THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN GENDER MAINSTREAMING FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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BEING A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LEGISLATIVE AND DEMOCRATIC STUDIES/UNIVERSITY OF BENIN POST GRADUATE PROGRAMMES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS DEGREE IN LEGISLATIVE STUDIES (MLS)

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ABSTRACT

The number of women representation in the governance of Nigeria has been very low and has the tendency to even become worse. Comparatively, low female representation at the Nigeria's National Assembly presents one of the worst case scenarios across the globe. It is in view of this worrisome situation that this study examined the role of the National Assembly in Gender mainstreaming for National development. The study therefore examined the role of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming for national development; to assess how well has the National Assembly improved gender mainstreaming; to identify the challenges hampering the National Assembly from playing its role for gender mainstreaming in Nigeria; and to proffer measures to enable the National Assembly plays vital and significant roles in gender mainstreaming for national development.

This study adopted the mixed research design that involves a combination of desk review and the administration of structured questionnaires in achieving all its research objectives. This method allowed for the effective control of factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings of the study. Basically, survey and exploratory research designs were adopted. Exploratory research design addressed the study research objectives from already existing documentaries such as journal articles, textbooks, newspapers, magazines, archives, among others. Questionnaire was used in collecting information relating to individuals experiences or perceptions on gender mainstreaming, that is, the views of Nigerians on the role of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming with a focus on the 8th and 9th sessions.

For the objective one of the study, it was found that while 237 (representing 90.1%) of the respondents stated that they are aware that play important role for gender mainstreaming, 3 (1.1%) indicated that they are not aware. The remaining 23 respondents were undecided in their answer (8.8%). On whether there is any significant role for the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. Whereas, 252 represents 95.9% answered in the affirmative, 3 respondents (1.1%) were undecided while 8 (3.0%). For the second objective, it was discovered that the National Assembly has not effectively performed its functions in ensuring gender mainstreaming in Nigeria as 252 of the respondents representing 95.9% stated that the National Assembly has not given gender mainstreaming the attention it deserves. While 3.0% answered in the affirmative while 1.1% was undecided. For third objective, the study found that 82.9% of the respondents agreed that poor implementation of laws is a major factor inhibiting National Assembly's role in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria while 8.4% disagreed.

Based on empirical findings, the study recommended for the objective one that the National Assembly should be proactive in creating long-term plans and intentional in making laws that adequately provides for gender mainstreaming by providing for quota systems that reserves at least 40% of both elective and appointive positions for women. For the objective two, it was recommended that the two chambers of the National Assembly constitute committee of women affairs and ensure that women are properly represented in the composition of the standing and special committees of the both chambers. The National Assembly should ensure that no section of the country's population (which the women are part of) is marginalized or alienated in the scheme of things. Thus, in making laws they should ensure gender equity. For the third objective, it was recommended that the National Assembly should ensure the proper implementation of laws made

by the two chambers by carrying out effective oversighting of the MDAs responsible for such implementations.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the study

Gender indicates the characteristics, positions and roles of women and men in all social relationships (Oppong 1987; Mason 1984). Gender equality, on the other hand, indicates that men and women have equal positions and roles; are given equal conditions and opportunities to develop their capacities for the development of the community, family and equally enjoy the achievement of that development. It means an equal visibility, empowerment, responsibility and participation of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life. Ensuring and considering gender equality in policy making is an essential ingredient for the protection of human rights, practical democracy, respect for the rule of law, and economic growth. According to Alonso (2017), gender mainstreaming (GM) remains a debated metaphoric irony signifying that things gender-related should be mainstreamed. Thus, gender mainstreaming presupposes all issues relating to gender not with the intention of identifying the issues in isolation but with the active intention of making targeted interventions where necessary (Staudt, 2018; Oyiana, 2021). Gender mainstreaming perhaps encompasses gender equality and mainstreaming and is the reorganization, improvement, development, and evaluation of policy processes to address gender issues (True, 2010). This is true when situated in Alonso (2017) view when he stated that the combination of processes in policy arena ensures that a gender equality perspective with sound assumptions, processes, and results is in all policies.

Despite the fact that gender mainstreaming has been a phenomenon for over 20 years, scholars are of the view that that despite all efforts and attention given to it, it has not been successfully implemented by governments especially in third world countries (Meier & Celis, 2011; Oyiana,

2021). A study by Meier & Celis (2011) indicates gender mainstreaming recorded marginal success in the European Union during the period of targeted interventions in the region. They identified resistance to the objectives of GM; failure to address all political, financial, and legislative factors; and the legislative environment as factors responsible for the failure. Female representation at executive levels within organizations, gender-sensitive policies such as gender budgeting, gender-sensitive collective agreements, and support networks for women at early stage are the corner stones upon which the entrenchment of gender mainstreaming is hinged (Staudt, 2018). This explains why Moser & Moser (2005) stated that the successes of gender mainstreaming in initiating policy changes vary with countries, culture, and the level of government participation, which are indicative of enablers of success.

In Nigeria, the cultural beliefs pertaining to the roles of women remain a consideration in the debate on gender equality in the country (Ejumudo, 2013). According to Oyiana (2021), the beliefs that women are the primary caregiver impede the acceptance of women in the workplace and in certain trades. She maintained that the equality between men and women engenders a stronger economy and fosters national development (Oyiana, 2021)). Ejumudo (2013), brought to the fore ways through which stereotypes and organizational realities impact women participation in the workplace resulting to low women participation workplace. Further analysis by scholars have further underscored how gender spillover effects occur with women in leadership positions, meaning the more women in leadership and decision-making roles, the more likely it is for women in lower ranks to be promoted (Kunze & Miller, 2017; Oyiana, 2021). Thus, gender equality is essential for the resources and social value redistribution, and it is necessary to position societies to overcome barriers to gender workplace participation.

Although, the representation of women in both traditional and nontraditional roles have improved over the years; women still make up a small proportion of senior management executives and parliamentary leadership (Obamiro & Obasan, 2013; Oyiana, 2021). This is due to avalanche of challenges being faced by women face within and outside politics and the workplace. For instance, most women are faced with domestic violence which in turn affects their participation in socio-economic and political affairs of the society. According to Oyediran and Feyisetan (2017), spousal age difference, marital status, number of children, family income, and educational qualifications are factors accounting for domestic violence against women in Nigeria. While Etuk et al., (2012), pointed out that psychological and physical violence are the most common types of abuse being experienced by women in Nigeria. Thus, these experiences manifest and interfere with women's work relations, outcomes, and organizations. These factors must be factored into gender mainstreaming in the society.

Nigerian government have made several interventions aimed at alleviating the hardship experienced by low-income women in the workplace (Ogundele *et al*., 2011). Such interventions include but not limited to the National Empowerment and Development Strategy programme, Federal Ministry of Women Affairs, etc. Kolade and Kehinde (2013) stated that although many such laudable initiatives exist, there are inherent issues with the implementation of policies especially in traditional male-dominated sectors such as politics, mining, aviation, construction, and manufacturing, etc. Agi (2014) added that there is an erroneous believe in Nigeria that women cannot have thriving careers and a stable/happy home simultaneously as the two cannot blend in Nigerian scenario.

Nigeria, like many other nations in the world, responded to the clarion calls made variously by the United Nations to rid societies of all forms of discriminations, especially gender-based

discriminations and violence against women, who are half of human resource waiting to be tapped for development. Sequel to several years of uncoordinated national response to the woman's question, Nigeria took a bold step in the Year 2000 when it adopted and passed into law the National Policy on Women, guided by the global instrument on the Convention of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and its optional protocols, and the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This legislation enacted by the National Assembly and assented to by the President lays the foundation for gender mainstreaming for national development in Nigeria.

Evidence from other African countries is very similar to those from the developed world. The South Africa Government in 1996 recognized gender mainstreaming in all spheres of life and thereby established gender units in all its departments. Tanzania has also mainstreamed gender into her public life. Mainstreaming gender into core public issues is therefore not a strange phenomenon, but rather a major impetus for sustainable development. Evidence from Ghana also confirmed that gender budgeting is an integral aspect of national gender policy content. The entire national gender policy framework in the five African countries recognized empowerment of women, poverty, as well as gender imbalances in educational opportunities, as crucial issues.

Gender sensitivity in political seats and resource allocation sharing were adequately addressed in all the eight countries under review. In the advance countries, especially in Denmark, parliamentary representation showed that none of the two gender groups had less than 40%. Women participation is still very much a problem in African States. Hence, the 5 African countries under review saw it as a priority to have equal representation of both genders in the political sphere, thus making this a major component of their respective gender policies. This was the case in Tanzania, and Uganda where on increasing proportion of seats were being allocated to women.

Therefore, gender mainstreaming means incorporating the gender perspective into all public policies, to ensure that they tend to achieve effective equality between women and men. It is against this backdrop that this study examined the role of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming for national development in Nigeria.

1.2   Statement of the problem

The perception of gender mainstreaming among policy-makers and legislators in Nigeria remains vague as their stand on the subject-matter is unclear (Kolade & Kehinde, 2013). This, according to Kolade & Kehinde, 2013), is because gender mainstreaming practices have not been given the attention they require in male-dominated Nigerian political and socio-economic spheres as opposed to what obtains in East and Southern Africa and Europe. In order to achieve gender mainstreaming, it is fundamental to have a firm grasp of the impediments and enablers of its success. The uniqueness of the Nigerian politics and work context are pointers to the need for careful evaluation of gender mainstreaming enablers (Nwagbara & Eneji, 2019). With developing outcomes that support gender equality being the main goal of gender mainstreaming, legal and institutional frameworks and structures, executive and legislative support must align to actualize this goal (Staudt, 2018). One expression of such institutional support is the development of laws, policies and practices that reinforce and enable a gender-friendly culture, as this aligns with the objectives of mainstreaming (Alonso, 2017). With over 195.8 million population according to the World Development Indicators (2020), there is an urgent need to ensure the equitable representation of women in parliament, executive and judiciary positions across the country as well as in the decision-making spheres of public and private organizations in Nigeria (Oyiana, 2021). The Nigerian government under the Jonathan regime promoted the participation of women

in governance by agreeing to allot 35% of strategic or managerial positions to women through affirmative action (Ejumudo, 2013).

Ejumudo (2013) identified the factors responsible for the poor representation of women in the workplace include traditional male-dominated fields, recruitment barriers, inadequate informal networks, family responsibility, cultures relegating women to the kitchen, discrimination, and harassment, etc. The National Assembly on its part is the national lawmaking institution constitutionally charged with the responsibility to make laws for the peace and good governance of the country.

The Federal Republic of Nigeria as a member of the United Nations signed and ratified the various relevant international instruments, treaties and conventions without reservation. These instruments have always emphasized that member nations put in place all the necessary mechanisms needed to eliminate gender discriminations, ensure equality and human dignity to all, men and women. Sadly, there persists some forms of discrimination in our Constitution, in our national and state legislations, customary and religious practices. It is a known fact that in Nigeria, traditions, customs sexual stereotyping of social roles and cultural prejudice continue to militate against gender mainstreaming and full participation of women in national development

It is interesting to note that despite past efforts of government at integrating the women and young girls into the development agenda, gender inequalities remain pervasive within most Nigerian sectors. Hence, the current push for a different approach which would not only ensure women empowerment, but a sustainable development for the country through gender mainstreaming which would help balance power relations between men and women, and transform the institutions which continue to perpetrate gender injustice, poverty, and underdevelopment. Thus, this study

seeks to examine the role of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming for national development. Especially in relation to its constitutional mandate of lawmaking for the peace and good governance of the country. How has the National Assembly ensured effective gender mainstreaming in the discharge of this constitutional mandate?

1.3 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

i. What are specific roles of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming for national development in Nigeria?

ii. How well has the National Assembly improved gender mainstreaming?

iii. What are the challenges hampering the National Assembly from playing its role for gender mainstreaming in Nigeria?

iv. Are there measures to enable the National Assembly plays vital and significant roles in gender mainstreaming for national development?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study examined the role of the national assembly in gender mainstreaming for national development. Specifically, the study was guided by the following objectives:

i. Examine the specific role of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming for national development in Nigeria;

ii. Asses how well has the National Assembly improved gender mainstreaming;

iii. Identify the challenges hampering the National Assembly from playing its role for gender mainstreaming in Nigeria; and

iv.   Proffer measures to enable the National Assembly plays vital and significant roles in gender mainstreaming for national development.

1.4   Significance of the Study

The study has both theoretical and practical significance. Theoretically, this study will add to the body of knowledge on gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. It will help illuminate the existing literature with regard to the role of the National Assembly play in gender mainstreaming for National development. It will also be of immense benefit to students and researchers who may want to investigate issues relating to gender mainstreaming.

Practically, this work will produce data, which will enhance the understanding of major factors and issues on the subject matter and the best strategies for eliminating the constraints. Based on this, governmental and non-governmental organizations would be able to mount effective policies that will promote gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. This work would also serve as a working document to women community-based organizations and other established women organizations that are interested in improving the status of women. Therefore, the women and society at large will benefit from this study as the recommendations will enable policymakers, governments, and Civil Society organizations to promote gender mainstreaming in Nigeria.

1.5   Scope of the Study

This study is limited to the examination of the role of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria, with a special focus on the 8th and 9th sessions. This is a period between 2015 and to present. This period is important considering the fact that it is the period the erstwhile opposition political party – the All Progressives Party (APC) held sway as the party in government

after the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP)'s 16 years of regime. This period is also very unique considering the fact that under this period executive-legislative relationship between the National Assembly between 2015-2019 under Sen. Dr. Abubakar Bukola Saraki/ Rt. Hon. Yakubu Dogara and the President Buhari-led executive arm is considered conflictual. Whereas, under the Sen. Dr. Ibrahim Ahmad Lawan/ Rt. Hon. Femi Gbajabiamila is considered mutually cordial (the assembly is even considered a rubber stamp). This will also expose whether conflictual or mutually cordial relations pushed for gender mainstreaming more.

1.6 Definition of Terms

Operational definition of terms refers to a detailed explanation of the technical terms and measurements used during data collection. This is done to standardize the data. Whenever data is being collected, it is necessary to clearly define how to collect the data. Data that is not defined runs the risk of being inconsistent and might not give the same results when the study is replicated. However, people have different opinions and views, and these will affect the data collection. Hence for this thesis our operational terms include:

- "sex" as in referring to biological male or female gender classification,
- "age" referring to the chronologic age of the participants
- "educational level attained: referring to the level of formal education of the participants
- "Ethnicity" referring to the various ethnic groups the participants belong to.
- "Gender balance" this is a human resource issue calling for equal participation of women and men in all areas of work (international and national staff at all levels, including at senior positions) and in programmes that agencies initiate or support (e.g. food distribution programmes). Achieving a balance in staffing patterns and creating a working environment

that is conducive to a diverse workforce improves the overall effectiveness of our policies and programmes, and will enhance agencies' capacity to better serve the entire population.

- "Gender-based constraints" are constraints that women or men face that are a result of their gender. An example of constraints women farmers face might be not having title to their land, male dominated cooperative membership, being more tied to their homes preventing access to extension services. Constraints that are not based on gender are referred to as general constraints.

- "Gender-based violence (GBV) "is an umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will and that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between females and males. The nature and extent of specific types of GBV vary across cultures, countries and regions. Examples include sexual violence, including sexual exploitation/abuse and forced prostitution, domestic violence, trafficking, forced/early marriage, harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation, honour killings and widow inheritance

The only way to ensure consistent data collection is by means of a detailed operational definition that eliminates ambiguity.

1.7 Organization of the Study

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One provides the background of the study, Statement of the problem, the objectives of the research, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, definition of terms, organization of the study. Chapter Two reviews related literature. Chapter Three gives an overview of the research methodology and design.

Chapter Four presents the data gathered from the field and analyzed the same, Chapter Five, presents the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter has reviewed papers, journals and articles on Gender Parity in Nigeria from past writers, authors and researchers. The chapter will further present the conceptual and theoretical framework that underpins the study.

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 Gender

Gender refers to the social relations between men and women. It refers to the relationship between men and women, boys and girls, and how this is socially constructed. Gender refers to human traits linked by culture to each sex (Haralambos & Holborn, 2004). Within a society; males are socialized to be masculine as females are taught to be feminine. Thus, gender is the difference that sex makes within a society, guiding how we are to think of ourselves, how we interact with others, the social opportunities, occupations, family roles and prestige allowed to males and females.

Efforts at gender mainstreaming in Nigeria include: In 2006, Nigeria developed a National Gender Policy (2006), which prescribes 35 per cent affirmative action for women into appointive and elective positions. Other efforts include the establishment of the Women Political Empowerment Office and Nigeria Women Trust Fund (2011) and the 100 Women Lobby Group. Others comprise the development of a gender policy for the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the institution of the National Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue and the convening of the Nigeria Women Strategy Conference (Oluyemi, 2016).

2.1.2 Gender Mainstreaming

GM provides a means of ensuring that all aspects of inequality in organizations are addressed (Akanle, 2011). Some GM activities include increases in the number of women hired in organizations, gender analysis, policy redesign (to foster gender equality), and employee training on gender-related issues (Akanle, 2011). The literature on gender-related issues serves as a valuable source of information on the limitations of women participation within the workplace. Poverty, employment discriminatory practices, absent/inadequate constitutional provisions, under/overqualification, cultural biases, and inadequate enrollment of girls in educational institutions are some identified reasons for the decline in women's participation in the workplace (Okafor & Akokuwebe, 2015). Theories of gender oppression such as patriarchy and liberal feminism theories extend the causes of underrepresentation to include marginalization and poor funding, with resultant implications for good governance, leadership, and economic development (Okafor & Akokuwebe, 2015). Liberal feminism not only suggests that individuals regardless of gender are capable of rational behavior but highlights how the uniqueness of experiences in life encounters from birth impacts individuals' worldviews (Okafor & Akokuwebe, 2015). Role theory offers relevant direction into the interpretation and shaping of the meaning of GM in daily practice from the perspective of the decision makers (Scala & Paterson, 2017).

The social feminist theory of Inmyxai and Takahashi (2011) focuses on the pivotal contributions of women to societal and economic advancements. The theorists redefined success from the viewpoint of business performance metrics, with emphasis on the views of female leaders whose measures of success involve both economic and hierarchical perspectives (Inmyxai & Takahashi, 2011). The poststructuralist theory highlights the tendency of scholars to use GM to identify gender

as opposing extremes without consideration for the dynamism of power and opportunities within organizations (Inmyxai & Takahashi, 2011).

As a perception analysis, this study involved the use of an eyewitness approach, which entailed the collection of individual/group opinions. Over the years, the debate on gender equality has led to numerous impactful and innovative solutions with the potential to bridge the gender gaps (Alonso, 2017). For instance, gender training emerged as an intervention meant to enlighten and empower persons with skills required to manage gender-related issues in the workplace (Warren, 2007). Other interventions include skills acquisition training for women, gender awareness training, gender analysis, planning training, and training for policy makers (Alonso, 2017).

GM has been conceptualized under three major domains within organizations: (a) a political domain consisting of policies, hierarchies, systems, and finance; (b) a technical domain consisting of tools, methods, knowledge, expertise, and data; and (c) a cultural domain consisting of norms, values, attitudes, and relationships (Staudt, 2018). Successful implementation of GM initiatives consists of having adequate resources (time and money), regular interdepartmental meetings, gender statistics, proper techniques, consistent monitoring, and specific organizational objectives (Eveline et al, 2009). The study explored the perceptions of executive leadership using the domains identified by Staudt (2018) as political, technical, and cultural. In response to the call for updated research on the experiences of Nigerian women in leadership positions; I limited the scope to current perceptions of GM from male-dominated Nigerian industries. The conceptual framework for this study allowed for an uncovering of how GM is perceived by the population.

The study deployed the gender knowledge contestation analysis (GKCA) in analyzing the impact of GM in the European Commission, the overseer of the European Union and a pioneer of gender

equality commitments within the body (Cavaghan, 2017). A successful GKCA will require an initial questioning of the organization's understanding and implementation of policies in general with the primary objective of uncovering existing barriers (Cavaghan, 2017). It is carried out by questioning the executors of the policy as opposed to simply reading and evaluating the organizational policies as text. It entails interrogating shop floor staff to reveal the constraints inherent in the system which must be overcome to make progress (Cavaghan, 2017). This study sought to highlight the level of understanding of the policies by the shop floor in this analysis. By using GKCA, a researcher can obtain clarity on how the establishment of practices and processes leads to definite actions and the approaches to institutionalizing problem-solving. A blend of the GM domains (Staudt, 2018) and GKCA (Cavaghan, 2017) supported my examination of organizational policies and practices for implicit/explicit assumptions, rationales supporting these assumptions, and the inherent processes that ensure sustainability.

2.1.2. The Nigeria National Assembly

According to Lafenwa, (2002), Legislature is generally referred to as an official body, whose emergence is a product of an election, with the power to make, change, and repeal laws as well as powers to represent the constituent units and control government through oversight. The legislature, according to the Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Science (1991) is

> political institution(s) whose members are formally equal to one another, whose authority derives from a claim that the members are representative of the political community, and whose decisions are collectively made according to complex procedures.

The Legislature is a law-making assembly of elected members in a formally equal relationship to one another. Modern legislatures can be said to have originated form advisory councils constituted to give advice to rulers in ancient times. Legislature implies representation, which takes into account, the presence of significant segment in the society, which interests need to be considered in the process of decisions making and consequently, the feeling of belongingness for the different segments being represented as well as the sense of solidarity of the represented groups for the system. Thus, representation implies belongingness and system legitimacy.

Loewenberg (1995) opines that the legislature is an "assembly of elected representatives from geographically defined constituencies, with lawmaking functions in the governmental process". In the same vein, Jewell (1997) identified two features that distinguish legislatures from other branches of government. He opines that legislature have formal authority to pass laws, which are implemented and interpreted by the executive and judicial branches and their members normally are elected to represent various elements in the population. It is instructive to understand that legislatures vary in terms of composition, structure and role, from one democracy to the other.

Strictly speaking, legislatures are divided into two types. They are the bicameral and the unicameral types. The unicameral legislature has only one chamber or house while the bicameral variation has two. All communist regimes, including China, many Latin American countries, Norway, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Israel, Lebanon, and New Zealand has unicameral legislature (Bone, 1972).

Legislatures vary in pattern of organizational procedures; they also differ from place to place in terms of membership number, size and tenure of office. With respect to its organization, some legislatures maintain bicameral system while others have unicameral system. Nigeria, Switzerland,

Canada, Germany, Australia and the United States are among the nation states that operate bicameral system.

Legislature is a central component and indispensable principle of democratic governance across the globe. This is because the legislature is the primary mechanism of popular sovereignty that provides for representation in governance of the diverse interests in a multi-cultural and sub-national society. Thus, in most modern societies, the legislature plays significant role in governance and political development. Its functions are basically threefold, namely law-making, oversight functions and representation. The law-making aspect of the functions of the legislature is its primary responsibility. The oversight function of the legislature gives it the responsibility to oversee the work and functioning of the executive and other agencies of government. The legislative process is an institutional process for checks and balances in a political system to ensure agency efficiency as determined by the extent of compliance with established procedures and responsiveness to constituency interest.

The third main function of the legislature is that of representation. As Oni (2013) states "legislators represent their constituencies in the government and serve the government to the constituency". Therefore, an essential characteristic of legislators is the intrinsic link they maintain with the citizens they represent, a characteristic which most closely expresses the sentiment of government by the people" (Roberts, 2002; Bailey 1989).

It is imperative to make distinction of legislative representation under the parliamentary and the presidential system. The legislative behaviour under the parliamentary system is not exactly reflected under the presidential system; rather, all the members under the presidential system are elected on their different party platforms. And once elected; party loyalty in the legislature reduces almost to lowest ebb and legislators seem free to decide which way to vote and are not as readily

subservient to supreme party directives. The president must in fact lobby not only members of other parties but also his own party men, to muster enough support for any executive proposal requiring legislative ratification. Thus, the independent spirit of the legislator is largely guaranteed to the extent that his seat is safe for a period of four years; whereas under the parliamentary system, an adverse vote against the government party on a major policy issue would invariably lead to the collapse of that government (Ojo, 1997) when this happens, there is usually no guarantee that the legislator would be re-elected in the subsequent election.

The bicameral structures are made up of the Upper House and the Lower House. Some countries designate their Upper House as the Senate and the Lower House as the House of Representative. Typical examples of this are the United States of America and Nigeria. In England, the House of Lords and the House of Commons are the designations for the Upper House and Lower House respectively. This structural variation notwithstanding, legislatures tend to exhibit some basic common characteristics. Generally speaking, their members are formally equal to one another in status. For another, the authority of members depends on their claim to representation of the rest of the community. Furthermore, as Loewenberg (1971) opines, quality of status also determines that members of parliament work collectively, either in meetings of the entire membership or of committees of members. These characteristics portray the legislature as what it is by its nature and design, a functional institution. In order for a legislature to remain practically functional and contribute to national development, Ogunna (1983) opined that it must, among other things be:

> Truly representative in character, knowledgeable and mature in judgment, selfless, responsive, responsible, competent and effective in the discharge of its functions, discreet in the judicious exercise of its powers, and high in its integrity.

The human society is an organic phenomenon. As such, it is never static. The pressures of its geophysical and the natural interaction of its parts render the human society always dynamic. It is the task of the legislature to make laws and policies to guide the societal dynamism into the smooth channels of growth and development for the good of all. Any policy that is not supported by the legislature is not sustainable. It follows that the state or level of national development of the country is strongly determined by capability of the legislature. In other words, all the powers that the legislature possesses is for national development. To this end, it can pass necessary relevant laws and employ the force of the community in the execution of such laws in engendering national development.

The modern legislature serves as an agent of reform in the state. In a state where some members of parliament are ideologically inclined the desire to implement their reform agenda will greatly influence their behaviors in the assembly. As representative house, the assembly serves as forum for discussion of ideas and policies and it provides a formal platform for deliberations among significant political forces in the life of a political system (Fashagba, 2012). Conversely, the transformative legislature actively translates ideas into laws with little or no external interference. The transformative legislature enjoys a huge measure of institutional autonomy to act on legislative bills or policy proposals emanating either within the assembly itself or from the executive arm of the government. They frame and transform bills and proposals into laws, irrespective of the source. All these contribute to the national development.

The National Assembly of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is a bicameral legislature established under section 4 of the Nigerian Constitution. It consists of a Senate with 109 members and a 360-member House of Representatives The body, modelled after the Congress of the United States, to guarantee equal representation with 3 Senators to each of the 36 states irrespective of size

(landmass and population) in the Senate and one Senator representing the FCT, Abuja and proportional representation based on the population of the state in the House. The National Assembly, like many other organs of the Nigerian government, is based in Abuja, in the FCT, Abuja. All members of the National Assembly are elected directly every four years.

Although, as the consequence of being a former British colony, Nigeria started out with a parliamentary system of government at independence in 1960, it switched to a presidential system modeled after that of the United States in 1979. This was done primarily to achieve a more enhanced separation of powers, and checks and balances, among the three branches of government. To that end, in addition to its legislative mandate, the current Constitution accords the National Assembly extensive oversight powers. These include control over the spending of federal funds, the authority to provide advice and consent for appointments to key executive positions, the power to approve all treaties negotiated by the executive, and the power to impeach the President and his deputy.

Both the elected and administrative staff and officers of the National Assembly are instrumental to the functioning of the nation's national parliament. Key members of the National Assembly leadership aside the Senate President and Deputy, Speaker and Deputy, include the Majority Leader, the Minority Leader, the Chief Whip, and the Minority Whip and their deputies. Among the administrative officers of the National Assembly are the Clerk to the National Assembly (CNA) and Deputy Clerk to the National Assembly, Clerk of Senate, Clerk of House of Representatives and the Sergeant-at-Arms. There are also other administrative staff in the National Assembly Management arm. This consists of seven directorates under the leaders of secretaries who are equivalent to permanent secretaries at the ministries.

Also crucial to the proper functioning of the body are the various committees. While the Nigerian Constitution requires each house of the National Assembly to form two committees - a joint committee on finance and a public accounts committee - it permits each body to constitute as many standing committees as it deems fit. The National Assembly may establish various forms of committees such as special committees, standing committees, ad-hoc committees, and committees of the whole.

The legislative process in Nigeria involves both houses of the National Assembly and the President. Basically, once a bill (executive, private, or private member's bill) is introduced in the National Assembly, it goes through a rigorous process before it is enacted into law, which includes three readings of the bill (first, second and third readings), scrutiny by the relevant committee (at committee stage) where amendments may be made, concurrence from the other chamber before presidential assent.

2.1.3. Evolution of the Nigerian Legislature

The evolution of the Nigerian legislature dates back to the Lagos Legislative Council of 1862, established under the British colonial government. Nigeria, just like most African states, is a product of colonial creation and, as in most other African countries that have gone through this experience, its annexation was a gradual process. For Nigeria, it began with the ceding of Lagos, through coercion, to the British Crown by King Dosunmu in 1861 Ehindero (1991). A year after, Lagos was declared a Crown Colony and which led to the establishment of a Legislative Council established to "advise and assist" the governor of the Colony who served concurrently as the head of both the executive and legislative bodies of the Colony. Ojo (1997). The members of the

Council, who were appointed to their positions, did not possess lawmaking power. Edet (2014). Of the ten members of the Council at the time, only two were Nigerians.

The administration of British colonies in the region continued to institutionalize and by 1914, the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria was established by bringing together the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria (which by then included the Protectorate of Lagos) and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. For administrative purposes, the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria was divided into three regions: Lagos, the Northern Provinces, and the Southern Provinces. While Lagos's Legislative Council was left intact, the colonial administrators established a new legislative body, the Nigerian Council, for the rest of the Protectorate of Nigeria. Only six of the thirty-six members of the Council were Nigerian and the body had no legislative function.

Notable changes were introduced to the legislative structure through the 1922 Clifford's Constitution. The Constitution abolished the Lagos Legislative Council and established a national legislative body with forty-six members, four of whom were elected. It gave the body lawmaking power; however, its jurisdiction was limited to Lagos and the Southern Provinces. The Constitution also allowed members of the body to introduce bills as long as they were not related to financial.

The 1946 Richard's Constitution introduced further reforms to the legislature. A key reform under this Constitution created the foundation for the country's federal system by establishing three regional legislative bodies: the Northern Regional Council (headquartered in Enugu), the Western House of Assembly (seated in Ibadan), and the Eastern House of Assembly (with Kaduna as its headquarters). However, Nigeria still remained a unitary state because, among other things, the regional assemblies were restricted to advising the central government on all proposed bills except finance bills.

This arrangement was uttered with the enactment of the 1951 Constitution, which gave jurisdiction to the regional legislatures the powers of lawmaking on various regional issues outlined in the Constitution. In addition, the Constitution enhanced the representative nature of both the central and regional legislatures by increasing the seats of the bodies that needed to be filled through an election. However, the 1951 Constitution did not provide a list of areas of legislative jurisdiction for the central government, which implies that legislative powers of the central government "extended to and overlapped those of the regional governments." Ewelukwa (1993). The federal arrangement was further enhanced through the 1954 Constitution, which, among other things, clearly defined the legislative competencies of the federal and regional legislatures.

More reforms were made in the preceding years. For instance, the Nigerian Senate was established in 1959 and the Nigerian federal legislature, which until then had been a unicameral body, became bicameral. Most of the members of the newly-constituted, forty-eight-member body were appointed to their seats. The number of states, which stood at four in 1963, increased to thirty-six by 1991 till date.

Nigeria adopted a parliamentary system of government at independence in 1960, modelling that of its former colonizer, the United Kingdom. The Governor-General, who represented the Queen and the Head of State, appointed the Prime Minister as the Head of Government, and his cabinet was drawn from among members of the legislature. In 1963, Nigeria broke ties with the British Monarchy and created the position of the President as the Head of State. In 1979, Nigeria abolished the parliamentary system of government in favor of a presidential, in a bid to achieve a clear-cut separation of powers between the legislative and executive branches. Although Nigeria was a dictatorship from 1983 through 1998, the presidential system of government was reinstituted in

1999 (when Nigeria returned to a democratic system of government) and efforts are being made by the arms of government to ensure its consolidation.

2.1.4. Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming was established in 1995 as an intergovernmental mandate in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (United Nations, 2002). Gender mainstreaming can be defined as an attempt to raise the gender equality issue and empower women in development organizations through capacity-building programs. According to United Nations, the definition of gender mainstreaming is "the process of assessing the implication for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated" (United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs, 1997). A common example of gender mainstreaming is providing training to strengthen women's skills and capacity. But gender mainstreaming goes beyond increasing women's participation. It means bringing the experience, knowledge, and interests of women and men to bear on the development agenda. The goal of mainstreaming gender equality is the transformation of unequal social and institutional structures into equal and just structures for both men and women in the targeted organizations. The mainstreaming activities specifically target women's priorities and needs, though, for example, legislation, policy development, research and projects/programs on the ground. Women-specific projects continue to play an important role in promoting gender equality. And yet, they are still needed because gender equality has not yet been attained and gender mainstreaming processes are

not well developed (United Nations, 2001). Nevertheless, gender mainstreaming is still seen as the most "modern" approach to gender equality (Daly, 2005).

Firstly, it refers to what has to be integrated in the mainstream, i.e., a gender equality perspective and therefore to the goal that has to be achieved, i.e., gender equality. Secondly, it mentions the functional and structural implications gender mainstreaming involves, i.e., the reorganization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes. Gender mainstreaming is a political process as well as a technical one. It involves new ways of devising and approaching policies, shifts in organizational or in institutional culture and will lead to changes in societal structures. Gender mainstreaming involves the reorganization of policy processes because it moves the attention of gender equality policies to everyday policies and to the activities of the actors ordinarily involved in the policy processes at stake. Thirdly, the definition is not partial and limited to certain aspects and techniques of gender mainstreaming. (Re)organizing, improving and developing policy processes implies the need for various techniques and tools. It includes the full participation of women in all aspects of life as well as the analysis of all proposals concerning general or sectoral policies and programmes from a gender equality perspective. It is important that the definition leaves room for all these tools and techniques to be taken into consideration. Moreover, the availability of, and need for, various actors and techniques can vary from one context to another and the definition should therefore not be finite.

By definition, gender mainstreaming is the process by which a gendered perspective (male and female) is integrated into the fabric of our communities, institutions, and lives (United Nations 1997). We live in a society defined by our values of equality, social justice, and opportunity. In order for these values to permeate into our everyday lives, we must address issues of "separateness" that still seem to prevail in our institutions, particularly in our political science

curricula. Di Stefano (1997) presented gender as "a socially constructed and politically enforced notion of what it means to be male or female" and argues that this gendered lens is "political because it has the power to impose meaning and value to our activities and social relationships." Mainstreaming is a transition from a male-defined curriculum to a more gender-balanced curriculum that better reflects the improved status of women in society.

Meaning of Gender Equality

Gender equality has been defined differently in different regions. According to the United Nations, gender equality means that the rights, responsibilities, and opportunities of individuals will not depend on whether they are born male or female.

Equality does not mean "the same as"- promotion of gender equality does not mean that women and men will become the same. In this case, equality involves ensuring that the perceptions, interests, needs and priorities of women and men will be given equal weight in planning and decision-making. However, it is not necessary that women and men would have the same perceptions because they all have different roles and responsibilities to play in the society.

There are two rationales for promoting gender equality. Firstly, "equality between women and men-equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities - is a matter of human rights and social justice". And secondly, greater equality between women and men is also a precondition for sustainable people-centered development (United Nations, 2001). In other words, gender equality is not a 'women's issue' but should concern and fully engage men as well as women. Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centered development (United Nations, 2001). Another organization from United Nations- UNHCR- defines gender equality as "an equal visibility,

empowerment and participation of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life". The article also discusses how European countries describe gender equality; it is defined as "giving girls and boys, women and men, de jure equal rights, equal opportunities, equal conditions and equal treatment in all fields of life and in all spheres of society"

Gender equality is not synonymous with sameness, or with establishing men, their life style and condition as the norm. Gender equality means accepting and valuing equally the difference between women and men and the diverse roles they play in society. Gender equality includes the right to be different.

This means taking into account the existing differences among women and men, which are related to class, political opinion, religion, ethnicity, race or sexual orientation (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee, 1998). Independent Consultant (2000) gives the definition of gender equality as equal treatment of men and of women. For example, equal pay for equal work, equal numbers of male and female beneficiaries, equal representation of men and women in staffing, equal allocation of budget and other resources for men and for women's activities. According to the United Nations, "equality is the cornerstone of every democratic society that aspires to social justice and human rights" (Grown, Gupta and Khan, 2003).

The term gender equality has been defined in multiple ways in the development literature and has been the subject of great debate in the U.N. The term gender equality has been borrowed from both frameworks to propose three primary domains or components of equality between women and men: capabilities, access to resources and opportunities, and agency or the ability to influence and contribute to outcomes. The capabilities domain refers to basic human abilities as measured through education, health, and nutrition. Access to resources and opportunities refers primarily to

equality in the opportunity to use or apply basic capabilities through access to economic assets (such as land and property) and resources (such as income and employment). The third domain, agency, is the defining element of the concept of empowerment and refers to the ability to make choices and decisions that can alter outcomes. Gender equality in this domain can only result from an equalizing in the balance of power between women and men in the household and societal institutions. Gender equality can have multiple meanings which depends on who define it.

Aware of the fact that the word mainstreaming is difficult to translate into many languages, and has therefore often been reduced to terms such as "gender-based approach". However, it is clear that mainstreaming is much more: it is an attempt to take gender equality issues into the mainstream of society, the mainstream consisting of the directions, organisations and ideas which make decisions about the policy and the resources regarding general or specific policies such as, for example, education or transport. Therefore, mainstreaming means that gender equality issues would have to be dealt with within work on education, or on transport. In every country, to facilitate its understanding, the concept will have to be translated and carefully explained. The Group decided to use the term "gender mainstreaming" to accentuate the integration of a gender perspective. Gender mainstreaming is the (re)organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making.

The definition of gender mainstreaming highlights the goal of mainstreaming, the process, the objects and active subjects of mainstreaming. The objects of mainstreaming are all policies at all levels and at all stages, while the active subjects of mainstreaming are the ordinary actors. Gender mainstreaming can mean that the policy process is reorganized so that ordinary actors know how to incorporate a gender perspective. It can also mean that gender expertise is organized into the

policy process by including gender expertise as a normal requirement for policy-makers. This definition also highlights the way in which gender mainstreaming intercepts the shortcomings of specific gender equality policy. Gender mainstreaming means that gender equality is part of common policies. Gender mainstreaming implies a broader and more comprehensive definition of gender equality, giving value to differences and diversity.

2.1.6. National Development

Umaru (2002) in a study presented the concept of national development as the ability of a country to improve the social well-being of its citizens through the provision of such social amenities as medical care, infrastructure, quality education and other social services. He contended that development is associated with modernization, material advancement, industrialization scientific and technological progress, the emergence of nuclear energy, electronic and biological revolution, new knowledge about man and the universe. He contended that national development must involve urbanization, socio-cultural transformation, mass literacy, vertical and horizontal mobility, employment opportunities and the emergence of specialized and independent occupational roles that drive such economy.

In a related study, Bem et al (2018) opined that the primary objective of national development is to bring about sustained improvement in the wellbeing of the citizenry, mobilization of domestic resources, encouraging local content, the transformation of the structure of rural production, the development of small-scale industries and the acquisition of technological & scientific skills.

However, Umar (2002) while presenting a contrary view on these objectives stated that a cursory look at these objectives shows that they are stale, but well-conceived, well-planned and properly directed policies and programmes are conditions for the attainment of the objectives. That is to

say, that national development is about self-reliance in every aspect of national life. He added that once most citizens acquire specialized skills that will enable them to help develop the society, then the country can boast of haven attained some appreciable level of national development. This according Umar (2002) accounts for the difference between the developed countries and the underdeveloped nations of the world. In agreement with Umar, Alabi (2002) contended that the major factor responsible for the wide gap in the level of development between the developed and the developing countries is the level of development of pure and applied science in these nations. According to him, while Third-World countries such as Nigeria are exporting raw materials, developed nations export industrial goods and technology.

2.2. Legislature and National Development

Nwogwugwu & Ishola (2019) in their contribution to the role of the legislature in national development contended that parliaments are established mainly to make laws, pursue policies and programmes that foster national development in every democracy. They argued that the legislature is indispensable in the entire gamut of governance as it drives the wheel of administration through it three main functions. They further contended that of the tripartite functions of the legislature, oversight function stands out as the major means of control of the activities of the executive despite the fact that they spend fifty per cent of their time on the passage of legislation, ten per cent on appropriations, and forty per cent on policy formation and control. Therefore, all the functions and activities of the legislature are geared towards bringing about national development.

Nwogwugwu & Ishola (2019) posited that the roles the legislature plays in the amendment of national constitution, ratification of certain senior executive and judicial appointments, supervision of social, political and economic conditions of their country and other related activities foster/

promote national development. In doing all these, lawmakers aggregate and fine-tune societal dynamisms into pro-people and development-oriented policies, programmes and projects.

In a related study, Tom & Attai (2014) stated that legislatures such as the UK-Parliament, the US Congress and the Nigerian National Assembly serve as fertile grounds for elite recruitment and for the training of national leaders. Lawmakers from different constituencies with variegated developmental needs converge at the legislative Chambers to handle wide-range of nationwide issues and affairs on behalf of the people. Therefore, through motions, enactment of bills, resolutions and decisions they foster development and ensure national unity.

Tom & Attai also underscored the importance of the legislature in enforcing accountability and responsibility in any democratic regime. According to Tom & Attai (2014), there can be no good governance without proper accountability and national development becomes a pipe dream in the absence of both accountability and good governance. In this regard, oversight function is a very important role of the modern legislature as it avails the public the opportunity to hold public office holders accountable through their representatives. Tom & Attai (2014) are of the opinion that the watchdog function is perhaps more important for a legislative assembly than that of law making. Collaborating Tom & Attai, Stapenhurst (2008) posited that the legislature provides the institutional mechanism for ensuring accountability and good governance. Stapenhurst (2008) opined that:

> In most countries, the legislature is constitutionally mandated as the institution through which governments are held accountable to the electorate.

He further noted that oversight function is more important in the area of budgeting. Such oversight functions include scrutinizing and authorizing revenues and expenditures of the government and ensuring that the national budget is properly implemented. The constitutional power to participate

in budgetary appropriation avails the parliament the required political influence to shape governance, and possibly carry out reforms that lead to national development.

Fashagba (2012) in his contribution posited that parliaments in several countries have plaid basic roles in approving macro fiscal framework such as the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) in Nigeria. The National Assembly has enormous powers over fiscal matters.

Very common among the views of these scholars ranging from Nwogwugwu & Ishola to Tom & Attai is the fact that the legislature promotes national unity as parliamentary gatherings helps lawmakers to develop a sense of identification with the entire nation for which they make policies and laws and whose problems they set out to solve at each legislative session. It educates the members in practical politics. As they involve in the process of law making and policy formulation, legislators are exposed to the conflicting political interest, at work on each issue and how to solve the problems that are created by such conflicts. According to Nwogwugwu & Ishola, legislators become adepts in reconciling conflicting political interests in the nation. Thus, they move towards becoming statesmen needed by every nation to guide its governance process. Where this is successfully achieved, no national development is greater than it is.

2.2.2. National Assembly and National Development in Nigeria

Tom & Attai (2014) contends that the National assembly as it is structured and constituted is properly empowered with the right the authority and capacity to play a key role in national development. Notwithstanding the avalanche of powers, functions and privileges provided for the National Assembly by the various Constitutions since independence, evidences have revealed that it has not measured up to public expectation in engendering national development.

Although Nigeria practiced the parliamentary system from independence to January 15th 1966, not much was achieved in terms of law-making and oversight. However, the National Assembly was able to keep the country united despite centrifugal forces. The second and aborted third Republics' legislatures did not improve significantly in terms of their contribution to national development.

PLAC (2016) opined that the National Assembly has not encountered any form of disruption since the return to democratic rule in May 1999. Sequel to this, each Session has contributed its quota to national development in the areas of law making, oversight and effective representation of the public in government. PLAC (2016) maintained that the National Assembly has contributed to national development in the following ways:

i.   *Law-Making/Legislations*

The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in Second Schedule, part one assigned 68 very items as areas where the federal government has exclusive legislative powers on. These include Arms, ammunition and explosives, aviation, Bankruptcy and insolvency, Banks, banking, bills of exchange and promissory notes. Others are census, customs and excise duties, creation of states, copyright, currencies, defence, police, passport, external affairs, etc. (1999 Constitution). Therefore, the Constitution bestowed enormous powers on the National Assembly in the quest for national development.

Therefore, in performing its law-making function the National Assembly has since 1999 enacted over 250 Acts (Tom & Attai, 2014). Prominent among these Acts are Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Act, the Independent Corruption and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) Act, Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) Act, Freedom of Information (FOI) Act, the Electoral Act, the Evidence Act, the National Universities Commission Act, the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS) Act, etc. However,

rough the road had been for the National Assembly to evolve enduring legislative culture since fourth republic (1999-Date) with the aim of evolving an enduring legislative culture and enhancing national development, it cannot be said that the Nigeria legislature has performed below expectation (Tom & Attai, 2014). It is heartening to note that the National Assembly in with a few to strengthening the health, education, infrastructure, diplomacy, press freedom, etc., has successfully enacted over 350 Acts.

Most of the establishment bills successfully processed into law have established several institutions such as federal universities, EFCC, ICPC, NAFDAC, among others. These institutions have also contributed to the education development, elimination of fake and substandard drugs, cosmetics, etc., fight against corruption etc. With all these institutions working towards national development in different sectors, it is safe to state that the National Assembly has contributed no less profoundly to national development through its law-making function.

ii.   ***National Budget***:

Related to the function of law making is the role National Assembly plays in the annual federal budget process. The National Assembly as empowered by law has played fundamental role in the nation's budget process. In Nigeria, the government budget process is rooted in constitutional mandates, statutory requirements, House and Senate rules and practices (Bill & Keith, 2004). According Ekeocha (2012):

> The Constitution provides that the executive has the primary role of developing an annual budget and presenting same to the legislature. From the First Republic to the present Fourth Assembly of the Fourth Republic, the legislature has continued to play the role of reviewing, debating, in some cases amending, and approving or rejecting the spending plan proposed by the executive. A major aspect of legislative

oversight is undertaken in the budget process, i.e., approving the annual government estimate and overseeing its spending.

Ekeocha (2012) further identified the key actors in the budget process to include; the finance ministry or treasury, the legislature, the president or cabinet (i.e. under parliamentary setting), the MDAs (who are ultimately responsible for the expenditures of government as prescribed by law), independent supreme audit institutions and civil society organizations (including donor agencies, media outfits, international finance institutions that show interest in monitoring and evaluation, among others). This indicates that the whole budget process is a complex one, with the legislature serving as the principal actor from whichever perspective one place the 'stethoscope'.

The economic growth and national development of a country revolves around the volume of revenues generated and mode of expending these resources so generated. Hence, the annual national budget plays a very fundamental role in shaping revenue generation and expenditure of governments. Therefore, the National assembly through the process reviewing, debating, in some cases amending, and approving or rejecting has contributed and continues to contribute to national development in Nigeria.

iii.   *Oversight Activities*

In carrying out oversight on the Executive arm of government the National Assembly through its committees raises queries for agencies of government. This is to ensure accountability, transparency, responsiveness and sustainability of good governance. Parliamentary questions are an efficient and one of the most frequently used processes members of the National Assembly deploys to extract from government agencies their degree of compliance with extant laws guiding

governmental actions and policies. Thereafter, public hearings are conducted on various sectors to elicit the inputs of the public including civil societies in the legislative process.

Under the Nigerian constitution, the National Assembly is specifically empowered to carry out oversight function by various provisions. Section 5(1) a of the Constitution provides: *"Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the executive powers of the Federation- (a) Shall be vested in the President and may, subject as aforesaid and to the provisions of any law made by the National Assembly, be exercised by him either directly or through the Vice President and Ministers of the Government of the Federation or officers in the public service of the Federation"*.

The above provision is the fundamental basis upon which the Legislature exercises oversight functions over the executive arm of government. As the provision suggests, the Executive powers of the President are exercisable subject to the constitution and the laws made by the National Assembly. The implication of this is that the President who is the head of the Executive does not exercise his powers without having regard to the provision of the constitution and any law made in that behalf by the Legislature. This no doubt is intended to guarantee accountability on the path of the Executive. It is subject to the provision that appointments into parastatals or agencies of government cannot be complete without seeking parliamentary confirmation of such appointments as required by the constitution or laws setting up those agencies. For example, the Nigerian Communications Commission, The Securities and Exchange Commission, The Nigerian Deposit Insurance Corporation, among others. The general oversight functions of the National Assembly found Legislative importance in chapter 5, part 11, Section 80(1) – (4) and 88(1) – (2)b of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended). The oversight functions of the National Assembly can be exercised in various ways amongst which are as follows:

A good flow of communication is expected to occur between the electorates and their representatives in government. For the National Assembly, this has been the bane; hence, the Nigerian public has been unable to understand the essence of some of the investigations being carried out by its committees in furtherance of its oversight functions. Even for the initiation of projects in various constituencies, the feeling among the people largely is that the legislators embark on them for self-enrichment even though this cannot be entirely true;

Through the instrument of oversight, Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) are held accountable to Nigerians who the Senators and Honourable Members of the Houses of Senate and Representatives represent. The National Assembly just like every other legislature oversee the implementation of laws, policies, and programmes by monitoring, reviewing, and investigating government activities to ensure that government actions are transparent, accountable, consistent with, and uphold existing laws and regulations. They contribute greatly to policy formulation through questions and contributions raised on the floor of the national assembly, through motions and introduction of bills;

The national annual budgeting process is one of the most important areas where the legislature plays a very important role in its formulation and implementation. The power of legislature (i.e., National Assembly) to appropriate public funds remains the foundation for public budgeting and accountability, preceding the development of budgets by the executive. According to Ekeocha (2012) the fundamental power of appropriation avails the legislature formative influence in allocating funds among competing priorities during the appropriation bill debate. This goes beyond this *ex-ante* function to undertake *ex post* role over the process of budget execution and programme administration.

Therefore, how well the Ministries, Departments and Agencies of government channel the funds allocated to them is greatly a function of the oversighting function of the legislature. This is akin to performance evaluation of these MDAs to ensure that public funds are channeled for the good of the greater majority of the Nigerian population.

Legislative oversight encourages checks and balances in government and has enthrones fiscal discipline, good governance, accountability and transparency in Nigeria democracy. It promotes accountability in government through enforcing efficiency and cost effectiveness in course of generating people-centered policies and programmes necessary to address the many challenges confronting government. In performing it oversight function, the National Assembly continually review the effectiveness of the executive through supervision of projects, review of executive activities. This helps the National Assembly to establish issues and address problems areas in order to effect the necessary improvements or changes to engender an effective governance structure. Oversight activities of the National Assembly keeps the public informed about activities of the executive arm. Whether government (executive) is truly serving the collective interest of the citizens or not. This is because, the masses are not always well informed about government activities.

The Senate and indeed the National Assembly has kept the executive on its toes in ensuring good governance and national development through oversight function. Below are some selected cases:

i.   Oversight visits to both the Nnamdi Azikiwe International Airport and Kaduna International Airport during the closure of the international wing for the reconstruction of the run-way (tarmacs) of Abuja airport and diversion of flights to Kaduna airport in 2017. These visits were undertaken by the House of Representatives Committee on

Aviation and its Senate counterparts on separate occasions. These visits facilitated the timely completion of the project.

ii.   The Senate Committee on Customs visit to Tincan, Apapa, Onne, etc. wharfs as well as Nigeria Custom Service in 2017 also contributed to increase in the amount generated and remitted to federal government by NCS.

iv.   ***Ratification of Appointments***

It is provided in Section 147 (1) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended that there shall be such offices of minsters of the Government of the federation as may be established by the president (Abifarin, 2018). Section 147 (2) states that any appointment to the office of the minister of the Government of the federation shall, if the nomination of any person to such office is confirmed by the senate be made by the president. Therefore, any appointment under subsection 2 of Section 147 shall conform to the provisions of Section 47(3) of 1999 Constitution. It also states that the president shall appoint at least one minister from each state who shall be an indigene of such state into his executive council in respect to federal character principle enshrined in the Constitution.

The implication of the Constitutional provisions captured above is that before the president makes any appointment, the senate must approve such appointments after screening of persons so nominated. These executive and judicial appointments being ratified by the Nigerian Senate have contributed in no small measure in boosting the wheel of administration and aided development in the country.

In performing this very important duty, the Nigerian Senate has in some cases demanded that ministerial and other executive nominees should recite the National Anthem, explain NEEDS, explain SDG, and outline their agenda for the offices they have been nominated to head. This has

also contributed in sensitizing nominees on the need to become patriotic citizens and discard all tendencies that encourage centripetal forces in the nation's body polity.

The approval of the nomination of Ibrahim Magu as the Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission is the most controversial approval that any Senate in Nigeria have ever witnessed. The President presented Ibrahim Magu who had been acting chairman to the Senate for approval but the senate caused a security report to be prepared by the Directorate of Security Service (DSS) on him. The Senate rejected his appointment because the security report as prepared by the DSS found Ibrahim Magu wanting. This had engendered so much conflictual relationship between the presidency and the National Assembly. The Senate had to step down further screening of any executive nominee from the president pending the appointment of a new acting chairman of EFCC, while President Buhari stuck to his guns by allowing Magu to continue to head the anti-corruption agency till date.

2.5   Gap in literature

We have explored the literature concerning the key terms in this thesis namely; Gender mainstreaming, national development and the National Assembly Abuja. Through the various scholastic works we have more than a bird's eye view of the basic concepts that form our subject. For some, the rationale for gender mainstreaming is critical, as it articulates the need for a collective process (Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) 2006). Secondly, gender mainstreaming recognises the need for a combined strategy which addresses issues related to the empowerment of women, while also promoting gender mainstreaming as a tool for promoting gender equality. In line with this, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) states that gender mainstreaming must have the following basic principles: establish   adequate accountability mechanisms for monitoring progress; identify issues and problems across all areas

in such a way that gender differences and disparities are diagnosed; assume that issues or problems are neutral from a gender-equality perspective; carry-out a gender analysis; have clear political will, allocate adequate resources for mainstreaming, including additional financial and human resources; make efforts to broaden women's equitable participation at all levels of decision-making (International Labour Organisation 2002). This lays a solid intellectual foundation to prepare us for the task ahead of exploring the role played by the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming for national development.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

This study is guided by the institutional-functionalist theory, which enabled the contextual viewing of the legislature as an institution of government with specific functions to perform in Nigeria's political process.

Functionalism or structural-functional theory, sees society as a structure with interrelated parts designed to meet the biological and social needs of the individuals in that society. Propounded by an English philosopher and biologist, Hebert Spencer (1820–1903), who in his writings saw similarities between society and the human body. Spencer argued that just as the various organs of the body work together to keep the body functioning, the various parts of society work together to keep society functioning (Agbedi et al, 2020). The parts of society that Spencer referred to were the social institutions, or patterns of beliefs and behaviors focused on meeting social needs, such as government, education, family, healthcare, religion, and the economy.

Émile Durkheim, another early sociologist, applied Spencer's theory to explain how societies change and survive over time. Durkheim believed that society is a complex system of interrelated and interdependent parts that work together to maintain stability (Onwe et al, 2015), and that

society is held together by shared values, languages, and symbols. He believed that to study society, a sociologist must look beyond individuals to social facts such as laws, morals, values, religious beliefs, customs, fashion, and rituals, which all serve to govern social life. Alfred Radcliff-Brown (1881–1955) defined the function of any recurrent activity as the part it played in social life as a whole, and therefore the contribution it makes to social stability and continuity (Omotola, 2014). In a healthy society, all parts work together to maintain stability, a state called dynamic equilibrium by later sociologists such as Agbedi et al., (2020)

Durkheim believed that individuals may make up society, but to study society, sociologists have to look beyond individuals to social facts. Social facts are the laws, morals, values, religious beliefs, customs, fashions, rituals, and all of the cultural rules that govern social life (Omotola, 2014). Each of these social facts serves one or more functions within a society. For example, one function of a society's laws may be to protect society from violence, while another is to punish criminal behavior, while another is to preserve public health.

Another noted structural functionalist, Robert Merton (1910–2003), pointed out that social processes often have many functions. Manifest functions are the consequences of a social process that are sought or anticipated, while latent functions are the unsought consequences of a social process. A manifest function of college education, for example, includes gaining knowledge, preparing for a career, and finding a good job that utilizes that education. Latent functions of your college years include meeting new people, participating in extracurricular activities, or even finding a spouse or partner. Another latent function of education is creating a hierarchy of employment based on the level of education attained. Latent functions can be beneficial, neutral, or harmful. Social processes that have undesirable consequences for the operation of society are

called dysfunctions. In education, examples of dysfunction include getting bad grades, truancy, dropping out, not graduating, and not finding suitable employment.

One criticism of the structural-functional theory is that it cannot adequately explain social change. Also problematic is the somewhat circular nature of this theory; repetitive behavior patterns are assumed to have a function, yet we profess to know that they have a function only because they are repeated. Furthermore, dysfunctions may continue, even though they do not serve a function, which seemingly contradicts the basic premise of the theory. Many sociologists now believe that functionalism is no longer useful as a macro-level theory, but that it does serve a useful purpose in some mid-level analyses.

The legislature is viewed as a critical institutional organ of government in democracies (Hague & Harrop 2004; Omotola 2014), established through constitutional provisions, with powers to make laws and stabilize political systems. The theory presupposes an understanding of a political system that requires adequate attention to the functions and performance of the existing institutions (Igwe, 2005). Thus, this study proceeds in the application of this theory by first recognizing these institutions. The assumption is the stability of the Nigerian political system is a function of the effective performance of the country's democratic institutions. The primary focus here are the legislature, executive, judiciary, political parties, and interest groups. The concern here is how institutions governing the state influence the structure the behaviour of the citizens and living conditions. Hobbes, according to Agbedi et al, (2020) argued "there was the need for stronger institutions in order to save mankind from its own worst instinct". In essence, government institutions have to be concerned with tailoring the behavioural pattern of the people toward the attainment of a better living standard alongside other benefits derivable from the functions played by the institutions. For example, the duties of the legislature are geared towards making laws that

can guarantee good governance through a proper execution of laws and through oversight of implementing agencies to ensure that the purpose of governance is met through provision of social services and infrastructures.

Omotola (2014) citing Philip Norton sees the legislature as "constitutionally a designed institution for granting assent to binding measures of public policy, given on behalf of the community that extends beyond the government elite responsible for formulating those measures". The institutional theory or approach is adopted as the theoretical framework in this study, viewing the legislature as an institution of government with varying functions to ensure system equilibrium and good governance.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter discussed the procedure adopted by the researcher in conducting this study. It defined how data and information were gathered to address the research questions raised. The major components of a research methodology according to Popoola (2011) include research design, the population of the study, sampling procedure, sample size, research instruments, validity and reliability of research instrument and method of data analysis. The adequacy and suitability of the methodology plays a central role in the acceptability of the research findings. Consequently, this study discussed the research methodology under the following headings: -

  i.   Research design

  ii.   Population of the study

 iii.   Sampling procedure

 iv.   Sample size

  v.   Research instrument

 vi.   Validity and Reliability of the Research instrument

vii.   Sources of data

viii.   Method of data collection

 ix.   Data analysis technique

3.1 Research Design

This study adopted the mixed research design (an interplay of survey and secondary data). This involved a combination of desk review and the administration of structured questionnaires. This is a roadmap for conducting a study with effective control over factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings. Thus, survey and exploratory research designs were adopted. Exploratory

research design entails addressing research objectives from already existing documentaries such as journal articles, textbooks, newspapers, magazines, archives, among others.

Therefore, questionnaires and documents were deployed to carry out this study. Questionnaire is a method for collecting information or data as reported by individuals based on their experience or perceptions. It is suitable for this study because the participants/respondents provided the information self-report/ personal experience manner. It is important because it was used to get an idea of how an organization or society has fared in the discharge of its mandate and its feel on a number of things, such as political debates, etc. In this case, it was used to determine the views of Nigerians on the role of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming with a focus on the 8th and 9th sessions.

Objective 1: to examine the role of the National Assembly plays in gender mainstreaming for national development,

Type of data required: Quantitative and qualitative data.

How to obtain the data: Collate respondents' opinions to research question numbers 1. The research examined the role of the National Assembly plays in gender mainstreaming for national development. This is important considering that the National Assembly is the national legislative assembly of Nigeria with constitutional powers to make laws and oversight the executive while providing a fertile ground for people's representation. It is also important considering the place of gender parity in national development. Therefore, primary data (questionnaires) were used to ascertain what the roles of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming are.

How to analyze the data: Provide brief summary of respondents' submissions and views. And juxtaposed same with existing literature.

Objective 2: Seeks to assess how well the National Assembly has improved gender mainstreaming

Type of data required: Quantitative data.

How to obtain the data: Collate respondents' opinions to research questions number 2. Therefore, secondary data will be predominantly used and backed with questionnaires to ascertain how well the National Assembly contributed in improving gender mainstreaming.

How to analyze the data: Assemble respondents' views, evaluate, interpret, and provide concise summary.

Objective 3: to identify the challenges hampering the National Assembly from playing its role for gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. This objective requires technical knowledge of the issue of functions and powers of the National Assembly for proper grasp of what the challenges are. Thus, questionnaires and secondary data sources such as newspapers, magazines, etc. were adopted to identify what the challenges being faced by the National Assembly in influencing gender mainstreaming.

Type of data required: Quantitative and qualitative data.

How to obtain the data: Collate respondents' opinions to research questions number 3. Therefore, secondary data and questionnaires adopted to ascertain the challenges bedeviling the legislative interventions on gender mainstreaming.

How to analyze the data: Assemble respondents' views, evaluate, interpret, and provide concise summary.

Objective 4: To proffer measures to enable the National Assembly plays vital and significant roles in gender mainstreaming for national development.

Type of data required: Qualitative and Quantitative data. This study will adopt questionnaire, interviews and secondary data to address question.

How to obtain the data: Gather respondents' views to research question number.

How to analyze the data: Gather respondents' views, evaluate, interpret, and summarize them concisely.

How to achieve the objective: by comparing collated respondents' opinions with experts' positions on ways of improving the National Assembly's role in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria.

3.2 Population of the Study

This section captures the number of people that will be interviewed and the number of questionnaires that will be administered to respondents. According Varden Bergh and Katz (1999), Population is a group of people from which a sample can be selected from for the purpose of conducting research. Therefore, a population is the total collection of elements from which inference is drawn. Thus, for the purpose of this study, research population consists Nigerians in the FCT. The total population of the FCT is 3095118 (National Census 2006). This target population does not exclude legislators serving in the 9th National Assembly, parliamentary staff, legislative aides, civil society organizations (CSOs) and visitors to the parliament.

3.3 Sampling Procedure

This requires selecting individual or elements for a study. The sampling technique used is purposive sampling technique. It is a non-random technique that does not set number of informants. In other words, a researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people

who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of their knowledge or experience. Therefore, purposive sampling was used to select sample size needed for this study because of the nature of the study.

Primary data were collected using a questionnaire, in-depth interviews and through attendance of legislative plenary and following of chamber proceedings while secondary data were sourced from journals, publications of the Rules and Business Committee and Tables Department of the Senate and House of Representatives, books, newspapers, government records and publications, other online resources, etc. The use of questionnaire was due to their practicability, scalability and ease of analysis while in-depth interviews were used to generate deeper and richer insights.

Questionnaires were administered to respondents from within the National Assembly (legislators and staff) and other respondents in Nigeria and the diaspora who do not necessarily work with the parliament. However, interviews were restricted to only serving members of the 9th Assembly due to their availability and easy accessibility. Opinion of a few past legislators was sort and obtained. For Nigerians in the diaspora, questionnaires were sent electronically.

In all, 400 questionnaires were administered to purposefully selected respondents in the National Assembly; CSOs, civil servants and private sector workers in the FCT. Out of the 400 questionnaires administered, 263 questionnaires were returned. Separate questionnaires were administered to male and female respondents in line with the research design and objectives, i.e., to elicit perceptions of the two groups on the issue of gender mainstreaming and role of national assembly.

3.4 Sample Size

A sample is a fraction, a representative or a sub-group of the population of a study. It can also be seen as a manageable section of a population which has similar characteristics. The sample is the elements making up the population that is actually studied and a generalization made on the population.

The study adopted Taro Yamane's formula to determine the appropriate sample for the study. The formula:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N\,(\alpha)^2}$$

Where:

N = Population Size

α = Probability of type 1 error or level of significance

$$n = \frac{3095118}{1 + 3095118\,(0.005^{2)}}$$

$$= \frac{3095118}{2265.935}$$

$$n = 399.823$$

$$\therefore n \cong 400$$

The study scientifically draws 400 respondents as the sample size that will address the questionnaires in this study.

3.5 Research Instrument

The study used questionnaires as instrument of data collection (primary source). The choice of these instrument is deliberate because the study desires much of primary data.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

Questionnaire is a reliable instrument of data collection because it present peoples' account of any issue being studied.

3.7 Sources of Data

This study requires an interplay of both primary and secondary sources of data.

Primary data

Primary data is sourced through the use of questionnaires, and the desk review of relevant documents of the 8th and 9th Sessions of the National Assembly of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Secondary data

This comprises of data that were sourced from books, journal articles, newspapers, magazines etc.

3.8 Method of Data Collection

Data for this study were obtained through the use of questionnaires, and documents such as newspapers, magazines, reports, among others.

3.9 Data Analysis Technique

The study adopted the descriptive statistical method of analysis which relied heavily on excel to produce the required tables and figures.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the analysis and discussion of the data obtained in the course of the study. It also discussed the empirical findings of the study as well as relating the finding with the relevant literatures earlier reviewed in chapter two.

4.1. Data Presentation

As stated in section 3.5, four hundred (400) questionnaires were administered to respondents. However, two hundred and sixty-four (263) were filled as shown in Table 4.1. With this in mind, a review of the demographic attributes of the population would be followed by the thematic presentation, analysis, and discussion of findings according to the objectives listed in chapter one above.

Table 4.1: Summary of Questionnaire Administration

S/N	STATUS OF QUESTIONNAIRE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
1	Questionnaires returned	263	65.8
2	Questionnaires not returned	137	34.2
3	Total	400	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, February, 2023

4.1.1. Social Demography

From the population, the study identified the following demographic qualities, i.e., gender, age bracket, educational qualification, and professional designation of the respondents. Table 4.2 presents the demographic makeup of the study area using the two hundred and sixty-four (264) questionnaires that were returned.

Table 4.2: Social demography

S/N	SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHY ATTRIBUTES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
1	Gender	Female: 156	59.3
		Male: 107	40.7
2	Age bracket	30-50 years: 153	58.4
		51 and above: 110	41.6
3	Education qualification	Degree: 191	72.6
		SSCE: 72	27.4
4	Designated Respondents	Private sector workers: 20	8.0
		CSO: 12	4.0
		Civil Servants: 231	88.0

Source: Fieldwork, February, 2023.

Table 4.2 shows that 59.3% of the respondents were males while 40.7% were females. This situation may not be unconnected to patriarchal concerns plaguing Nigerian society. This concern, therefore, necessitates various gender studies (Oluyemi, 2016; Adedayo and Adedeji, 2019) and international and domestic efforts (1995 Beijing Conference 30% Affirmative Action, 35% National Gender Policy, Goal 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals [SDGs], etc.) towards achieving equality for all gender. Within the stated gender composition of the population, 58.4% are in the age bracket of 30-50 years and 41.6% are 50 years and above. Given this, the age disposition of the respondents denotes an experienced population which is a formal requirement for election as a lawmaker as well as the length of years in service either public or private sectors. In this light, it can be suggested that the population cum sampling frame is knowledgeable about the subject being investigated-legislative oversight and executive accountability.

Following the content of Table 4.2, 27.4% and 72.6% of the respondents have degrees and SSCE qualifications respectively in various disciplines. Indeed, there is no doubting the intellectual ability of the respondents to undertake their assigned tasks as well as provide accurate information for this study. However, given the choice of the population for the study, the sampled population was made up of 8.0% of civil servants, 4.0% of CSOs, and the remnants of 88.0% are farmers, local traders and artisans.

In all, the following iconographic deduction can be made from the demographic distribution of the population (see Figure 4.1).
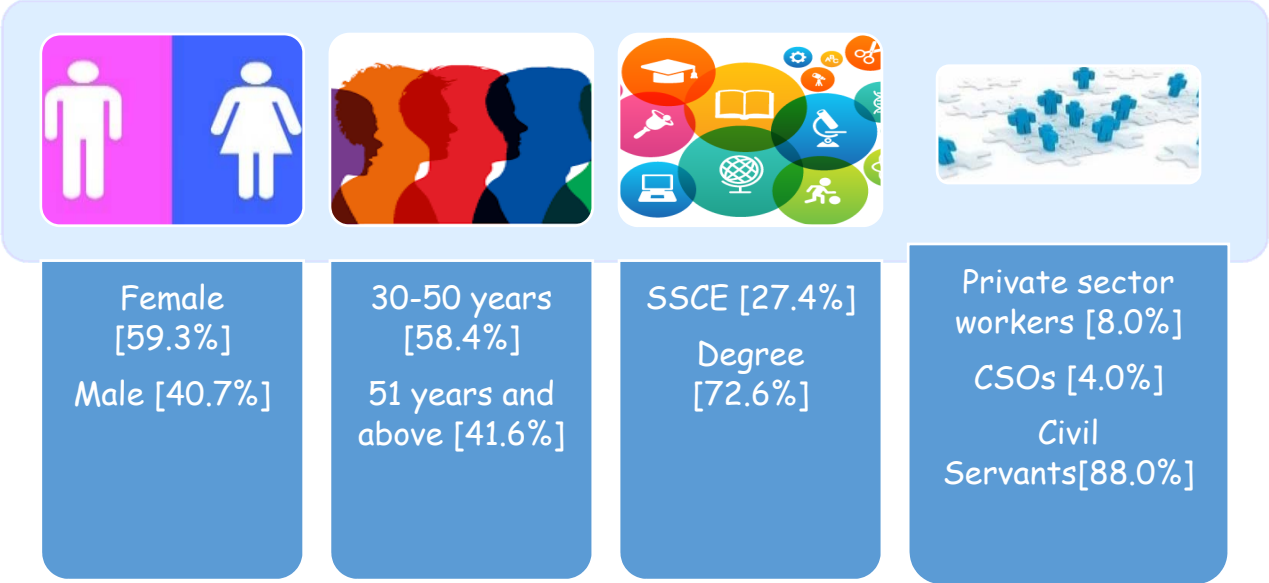

Figure 4.1: Social Demography Iconographic Representation (Source: Fieldwork, February, 2023).

4.3. Data Analysis

4.3.1. The Role of the National Assembly in Gender Mainstreaming for National Development

To understand the role of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming for national, development, respondents' level of awareness of the roles of the National Assembly for gender mainstreaming tested. While 237 (representing 90.1%) of the respondents stated that they are aware that play important role for gender mainstreaming, 3 (1.1%) indicated that they are not aware. The remaining 23 respondents were undecided in their answer (8.8%).

Table 4.3: Does the National Assembly play any significant role in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria?

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	237	90.1
No	3	1.1
Undecided	23	8.8
Total	263	100

Source: Field Study, February, 2023.

Respondents were further asked whether there is any significant role for the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. Whereas, 252 which represents 95.9% answered in the affirmative, 3 respondents (1.1%) were undecided while 8 (3.0%). This is in tandem with Section 4(2) of the Constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria (as amended) which state that: "The National Assembly shall have power to make laws for the peace, order and good governance of the Federation or any part thereof with respect to any matter included in the Exclusive Legislative List set out in Part 1 of the Second Schedule". This therefore, entails that the National Assembly

is constitutionally empowered to make laws that enhance and foster gender mainstreaming and women empowerment across board in Nigeria. This compels the two chambers of the National Assembly to constitute committee of women affairs and to ensure that women are properly represented in the composition of the standing and special committees of the both houses. This also means that the National Assembly as constitutional duty to ensure that no section of the country's population (which the women are part of) in marginalized or alienated in the scheme of things. Thus, in making laws they are expected that ensure gender equity and equality, as much as they are expected to foster effective women representation both in government and other spheres of economic and social activities.

In its 2015 official statistical report on women and men in Nigeria, the National Bureau of Statistics estimated Nigeria's population distribution by sex at 49.5% women and 50.5% men. Despite the not-so-significant difference in the population of males and females, Nigerian men consistently degrade and treat their female counterparts as minors and appendages undeserving of the fundamental human freedoms naturally bestowed on all citizens irrespective of sex, gender, creed, race, or color.

Nigeria has, on paper, demonstrated commitment to such international human rights instruments like the Universal Declaration on Human Rights; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women; the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women; the African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality; as well as to all the targets and goals contained in the Sustainable Development Goals including the gender equality related ones. The Fourth World Conference on Women (1995) emphasized that "Women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the

decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development, and peace."

4.3.2. Asses how well has the National Assembly improved gender mainstreaming

Table 4.4: Has the National Assembly effective performed its roles in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria?

Response	*Frequency*	*Percentage (%)*
Yes	8	3.0
No	252	95.9
Undecided	3	1.1
Total	263	100

Source: Field Survey, December 2022.

Table 4.4 above indicates that the National Assembly has not effectively performed its functions in ensuring gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. This is because 252 respondents 95.9% stated that the National Assembly has not given gender mainstreaming the attention it deserves. While 3.0% answered in the affirmative while 1.1% was undecided.

4.3.3. Identify the challenges hampering the National Assembly from playing its role for gender mainstreaming in Nigeria

The study further identified a number of impediments to gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. According to Isaksson et al, there is little research on the reasons for the 'participation gap' between men and women especially in developing countries. They analyzed data from the Afrobarometer survey of 27,000 respondents in 20 African countries, set against World Bank and Social Institutions and Gender Index data, and concluded that '**clientelism, a lack of civil liberties,**

economic development and gender norms' explain the gender gap in Africa. They note that they do not have enough data to prove the role of clientelism, reduced civil liberties, economic development or gender norms in reducing women's participation (Isaksson et al., 2014)

However, scholars and institutions have identified a number of barriers to gender mainstreaming using surveys, interviews, analysis of laws and the party system, and anecdotal evidence. These impediments include:

i. Laws

The National Assembly has been reluctant in making laws that foster gender mainstreaming in the country. For instance, five gender-sensitive legislations were rejected by the nation's apex lawmaking institution in their constitution alteration exercise. Similarly, the Nigerian government has been reluctant to implement laws to improve gender equality in politics and other sectors, despite a formal support for it. There are no formal bars on women taking offices and the Nigerian constitution (1999) guarantees citizens equal rights. The National Gender Policy (2006) recommended a benchmark of 35% of seats in parliament to be filled by women. Nigeria is also a signatory to international agreements and protocols on gender mainstreaming. The country ratified the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1985 and endorsed the 2005 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (British Council Nigeria, 2012; Denney, 2011; "Nigeria Freedom House," 2019; Kelly, 2019).

Civil society organizations are also pushing for more government action in Nigeria. In 2014, the Women Advocates Research and Documentation Centre (WARDC) and the Nigerian Women Trust Fund (NWTF) drafted a "Nigerian Women Charter of Demand". According to Orji, Orji &

Agbanyim (2018) the demands consisted of: "a reform of electoral law to provide for affirmative action as a criterion for registration of political parties" as well as the establishment of "a system of gender mainstreaming which incorporates 35 percent of women in all sectors of government". Sadly, the National Assembly has resisted implementing gender equality measures such as binding quotas. Several bills have been rejected on the grounds that they compromise traditional Christian or Islamic beliefs, such as the 2016 gender and equalities bill (Jollie, Bako and Syed, 2018) and the five gender sensitive Bills rejected by the lawmakers in 2022. The Constitution does not specify a right to freedom from discrimination. Orji, Orji and Agbanyim (2018) opined that electoral law does not reserve any percentage of seats of offices for women and political parties are not subject to quotas.

ii.   Attitudes to gender

Public attitudes to women in politics and public offices vary across the geopolitical zones of the country for a variety of religious, cultural, economic and educational reasons (Kelly, 2019). Lawmakers in the National Assembly are not immune to this attitude. While women were enfranchised in the south of the country in 1960, the same did not happen in the north until 1979. The British Council Nigeria (2012) blamed Islam for the lower levels of participation in the north, but socio-economic and geographical factors also play a role. Thus, female candidates (politicians) in Nigeria often suffer from lack of media coverage. Moreover, the nature of his coverage is often gendered and serves to undermine the credibility of the candidates. A 'content analysis of newspaper coverage of four high-profile women politicians during the 2015 electoral cycle' has concluded that female candidates suffered from a relative lack of coverage and a presumption of 'unviability' (Ette, 2017). However, it is unclear if this was a product of the reporting, or reflected the marginal position of the four female candidates and the difficulties they would face given the

political system and prevailing attitudes to women. Negative attitudes to women in leadership persist across the country. The unceremonious and demeaning manner a former speaker of the House of Representatives, Rt. Hon. Patricia Olubunmi Etteh was booted out of office and how Hon. Mulikat Adeola Akande was robbed in the contest for the office of the speaker of the Federal House of Representatives in 2011 are testaments to the attitude of the National Assembly to gender mainstreaming.

iii.   Lack of Political Will

To get anything done, the will to achieve such thing is the inertia that propels efforts towards achievements. However, when the 'will' is lacking, achievement becomes near impossible. The interest of the leadership and to a large extent majority of the National Assembly members over-rides and supersedes public interest. For instance, had the leadership of the chamber's assembly wanted the five gender-sensitive Bills to fly, they would been passed.

iv.   Poor Executive-Legislative Relationship

Similarly, if a president makes a point of duty and succinctly captures gender mainstreaming in his agenda, he would through party leadership get the National Assembly to key into the agenda and pass legislations that prioritize gender mainstreaming. However, when there is conflictual relationship, legislations suffer. For instance, several legislations were denied assent by President Buhari under the Saraki/Dogara led National Assembly between 2015 and 2019 as a result of conflicts. Most of those Bills have been repassed and assented to in the current session of the National Assembly.

To ascertain respondents' views on these impediments, they were asked to rate these challenges based on the level of impact they have on gender mainstreaming in the country. Their responses are captured in table 4.5 below
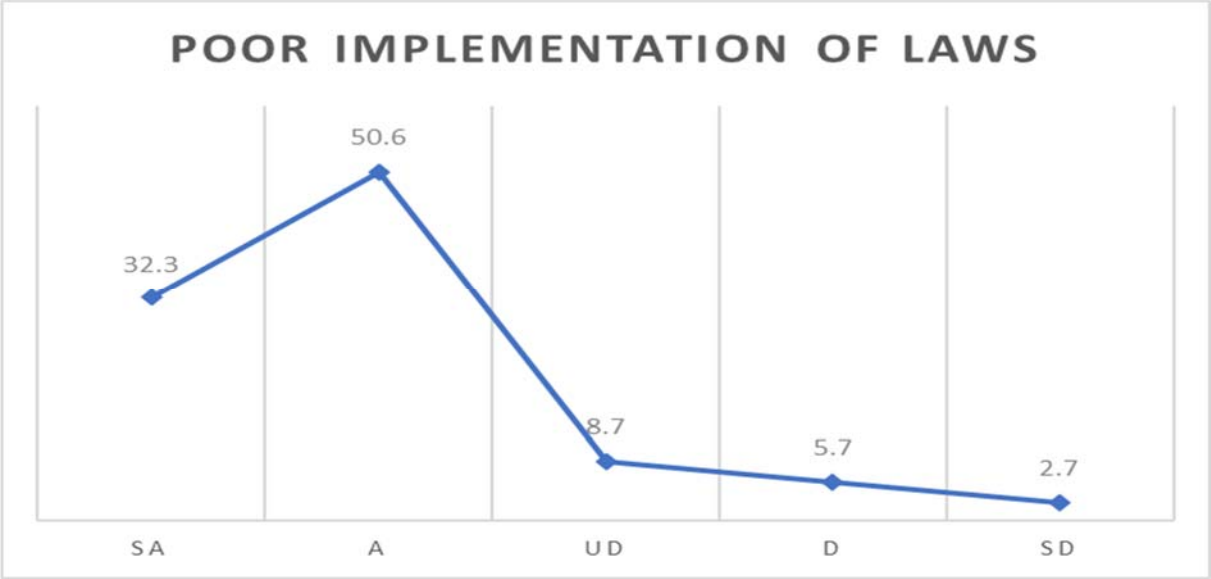
Table 4.5: Responses to factors that hamper the role of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming for national development

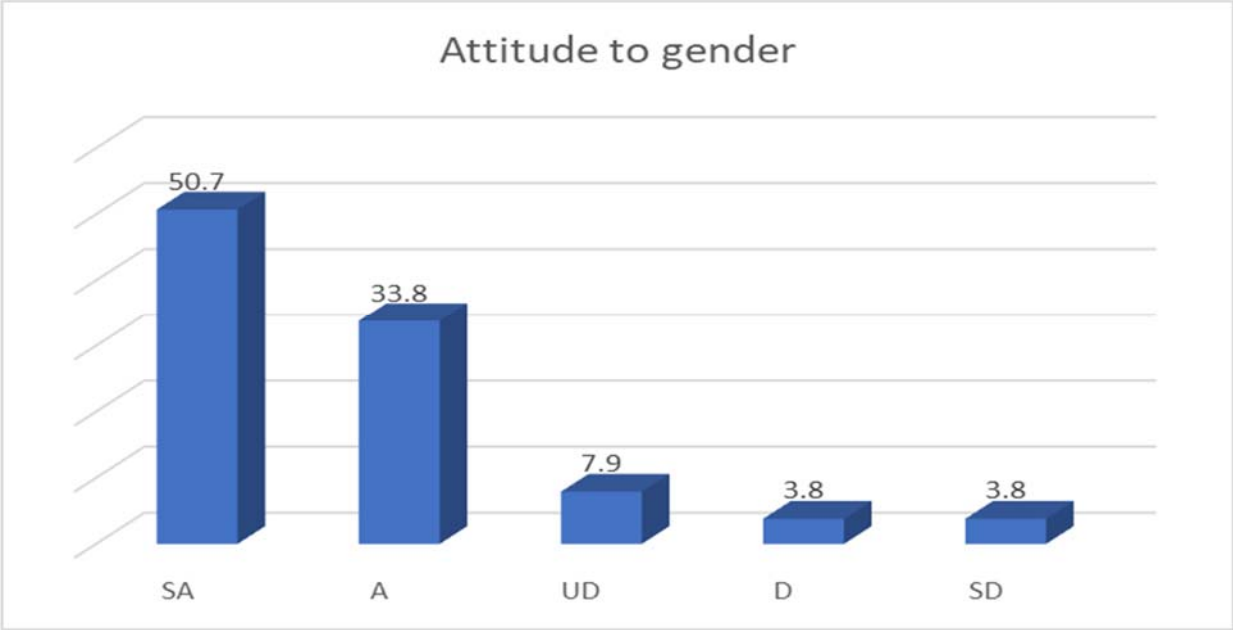|	Factors that hamper National Assembly's role in gender mainstreaming for national development.	SA	A	UD	D	SD
1.	laws	85 32.3%	133 50.6%	23 8.7%	15 5.7%	7 2.7%
2.	Attitude to gender	133 50.7%	89 33.8%	21 7.9%	10 3.8%	10 3.8%
3.	Lack of political will	143 54.4%	85 32.3%	20 7.6%	10 3.8%	5 1.9%
4.	Poor executive-legislative synergy	85 32.3%	133 50.6%	23 8.7%	15 5.7%	7 2.7%

Source: Field survey, February 2023.

SA= strongly agreed, A = Agreed, UD = Undecided, D= Disagreed, SD= strongly disagreed

The survey result in table 4.5 above shows that a joint total of 82.9% of the respondents agreed that poor implementation of laws is a major factor inhibiting National Assembly's role in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria while 8.4% disagreed. This could be as a result of existing traditional/ cultural and religious belief system that unconsciously influence people's behaviour towards laws. Similarly, the same percent of respondents showed that poor executive-National Assembly synergy is a huge impediment.
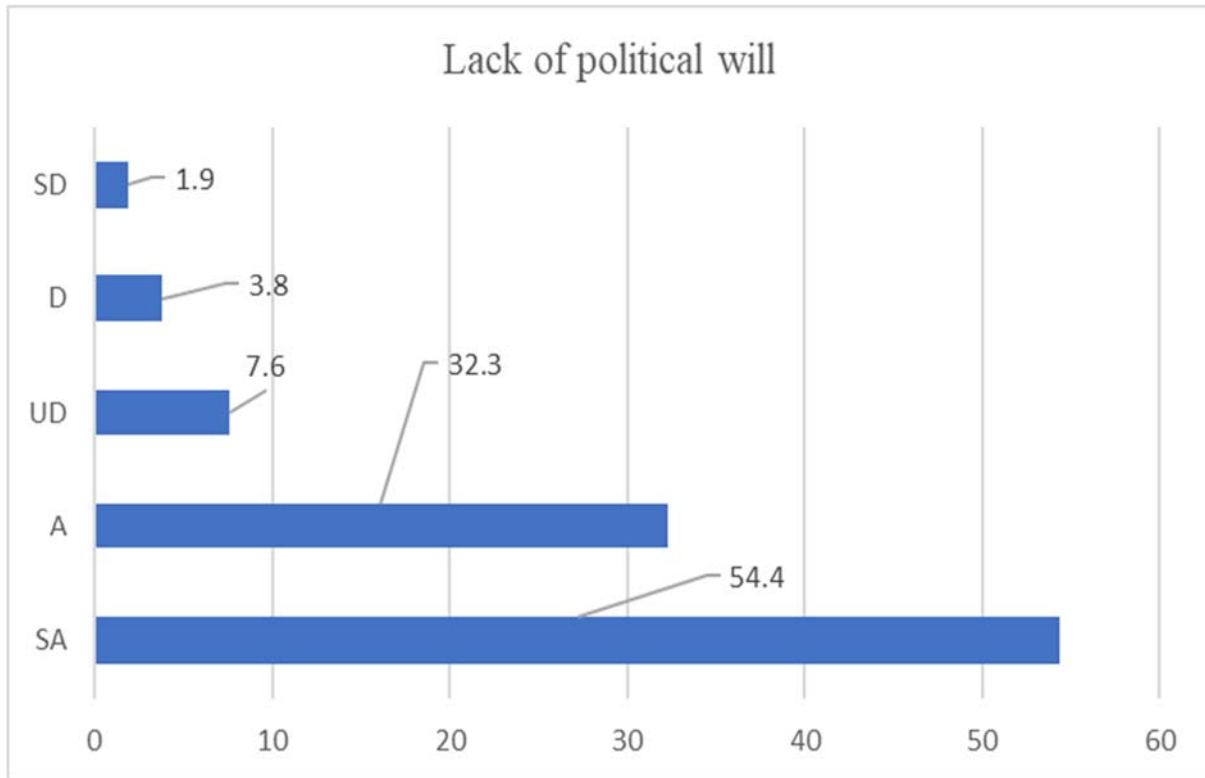
POOR IMPLEMENTATION OF LAWS

32.3	50.6	8.7	5.7	2.7
SA	A	UD	D	SD

Also, 84.5% agreed that one main challenge to National Assembly's role in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. This shows that there are belief systems that negatively influence public attitude towards women in public offices and certain trades across the country.

Attitude to gender

50.7	33.8	7.9	3.8	3.8
SA	A	UD	D	SD

Another 86.7% of the respondents agreed with the statement that lack of political will on the part of the National Assembly and government in general is the greatest challenge inhibiting the apex

lawmaking assembly from playing fundamental roles in gender mainstreaming in the country. This is true when situated on the prism that conception is the mother of invention. The will to get things done must be there before efforts are made to get them done. Thus, the leadership of the National Assembly thus far has not shown the commitment and mustered enough will to prioritize gender mainstreaming in the country.

4.4 Proffer measures to enable the National Assembly plays vital and significant roles in gender mainstreaming for national development

In a bid to identify means of resolving challenges impeding the National Assembly in the performance role in gender mainstreaming for national development, respondents were asked to indicate measures that when adopted would curb the challenges. Their responses are captured in table 4.6 below:

Table 4.6: Recommendations to ameliorate and foster gender mainstreaming in Nigeria through the National Assembly.

i.	The National Assembly/ Government should be proactive in creating long-term plans and intentional in making laws that adequately provides for gender mainstreaming by providing for quota systems that reserves at least 40% of both elective and appointive positions in govern, same for employments into ministries, departments and agencies in Nigeria. Alternative, the National Assembly should review the constitution of Nigeria to provide for compulsory implementation of the 1995 Beijing Conference recommended 30% and National Gender Policy recommended 35% respectively for both appointive and elective positions to be reserved for women so that political parties and MDAs shall implement it.
ii.	The National Assembly should amend its statutes to make provisions to reserve at least 35% of its principal officer positions for women in parliament.
iii.	National Assembly should develop a robust relationship with civil society organizations to sensitize the public on the need to develop a national culture that accommodates women in the scheme of things. This will change the erroneous belief that women should play second fiddle in the society;
iv.	National Assembly should also reserve at least 40% of its committees to be chaired by women parliamentarians;
v.	Women parliamentarians should be more united, present a common front and step up their lobbying mechanisms to get the men to *buy-into* their demands for better women representation in the scheme of things in the country; and

| vi. | Women parliamentarians should lobby the traditional institution and party leaders to increase public awareness on the role of women in national development and why they should be given a chance. |

Source: Field Survey, February 2023.

4.5 Discussion of Findings

4.5.1 The Role of the National Assembly in Gender Mainstreaming for National Development

The study in a bid to understand the role of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming for national, development, respondents' level of awareness of the roles of the National Assembly for gender mainstreaming tested. While 237 (representing 90.1%) of the respondents stated that they are aware that play important role for gender mainstreaming, 3 (1.1%) indicated that they are not aware. The remaining 23 respondents were undecided in their answer (8.8%). Respondents were further asked whether there is any significant role for the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. Whereas, 252 which represents 95.9% answered in the affirmative, 3 respondents (1.1%) were undecided while 8 (3.0%). This is in tandem with Section 4(2) of the Constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria (as amended) which state that: "The National Assembly shall have power to make laws for the peace, order and good governance of the Federation or any part thereof with respect to any matter included in the Exclusive Legislative List set out in Part 1 of the Second Schedule". This therefore, entails that the National Assembly is constitutionally empowered to make laws that enhance and foster gender mainstreaming and women empowerment across board in Nigeria. This compels the two chambers of the National Assembly to constitute committee of women affairs and to ensure that women are properly represented in the composition of the standing and special committees of the both houses. This

also means that the National Assembly as constitutional duty to ensure that no section of the country's population (which the women are part of) in marginalized or alienated in the scheme of things. Thus, in making laws they are expected that ensure gender equity and equality, as much as they are expected to foster effective women representation both in government and other spheres of economic and social activities.

In its 2015 official statistical report on women and men in Nigeria, the National Bureau of Statistics estimated Nigeria's population distribution by sex at 49.5% women and 50.5% men. Despite the not-so-significant difference in the population of males and females, Nigerian men consistently degrade and treat their female counterparts as minors and appendages undeserving of the fundamental human freedoms naturally bestowed on all citizens irrespective of sex, gender, creed, race, or color.

Nigeria has, on paper, demonstrated commitment to such international human rights instruments like the Universal Declaration on Human Rights; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women; the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women; the African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality; as well as to all the targets and goals contained in the Sustainable Development Goals including the gender equality related ones. The Fourth World Conference on Women (1995) emphasized that "Women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development, and peace."

4.5.2 Asses how well has the National Assembly improved gender mainstreaming

Table 4.4: Has the National Assembly effective performed its roles in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria?

The study also found that the National Assembly has not effectively performed its functions in ensuring gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. This is because 252 respondents 95.9% stated that the National Assembly has not given gender mainstreaming the attention it deserves. While 3.0% answered in the affirmative while 1.1% was undecided.

This shows the level of awareness among Nigerians regarding how well the nation's apex legislative assembly has contributed to gender mainstreaming in the country. However, though the National Assembly has not given gender mainstreaming the priority it deserves, some law-makers has. For instance, Senator Biodun Olujimi, Hon. Nkeruka Onyejeocha and Hon. Binta Dukku have been championing gender empowerment Bills in both Senate and House of Representatives of the federal republic of Nigeria. Just recently, five gender-sensitive Bills were rejected by the National Assembly in the ongoing constitution alteration process. These Bills include:

i.   A Bill for an Act to provide special seats for women at National Assembly;

ii.   A Bill for an Act to provide for Affirmative action or women in political party administration;

iii. A Bill for an Act to grant citizenship to foreign-born born husbands of a Nigerian women;

iv.   A Bill for an Act to Allocate 35 percent of Political Positions based on appointment of to Women and Creation of additional 111 Seats in National Assembly as well as State Constituents Assemblies

v.   A Bill for and Act for the Inclusion of at least ten percent affirmative action in favour of Women in Ministerial appointments

This is in response to the existing reality where men continued to dominate virtually every sphere of the nation's socio-economic and political life.

4.5.3   Identify the challenges hampering the National Assembly from playing its role for gender mainstreaming in Nigeria

The study further identified a number of impediments to gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. According to Isaksson et al, there is little research on the reasons for the 'participation gap' between men and women especially in developing countries. They analyzed data from the Afrobarometer survey of 27,000 respondents in 20 African countries, set against World Bank and Social Institutions and Gender Index data, and concluded that '**clientelism, a lack of civil liberties, economic development and gender norms'** explain the gender gap in Africa. They note that they do not have enough data to prove the role of clientelism, reduced civil liberties, economic development or gender norms in reducing women's participation (Isaksson et al., 2014)

However, scholars and institutions have identified a number of barriers to gender mainstreaming using surveys, interviews, analysis of laws and the party system, and anecdotal evidence. These impediments include: poor implementation of laws, poor attitude to gender, lack of political will and poor executive-legislative synergy.

The National Assembly has been reluctant in making laws that foster gender mainstreaming in the country. For instance, five gender-sensitive legislations were rejected by the nation's apex lawmaking institution in their constitution alteration exercise. Similarly, the Nigerian government has been reluctant to implement laws to improve gender equality in politics and other sectors,

despite a formal support for it. There are no formal bars on women taking offices and the Nigerian constitution (1999) guarantees citizens equal rights. The National Gender Policy (2006) recommended a benchmark of 35% of seats in parliament to be filled by women. Nigeria is also a signatory to international agreements and protocols on gender mainstreaming. The country ratified the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1985 and endorsed the 2005 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (British Council Nigeria, 2012; Denney, 2011; "Nigeria Freedom House," 2019; Kelly, 2019).

Civil society organizations are also pushing for more government action in Nigeria. In 2014, the Women Advocates Research and Documentation Centre (WARDC) and the Nigerian Women Trust Fund (NWTF) drafted a "Nigerian Women Charter of Demand". According to Orji, Orji and Agbanyim (2018) the demands consisted of: "a reform of electoral law to provide for affirmative action as a criterion for registration of political parties" as well as the establishment of "a system of gender mainstreaming which incorporates 35 percent of women in all sectors of government". Sadly, the National Assembly has resisted implementing gender equality measures such as binding quotas. Several bills have been rejected on the grounds that they compromise traditional Christian or Islamic beliefs, such as the 2016 gender and equalities bill (Jollie, Bako and Syed, 2018) and the five gender sensitive Bills rejected by the lawmakers in 2022. The Constitution does not specify a right to freedom from discrimination. Orji, Orji and Agbanyim (2018) opined that electoral law does not reserve any percentage of seats of offices for women and political parties are not subject to quotas.

Public attitudes to women in politics and public offices vary across the geopolitical zones of the country for a variety of religious, cultural, economic and educational reasons (Kelly, 2019).

Lawmakers in the National Assembly are not immune to this attitude. While women were enfranchised in the south of the country in 1960, the same did not happen in the north until 1979. The British Council Nigeria (2012) blamed Islam for the lower levels of participation in the north, but socio-economic and geographical factors also play a role. Thus, female candidates (politicians) in Nigeria often suffer from lack of media coverage. Moreover, the nature of his coverage is often gendered and serves to undermine the credibility of the candidates. A 'content analysis of newspaper coverage of four high-profile women politicians during the 2015 electoral cycle' has concluded that female candidates suffered from a relative lack of coverage and a presumption of 'unviability' (Ette, 2017). However, it is unclear if this was a product of the reporting, or reflected the marginal position of the four female candidates and the difficulties they would face given the political system and prevailing attitudes to women. Negative attitudes to women in leadership persist across the country. The unceremonious and demeaning manner a former speaker of the House of Representatives, Rt. Hon. Patricia Olubunmi Etteh was booted out of office and how Hon. Mulikat Adeola Akande was robbed in the contest for the office of the speaker of the Federal House of Representatives in 2011 are testaments to the attitude of the National Assembly to gender mainstreaming.

To get anything done, the will to achieve such thing is the inertia that propels efforts towards achievements. However, when the 'will' is lacking, achievement becomes near impossible. The interest of the leadership and to a large extent majority of the National Assembly members over-rides and supersedes public interest. For instance, had the leadership of the chamber's assembly wanted the five gender-sensitive Bills to fly, they would been passed.

Similarly, if a president makes a point of duty and succinctly captures gender mainstreaming in his agenda, he would through party leadership get the National Assembly to key into the agenda

and pass legislations that prioritize gender mainstreaming. However, when there is conflictual relationship, legislations suffer. For instance, several legislations were denied assent by President Buhari under the Saraki/Dogara led National Assembly between 2015 and 2019 as a result of conflicts. Most of those Bills have been repassed and assented to in the current session of the National Assembly.

To ascertain respondents' views on these impediments, they were asked to rate these challenges based on the level of impact they have on gender mainstreaming in the country. The survey result in table 4.5 above shows that a joint total of 82.9% of the respondents agreed that poor implementation of laws is a major factor inhibiting National Assembly's role in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria while 8.4% disagreed. This could be as a result of existing traditional/ cultural and religious belief system that unconsciously influence people's behaviour towards laws. Similarly, the same percent of respondents showed that poor executive-National Assembly synergy is a huge impediment.

Also, 84.5% agreed that one main challenge to National Assembly's role in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. This shows that there are belief systems that negatively influence public attitude towards women in public offices and certain trades across the country.

Another 86.7% of the respondents agreed with the statement that lack of political will on the part of the National Assembly and government in general is the greatest challenge inhibiting the apex lawmaking assembly from playing fundamental roles in gender mainstreaming in the country. This is true when situated on the prism that conception is the mother of invention. The will to get things done must be there before efforts are made to get them done. Thus, the leadership of the National

Assembly thus far has not shown the commitment and mustered enough will to prioritize gender mainstreaming in the country.

4.5.4   Proffer measures to enable the National Assembly plays vital and significant roles in gender mainstreaming for national development

In a bid to identify means of resolving challenges impeding the National Assembly in the performance role in gender mainstreaming for national development, respondents were asked to indicate measures that when adopted would curb the challenges. They recommended among others that:

i.   The National Assembly/ Government should be proactive in creating long-term plans and intentional in making laws that adequately provides for gender mainstreaming by providing for quota systems that reserves at least 40% of both elective and appointive positions in govern, same for employments into ministries, departments and agencies in Nigeria. Alternative, the National Assembly should review the constitution of Nigeria to provide for compulsory implementation of the 1995 Beijing Conference recommended 30% and National Gender Policy recommended 35% respectively for both appointive and elective positions to be reserved for women so that political parties and MDAs shall implement it;

ii.   The National Assembly should amend its statutes to make provisions to reserve at least 35% of its principal officer positions for women in parliament;

iii.   National Assembly should develop a robust relationship with civil society organizations to sensitize the public on the need to develop a national culture that

accommodates women in the scheme of things. This will change the erroneous belief that women should play second fiddle in the society;

iv.   National Assembly should also reserve at least 40% of its committees to be chaired by women parliamentarians;

v.   Women parliamentarians should be more united, present a common front and step up their lobbying mechanisms to get the men to *buy-into* their demands for better women representation in the scheme of things in the country; and

vi.   Women parliamentarians should lobby the traditional institution and party leaders to increase public awareness on the role of women in national development and why they should be given a chance.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Summary of findings

In terms of the role of the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming for national, development, respondents' level of awareness of the roles of the National Assembly for gender mainstreaming tested which is the objective one of the study, it was discovered that while 237 (representing 90.1%) of the respondents stated that they are aware that play important role for gender mainstreaming, 3 (1.1%) indicated that they are not aware. The remaining 23 respondents were undecided in their answer (8.8%). On whether there is any significant role for the National Assembly in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria, 252 which represents 95.9% answered in the affirmative, 3 respondents (1.1%) were undecided while 8 (3.0%). This is in tandem with Section 4(2) of the Constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria (as amended) which state that: "The National Assembly shall have power to make laws for the peace, order and good governance of the Federation or any part thereof with respect to any matter included in the Exclusive Legislative List set out in Part 1 of the Second Schedule".

For the second objective the study found that National Assembly has not effectively performed its functions in ensuring gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. This is because 252 respondents 95.9% stated that the National Assembly has not given gender mainstreaming the attention it deserves. While 3.0% answered in the affirmative while 1.1% was undecided.

For the objective three which is on identifying a number of impediments to gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. The survey result showed that a joint total of 82.9% of the respondents agreed that poor implementation of laws is a major factor inhibiting National Assembly's role in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria while 8.4% disagreed. This could be as a result of existing traditional/

cultural and religious belief system that unconsciously influence people's behaviour towards laws. Similarly, the same percent of respondents showed that poor executive-National Assembly synergy is a huge impediment.

Further, 84.5% agreed that one main challenge to National Assembly's role in gender mainstreaming in Nigeria is attitude to gender indicating that there are belief systems that negatively influence public attitude towards women in public offices and certain trades across the country. Another 86.7% of the respondents agreed with the statement that lack of political will on the part of the National Assembly and government in general is the greatest challenge inhibiting the apex lawmaking assembly from playing fundamental roles in gender mainstreaming in the country.

For the last objective of the study which aimed at identifying means of resolving challenges impeding the National Assembly in the performance role in gender mainstreaming for national development, the respondents noted as follows; The National Assembly should amend its statutes to make provisions to reserve at least 35% of its principal officer positions for women in parliament; National Assembly should develop a robust relationship with civil society organizations to sensitize the public on the need to develop a national culture that accommodates women in the scheme of things; National Assembly should also reserve at least 40% of its committees to be chaired by women parliamentarians; Women parliamentarians should be more united, present a common front and step up their lobbying mechanisms to get the men to buy-into their demands for better women representation in the scheme of things in the country; and Women parliamentarians should lobby the traditional institution and party leaders to increase public awareness on the role of women in national development and why they should be given a chance.

5.2. Conclusion

The roles of the legislatures which have broadened and transformed has engendered the need for women to be accorded an important place in not just the legislature but across public service. Given the known fact that the National Assembly is the institution charged with the responsibility to make laws for the peace and good governance of Nigeria, platform for representation and to oversight the executive, the role of women cannot be underestimated in this regard. However, despite the enormous powers of the National Assembly to engender gender mainstreaming through enactment of legislations, among others. The National Assembly has not lived to expectation as women continues to lag behind their men folks in politics, economics, among others. Thus, this study examined how the National Assembly has performed the role and what factors constituted impediments to it.

5.3. Recommendations

From the foregoing analysis and in agreement with the research objectives, this study made the following recommendations:

- That the National Assembly should be proactive in creating long-term plans and intentional in making laws that adequately provides for gender mainstreaming by providing for quota systems that reserves at least 40% of both elective and appointive positions for women.
- That the two chambers of the National Assembly constitute committee of women affairs and ensure that women are properly represented in the composition of the standing and special committees of the both chambers. The National Assembly should ensure that no section of the country's population (which the women are part of) is marginalized or alienated in the scheme of things. Thus, in making laws they should ensure gender equity.

- That the National Assembly should ensure the proper implementation of laws made by the two chambers by carrying out effective oversighting of the MDAs responsible for such implementations.

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