, with political parties often having glaring gaps that block the exercise of participatory democracy. Many political parties, especially in transitional and semi-authoritarian states, lack proper internal democracy. They also frequently fall under the sway of powerful economic and political elites, sometimes called “godfathers,” who use their resources to control the party at the expense of its members. Parties frequently conduct their business in a secretive way, demonstrating a lack of transparency. In many cases, they only appear around election time to capture votes but fail to account to their supporters once the elections are over. Some parties also fail to develop their appeal to citizens beyond ethno-regional appeals or the patronage available to incumbents. Parties in many developing countries lack adequate capacity in areas ranging from membership recruitment and retention to policy development and resource mobilisation. A particular weakness demonstrated by most political parties is the failure to include women in leadership, decision-making and policy-making processes. Yet, women belong at the heart of democratic politics. Due to these weaknesses, parties often do not meet the criteria of “robust, transparent, internally democratic and accountable” that characterize strong democratic parties, according to the UNDP’s *Handbook*.

Given their status as an essential component of a “deepened democracy” and their frequent inability to constitute themselves as robust and democratic parties, there is a strong case that parties should receive assistance and support to realize their full potential as essential pillars of a stable and vibrant democracy. That is why the Democratic Governance for Development (DGD) Project, a joint donor-funded project managed by UNDP in support of deepening democracy in Nigeria, which is funded with contributions from the EU, the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and the UNDP, provides technical support to political parties as a means of strengthening accountable and responsive governance institutions, and consolidating democratic governance in line with international best practices.

To this end, the DGD is pleased to have supported the development and publication of this assessment of the capacity of political parties in Nigeria. The assessment is based on research and analysis carried out in Abuja between October and December, 2012, which included consultation with party executives from a wide spectrum of Nigeria's political parties, including all the parliamentary parties; Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and Political Party experts from the academia. I would like to acknowledge the authors of the report, Jeremy Liebowitz and Jibrin Ibrahim, for their valuable contribution to the study of Nigeria's political parties. Their analysis provides a detailed and objective assessment of the current capacity of Nigeria's parties and also elaborates concrete strategies to engage with parties to support their development as robust and internally democratic institutions.

The DGD recognises that any assistance to political parties should be firmly based on a thorough and rigorous assessment of the parties' capacity and their position in the existing party system. Through this assessment, DGD has mapped out a clear picture of where the parties are now, what their capacity gaps are, and how the DGD can best engage with them to enhance their capacity to serve as robust and internally democratic institutions. The results of the assessment represent the first step to supporting Nigeria's parties to meet their remaining challenges as they seek to institutionalise themselves as the vanguard of Nigeria's struggle for democracy.

To meet DGD's goal of "Improving the Democratic Quality of Political Engagement," parties in Nigeria must strive for a positive role in deepening democracy in Nigeria. It is my hope that this report can provide a valuable stepping stone toward this goal.

Mourtada Deme, Ph.D.
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UNDP/DGD

Executive Summary

The Democratic Governance for Development Project (DGD), under the management of UNDP, seeks to strengthen the capacity of political parties to deepen democracy in Nigeria. To establish the areas where DGD interventions can be effective in strengthening party democracy, the DGD commissioned this assessment of the capacity of political parties. The review seeks to establish the key capacity gaps and strategies for initiatives that DGD can support to strengthen the parties as effective, professional democratic institutions.

Nigeria's parties have a history of formation, dissolution and re-formation due to the many transitions in Nigeria's post-independence political history. Parties have frequently mobilized supporters based on ethno-regional, religious, and personality politics, while various regimes have sought to constrain them to have a "national character" or adhere to particular ideological frameworks. Party development over time also witnessed the dominance of party elites at the expense of members and the use of undemocratic methods by these elites to struggle for control over the parties. For these reasons, Nigeria's parties have faced particular challenges in building stable identities over time and attracting consistent membership through appeal to particular ideological values.

The key findings of the assessment are disaggregated into the **party system** and the **party capacity** components. To establish the strengths and weaknesses of Nigerian parties, the **party system** in which they operate is the first key determinant of their capacity. The research establishes that there are a number of key gaps in Nigeria's political party system. The most important include: 1) an unclear legal framework; 2) poor relationship between parties and INEC; 3) lack of civility and insufficient inter-party dialogue; 4) lack of cohesion in political parties leading to frequent "cross carpeting" between parties; 5) a lack of ideological and policy orientation in the contest for power between parties; and; 6) a limited ability of opposition parties to compete with the ruling party.

At the level of **individual party capacity**, a number of challenges also stand out. These vary considerably by party, with the ruling party much stronger on many dimensions due to its depth of leadership and access to resources. The next three or four largest parties in the National Assembly also have considerable strength throughout the country, while the capacity of the next level of parliamentary parties is much lower, and the capacity of the non-parliamentary parties is extremely limited. Key among the challenges across the largest parties include: 1) human resource capacity at the state and local level; 2) lack of effective internal communication between their national and sub-national branches; 3) parties' limited abilities in use and application of technology; 4) lack of national, data-rich, and computerized membership databases; 5) lack of a uniform, consistent and accessible way of recruiting, admitting, and managing

members; 6) limited competence in research and analysis that looks at their own performance and supports clear plans and strategies for building the party; 7) lack of an inclusive and research-based policy and manifesto development process that provides a clear policy framework for them to govern; 8) lack of ideological or institutional identities outside their ethno-regional or religious affiliations, or the personalities of their leading figures. Parties also face considerable challenges in the area of internal democracy with party elites frequently manipulating party rules to subvert internal party democracy for their personal political interests. Women and youth are particularly disenfranchised within party leadership, occupying a minimal percentage of party leadership positions and having very limited influence on party decision-making.

To address some of the challenges above, the UNDP and DGD have a number of options for interventions that can have an impact in making the parties more effective channels for democratic participation in politics. At the level of the **party system**, the DGD should consider: 1) supporting an inter-party dialogue forum that consists of the parliamentary parties; 2) supporting regular liaison meetings to address mutual concerns of the parties and INEC; 3) supporting legal or administrative reforms that limit the ability of political leaders to switch allegiances frequently between political parties; 4) supporting the establishment of mechanisms that ensure that state resources are not used to the advantage of the incumbent in elections, and that all candidates get mechanisms for equal access to the media; and 5) sponsoring and publicising widely a series of debates and town-hall meetings that engage parties and candidates in issue-based debate, as well as providing support as needed for parties to develop policy positions and ideological orientations.

DGD can also have an impact by increasing the democratic engagement of political parties through working directly with political parties on individual **political party capacity issues**. Some proposed areas for intervention, based on the findings of this assessment, include the following: 1) Carry out a comprehensive evaluation to generate baseline data on a set of key indicators against which political party development can be measured; 2) support the parties to carry out participatory SWOT self-analyses and develop an action plan or strategic plan mapping out their priority areas for party development in the short- and medium-term; 3) establish a Political Parties' Leadership and Governance Institute that provides professional training and guidance for party leaders at national and state level; 4) engage parties on key dimensions of party building such as: holding regular meetings with members and carrying out community outreach programmes targeting members and supporters; compiling a national, computerised membership database; formulating a party policy platform, engaging party members to contribute to the platform, and publicising the party's platform through debates and meetings; supporting parties to develop resource mobilisation strategies that can help them source funds from members and well-wishers; facilitating the internal

communication of political parties through the creation of communication platforms; and other similar initiatives.

Introduction and Scope of Assignment

The Democratic Governance for Development (DGD) project is managed by UNDP in support of elections and the deepening of democracy in Nigeria. It is funded with contributions from the European Union, the UK Department for International Development (DfID), UNDP, and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The project, which operates between 2010-2015 aims to consolidate and advance democratic governance and accountability in Nigeria to achieve the country's stated development priorities and outcomes as specified in the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) and the Country Programme Action Plan (CPAP).

These objectives are pursued through four components:

1. Promoting Credible, Transparent and Sustainable Electoral Processes
2. Improving the Democratic Quality of Political Engagement
3. Enhancing Participation by Women, Youth and other marginalised groups
4. Strengthening Channels of Civic Engagement.

As part of improving the democratic quality of political engagement, the DGD project in the post-election period aspires to strengthen the capacity of political parties and institutions to deepen democratic practice in Nigeria. Political parties are crucial for the stability and dynamics of a democratic political system. They provide the platform for citizens to associate with like-minded people, to debate among themselves and across the party political divide, and to develop a vision for their societies. They also aggregate these views, wishes and whims of citizens into a manifesto, a programme of policy objectives and options to be translated into projects for the people, when the party attains political power and is in government. As they are today, however, parties in Nigeria fell short of the minimum standard of party operations in line with international best practices.

In the light of the above, the DGD II is planning to engage political parties and provide capacity development support which will enable them to play the critical role they have to play in the democratic political system. In order to do so, the project has planned two complementary activities. The first one is a capacity assessment of political parties, to identify the capacity gaps/needs Nigerian political parties have, and prioritise these capacity gaps so that capacity development support can address the priority needs. The second activity is related to initiating the establishment of political party leadership and governance institute. Ideally the capacity assessment will provide the basis for the curriculum and training focus of the political party leadership and governance institute.

This assessment (carried out between 17th and 26th October, 2012) evaluated political parties in Nigeria, analysing their strengths and weaknesses and providing recommendations for UNDP's initiatives to improve the democratic quality of political engagement. The report is not a comprehensive assessment of all of the developments in political parties and the party system in Nigeria, but it assesses the key capacity issues and trends in the parties and the party system. Finally, it proposes a set of recommendations for UNDP engagement that will make their interaction with political parties more constructive and fruitful, to establish political parties as a democratic channel of engagement in Nigeria's developing political system.

Methodology

The evaluation focused on two dimensions of political parties—the party system and the organizational capacity of particular political parties--in order to analyse both the internal capacity of the parties and the environment in which they operate.

Part 1: Party System Evaluation

The first dimension of the analysis was a classification of Nigeria's party system.

Classification of Nigeria's party-system along the following dimensions:

- 1) Competitiveness
 - a. To what extent is the level of competition high enough to generate a significant possibility of alternation of power?
 - b. To what extent is there competitiveness at the national, gubernatorial, senatorial, assembly, and state assembly elections?
 - c. To what extent is the support of some parties growing or declining, and what does this imply for future competitiveness?
 - d. To what extent does the party's competitiveness dependent on individuals and how consistent is its support across different levels of elections?
- 2) Fluidity/Stability
 - a. To what extent are party allegiances changeable? What change do we see in party voting patterns from one election cycle to the next?
 - b. To what extent do party leaders and representatives cross from one party to another? Do they generally cross to the ruling party or is there significant movement to opposition parties as well?
 - c. To what extent do parties provide stability to the political system? To what extent do they contribute to the instability that sometimes threatens the political system?
- 3) Ideology and Policy

- a. To what extent are parties identified by ideology and policy positions, relative to other considerations like ethnicity, regionalism, religion and personality?
 - b. To what extent do parties use ideological or policy discussions as the basis for engaging with each other and the public?
- 4) Civility and Level of Inter-Party Dialogue
- a. Do parties behave with civility towards each other, or do they refuse to recognise each other's legitimacy? Do parties incite violence towards each other? Do they recognise the results of each other's election victories?
 - b. What kinds of inter-party dialogue take place? Do the parties all participate in any particular dialogue forums? Or do they each hold rival forums due to mistrust in one or another forum?
 - c. Are the parties able to reach consensus through deliberation on issues in any particular dialogue forums, whether through IPAC, NASS Inter-party dialogue, CNPP, or other dialogue opportunities?
- 5) Favourable Legal Regime and Relationship of parties with the EC
- a. To what extent does the legal regime promote the free operation of political parties? To what extent does it promote the democratic operation of parties?
 - b. To what do the parties trust the INEC? What are the key factors underlying their level of trust?
 - c. Does the INEC trust the parties? Does it make any effort to reach out to them to build their trust?
 - d. To what extent are parties able to interact constructively with the INEC and the Parliament to address any issues arising related to concerns about elections?

Part 2: Evaluation of Individual Parties

The second stage will be an evaluation of individual parties with an eye to their capacity, level of internal democracy, political and electoral strength, and level of ideological/policy development.

Evaluation of Parties:

- 1) Level of Institutionalisation, Professionalization, and Capacity:
 - a. Institutionalisation of Party Structures at National and Local Level
 - b. Establishment of Internal Party Elections
 - c. Presence and Practice of Laws, Rules and Procedures
 - d. Organisation and Management of Membership

- e. Technical Party Capacity Regarding:
 - f. Presence of technical staff and human resources
 - g. Resource mobilisation
 - h. Internal and external communication
 - i. Poll watching, documentation and reporting
 - j. Recruiting and managing volunteers
 - k. Ability to use technology effectively
- 2) Level of Internal Democracy
- a. Presence of party rules on selection of leaders
 - b. Use of elections to select leaders and candidates
 - c. Freeness and fairness of party elections
 - d. Control of party resources
 - e. Presence and use of channels of communication between party leaders and supporters
 - f. Popular involvement in party policy decisions
 - g. Inclusiveness of party of dimensions of gender, age, disability status
- 3) Political/Electoral Strength
- a. Ability to field candidates at local and national levels
 - b. Success of candidates at national and local levels
 - c. Extent to which strength is local v. regional v. national
 - d. Degree to which party is growing in electoral strength
- 4) Ideology and policy
- a. Extent to which party has a clear ideology
 - b. Extent to which the party takes clear and consistent policy positions
 - c. Capacity of the party to generate policy positions and papers
 - d. Ability of the party to have a policy impact at national and sub-national legislatures

METHODS

Key Informant Interviews with:

- Party Leaders from PDP, ANPP, CPC, ACN, DPP, ACCORD, and APGA
- Electoral Commission Officials
- Inter Party Advisory Committee and Congress of Nigerian Political Parties members
- Relevant Academics and Analysts
- Donors directly involved in party assistance

Focus Group Discussions with:

- Party leaders and members from each of the Parliamentary parties
- Party leaders from the non-Parliamentary parties

Data analysis of:

- Electoral Commission Data, 2007 and 2011 elections
- Afrobarometer, most recent rounds, and other available public opinion polls that show party affiliation

Review of:

- Reports on elections
- Evaluations/analyses of parties and related relevant reports
- Party manifestos
- Party policy documents and statements where available
- Media reports and media monitoring reports

Historical Background to Political Party Development in Nigeria

The development of political parties in Nigeria dates back to 1923 when the Nigerian National Democratic Party was launched. This followed the establishment of the Nigerian Legislative Council to provide some political space for the participation of indigenes. Franchise was however limited to two cities - Lagos and Calabar. A more vigorous process of party formation was initiated with the formation of the Nigerian Youth Movement in 1938 and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) in 1944 under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay. The Action Group (AG) emerged in 1948 while the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) was established in 1951. These parties constituted themselves as political expressions of ethno-regional associations with the Action Group in the West evolving from a Yoruba cultural association – EgbeOmoOduduwa, the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) evolving from the northern cultural association, JamiyarMutanenArewa and the National Congress of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) which started as a national party but later narrowed its social base to a cultural association, the Igbo State Union of the south east. These ethno-regional elite blocs struggled against each other in configuring the politics of the First Republic as a contest for hegemony by the elites of the major ethnic formations – Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo and the marginalisation of the minority groups. Massive electoral fraud in the 1964 and 1965 elections precipitated a political crisis that led to the collapse of the First Republic, civil war and the entry of the military into Nigerian politics.

The military devoted a lot of attention into devising a new type of party system they thought will be more national and less divisive. Both the Gowon and Murtala regimes tried to steer the country towards a zero party or one party system with the clear intention of establishing more effective state control over the political process. When these attempts were rejected by the political class and civil society, the military used the national unity argument to popularise the idea of the necessity of imposing “Pan-Nigerian” conditions for the registration of parties. The immediate result of this was that the definition of a political party was changed from what it was in the First Republic. Rather than an organisation formed by a number of people to propagate certain ideas and contest for power, it was redefined as an organisation that is “Pan-Nigerian” and so recognised by the state to contest elections. Section 201 of the 1979 Constitution specifically limits the definition of a political party to an organisation recognised by the state to canvass for votes. The law forbids any organisation, not so recognised to canvass for votes. More importantly, both on the juridical and political levels, parties were no longer considered as popular organisations that aggregate and articulate interests and opinions but as corporate entities that are registered with the state. This meant that the political significance of parties were no longer determined by popular support but by administrative fiat.

Thus in the run up to the Second Republic, 150 parties were announced and about 50 of them were fully constituted as parties, but only 18 were able to feel that they had any chance of meeting the imposed conditions and submitted their applications. The state recognised only five of them in 1978. They were the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP), Peoples' Redemption Party (PRP) and Great Nigeria Peoples' Party (GNPP). The 1979 Constitution banned independent candidates from contesting elections and outlawed regional, ethnic, religious and extremist parties. The transition process encouraged the emergence of one dominant party which was the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) which was established in 1978 as a coalition of various fractions who had roots in the regional politics of the First Republic. The founding fathers of the NPN systematically waxed a coalition from the segmented and disparate fractions that constituted the Nigerian political class. All the efforts towards building a hegemonic party did not bear fruit. The 1979 elections revealed that the political parties retained strong regional bases and ended up sharing the votes without any of them completely dominating the others. However, ideological politics was strong with the Peoples' Redemption Party (PRP) and the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) on the left while the other three parties were on the right.

The 1979 Constitutional provisions also created the basis for the elimination of internal party democracy, which impacted greatly on party competition. The fact that parties were parties because they were recognised by the state meant that party leaders were party leaders not because they were popular with their grassroots members, but because they were so recognised by the state. During the Second Republic, politicians ceased trying to persuade their rivals that they should lead; they simply expelled them for anti-party activities by using money, thugs and sometimes the police. The role of party officials became more important than that of party members because they decided on nominations for electoral posts. Factions developed in all the parties, and the state then became the arbiter that decides on which faction was the "genuine" representative of the party. The state, however, acting through the courts, and the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO), were less than neutral in their decisions. In the GNPP and PRP factional crisis, for example, the factions that represented the majority of party members and the elected legislators of the parties were declared illegal and the minority factions were recognised. Many popular politicians were thus denied the right to contest in elections. The logic of democratic politics is that parties try to get popular candidates to improve their electoral chances. The level of electoral fraud in the 1983 elections when the National Party of Nigeria tried to eliminate the other parties from the political arena was so massive that conditions were created for the return of the military three months after the elections. General Muhammadu Buhari, who carried out the coup d'état, did not last long and was replaced by General Ibrahim Babangida.

The Third Republic that never was witnessed a flurry in the establishment of new parties that were subsequently banned by the Ibrahim Babangida Government. His Government then established two political parties: the Social Democratic Party (SDP) – “slightly to the left” and the National Republican Convention (NRC) – “slightly to the right”. When elections were held in 1993 and M. K. O. Abiola of the SDP won, Babangida annulled the election, thus precipitating the collapse of the Third Republic before it took off.

The Fourth Republic was initiated through the 1999 Constitution. For its first elections, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) recognised only three political parties – the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), the All Peoples Party (APP) and the Action for Democracy (AD). Following a Supreme Court judgement on the case *Balarabe Musa v INEC*, conditions for registration of political parties were liberalized.¹ Subsequently, Nigeria’s political space witnessed an unprecedented opening with the emergence of 63 registered political parties by April 2011. Prominent among the new parties are the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the Congress for Political Change (CPC) and the People’s Progressive Alliance (PPA). In addition, many small parties took advantage of the liberalization of the political space to register parties that have proven to be unviable, but meant to be vehicles through which INEC’s funding support to parties could be cornered. In order to promote credible elections with the existence of strong political parties, section 78(6) of the 2010 Electoral Act provided INEC with the power to de-register any political parties that failed to win any executive and legislative seats in elections.

Only ten parties won seats in the 2011 elections. On 18th August 2011, INEC de-registered seven parties that did not contest for any election office in the 2011 elections. They are the Democratic Alternative, National Action Council, National Democratic Liberal Party, Masses Movement of Nigeria, Nigeria People’s Congress, Nigeria Elements Progressive Party and the National Unity Party (Daily Trust, 19/8/2011, page 3). INEC also announced its intention to de-register more parties as soon as the numerous court cases by some of the parties were determined. At the end of 2012, an additional 31 political parties were de-registered, leaving only 27 registered political parties. A full list of recently de-registered parties and currently registered parties is attached as an appendix vi.

¹) Some of the parties that had been refused registration by INEC went to court to challenge their non registration. The matter went right up to the Supreme Court which ruled that INEC had imposed additional conditions not known to the Constitution for the registration of parties. INEC was therefore ordered to register all parties that meet the basic conditions spelt out in the Constitution.

Nigeria's Political Party System

Nigeria operates as a one party dominant political system in which the dominant party controls enormous resources compared to the others. At the beginning of the Fourth Republic, only three political parties were registered, but the Supreme Court decision allowed for the liberalisation of the regime and many more parties were registered. There are three categories of political parties – the dominant party on its own, parties with parliamentary representation and the other small parties most of which were established as possible platforms for important politicians that lose out in the bigger parties or to access resources from the electoral management body. Parties with executive seats are tightly controlled by the President and State Governors, and party leadership is at the beck and call of these executives who can change them at will. The President is the leader of the dominant party although a party chairman exists and state governors are the leaders of their party at that level.

Overall, the liberalisation of the party regime did not significantly change the nature of political parties. Parties are run by godfathers and barons rather than members, and they have clientelist networks that are used by the party barons to “deliver” crowds for rallies and party congresses. Indeed, parties tend to treat their members with disdain and utter disrespect. Consequently, the political relationship within the parties is essentially one between patrons and clients and the clients are mobilised on pecuniary, ethnic or regional basis.

Legal and Institutional Framework including relationship with INEC

Nigeria has an illiberal regulatory regime for the registration and operations of political parties. Section 222 of the Constitution specifically restricts the qualification of a political party to organisations registered by the Independent National Electoral Commission under the stringent conditions stipulated by Sections 221 – 229 of the Constitution. Section 229 of the 1999 Constitution defines political party thus: “Political party includes any association whose activities include canvassing for votes in support of a candidate for election to the office of President, Vice – President, Governor, Deputy Governor or membership of a legislative house or of a local government council. It is therefore a very narrow definition that reduces the essence of political parties to canvassing for votes.

Section 222 of the 1999 Constitution specifies the conditions under which an association can function as a political party. It states that “No association by whatever name called shall function as a political party, unless:

- (a) The names and addresses of its national officers are registered with the Independent National Electoral Commission;
- (b) The membership of the association is open to every citizen of Nigeria irrespective of his place of origin, circumstance of birth, sex, religion or ethnic grouping;
- (c) A copy of its constitution is registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission in such form as may be prescribed by the Independent National Electoral Commission;
- (d) Any alteration in its registered constitution is also registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission within thirty days of the making of such alteration;
- (e) the name of the association, its symbol or logo does not contain any ethnic or religious connotation or give the appearance that the activities of the association are confined to a part only of the geographical area of Nigeria;
- (f) The headquarters of the association is situated in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.
- (g) The names and addresses of its national officers are registered with the Independent National Electoral Commission;
- (h) The membership of the association is open to every citizen of Nigeria irrespective of his place of origin, circumstance of birth, sex, religion or ethnic grouping;
- (i) A copy of its constitution is registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission in such form as may be prescribed by the Independent National Electoral Commission;
- (j) Any alteration in its registered constitution is also registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission within thirty days of the making of such alteration;
- (k) The name of the association, its symbol or logo does not contain any ethnic or religious connotation or give the appearance that the activities of the association are confined to a part only of the geographical area of Nigeria;

The effects of all these is that parties that emerged during the Second Republic and the first phase of the Fourth Republic needed to be very big and capable of controlling a significant region at least.

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the State Independent Electoral Commissions have powers under the Electoral Act 2010 to be present at

conventions, congresses, conferences or meetings of political parties as monitors to ensure that the parties respect their procedures. In the 2011 elections, however, parties were able to disregard the role of INEC and do as they pleased, by marginalising INEC under a barrage of court injunctions. At the party congresses, leaders were elected and candidates were nominated for elective positions. The elections were however pre-determined at most times and party bosses tended to have the final say in the selection of leaders. This is the underlying logic that has led to the process of continuous internal party crisis in the country. INEC has been empowered by the 2010 Electoral Act to deregister parties that fail to win seats, and it has used this power to deregister seven parties so far. Following the termination of various cases in the electoral tribunals, INEC has resumed the process of deregistering political parties and it is expected that about thirty more parties will be deregistered.

Competitiveness

Competition in Nigeria's party system is very intense within the ruling party and less so between the political parties. This is due to the fact that since 1979, Nigeria has developed the tradition of major blocs of the political elite coalescing into a single political party conceived as a hegemonic party. In elections that are relatively free and fair, namely, the 1959, 1979 and 1999 elections, the parties that had the highest votes, the Northern Peoples' Congress, the National Party of Nigeria and the Peoples' Democratic Party failed in their desire to be hegemonic or dominant through the polls. In the subsequent elections of 1964, 1983 and 2003, they all abused their incumbency powers to transform themselves into dominant parties. In essence, they used electoral fraud to boast their control of the political process and weaken opposition parties. Competitive party politics is thus weak as the ruling parties have often falsified the electoral game while the parties in opposition have too narrow a political base and insufficient resources to effectively compete for power.

In the 2011 general elections, the competition for the presidency of Nigeria was between three major candidates and political parties. They are:

- Incumbent Goodluck Jonathan - People Democratic Party (PDP);
- Muhammadu Buhari – Congress for Political Change (CPC); and
- Nuhu Ribadu – Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)

At the polls, the PDP polled 22,495,187 after winning from 24 out of the 36 states and FCT. This was followed by the CPC who polled 12,214,853. The ACN came third with 2,079,151. In terms of the National Assembly, the PDP won over 60% of elected representative and senators in the National Assembly leaving the other political parties to share the remaining seats among themselves. The important thing about the 2011

elections was the marked improvement in the integrity of the elections and the significant reduction of electoral fraud. The Attahiru Jega led INEC has shown a capacity to continuously improve the conduct of elections in the country and move towards free, fair and credible elections. If this tendency is sustained, the competitiveness of political parties will receive a boost and the political class will begin to believe that it is possible to get to power without being the candidate of the ruling party. In other words, party competition will gradually become real.

Fluidity

We have mentioned above that party membership is ephemeral as people engage the political process as patrons or as clients. This means the attachment of people is not really to political parties but to patrons or godfathers who pay for their engagement. The implication of this is that participation in political party activities is mediated by political bosses to whom people owe allegiance. Party life is most active around election time and patrons and godfathers engage in party activity to obtain nomination and elections for themselves or their surrogates. When they fail to obtain the position, they tend to move out with their clients to other parties in search of new opportunities. In Nigeria therefore, both for the patrons and their clients, adherence to political parties is very fluid and opportunistic. It is also true that many people own multiple party cards as they seek to be invited to as many party congresses as possible where the tradition is to pay participants for their votes. Such people therefore move from party to party in search of opportunity.

Ideology and Issue Based Politics

The ideology question and the left/right divide have largely disappeared from Nigerian political parties so conflicts are focused on the issue of personalities, ethnic groups, geopolitical zones and the control of power. And yet, ideology matters in Nigeria. Nigerians are profoundly opposed to the liberal economic policy articulated and imposed on the country by the Bretton Woods institutions. Political parties can therefore articulate this vision but they don't. The Constitution requires that all political parties draw their manifestoes from Chapter Two of the Constitution on Directive Principles of State Policy. That section of the Constitution places a lot of obligation on the state to provide for the welfare of citizens. It is virtually a social democratic manifesto. Party manifestos however elicit little interest or debate because the parties simply provide them to satisfy a constitutional obligation. The key challenge for political party development is therefore to bring issue based politics back to the agenda. During the Second Republic for example, the UPN was known for its commitment to free education, the NPN for its housing policy and the PRP for its opposition to taxing the

peasantry. It is difficult today to associate any issue with any political party. The motivation for engagement in party activities in Nigeria today is simple – power and money. The motivation for political contest is dominance and control not ideology of issues.

Lack of Civility and Exclusionary Politics

Civility is one quality that is largely absent in political party life. The most important aspect of the internal functioning of political parties in Nigeria since 1978 is that they have a persistent tendency to factionalise and fractionalise. As people go into politics to seek power and money, the battle for access is very intense and destructive. Thugs, violence and betrayal are often the currency for political party engagement. Indeed, the period leading to each election is marked by the assassination of party leaders and contestants for various offices. The reality in the political field is that many political parties are essentially operated by political ‘godfathers’ who use money and violence to control the political process. They decide on party nominations and campaign outcomes and when candidates try to steer an independent course, violence becomes an instrument to deal with them. The result is that they raise the level of electoral violence and make free and fair elections difficult. Although parties have formal procedures for the election of their leaders, these procedures are often disregarded; when they are adhered to, the godfathers have means of determining the outcomes. The level of violence, thuggery, and monetization of Nigerian politics provides a significant disincentive for women to take part as candidates, and the monetization aspect also makes young people less likely to influence politics in an effective way due to their lower level of access to resources (see Ezeilo 2012).

Lack of Civility and the Female Politician

The female politician is the major victim of the lack of civility in the political process. She suffers from various modes of marginalisation many of which are hurtful and full of invectives.⁽²⁾ In general, party officials refused to take the candidature of female aspirants seriously. Ironically, one of their main reasons was the affirmative action policy adopted by some of the parties waiving nomination fees for female aspirants. Party executives in most constituencies set out to label women as aspirants with less than the required commitment to the party. Party barons at the local level repeatedly argue that by convincing the national executives to remove nominations fees for them, women have demonstrated a lack of commitment to the development of the party. This argument was used to make declarations that male candidates are more committed to

²) For details, see Ibrahim, Jibrin and Salihu, Amina Women, Marginalisation and Politics in Nigeria, Centre for Democracy and Development, Open Society Initiative and Global Rights, Abuja, 2004.

the party because they make their financial contributions willingly and that commitment should be recognised and rewarded. Such officials therefore succeeded in labelling women aspirants as “anti-party” people and thereby created the basis for their exclusion. It is worthwhile recalling the analysis of Geof Wood on the role of labelling in elimination competition:

“The authors of labels, of designations, have determined the rules of access to particular resources and privileges. They are setting the rules of inclusion and exclusion, determining eligibility, defining qualifications... The authors of labels successfully imposed on others are powerful.”⁽³⁾

Once a negative label has been successfully imposed on an aspirant, it is easy to exclude the labelled person irrespective of the formal rules and procedures established, because the person’s legitimacy has been eroded.

A second negative labelling strategy used to exclude women aspirants has to do with the cultural deviant label. The way the arguments is presented is that Nigerian culture does not accept assertive, or public, or leadership roles for women. Concerted allegations and campaigns portraying women aspirants as people acting in ways that contradict their culture were systematically used as part of the strategy of marginalisation – see Ibrahim and Salihu, 2004. Many party officials made open or covert assertions that some female aspirants are too assertive and independent and therefore cannot be team players.

Closely associated with negative labelling is the direct use of invective, that is, the use of abusive language to demoralise and delegitimise female aspirants. Indeed, it is well known in the sociology of elite competition that the use of invective and insults is an effective strategy of eliminating political rivals. Many of the female aspirants profiled in Ibrahim and Salihu, 2004, were subjected to whisper campaigns and innuendos about their alleged loose sexual and moral standing and some were directly insulted with the use of invectives like prostitute and harlot. Campaigns were organised around the “true marital status” of female aspirants as a means of questioning their moral standing.

As the case of Onyeka Onwenu, the golden voice of Nigerian music shows, women have had to face simultaneous attacks on their marital status from different angles. While some men questioned her legitimacy to contest for the Chair of a Local Government in Igboland because she was married to a Yoruba man, other men were spreading the rumours that because she was using her maiden name, rather than a “marital name”, she must be unmarried and therefore did not have the moral standing to contest for the post. The moral standards Nigerians set for women politicians are higher

³) G. Wood “The Politics of Development Policy Labeling” Development and Change, vol 16, 1985, page 352.

than those for male politicians. It is generally known, for example, that many male politicians go on the campaign trail with girlfriends and/or sex workers. Male supporters see such behaviour as a normal sign of the virility of leaders. For women however, even when they are not sexually promiscuous, indeed, even if they are saints, the burden of proof is placed on them to show that they are morally upright.

The 1979 Constitution introduced the concept of indigeneity into Nigerian public law as an equity principle to guaranty fair regional distribution of power. Over the years, the principle has been subverted and used to discriminate against Nigerian citizens who are not indigenes of the places where they live and work. Women who are married to men who are non-indigenes of their local governments suffer systematic discrimination. In their own constituencies, they are told that by marrying out, they have lost their indigeneity. In their husband's constituency, they are told they do not really belong because indigeneity is based on the consanguinity (blood relation), principle. It is particularly insidious for women because many of them who actually married people from their indigenous areas lost their indigeneity when their home areas were carved out in subsequent state creation exercises as Nigeria moved from three regions to four regions, to twelve states, to nineteen states, to twenty-one states, to thirty states and finally to thirty-six states. The indigeneity ploy is usually used only when women seek for political office. Jadesola Akande shows for example in her profile of Chief Titilayo Ajanaku, that when the aspirant successfully campaigned for the top candidates of the Unity Party of Nigeria – Obafemi Awolowo and Bola Ige, the party was happy. When however, the proposal to offer her a political post in the state arose, they remembered she was “an Egba married to an Ijesha man” and was not therefore an indigene of Oyo state (Ibrahim and Salihu, 2004).

While women suffer greatly from the large repertoire of techniques used to eliminate people from political party primaries, less powerful men also suffer. The lack of civility within party politics has therefore translated into the following elimination tactics:

- 1) Declaration by powerful “party owners”, party barons, state governors, “godfathers” etc that people must support one candidate and others must withdraw based on “consensus” which means the decision of the boss. As these people are very powerful and feared in their communities, their declarations carry a lot of weight.
- 2) Zoning is another technique, which is usually used by party officials. Zoning and other forms of administrative fiat are used to exclude aspirants by simply making the party zone out the seat in question to an area where the aspirant being excluded is not an indigene.
- 3) Violence and the use of thugs and sometimes security operatives are often used by “powerful” candidates opposing challenge from other candidates.
- 4) Money is of course a major factor in party primaries and is used both to bribe officials and encourage voters support particular candidates. Since in general,

aspirants supported by part barons have more money than other aspirants, the playing field is not even as poorer candidates get eliminated because they simply cannot match their opponents – Naira for Naira.

- 5) One of the most disturbing techniques used to eliminate aspirants and candidates is what Nigerians call “results by declaration”. This means that a candidate would win a nomination or election and returning officers who had been bribed or compromised would simply disregard the results and declare the loser to be the winner.

Given the general lack of civility in party politics and the prevailing culture of violence and invective, the Babalakin Commission of Inquiry into the 1983 elections stated in clear terms that:

“The nature of politics and political parties in the country is such that many men and women of ability and character simply keep out of national politics. For the most part, political parties are dominated by men of influence who see funding of political parties as an investment that must yield rich dividends.” (FRN, 1986:348)

The fundamental objective of political party development should be to reverse this trend and get more people with ideas and vision to integrate the leadership of political parties. As Nigeria moves towards the 2015 elections, it is imperative that political parties imbibe the culture of internal democracy as a means of creating harmonious conditions that would not only enhance their performance but also be of help when they eventually win elections.

Although the 2011 elections have been deemed to be the best organized and most credible in the country’s chequered electoral history, they were far from flawless. International observers described the votes as a ‘significant improvement’ over previous ones, which we believe is a correct characterisation. Pre-election violence, including bomb attacks (which killed dozens of people) as well as the cumbersome new voting system (modified open ballot system) used – in which registered voters had to be certified at designated polling units in the morning and then vote in the afternoon negatively impacted on the turnout for these elections.

Capacity of Nigeria’s Political Parties

Political parties in Nigeria demonstrate significant strengths but contain a number of features that make them less than ideal vehicles for the representation of the political demands and aspirations of Nigerians. The largest parties have demonstrated a considerable amount of capacity in mobilising the vote but are weakened by a number of technical limitations and a lack of internal democracy.

Most of the parties assessed in depth for this survey have a fairly strong foundation in terms of their party constitutions. These constitutions provide for the establishment of a clear and coherent party structure and for the conduct of internal democracy within the party. All of the parliamentary party constitutions also prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender (Ezeilo 2012). Some parties go further to include commitments like “ensuring gender balance in governance” (Labour Party) and mainstreaming women’s concerns in all policies and programmes (PDP). It is less clear the extent to which the parties have rules and policies governing both elections and the day-to-day functioning of party offices and activities.

What seems evident is that many of these party laws and rules are not followed or are manipulated to support the interests of powerful individuals and groups in each party, especially on the dimension of internal democracy. As Ibrahim (2011:101), writes, “Parties have formal processes of the election of leaders but these processes are not followed, and when they are, the godfathers have developed ways of determining the outcomes.” Therefore, while the legal framework guiding party activities is reasonable, adherence to these frameworks is often problematic.

Regarding the presence of national and local party structures, there is considerable variance across the parties assessed for this study. Parties tend to have local party structures in areas where they have candidates and elected representatives, but only the PDP can claim structures and branches throughout the country, whereas several of its closest competitors, including ACN, CPC, APGA, and ANPP have widely established structures at sub-national levels, even if these are not uniformly established across the country. The rest of the parties have a sporadic presence throughout the country depending on where they have strongholds, their level of resources to invest, and their types of alliances. Parties generally rely on access to public resources and manifest themselves most strongly where they are in control of a state governorship or a large number of elected representatives.

The party secretariats also vary considerably in their level of existence and functionality depending on the party, with the largest parties having larger and more functional secretariats including zonal, state and local offices, and the smaller parties having much more limited presence. Even in places where secretariats are established, secretariats tend to cater for individual party leaders rather than concentrate on establishing an effective and unified party bureaucracy. With the ending of INEC funding to political parties in 2012, smaller parties face particular difficulties in getting access to resources to maintain their offices.

One of the more challenging areas for parties is the existence and engagement of party members. Although parties obviously have supporters during elections that vote for them, and 49% of Nigerians claimed a party affiliation in the 2008 Afrobarometer survey

[this is between 12-20% lower than the levels of affiliation in Kenya, Ghana and Uganda for the same survey], most parties do not rely on regular members. Few parties at the national level have consistent or reliable membership registers, although ACN seems to be updating theirs, while other parties maintain registers at the branch level. It is unclear whether parties hold regular meetings with membership at various levels. Ibrahim (2011:103) argues that, "In terms of membership, it is clear that party members are active only during elections." This lack of activity between elections may not be so unusual compared to other countries, but it is clear that the extremely elite-dominated nature of Nigeria's parties and their reliance on godfatherism make members particularly disempowered. As one party leader put it, party members need to be "enlightened" to avoid being "victimised" by unscrupulous party leadership.

Two groups of party supporters that remain particularly marginalised from membership and leadership are women and youth. Parties have few women within their leadership structures and run few female candidates. According to research conducted by Joy Ezeilo (2012), women comprise less than 15% of political party leadership structures and less than 6% of all political party candidates. There are few, if any, clear provisions for encouraging women leaders and candidates, or making special provisions to promote gender equality within party manifestos and other party policy documents. At the membership level, only 44% of women feel close to political party, compared to 59% of men, according to the 2008 Afrobarometer survey. Several reasons stand out in terms of explaining the marginalisation of women within parties in Nigeria, including the domination of parties by rich "godfathers" (who are almost exclusively men), the lack of leadership by the state in promoting gender equality in parties, the lack of gender sensitivity among party leadership, the lack of a critical mass of organised women within party leadership circles, the cost of participating in political leadership, and certain values and norms that discourage women's participation in political leadership.

Youth face similar challenges to women in accessing political party leadership, as the combination of the domination of party finances by an elder elite and age-based discrimination severely restrict the opportunities of aspiring young political leaders at the national level. Persons with disabilities (PWD) also face similar challenges to women and youth that are compounded inaccessibility of physical party infrastructure, party information, and discriminatory attitudes within the parties. Although parties demonstrated some awareness of the need to increase opportunities for women, young people, and PWD, their proposals for redressing discrimination include quotas for women that fall well below that national standard of 35% representation for women as enshrined in the 2007 National Gender Policy, such as the 15% proposed by the PDP or the 20% proposed by ACCORD, and most party leadership clearly does not identify affirmative action for women, youth and PWD in parties as a priority. The parties also do not make a particular effort to ensure that women, youth and PWD are included in party

decision-making processes. Although some women in ACN have recently drafted a gender policy and a manifesto for women, this is not the case in other parties, and ACN has not yet clearly demonstrated that it takes the demands of its women leaders seriously.

PARTY CAPACITY: SPECIFIC TECHNICAL ISSUES

At the level of technical capacity issues, the picture varies considerably between the largest two to three parties and the remainder of the registered political parties. In terms of national secretariats, parties range from the PDP with a huge secretariat staff to the smallest parties with 10 or fewer staff. The capacity of these secretariats also varies considerably. One key informant described party leaders as each having “allocations of jobs” at the secretariat, with the individuals placed in those jobs not being required to perform. Some parties for which there was considerable commitment to the party’s leadership or ideals, such as the CPC, were able to draw on considerable volunteerism to meet high labour demands during campaign and primary times.

Many of the parties expressed challenges in terms of their human resource capacity, especially at the state and lower levels. While it was difficult to do a thorough capacity assessment of secretariat staff and state party staff due to the limited time and scope for this assessment, many of the largest parties, such as PDP, ACN, CPC, and APGA include individuals with substantial experience and expertise. The largest parties clearly have the capacity to handle public relations, resource mobilization, and management of national party secretariats. Some informants remarked, however, that the parties are run as collections of individuals rather than unified secretariats working together for a joint purpose.

Some areas where parties have considerably less capacity include the following:

- **Human resource capacity at the state and local level.** The largest parties have local leadership that is politically strong at the community level or the state level but often lack key professional skills.
- Parties frequently fail to generate **effective internal communication** between their national and sub-national branches.
- Related to this challenge are parties’ **limited abilities in use and application of technology**. Although some parties have demonstrated successful use of technology in campaigning, most party leadership, due partly to its age, have yet to take advantage of technological innovations like text messaging to party leaders and members for organisational and information sharing purposes, raising money through mobile money or online fundraising, and generating on-line policy debate on key party policy issues.

- Parties have also yet to attempt to build **national, data-rich, and computerized membership databases**, partly due to weak linkages between national, state, local government and ward party offices, and partly due to the political manipulations of party membership used by party candidates to exclude their opponents within the party.
- Developing a uniform, consistent and accessible way of **recruiting, admitting, and managing members** is also lacking, with a number of observers commenting that the PDP has made it extremely difficult for members to join and frequently manipulates membership when parties hold primaries.
- Parties raised concerns about their abilities to **mobilize resources and raise funds**, thereby limiting their activities that require significant resources. These concerns were voiced most strongly by the non-parliamentary parties.
- Parties have yet to demonstrate competence in **research and analysis** that looks at their own performance and develop clear plans and strategies that provide national frameworks for addressing their challenges and building the party
- Parties have yet to develop an **inclusive and research-based policy and manifesto development process** that provides a clear policy framework for them to govern; nor have parties developed a consistent way of monitoring and evaluating the extent to which their elected leaders are realising their manifestos during their terms of office
- Related to this, parties lack **ideological or institutional identities** outside their ethno-regional or religious affiliations, or their leading figures

Party Capacity: Internal Democracy

Internal democracy in all of Nigeria's political parties is limited. While there are rules on primary and internal party elections, parties often ignore, twist or otherwise subvert the rules to arrive at candidates through processes of selection, negotiation, or manipulation. The principle of zoning, in terms of providing equal opportunities by geographical area, sometimes serves to disenfranchise candidates who might otherwise contest.

Individual Political Party Assessment

The People's Democratic Party

Nigeria's largest party by electoral strength, the People's Democratic Party won the 2011 presidential elections with a 27% margin and won a significant majority of gubernatorial, senatorial and representative seats. The PDP demonstrated particular

strength in the South-East and South-South, while its presidential candidate won in almost all states outside the North. The PDP has maintained a dominant position in Nigeria for the last four election cycles, and remains the catch-all party for a wide range of political elites.

The People's Democratic Party is not perceived as a party with a particularly strong ideological identity, but has been described as a "centrist" party that "operates more as a catch all organisation that houses a range of political positions" (Domingo and Nwankwo 2010:5). The party espouses "conservative positions on social issues" while promulgating "economic liberalism" and "welfare protection" (Domingo and Nwankwo 2010:5). The PDP's strength over time is based less on its ideology than on its incumbency and the access to resources and power that accompany its incumbent status.

Of all of Nigeria's political parties, the PDP is the only one with branches and structures in all states across the country. At the national level, the PDP secretariat occupies a four-story building in Abuja with several hundred staff. Its actual membership is uncertain and despite being a catch-all party for candidates, it creates barriers to accessing party membership, leading to a smaller membership that might be expected for a party with its electoral strength.

On the dimensions of internal democracy, most observers indicate significant problems of democracy within PDP internal elections, to the extent that powerful "godfathers" engineer the unopposed candidacies of their allies. Its lack of an authoritative membership register makes manipulation of delegates and voters in party primaries possible. On the side of decision-making in the party, however, the "catch all" nature of the party fails to control significant internal dissent, as in the case of the party representatives in the House of Representatives, who supported a speaker against the party wishes, and now work together with opposition parliamentarians, while promoting an agenda of their own. Due to the limited ability of the party to discipline its members who do not follow the party lead, there is space for considerable contestation within the party, even though there are few channels for participatory internal party decision-making.

The PDP still faces considerable challenges in the area of inclusiveness, despite positive commitments on gender issues in its constitution, including affirmative action for women in the workforce, mainstreaming women's concerns into all policies and programmes, legislating against traditional practices harmful to women, and strengthening women societies to make them more effective in empowerment of women (Ezeilo 2012). Despite these commitments, the party only provides for a minimum of 15% of women in party leadership positions, which is well below the standard of the

National Gender Policy at 35%. Furthermore, based on the analysis of Ezeilo (2012), less than 6% of the PDP's candidates for office in 2011 were women.

Action Congress of Nigeria

The Action Congress of Nigeria, one of Nigeria's growing parties, ranks as the country's second largest party in terms of gubernatorial, senatorial, and representative seats. ACN's presidential candidate also finished third in the 2011 presidential election, although it had less than 10% of the presidential vote. The ACN saw its share of the vote in South-West grow considerably in the 2011 elections and now occupies the governorships of all South-West states except Ondo State, emphasizing its prominence as the leading party in the South-West. This represents a growth from their modest beginning of only occupying one state governorship position to a contingent of six state governors. Despite this popularity in the South-West, the ACN has yet to make significant headway into areas outside this core base, although it is trying to build on a presence in some of the "north central" states. To have a significant chance of getting access to power the ACN has entered into merger talks with the ANPP and the CPC, but prospects for such a merger appear slim at present.

In terms of ideology, the ACN identifies somewhat as a "social democratic" party and generally is trying to present itself as a progressive alternative. Its choice of presidential candidate, Nuhu Ribadu, a former leader in anti-corruption efforts, emphasizes the party's attempt to position themselves as a progressive alternative to the PDP, as do its efforts to promote the profiles of its successful governors of Lagos and Ekiti States. The ACN makes a commitment to "equitable representation for women and youths" on its National Executive Committee, and also adds two national delegates from each LGA, one of whom must be a female. Another trend within ACN is the effort of some of its leaders to draft a "women's manifesto" to elaborate the demands of women within the party and encourage the party's male leadership to take these demands seriously. The actual position of women in leadership in the ACN and as candidates, however, is still weak, with only 5% of the ACN candidates fielded in 2011 being female, and the presence of women in party leadership positions continues to be limited.

On the level of party administration and management, the party has a modest secretariat staff of 27 people at the national level and has offices in many states. The party identified limited technical skills of many of its leaders at the state and local levels as a significant challenge for organizing the party. Nonetheless, the party indicated that it is trying to rationalize membership through building a computerized national party register. ACN leaders estimated that the party had 6-7 million members during the 2011 elections, and is targeting growing to 15 million by the time of the 2015 elections. ACN requires its leaders to pay 50 naira as a monthly fee, to support costs of the party and to keep track of its active membership.

The party has an active National Publicity Secretary who issues regular statements in the press and raises the profile of the party as the leading opposition. On the dimension of internal communication, however, it is unclear the extent to which the party is able to carry out effective internal communication with its sub-national leadership and membership. The party's limited use of technology for party organisation and information sharing purposes serves as a barrier to cost-effective organisation and communication within the party.

ACN leaders indicated that their use of direct primaries for all party elections except the presidential primaries represented an improvement in internal democracy compared to the other parties that relied more heavily on delegates. Observers of the 2011 ACN primaries, however, noted that there were a number of instances where prominent party leaders forced some candidates to step down, including the case where Senator Bola Tinubu's wife Oluremi was imposed as the party's candidate, and the case of Senator Isiaka Ajimobi in Oyo State primaries (Ibrahim, 2011). Violence and protests also strained the credibility of the Edo State primaries. Overall, internal democracy through elections in the ACN still remains a work in progress. On the dimension of democracy in decision-making, the ACN expressed their intention to submit their revised manifesto to a group of zonal leaders for feedback and contributions. Otherwise there is little evidence that the ACN has mechanisms to involve its sub-national leadership and membership in decision-making.

Congress for Progressive Change

The CPC, one of Nigeria's newest parties, formed in 2009, is the third largest party in terms of seats in the National Assembly and the second largest in terms of presidential vote in the 2011 elections. It has only one governor in Nassarawa State. The CPC managed to sweep Nigeria's presidential vote in the Northern states, but got considerably fewer votes in the South and especially in the South-South. Overall, it captured 32% of the vote in the presidential election, 6 seats in the Senate and 31 seats in the House of Representatives.

The CPC lacks an ideology distinguishing itself from Nigeria's other parties but instead revolves around the charismatic personality of its leader, former military Head of State Muhammadu Buhari. Buhari's poor performance of the party's gubernatorial, senatorial, and representative candidates indicates CPC's focus on the presidential race, some challenges in its primaries, and the degree to which the party depends on the personality of its top leader. CPC leadership insisted that CPC was the only party that didn't have to "buy a crowd" to attend the rallies of its candidate. Since the creation of the party, CPC leadership indicated that they had struggled to keep up with the huge increase in membership since Buhari had joined the party. If the party has elements of

ideology, these coincide with Buhari's main issues, including fighting corruption and establishing the rule of law.

In terms of the party's organization, the CPC has 30 paid staff at the national secretariat; during campaign times it can draw on as many as 150 volunteers who are motivated by the inspirational leadership of Buhari. According to the CPC National Working Committee, the party "still needs to strengthen the structure of the party from top to bottom." CPC is also in the process of revising its party constitution, to establish itself more effectively. The party leadership considers itself a fledgling party that was formed too close to the elections to transform itself from a "movement" into a party. The party estimates its current membership at 3 million members. CPC does not have a national register but is planning to undertake a biometric re-registration of its members. According to party leadership, CPC members are eager to contribute resources to the party, and the national party leadership did not have to contribute anything to Buhari's rallies.

Despite its allegations that it was rigged out of the 2011 elections, the party seems to have fared little better in the ratings of its own internal party elections. According to Ibrahim (2011), CPC leaders replaced gubernatorial candidates who had been successful in the Kano and Katsina primaries and instead installed candidates chosen by national party leadership. These internal conflicts over primaries left the party disorganized and factionalized, perhaps contributing to its poor performance in gubernatorial elections. The party can draw on considerable voluntary commitment from its members but has not yet set up the kind of party structures that would encourage participation in decision-making.

On the dimension of inclusiveness, trends in CPC mirrored those in other parties, with the party having only 5.5% of its candidates being females in the 2011 elections. None of CPC's female candidates were successful in 2011 at the Senate, House of Representative, or State House of Assembly levels. In a review of party constitutions by Ezeilo (2012), the author highlighted CPC as one of the parties with no specific articles in its party constitution addressing gender issues, affirmative action, or women's political participation.

All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP)

The ANPP is one of the more well-established parties in Nigeria but has seen a significant decline in its membership and seats since its establishment in 1998, partly due to the PDP's overwhelming of the ANPP in the 2003 and 2007 elections, during which the ANPP lost much of its regional support base. The ANPP, who lost charismatic leader Muhammad Buhari to the CPC during the 2011 campaigns, captured three governorships, eight senatorial seats, and 29 assembly seats. The ANPP's primary

strength is in a few key states in the North, although it does have a modest presence elsewhere, as in Ebonyi State. Although the ANPP leadership highlights its retention of its gubernatorial seats between 2007 and 2011, it is clearly a party that is “losing steam” as evidenced by its presidential candidate only getting only 2% of the vote in 2011. To counter this change and participate in Nigeria’s next government, ANPP is considering entering into an electoral alliance with CPC and ACN.

To shake off its image as an “ultra-conservative” party that is losing ground to the CPC, the ANPP leadership is attempting an ideological re-orientation and “re-branding”, where it moves to identify itself as “progressive” or at least as a “centrist” party, and considering a new range of policy issues including the environment, affirmative action for women, youth and PWD, and free education. Whether this will really change the ANPP ideological direction is unclear, but it is unlikely that the party can regain lost ground and move outside its current political stronghold without some ideological and leadership renewal.

The ANPP has a secretariat staff of 64 people and party structures in all states. Capacity of some of these structures is very low, and the party has set up a leadership and training institute to try to meet gaps in the capacity of its leadership. Training of its national and local staff in areas like using technology, research and knowledge management, and managing human resources would be helpful for the party. Party leadership indicated that the party was currently uncertain of how many members it has, but that it has membership registers at the branch level, while the ANPP intends to compile into one national computerized register. The ANPP is currently in the process of revising its constitution and clearly understands that some sort of party reforms is necessary, but whether there is enough commitment and motivation among the leadership to ensure that reforms adequately address the party’s challenges is unclear.

On the dimension of internal democracy, the ANPP claims to follow its constitution rigorously. Few observers, however, rate internal democracy in the ANPP as significantly better than any of Nigeria’s other leading political parties.

All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA)

The APGA is a party with most of its strength in the South-East and particularly among the Igbo. In the 2011 elections it won two governorship seats, one seat in the Senate and six seats in the House of Representatives. APGA did not run a presidential candidate in 2011 as it supported the PDP presidential candidate. During these elections, the party faced a particular identity challenge as it supported the Goodluck Jonathan presidential campaign. It is not surprising, therefore, that APGA lost a lot of seats to the PDP in its base in the South East. Due to internal wrangles, APGA is one

of the few major parties not in a discussion to form an electoral alliance against the PDP.

Ideologically APGA identifies itself as a progressive party with a particular commitment to women and youth, as demonstrated by APGA nominating a female candidate for Speaker of the State House of Assembly and other positions. In its constitution, APGA commits to advocating for affirmative action in the employment sector to support women seeking employment; it also commits to fighting gender-based discrimination and inequality (Ezeilo 2012). APGA includes a statement that it will “uphold the Beijing Declaration on affirmative action for women.” This commitment on paper seems to have translated into APGA supporting female candidates to a greater extent than any other party in Nigeria, with 12% of APGA’s candidates in the 2011 election being women (Ezeilo 2012).

The APGA national secretariat has 14 paid staff but the party has not compiled its membership strength on a national level. Its members, who are registered at the ward level, are particularly numerous in the South East where the party claims to have thousands of members in each ward. APGA expressed the intention of compiling a national membership register. APGA explained that it will always have a future because its core constituency, the Igbo, is very committed to the party.

ACCORD

ACCORD is one of the smallest parties, with only five representatives in the House of Representatives, and no governors or senators. ACCORD has a geographical stronghold in Oyo State and to a lesser extent in Delta State. According to ACCORD’s leadership, the party was founded by members of the PDP including the former chairperson of the local governments association, who used his connections with local governments to establish branches and members throughout the country. The party lost this key founding member when he was appointed to a ministerial post by PDP and left the party. Although the party maintains an independent base of support, the boundaries between it and the PDP are extremely fuzzy, with ACCORD leadership admitting that they work “hand in hand” with the ruling party.

The party claims to have the same ideology as PDP but says it operates not as an opposition but in the context of “offering an olive branch to everybody.” If confusion were to happen in PDP or other party primaries, ACCORD is particularly likely to benefit, according to its leadership, by being the first party on the ballot due to alphabetical order. In this way ACCORD is not an ideological party but a “receiving” party for aspirants from PDP and other parties that lose in their party primaries and wish to stand on another ticket. When asked what issues it campaigns on, the party leadership identified local issues, where it can challenge parties on their performance in

office and then identify areas where ACCORD could improve on the incumbents. ACCORD states in its constitution that it will empower women to be represented at all levels of politics and combat gender-based discrimination, and that it encourages women to stand for party offices at all levels and as candidates. ACCORD does not have any clear mechanism for this at present, however, and its leaders claim to be considering quotas of 20% for women in leadership in the party, well under the National Gender Policy's recommended minimum of 35%. In the 2011 elections, 6.5% of ACCORD's candidates were women, well below such parties like APGA and Labour Party, but very close to the average for Nigerian political parties.

ACCORD does not know its current membership but estimates it to be around 250,000-300,000. Their number used to approach three million, according to its leaders, but declined since 2007 due to the defections of many senior party leaders. Most party members are very poor and can't contribute to the party; instead they expect support in their welfare from the party. The party divided its secretariat into three offices based on the zones where they have support: one office for Abuja and the North, one in Oyo for the South West; and one in Delta for the South East. The party has difficulty raising funds, especially since INEC eliminated party finance, and operates on a small budget of approximately 30 million Naira each year. It has few women in its party structure but has been able to nominate some youth candidates and encourage other youth to support their campaigns.

Democratic People's Party

The Democratic People's Party is a small party with one senator and one representative. DPP was originally formed as a breakaway from the ANPP, with its base in Sokoto, but after this leader left the DPP, its current stronghold is the Delta. The party thinks it has about 300,000 members, although it does not have a comprehensive membership register, and most of the party's members are in Delta State. The party has no clear ideological focus but is looking to position itself to grow based on where it can identify electoral opportunities. It has limited constitutional provisions or programs to support the participation of marginalized groups in party activities, with no clear provisions for promoting women in the party, and only 2% of its candidates in the 2011 elections were female.

The Labour Party (LP)

The LP is one of the few parties with a clear documented ideology that has a focus as a party of the workers⁴. The central elements of its vision include "full employment," "economic empowerment of all Nigerians," "equitable income redistribution," and other

⁴ For this research the consultants did not interview the LP leadership, because the LP was extremely busy due to the ongoing Ondo State Governorship by-elections. The women leader of the party was, however, interviewed.

elements closely linked to a social democratic ideology. While the LP remains a regional party with a base in a few states, in particular Ondo and to some extent Plateau, it nevertheless remains visible on the national scene due to its control of the Ondo State governorship. It has nine seats in the House of Representatives, two in the Senate, and controls the Ondo State Assembly, while it also has four seats in the Plateau State Assembly. The LP has also been notable for its commitment to including women in leadership, as it has four women on its National Executive Committee, and has a leader who some of its women members label as “gender sensitive.” Almost 12% of the LP’s candidates for office in 2011 were women, the highest percentage after APGA. As discussed above, the LP’s Constitution calls for gender balance in governance. Analysts also point to the LP’s successful engagement of women as a key plank in its campaign strategy in Ondo State.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the significant gaps in the party system and in political party capacity at present, there are considerable opportunities for productive engagement but also immense difficulties in building initiatives that can have an impact, especially if those initiatives challenge the interests of powerful “godfathers” within the parties. At both the party system level, however, and the level of the individual parties, there are a number of interventions which can have a positive influence on increasing the democratic character of Nigeria’s political processes.

PARTY SYSTEM LEVEL INTERVENTIONS

At the level of the party system, several key challenges continue to restrict democracy party competition, including lack of consensus on the legal framework regulating political parties, poor relationships between parties and INEC, lack of civility and inter-party dialogue, lack of cohesion in political parties leading to frequent “cross carpeting” between parties, a lack of ideological and policy orientation in the contest for power between parties, significant barriers to the participation of women, youth and persons with disabilities in leadership and decision-making at the party level and at the party system level, and a limited ability of opposition parties to compete with the ruling party due to the lack of a level playing field. To address some of these challenges UNDP may consider the following possibilities for engagement:

- 1) To increase civility between political parties, and to encourage political parties to address electoral issues in a constructive forum, the UNDP should consider **supporting an inter-party dialogue forum that consists of the parliamentary parties.** To be effective, this forum needs to bring all the parliamentary parties together at the table, and ensure that both the ruling party and the opposition parties agree to take the issues raised at the forum seriously. Such a forum

could help reduce electoral and political violence, develop an agenda for electoral reform and improved elections management, and build a culture of trust, tolerance and acceptance of diversity in Nigeria's charged political climate. This forum would not necessarily replace the existing forums of IPAC and CNPP, but would complement them as a space to address issues that need the presence of all of Nigeria's largest parties, whether on electoral issues, conflict management, legal reform, policy dialogue, or reducing hostility between competing political parties. To ensure that the inter-party forums are adequately representing all Nigerians, parties should ensure that their delegations include significant numbers of women, youth and persons with disabilities. The agenda for dialogue forums should also be inclusive to address electoral- and party-related concerns of particular interest to women, youth and PWD.

- 2) To improve trust between political parties and the INEC, UNDP should consider **supporting regular liaison meetings to address concerns of the parties and INEC**. Such meetings could take place in conjunction with the inter-party dialogue forum recommended above, or the meetings could be held under different auspices. Frequent meetings involving INEC staff and top party leadership could begin to remove some of the mistrust that occurred as a result of the 2011 elections and prepare the ground for more positive relations in the run-up to the 2015 elections. UNDP should consider whether it can involve a suitable local civil society organisation to convene such meetings or whether the parties and INEC would prefer another credible and neutral convener for the meetings. Like the inter-party dialogue forums, the liaison meetings should involve significant representation of women, youth, and PWD, and the specific concerns they have related to the electoral process.
- 3) To reduce excessive "cross carpeting" and begin to build party loyalty, the UNDP might consider **supporting legal reforms** (such as the ones proposed during the current constitutional review process) **that limit the ability of political leaders to switch allegiances frequently between political parties**. Although care should be taken not to restrict excessively ability to change party loyalty, the following reforms might support a process by which increased party loyalties can be built over time: 1) a law restricting the ability of party leaders to switch parties once elected, forcing them to resign their seats if they switch party allegiances. Such a law would both limit defection and discourage party leaders from switching parties just to find a party that will make them a candidate on its ticket; 2) a law restricting party leaders who stand in one party's primary and lose from standing in another party's primary during the same election cycle. Such a law could prevent strategic defections and would help build party loyalty and party discipline. It might also build pressure for greater internal democracy within parties, and freer and fairer primary elections; and 3) any other legal reforms that

would discourage frequent switching of party allegiance without unduly constraining individual freedom of association.

- 4) To improve the competitiveness of the party system and create a more level playing field, the UNDP should also consider **mechanisms that ensure that state resources are not used to the advantage of the incumbent in elections, and that all candidates get mechanisms for equal access to the media**. Such an approach would require involvement from a governmental or civil society monitoring body (or both), either some sort of Political Party Registry Commission or INEC (which may be over-stretched already), or a suitable well-established, neutral and credible civil society monitor who could then provide information to an appropriate regulator. The monitors and regulators should closely monitor, assess, and publish the extent to which incumbents are using public resources during campaign periods. It should also closely monitor media houses to ensure that equal access is being provided, especially by state media. If incumbents are using public resources for campaign purposes, there should be penalties that are sufficient to disincentivise the use of public resources.
- 5) To encourage a policy-focused and issue-based campaign period, the UNDP should consider **sponsoring and publicising widely a series of debates and town-hall meetings that engage parties and candidates in issue-based debate**. Such a series of debates and town-hall meetings would provide candidates with much-desired publicity while also discouraging less policy-based forms of engagement. Ideally such engagements would begin well before the campaign to encourage the parties and candidates to develop ideology and policy positions before the elections. The debates would concentrate on arriving at and drawing out party policy positions rather than those of individual candidates. To support both the development of serious policy content and the public appeal of the debates, the debates and town hall meetings would be co-sponsored by a policy research institute and a media house. If the parties expressed interest, the UNDP could provide the support of consultants and researchers to help the parties develop policy and ideological positions on key themes (tying in with party-specific interventions as listed below).
- 6) To build greater consensus on a legal framework for regulating parties, and support legal reforms to achieve a better legal framework, the UNDP should consider **supporting dialogues and reform initiatives on areas including: party finance, party regulation, party internal democracy, proportional representation electoral systems, affirmative action for women, youth and PWDs in parties, and party regulatory options**. The UNDP should also consider supporting campaigns that advocate for reforms that can provide for a

more democratic framework for parties to operate and for citizens to use parties as avenues to participate in democracy.

To address the challenge of lack of participation by: 1) women; 2) youth; and 3) persons with disabilities in leadership and decision-making in the party system and as candidates, the UNDP should consider **supporting working groups on gender, youth and disability issues to advocate for reforms such as:** legal changes mandating affirmative action in political parties and among lists of candidates fielded by political parties; Providing reserved seats in national and local assemblies for marginalized groups; Development of agreements among all parties to engage marginalized groups at certain levels and based on certain principles; Adoption of non-discrimination and empowering policies by parties towards marginalized groups; Adoption of key policy issues of each marginalized group by leading parties in the party system; Public information campaigns to generate awareness on issues related to participation of marginalized groups in parties and politics, to generate support for initiatives.

INDIVIDUAL PARTY LEVEL INITIATIVES

As noted in previous sections, parties also suffer from a number of internal capacity challenges. To help parties meet some of these gaps, the following initiatives are recommended to help meet some of the key challenges:

- 1) As a first stage, the UNDP should **develop an international best practices model of how political parties strive to develop themselves, improve their capacity, incorporate marginalized groups into party activities and leadership, and popularize themselves to potential members.** This would serve as a heuristic model against which a general assessment of political parties can be made.
- 2) Drawing on the best practices model, the UNDP should consider supporting the **conduct of a comprehensive evaluation to generate baseline data on a set of key indicators, including information on women, youth and PWD in the party, against which political party development can be measured.** This evaluation can be used to track political party development over time and can also be used to provide public information on the status of political party development. Due to the sensitive nature of an evaluation like this, the UNDP should engage a partner in civil society and work with political parties to ensure that any evaluation carried out does not disclose confidential party information or create an unfair advantage for one party over the other.
- 3) To begin the process of party development, the UNDP should engage consultants to support the parties to **carry out participatory SWOT self-analyses** that encourage the parties to reflect on their current level of development and how they intend to build themselves during the coming years. Drawing on each of the self-analyses, each party **should develop an action**

plan or strategic plan mapping out their priority areas for party development in the short- and medium-term. These will help orient the parties towards setting strategic goals that they can work together as a party. By setting their own priorities, the parties will feel a sense of ownership over their programming, and will identify priorities that are more relevant to them. Such a prioritised strategic plan or action plan can also serve as a document that can identify a set of party development goals on which groups like UNDP can engage to support parties. UNDP should work with parties to ensure that their SWOT analyses and plans incorporate ways to evaluate the responsiveness of the party to gender, youth and persons with disabilities and their core policy concerns.

- 4) To develop human resource capacity amongst party leadership at the national and state level, the UNDP can establish a **Political Parties' Leadership and Governance Institute** that provides professional training and guidance for party leaders at national and state level. This institute would target party leaders with a package of technical skills and knowledge of best practices that can help them meet gaps in party development including but not limited to: membership recruitment, management and retention; using technology for party organization; developing party policies and ideology (with a significant component of these focusing on core policy concerns of women, youth and persons with disabilities); community outreach; coalition building; incorporating women, youth and persons with disabilities in party leadership and decision-making; managing internal party communication; setting up and managing party offices; planning for being an alternative government; and building party discipline. The UNDP and parties would work together to select loyal party members that are well-placed within the party to spearhead improved party management.
- 5) Based on the priorities identified by parties in their planning exercises, the UNDP can **engage parties on key dimensions of party building** such as the following:
 - a. Holding regular meetings with members and carrying out community outreach programs targeting members and supporters
 - b. Compiling a national, computerized membership database
 - c. Formulating a party policy platform, engaging party members to contribute to the platform, and publicizing the party's platform through debates and meetings as discussed in "party system level interventions" above or through similar activities
 - d. Supporting parties to develop resource mobilization strategies that can help them source funds from members and well-wishers, and use those funds to establish party offices and structures nationwide
 - e. Supporting initiatives that seek to increase the presence and influence of women in party activities, leadership, decision-making and policy-making,

such as affirmative action reforms, creation of forums and spaces for women in political parties to access leadership and provide input on party decisions, and making the structures and procedures of the party more responsive to gender concerns

- f. Support initiatives that mainstream youth and youth issues in party activities, work, leadership, decision-making, and policy-making, including affirmative action reforms, creation of spaces for youth leadership and opportunities for youth internship in parties, involving youth in policy-making processes, and constituency outreach activities for youth
- g. Support initiatives that promote the greater engagement of PWD in party activities, leadership, work, decision-making and policy-making, including affirmative action reforms, policies promoting physical accessibility of party offices and activities, and accessibility of party information for the deaf and blind
- h. Facilitating the internal communication of political parties through the creation of web-based, text-based, and phone-based communication platforms that can help parties relay information to their members and receive feedback from those members, and conduct research and mini-surveys

The UNDP should approach these projects by offering to them to any party that expresses interest, based on their inclusion in the party planning documents, but also appreciate that parties may be at different levels of development and may thus require different types of support.

Appendix I: List of persons interviewed for this report

Name of Person	Position or Title	Institution
Lawal Shwaibu	National Secretary	Action Congress of Nigeria
Garba Abari	Director of Research	
Regina Omo-Agege	Director, Political Parties Monitoring and Liaison	INEC
Antonia Taiye Okoosi-Simbine	Professor	Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research
Abubakar Momoh	Professor	Lagos State University
Various members including Chairperson, National Secretary, National Publicity Secretary, and others	National Working Committee	Congress for Progressive Change
Various members including Chairperson, National Secretary, National Publicity Secretary	National Executive Committee	All Nigerian Peoples Party
Bamanga Tukur	National Chairperson	Peoples Democratic Party
Fort Dike	Honourable Member of Parliament Chairperson, House Committee on Inter/Intra Party Relations	National Assembly
Willy Ezugwu Sunny Moniedale	Secretary General	Conference of Nigeria Political Parties
Abdullahi Dan'Azumi Mohammed	Acting National Secretary	Democratic Peoples Party

Shittu Muhammad	Chairman, IPAC and RPN Party	Inter-Party Council	Advisory
Major Agbor	Secretary, NNPP		
Muhammad Nalado	Chairman, Accord		
Lewis Abah	Chairman, CAP		
Bala Muhammad	Chairman, PAC		
Hayatu sanusi	Kowa Chairman		
Emmanuel Mok	Chairman, NTP and IPAC secretary		
Barr. Sikiru Oke	Deputy Chairman	ACCORD	
Egnr. Ogoh Ejire	Secretary		
Micheal Lerema	Treasurer		
Hajiya Maryam Sale	Woman leader		
Abdulrahman D Muhammad	Youth Leader		
Barrister Ebere Efendu	National Woman Leader	Labour Party	
Hajiya Hafsat Baba	National Woman Leader	Action Congress of Nigeria	
Hajiya Hadiza Ali	National Woman Leader	All Progressive Grand Alliance	
Shitu Muhammad	Chairman, IRPN/IPAC	Focus group Discussion of Non-Parliamentary Parties	
Major Agbor	Secretary, NNPP		
Abah Lewis	Chairman, CAP		
Muhammad Nalado	Chairman, Accord		
Bala Muhammad	Chairman PAC		

Senator Wamba	Chairman, PSP	
Maxi OKwu	Chairman, CPP	
Hayatu Sanusi	Chairman, Kowa	
Yusuf Yakubu	Chairman, ACD	
YunusaTanko	Chairman, NCP	
Emmanuel Mok	Chairman, NTP	
Peter Ameh	Chairman, PPA	
Muhammad Danjuma	Chairman, MRDD	
Zanna Usman	Chairman, NMPP	
Yahaya Ndu	Chairman, ARP	
Balarabe Musa	Chairman, PRP	
Victor Umeh	National Chairman	All Progressive Grand Alliance
Sani Abdullahi Shinkafi	National Secretary	All Progressive Grand Alliance

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Appendix III: Questionnaire for Political Parties

Party Capacity Questions:

- 1) Does your party have a clear and coherent constitution? Does it have party policies, rules and procedures? What are the gaps, if any?
- 2) Does your party have structures at all the levels specified in your party constitution? Are those structures active during elections? Between elections?
- 3) Does your party have a secretariat and party offices to manage party activities? Are these offices well-utilized?
- 4) Does the party have adequate human resources to manage party activities, and are these human resources well-managed?
- 5) Does the party have a capacity to mobilize resources from members, supporters, and well-wishers? Does it manage the funds it raises in a transparent and efficient way?
- 6) Does the party have a policy for external communication and public relations? Does it carry out its public relations effectively?
- 7) Does the party have a policy and procedures for internal communication? Does it share information, provide appropriate channels for communication within the party, and use these channels frequently and effectively?
- 8) Does the party maintain membership records? Are these records complete and detailed? Does the party have a significant membership base? How does it try to keep members in touch with party activities?
- 9) Is the party able to systematically and accurately monitor election polls? Does it produce thorough and detailed reports on the polling process and take appropriate follow up action?
- 10) Does the party recruit and manage volunteers effectively? Does it use technology to enrich and strengthen its activities in areas like public relations, internal communication, and poll watching?
- 11) Does the party have an ideology that it uses to generate policy positions? How does the party generate policy positions and campaign platforms? Does it have capacity in policy research, analysis and formulation?

Internal Party Democracy

- 1) Does the party have clear policies, procedures, and rules for holding regular elections to party leadership and for selecting candidates? Does the party follow these guidelines, and do they provide meaningful democracy in the party?
- 2) Are internal party elections and party primaries free and fair? What are the problems, if any?
- 3) Who controls the party resources? Do some individuals hold excessive influence in the party due to their wealth and privilege?
- 4) How much communication is there between party leaders and ordinary members? To what extent are party decisions made in a participatory manner?
- 5) Are women and youth involved in party decision making? Are women and youth involved in party leadership? If not, what are the obstacles to their participation?

Political Strength and Support Questions:

- 1) Does your party field candidates for elective positions and national level? What are the challenges in cases where your party does not field candidates for certain positions?
- 2) Is your party able to generate nationwide support? If your party is largely restricted to one or several regions for its support, what are the obstacles to your party being a truly national party in your opinion?
- 3) To what extent does your party have a strategy for growth and sustainability?
- 4) To what extent does your party use public opinion polls to gauge its support?
- 5) What are the major reasons why people support your party?

Party System Questions:

- 1) To what extent are political parties in Nigeria well-established and stable?
- 2) To what extent do political parties in Nigeria have ideologies?
- 3) To what extent do political parties in Nigeria have truly nationwide support?
- 4) To what extent do political parties in Nigeria engage in constructive inter-party dialogue, whether through IPAC or through other forums?
- 5) To what extent do Nigeria's parties operate in a supportive and fair legal framework? What are the major gaps, if any?

6) To what extent do Nigeria's parties enjoy cordial and productive relationships with INEC?

Appendix IV: Electoral Data

2011 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS

PARTY	VOTES	MARGIN
PDP	22,495,187	58.89%
CPC	12,214,853	31.98%
ACN	2,067,301	5.41%
ANPP	917,012	2.40%
Others	504,866	1.32%

2011-2012 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION RESULTS

PARTY	NUMBER OF SEATS
PDP	24
ACN	6
ANPP	3
APGA	2
CPC	1
LP	1

For full election data for other seats, see www.nigeriaelections.org and www.inecnigeria.org

Appendix V: Selected Laws and Regulations on Political Parties

Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999

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

222. No association by whatever name called shall function as a party, unless -

(a) the names and addresses of its national officers are registered with the Independent National Electoral Commission;

(b) the membership of the association is open to every citizen of Nigeria irrespective of his place of origin, circumstance of birth, sex, religion or ethnic grouping;

(c) a copy of its constitution is registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission in such form as may be prescribed by the Independent National Electoral Commission;

(d) any alteration in its registered constitution is also registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission within thirty days of the making of such alteration

(e) the name of the association, its symbol or logo does not contain any ethnic or religious connotation or give the appearance that the activities of the association are confined to a part only of the geographical area of Nigeria; and

(f) the headquarters of the association is situated in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

223. (1) The constitution and rules of a political party shall-

(a) provide for the periodical election on a democratic basis of the principal officers and members of the executive committee or other governing body of the political party; and

(b) ensure that the members of the executive committee or other governing body of the political party reflect the federal character of Nigeria.

(2) For the purposes of this section -

(a) the election of the officers or members of the executive committee of a political party shall be deemed to be periodical only if it is made at regular intervals not exceeding four years; and

(b) the members of the executive committee or other governing body of the political character of Nigeria only if the members thereof belong to different states not being less in number than two-thirds of all the states of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

224. The programme as well as the aims and objects of a political party shall conform with the provisions of Chapter II of this Constitution.

225. (1) Every political party shall, at such times and in such manner as the independent National Electoral Commission and publish a statement of its assets and liabilities.

(2) Every political party shall submit to the Independent National Electoral Commission a detailed annual statement and analysis of its sources of funds and other assets together with a similar statement of its expenditure in such form as the Commission may require.

(3) No political party shall -

(a) hold or possess any funds or other assets outside Nigeria; or

(b) be entitled to retain any funds or assets remitted or sent to it from outside Nigeria.

(4) Any funds or other assets remitted or sent to a political party from outside Nigeria shall be paid over or transferred to the Commission within twenty-one days of its receipt with such information as the Commission may require.

(5) The Commission shall have power to give directions to political parties regarding the books or records of financial transactions which they shall keep and, to examine all such books and records.

(6) The powers conferred on the Commission under subsection (4) of this section may be exercised by it through any member of its staff or any person who is an auditor by profession, and who is not a member of a political party.

226. (1) The Independent National Electoral commission, shall in every year prepare and submit to the National Assembly a report on the accounts and balance sheet of every political party.

(2) It shall be the duty of the commission, in preparing its report under this section, to carry out such investigations as will enable it to form an opinion as to whether proper books of accounts and proper records have been kept by any political party, and if the Commission is of the opinion that proper books of accounts have not been kept by a political party, the Commission shall so report.

(3) Every member of the Commission or its duly authorised agent shall -

(a) have a right of access at all times to the books and accounts and vouchers of all political parties; and

(b) be entitled to require from the officers of the political party such information and explanation which to the best of his knowledge and belief are necessary for the purposes of the investigation, the Commission shall state that fact in its report.

227. No association shall retain, organise, train or equip any person or group of persons for the purpose of enabling them to be employed for the use or display of physical force or coercion in promoting any political objective or interest or in such manner as to arouse reasonable apprehension that they are organised and trained or equipped for that purpose.

228. The National Assembly may by law provide -

(a) for the punishment of any person involved in the management or control of any political party found after due inquiry to have contravened any of the provisions of sections 221, 225(3) and 227 of this Constitution;

(b) for the disqualification of any persons from holding public office on the ground that he knowingly aids or abets a political party in contravening section 225(3) of this Constitution;

(c) for an annual grant to the Independent National Electoral Commission for disbursement to political parties on a fair and equitable basis to assist them in the discharge of their functions; and

(d) for the conferment on the Commission of other powers as may appear to the National Assembly to be necessary or desirable for the purpose of enabling the Commission more effectively to ensure that political parties observe the provisions of this part of this chapter.

The Electoral Act, 2010

78, 7. The Commission shall have power to de-register political parties on the following grounds—

- (i) breach of any of the requirements for registration; (ii) for failure to win a seat in the National or State Assembly election.

84. -(1) Any two or more registered political parties may merge on approval by the Commission following a formal request presented to the Commission by the political parties for that purpose.

(2) Political Parties intending to merge shall each give to the Commission 90 days notice of their intention to do so before a general election.

(3) The written request for merger shall be sent to the Chairman of the Commission and shall be signed jointly by the National Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer for the time being of the different Political Parties proposing the merger and shall be accompanied by:-

(a) a special resolution passed by the National Convention of each of the political parties proposing to merge, approving the merger;

(b) the proposed full name and acronym, Constitution, manifesto, symbol or logo of the party together with the addresses of the National office of the party resulting from the merger; and

(c) evidence of payment of administrative costs of N100,000 or as may be fixed from time to time by an Act of the National Assembly.

(4) On receipt of the request for merger of political parties the Commission shall consider the request; and if the parties have fulfilled the requirements of the Constitution and this Act, approve the proposed merger and communicate its decision to the Parties concerned before the expiration of thirty (30) days from the date of the receipt of the formal request.

PROVIDED that if the Commission fails to communicate its decision with 30 days the merger shall be deemed to be effective.

(5) Where the request for the proposed merger is approved, the Commission shall forthwith withdraw and cancel the certificates of registration of all the Political Parties opting for the merger and substitute therefore, a single certificate of registration in the name of the party resulting from the merger.

(6) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (2) of this section no merger of Political Parties received by the Commission less than 90 days before any general election in the country shall be considered by the Commission.

85. 1) Every registered political party shall give the Commission at least 21 days notice of any convention, congress, conference or meeting convened for the purpose of electing members of its executive committees, other governing bodies or nominating candidates for any of the elective offices specified under this Act.

(2) The Commission may with or without prior notice to the political party monitor and attend any convention, congress, conference or meeting which is convened by a political party for the purpose of:-

(a) electing members of its executive committees or other governing bodies;

(b) nominating candidates for an election at any level;

(c) approving a merger with any other registered political party.

(3) The election of members of the executive committee or other governing body of a political party, including the election to fill a vacant position in any of the aforesaid bodies, shall be conducted in a democratic manner and allowing for all members of the party or duly elected delegates to vote in support of a candidate of their choice.

(4) Notice of any congress, conference or meeting for the purpose of nominating candidates for Area Council elections shall be given to the Commission at least 21 days before such congress, conference or meeting.

86. -(1) The Commission shall monitor and keep records of the activities of all the registered political parties.

(2) The Commission may seek information or clarification from any registered political party in connection with any activities of the political party which may be contrary to the provisions of the Constitution or any other law, guidelines, rules or regulations made pursuant to an Act of the National Assembly.

(3) The Commission may direct its enquiry under subsection (2) of this section to the Chairman or Secretary of the Political Party at the National, State, Local Government or Area Council or Ward level, as the case may be.

(4) A Political Party which fails to provide the required information or clarification under subsection (2) of this section or carry out any lawful directive given by the Commission in conformity with the provisions of this section is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine of not less than N500,000:00.

87. -(1) A political party seeking to nominate candidates for elections under this Act shall hold primaries for aspirants to all elective positions.

(2) The procedure for the nomination of candidates by political parties for the various elective positions shall be by direct or indirect primaries.

(3) A political party that adopts the direct primaries procedure shall ensure that all aspirants are given equal opportunity of being voted for by members of the party.

(4) A political party that adopts the system of indirect primaries for the choice of its candidate shall adopt the procedure outlined below:

(a) In the case of nominations to the position of

Presidential candidate, a political party shall,

(i) hold special conventions in each of the 36 States of the Federation and FCT, where delegates shall vote for each of the aspirants at designated centres in each State Capital on specified dates.

(ii) a National Convention shall be held for the ratification of the candidate with the highest number of votes.

(iii) the aspirant with the highest number of votes at the end of voting in the 36 States of the Federation and FCT, shall be declared the winner of the Presidential primaries of the political party and the aspirants name shall be forwarded to the Independent National Electoral Commission as the candidate of the party after ratification by the national convention.

(b) In the case of nominations to the position of

Governorship candidate, a political party shall, where they intend to sponsor candidates:

(i) hold special congress in each of the local government areas of the States with delegates voting for each of the aspirants at the congress to be held in designated centres on specified dates.

(ii) The aspirant with the highest number of votes at the end of voting shall be declared the winner of the primaries of the party and aspirant's name shall be forwarded to the Independent National Electoral Commission as the candidate of the party, for the particular State.

(c) In the case of nominations to the position of a

Senatorial candidate, House of Representatives and State House of Assembly a political party shall, where they intend to sponsor candidates:

(i) hold special congresses in the Senatorial District, Federal Constituency and the State assembly constituency respectively, with delegates voting for each of the aspirants in designated centres on specified dates.

(ii) The aspirant with the highest number of votes at the end of voting shall be declared the winner of the primaries of the party and the aspirant's name shall be forwarded to the Independent National Electoral Commission as the candidate of the party.

(d) In the case of the position of a Chairmanship

candidate of an Area council a political party shall, where they intend to sponsor candidates:

(i) hold special congresses in the Area Councils, with delegates voting for each of the aspirants at designated centres on a specified date.

(ii) The aspirant with the highest number of votes at the end of voting shall be declared the winner of the primaries of the party and the aspirant's name shall be forwarded to the Independent National Electoral Commission as the candidate of the party.

(5) In the case of a councillorship candidate, the procedure for the nomination of the candidate shall be by direct primaries in the ward and the name of the candidate with the highest number of votes shall be submitted to the Independent National electoral commission as the candidate of the party.

(6) Where there is only one aspirant in a political party for any of the elective positions mentioned in sub section (4)(a), (b), (c) and (d), the party shall convene a special convention or congress at a designated centre on a specified date for the confirmation of such aspirant and the name of the aspirant shall be forwarded to the Independent National Electoral commission as the candidate of the party.

(7) A political party that adopts the system of indirect primaries for the choice of its candidate shall clearly outline in its constitution and rules the procedure for the democratic election of delegates to vote at the convention, congress or meeting.

(8) No political appointee at any level shall be a voting delegate at the Convention or Congress of any political party for the purpose of nomination of candidates for any election.

(9) Where a political party fails to comply with the provisions of this Act in the conduct of its primaries, its candidate for election shall not be included in the election for the particular position in issue.

(10) Notwithstanding the provisions of the Act or rules of a political party, an aspirant who complains that any of the provisions of this Act and the guidelines of a political party has not been complied with in the selection or nomination of a candidate of a political party for election, may apply to the Federal High Court or the High Court of a State, for redress.

(11) Nothing in this section shall empower the Courts to stop the holding of primaries or general election under this Act pending the determination of the suit.

88. -(1) Any Political Party that-

(a) holds or possesses any fund outside Nigeria in contravention of section 91(3)(a) of this Act commits an offence and shall forfeit the funds or assets purchased with such funds to the Commission and on conviction shall be liable to a fine of not less than N500,000.00;

(b) retains any fund or other asset remitted to it from outside Nigeria in contravention of section 91(3)(b) of this Act is guilty of an offence and shall forfeit the funds or assets to the Commission and on conviction shall be liable to a fine of not less than N 500,000.00.

89. -(1) Every political party shall submit to the Commission a detailed annual statement of Assets and Liabilities and analysis of its sources of funds and other assets, together with statement of its expenditure in such a form as the Commission may from time to time require.

(2) The Statement of Assets and Liabilities referred to in subsection (1) of this section shall be in respect of the period 1st January to 31st December in each year, and that in the year which this Act comes into operation, it shall be for the period beginning with the registration of such party and ending on the following 31st December.

(3) Every political party shall grant to any officer authorized in writing by the Commission, access to examine the records and audited accounts kept by the political party in accordance with the provisions of this Act and the political party shall give to the officer all such information as may be requested in relation to all contributions received by or on behalf of the party.

(4) The Commission shall publish the report on such examinations and audit in three National Newspapers.

90. -(1). The Commission shall have power to place limitation on the amount of money or other assets, which an individual or group of persons can contribute to a political party.

92. - (1) For the purposes of an election, "election expenses" means expenses incurred by a political party within the period from the date notice is given by the Commission to conduct an election up to and including, the polling day in respect of the particular election.

(2) Election expenses incurred by a political party for the management or the conduct of an election shall be determined by the Commission in consultation with the political parties.

(3) (a) Election expenses of a political party shall be submitted to the Commission in a separate audited return within six months after an election and such return shall be signed by the political party's auditors and counter-signed by the Chairman of the party and be supported by a sworn affidavit by the signatories as to the correctness of its contents.

(b) Any political party which commits a breach of this section is guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a maximum fine of N1,000,000 and in the case of failure to submit an accurate audited return within the stipulated period, the court may impose a maximum penalty of N200,000 per day on any party for the period after the return was due until it is submitted to the Commission.

(4) The return referred to in subsection (3) of this section shall show the amount of money expended by or on behalf of the party on election expenses, the items of expenditure and commercial value of goods and services received for election purposes.

(5) The political party shall cause the return submitted to the Commission pursuant to subsection (4) of this section to be published in at least two National Newspapers.

(6) Any political party that incurs election expenses beyond the limit stipulated in this Act is guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a maximum fine of N1,000,000.00. and forfeiture to the Commission, of the amount by which the expenses exceed the limit set by the Commission.

(7) The Commission shall make available for public inspection during regular business hours at its Headquarters and state offices the audit returns of the political parties required by subsection (3) of this section which shall include the names, addresses, occupation, and amount contributed by each contributor to a party.

93. -(1) No political party shall accept or keep in its possession any anonymous monetary or other contributions, gifts, properties, etc from any source whatsoever.

(2) Every political party shall keep an account and asset book into which shall be recorded:-

(a) all monetary and other forms of contribution received by the party; and

(b) the name and address of any person or entity that contributes any money or assets which exceeds N1,000,000.00

(3) No political party shall accept any monetary or other contribution exceeding N100,000 unless it can identify the source of the money or other contribution to the Commission.

(4) Every political party sponsoring the election of a candidate shall, within three months after the announcement of the results of the election, file a report of the contributions made by individuals and entities to the Commission.

94. -(1) For the purpose of the proper and peaceful conduct of political rallies and processions, the Commissioner of Police in each state of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, shall provide adequate security for processions at political rallies in the states and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

(2) A person who, while present at a political rally or procession or voting centre, has with him any offensive weapon or missile otherwise than in pursuance of a lawful duty is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a maximum fine of N2,000,000 or imprisonment for a term of 2 years or both.

(3) For the purpose of subsection (2) of this Section, a person shall be deemed to be acting in pursuance of a lawful duty if he is acting in his capacity as a police officer or as a member of a security agency authorized to carry arms and is specifically posted to be present at that political rally or procession.

95. (1) No political campaign or slogan shall be tainted with abusive language directly or indirectly likely to injure religious, ethnic, tribal or sectional feelings.

(2) Abusive, intemperate, slanderous or base language or insinuations or innuendoes designed or likely to provoke violent reaction or emotions shall not be employed or used in political campaigns.

(3) Places designated for religious worship, police station, and public offices shall not be used-

(a) for political campaigns, rallies and processions; or

(b) to promote, propagate or attack political parties, candidates or their programmes or ideologies.

(4) Masquerades shall not be employed or used by any political party, candidate or person during political campaigns or for any other political purpose.

(5) No political party or member of a political party shall retain, organize, train or equip any person or group of persons for the purpose of enabling them to be employed for the use or display of physical force or coercion in promoting any political objective or interests, or in such manner as to arouse reasonable apprehension that they are organized, trained or equipped for that purpose.

(6) No political party, person or candidate shall keep or use private security organization, vanguard or any other group or individual by whatever name called for the purpose of providing security, assisting or aiding the political party or candidate in whatever manner during campaigns, rallies, processions or elections.

(7) A political party or persons who contravenes any of the provision of this section is guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction-

(a) in the case of an individual, to a maximum fine of N1,000,000 or imprisonment for the term of 12 months; and

(b) in the case of a political party, to a fine of N2,000,000 in the first instance, and N1,000,000 for any subsequent offence.

(8) Any person or group of persons who aids or abets a political party in contravening the provisions of subsection (5) of this section guilty of an offence and is liable on conviction to a fine of N500,000 or 3 years imprisonment or both.

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

(2) Any person or political party that contravenes the provisions of this section is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction-

(a) in the case of an individual, to a maximum fine of N1,000,000 or imprisonment for a term of 12 months; and

(b) in the case of a political party, to a fine of N2,000,000 in the first instance, and N500,000 for any subsequent offence.

97. Where a political party ceases to exist in accordance with the Constitution and this Act, a person elected on the platform of the Political Party in an election under this Act shall remain validly elected, complete his tenure, and, for purposes of identification, be regarded as a member of the political party under which he was elected.

98. Any political party registered by the Commission in accordance with the provisions of any law in force immediately before the coming into force of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and this Act shall be deemed to have been duly registered under this Act

99. -(1) For the purpose of this Act, the period of campaigning in public by every political party shall commence 90 days before polling day and end 24 hours prior to that day.

(2) A registered Political Party which through any person acting on its behalf during the 24 hours before polling day-

(a) advertises on the facilities of any broadcasting undertaking; or

(b) procures for publication or acquiesces in the publication of an advertisement in a Newspaper, for the purpose of promoting or opposing a particular candidate, is guilty of an offence under this Act and upon conviction shall be liable to a maximum fine of N500,000.

100. -(1) A candidate and his party shall campaign for the elections in accordance with such rules and regulations as may be determined by the Commission.

(2) State apparatus including the media shall not be employed to the advantage or disadvantage of any political party or candidate at any election.

(3) Media time shall be allocated equally among the political parties or candidates at similar hours of the day.

(4) At any public electronic media, equal airtime shall be allotted to all political parties or candidates during prime times at similar hours each day, subject to the payment of appropriate fees.

(5) At any public print media, equal coverage and conspicuity shall be allotted to all political parties.

(6) Any public media that contravenes subsections 3 and 4 of this section shall be guilty of offence and on conviction be liable to a maximum fine of N500,000 in the first instance and to a maximum fine of N1,000,000 for subsequent conviction.

Appendix VI: A List of recently de-registered parties and currently registered parties, as of December 31, 2012

List of De-Registered Political Parties as at December 31 2012

S/No	Name	Date of De-Registration	Remark
1	Democratic Alternative (DA)	18 th August 2011	Approved by the Commission
2	National Action Council (NAC)	18 th August 2011	Approved by the Commission
3	National Democratic Liberty Party (NDLP)	18 th August 2011	Approved by the Commission
4	Masses Movement of Nigeria (MMN)	18 th August 2011	Approved by the Commission
5	Nigerian People's Congress (NPC)	18 th August 2011	Approved by the Commission
6	Nigerian Elements Progressive Party (NEPP)	18 th August 2011	Approved by the Commission
7	National Unity Party (NUP)	18 th August 2011	Approved by the Commission
8	African Liberation Party (ALP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
9	Action Party Nigeria (APN)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
10	African Political System (APS)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
11	Better Nigeria Progressive Party (BNPP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
12	Congress for Democratic Change	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
13	Community Party of Nigeria	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
14	Democratic People's Alliance (DPA)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
15	Freedom Party of Nigeria (FPN)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
16	Fresh Democratic party (FDP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
17	Hope Democratic party (HDP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
18	Justice Party (JP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
19	Liberal Democratic Party of Nigeria	6 th December 2012	Approved by the

	(LDPN)		Commission
20	Movement for Democracy and Justice (MDJ)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
21	Movement for the Restoration and Defence of Democracy (MRDD)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
22	Nigeria Advanced party (NAP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
23	New Democrats (ND)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
24	National Majority Democratic Party (NMDP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
25	National Movement of Progressive Party (NMPP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
26	National Reformation Party (NRP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
27	National Solidarity Democratic Party (NSDP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
28	Progressive Action Congress (PAC)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
29	Peoples Mandate Party (PMP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
30	Peoples Progressive Party (PPP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
31	Peoples Redemption Party (PRP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
32	Peoples Salvation Party (PSP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
33	Republic Party of Nigeria (RPN)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
34	United National Party for Development (UNPD)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
35	United Nigeria Peoples Party (UNPP)	6 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
36	African Renaissance party (ARP)	20 th December 2012	Approved by the Commission
37	National Transformation Party (NTP)	20 th	Approved by the Commission
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List of Registered Political Parties

S/No	Name	Address of Political Party
1	Accord (A)	Plot 488, Yauri Street, Area 3, Garki Abuja
2	Action Alliance (AA)	Plot 1977, Orlu Street, Area 3, Garki, Abuja 08033141816,07067277005
3	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)	Bissau Street, Wuse Zone 6, Abuja, FCT
4	Advanced Congress of Democrats (ACD)	Plot 778, Jikwoyi Layout, Yuby Plaza, Beside Maryland School, Along Jikwoyi-Karshi Road, Abuja 08033145856
5	Allied Congress party of Nigeria	13, Monrovia Street, Wuse 2, by Babex Abuja 08038313424
6	Alliance of Democracy (ADC)	4, Aba Close, Area 8, Garki, Abuja, 08100116284,08051289280
7	Africa Democratic Congress	1, Capital Plaza, Nyanyan-Karu Road, Abuja 08037755885
8	All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP)	Plot 759, Basan Plaza, Central Business Centre, Behind Insurance Plaza, Abuja
9	All Progressive Grand	41, Libreville Crescent, Wuse 2 Abuja

	Alliance (APGA)	
10	African Peoples Alliance (APA)	Yauri Street, Garki 2, Abuja 08033084842,08065718859
11	Change Advocacy Party (CAP)	40D, Anon Plaza, Joseph Gomwalk Way, Gudu District, Abuja 08028588725
12	Congress for Progressive Change (CPC)	Plot 1132 Festus Okotie Ebo Crescent, Utako District, Abuja
13	Citizens Popular Party (CPP)	Suite 319/323 Lozumba Complex, Area 10, Garki, Abuja 08030539096
14	Democratic Front for a Peoples Federation (DFPF)	22, Mediterreanean Street, Imani Estate, Off Shehu Shagari Way, Maitama, Abuja 08022240511
15	Democratic Peoples Party (DPP)	14, Zaire, Crescent, Off Mississippi Road, Maitama, Abuja
16	Kowa party (KP)	No 129, Corner Shop Beside Total Filling Station, Fed. Housing Estate, Lugbe, FCT 08033354443
17	Labour party (LP)	Dabo Shopping Mall, 2 nd Floor, Wuse Zone 3
18	Mega Progressive	1 st Avenue, House 53, FHA Lugbe, FCT 07030147731

	Party (MPP)	
19	National Conscience Party (NAP)	1, Yaounde Street, Wuse Zone 6, Abuja 08033144231, 0803607592
20	New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP)	Plot MF 01 SDP Layout, City Centre Plaza, Suite GF 1, Cadastral Area, Opp. Noble Heights Academy, Karu, Abuja 08033323873, 08035881727
21	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Wadata Plaza, Micheal Okpara Way Wuse Zone 5
22	People for Democratic Change (PDC)	No 2, Bitou Street, Off Parakou Crescent, Off Aminu Kano Crescent, Wuse II Abuja, 08033150603, 08023645376
23	Progressive Peoples Alliance (PPA)	Warri Street, Off Emeka Anyakou Street Area 11, Garki, Abuja
24	Peoples party of Nigeria (PPN)	House 43, 6 th Avenue Gwarimpa Estate, Abuja
25	Social Democratic Mega Party (SDMP)	Plot 2105, Herbert Macaulay Way, Opp Skye Memorial Plaza, Block B3, Wuse Zone 5, Abuja
26	United Democratic Party	6, Gnassingbe Eyadema Street, Asokoro District, Abuja, 080268052694

	(UDP)	
27	United Progressive party (UPP)	The Dome, N-Glory Centre, Plot 412, Cadastral Zone, Central Business District, Abuja 08034532749,08065704888